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On the Causes of War

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Dedication

This book is dedicated to:

The millions of children who have died in wars, and tens of millions more maimed or orphaned, all due to wars which none of them created.

To peace people, exemplified by Joseph Schwartzberg, Louise Pardee, William Eckhardt, Elsie Evans, and Arthur Sternberg, among many others who have dedicated themselves to abolition of the institution of war.

To the honorable soldiers, exemplified by General John Vessey, Colonel David Pearson and Chief Warrent Officer Bill McCoy, among many others who have suffered and sacrificed to protect their peoples and to preserve essential human values like freedom.

And especially to my wife, Jo Ann, who has carried a very heavy load during my 20 years work on this subject.

The solutions to war require wisdom from many sources, but in particular I commend attention to the views of honorable soldiers and thoughtful peace people, each of whom hold about half the answer to the challenge of survival which confronts us all today.

Acknowledgments

It is not possible to do justice in this space to the thousands of people who have helped in large and small ways with this work. Consider the bibliography one other list of people who have worked, some for most of their professional lives, on parts of the problem I address here. Many other individuals have helped, from the 70 who submitted to detailed interviews on their views on war causes, to many students and faculty at many colleges who helped in many other ways with information and perspectives, to spies and former spies, most of whom do not desire specific recognition.

I will remember the 12 people and six groups that follow with especial thanks, for reasons which they all know. All errors are, of course, my fault.

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the Peace Studies Association,
the reference librarians of the world, but especially of the Twin Cities,
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Introduction

I was walking in a park in Belfast, Northern Ireland, when Natalie and Alison approached me. They were pushing a carriage with a 3 to 4 month baby girl inside, as innocent as we all begin. The two 13 year olds started a conversation with the special charm which Irish people have, and captured in micro-scale the dilemma which confronts the whole world today.

I had come to Belfast to learn from a professor about economic aspects of the conflict there, so I asked the girls what they thought of the “troubles.” They talked about the violence, boundaries and fear. Natalie’s uncle had been murdered two years earlier in a political attack, and both had to be careful where they walked and how they talked. They told me about the young men doing acts of daring to gain membership in gangs, how the boys would open their knives and wave them at the girls if they found they belonged to the “other” religion. They told me how another relative was beaten near to death in front of his toddler child, in an endless cycle of revenge where membership in the “other” church is all that is required to be a target. Unlike the adults I talked to there, the girls said not a word about politics, history or economics, only stories about growing up amidst violence and hatred.

Minutes later, an elderly man from the “other” side approached me and filled my ear about the wickedness of those who had murdered and attempted murder the day before. His hatred and complete conviction in the rightness of his side were intense. His devotion to, and respect for, the leaders of his side was deeply sincere. All this happened in the same park, on the same day, in a town on our tiny planet Earth, which is preparing for another general war as I write.

Which sides these people come from matters little to me; how they came to see each other as dangerous enemies matters a great deal. The conflict in Northern Ireland does not even count as a war by most definitions (I use Eckhardt’s which requires at least 1000 dead per one year as a result of armed violence involving at least one government). In over 25 years of recent troubles, “only” about 3,200 have died in and directly related to the politics of Northern Ireland.

But those troubles have permeated the lives of millions; it affects where they travel, what they say, how they think, the postage, the currency, who gets the plum jobs and who the crumbs, the basic structure of the economy they depend on, and fundamental concepts of religion and civil life.

So I will refer to Belfast, Northern Ireland, from time to time in this book even though the killing there is so small it escapes the lists of wars and genocides I study every day. Because Natalie and Alison and the baby child they escorted around the narrow circuit within which they felt safe, deserve a future. They deserve a better future than they are getting, and behind them are millions of children dodging wickedness and hatred around the world. Politicians are trying to make peace today in Ireland and elsewhere. A billion children’s futures depend on success for those who would end war.

The roots of bombings and political murders in Northern Ireland today extend to ancient slaughters involving the English and the Irish, and to ancient conflicts between two churches contending for people and power. It involves powerful church leaders today, teaching their flocks that the other is the “Anti-Christ” and bewailing the inhumanity of the “terrorists” on the other side. It involves politicians and bureaucrats far away. It involves teenagers teaching children a culture of violence and revenge for more fundamental reasons, often ignorant of the historical nuances and philosophical rationalizations which more educated adults cite.

Yet as complex as the conflict in Northern Ireland is, it is nothing compared with Sarajevo, former Yugoslavia, where tens of thousands have died (about 250,000 in the wider war). And as complex as the Yugoslav war is, the conflicts in Central Asia are many times more complex (Geiss, 1993) and the conflicts in Africa are more complex again. In Rwanda, about 800,000 were killed with machetes and small arms in 1994; millions more fled as refugees. The largest battles on earth in 1993 were in Angola, and hundreds of thousands died in over a dozen other African wars that year. The North is not immune, nor Asia, nor the Americas. Deaths due to war and genocide increased at least 50 percent in 1994; we will consider where and why in the early chapters. How wars start and how to stop them, is the meat of this book in Part II. Part III presents solutions in more synthetic form.

The world is preparing for another general war (world war), so the causes of war are important. All the wealth and power in the world means nothing if the nations destroy civilization in their complex form of madness. Our children deserve a better future, so I encourage close attention to the matters of life and death which confront us all today.

Generals, ATTEND! It is your job to protect the nation and defend the people. Officers, BE ADVISED!! The nation is in danger and the people are in peril.

It is your sacred responsibility to understand how wars begin. And official books on war do not cover all the vital causes.

Part 1 — Background

The first nine chapters review data and concepts necessary to begin systematic consideration of the most important causes of war and genocide.

“The Essence of War and Peace” summarizes main conclusions. Definitions for war and genocide and relationships between them will precede a review of wars and genocides during the early 1990’s. “Interviews with people who have studied war and peace” compares views of scholars and practitioners who have spent much time considering these questions. This is followed by a very brief summary of relevant literature.

The concept of cause is considered in the next chapter, along with specific complexities relevant to the causes of war. Human nature, both realities and myths as they pertain to war occupies the next. Then two simple models will be presented, called “Earthquake” and “Three Green Lights.” Finally, a prediction about the probability of a third general war near the close of the twentieth century will be presented along with a very rough method for estimating such important but difficult variables.

The Essence of War and Peace

Lao Tzu said in the Tao Te Ching:

- The way which can be spoken of, is not the constant Way.
- To prevent war, you must limit the size of population and of the state.
- Allow the people only enough weapons for purely defensive purposes.
- Do not let people of one village meddle with their neighbors' customs.

Lao Tzu got many things right 2,500 years ago. The Chinese formed a religion around his book. But they paid more attention to Confucius when considering government, and they killed each other wholesale for millennia before addressing population growth directly. They also occupied the lands of many other peoples as they expanded. Today they are quietly exterminating the Tibetan people, and they frighten many neighbors by their willingness to use police state methods wherever they are able.

Population growth is the most important ultimate cause of war. Population growth produces pressure which increases competition for resources, always limited, which leads to economic distress which leads to injustice, desperation and anger which leads to violence. But the role of population growth is usually masked by more proximate factors.

The role of population growth is also masked by a natural reluctance to consider any constraints on reproduction, much reinforced by natural selection. And it is masked by the teachings of large organizations locked in competitions with each other for people, their main resource.

Authoritarian politics and militant religious philosophies are also very important causes of war. The nation state is violence institutionalized. War is a product of “civilization” (Eckhardt, 1992). When major armies and armaments became possible, the brutal drove off the weak and almost all governments became morally corrupt carriers of the militant war ethic (as opposed to war for defense only). Self righteous, “we are the best” religious philosophies support authoritarian politics and provide a moral cover for murder which is essential for modern war.

Corruption of governance is among the most profound causes of the civil wars which predominate today. Like population growth, the role of corruption is largely masked, often by deliberate efforts of criminal

people and the governments they run. Competition for resources between nations, and economic inequality within nations have been very important causes of many wars. Dominance disputes between macho leaders have caused many wars, and female leaders are not immune to political pressures or to hubris. Legalism is a political philosophy which undergirds the use of state violence to enforce the desire to dominate — a flaw in all men and women, but especially common among political leaders.

Injustice and historical grievances are major causes of war. But what is justice? And who has not been injured, if one looks deep in history? There are two great principles of economic justice: equality and merit. Neither is perfect. Both are partial truths. Extremists of both views have been killing each other for centuries over just what “justice” means. So have religious zealots over just what “God” wants. Gross inequalities of wealth lead inevitably to grotesque injustices, to repression, and ultimately to war. Excess zeal in promoting “equality” led to communism which also failed. So there is a stable balance, but balance is not popular with the extremists most likely to use force.

Lack of effective international conflict resolution systems is an important cause of war. We have already learned the basic method for stopping rampant violence at every level of human existence except the nation state. Reduce weapons to only those necessary for pure defense. Have a just code of laws for protection and necessary order (eg. limited order) and adjudicate disputes in impartial courts with integrity. We have been weakest in building structures to restrain corruption of governance, but at least we can see this is a fundamental problem. Arm police to enforce just law, but keep them strictly out of religion, politics and other matters of convention — and don't let neighbors use the force of criminal law to meddle in each other's lives. All easier said than done, but we have actually known for a long time how to minimize violence

in the conflicts which arise every day at local and neighborhood levels.

There is a lot of truth in the saying that young men fight wars which old men start. The oppression of youth has been a tragic cause of wars, the only one I won't consider further in this work. The desire for adventure is another factor. The fantasy of war is among the greatest games around for millions of people. The myth of the noble warrior is among our dearest myths. In a later chapter I will try to show how to restore its genuine virtues. But movies and literature and television and other arts almost never capture the real pain, tragedy and horror of real war. The arts catch the glamour, the excitement, the thrill and beauty of visual destruction without real screams, real terror, real blood or real tears.

We must develop ways for young men to feel courageous and strong without killing, and for old men (and women) to work out their passions for money and power without killing off each others' young.

Ending the moral legitimacy by which governments use violence against their "own" people is the cause of human rights. Ending the violence by governments against people beyond national borders is the cause of peace. These are directly related problems. Governments seldom help because they usually do not want to. Politicians are not all bad, but the people who lead governments often have the strongest appetite for power, the most ruthless skill in deceiving people to achieve their goals. They have taken many risks to acquire their position, and they are always schooled in the legal rationalizations which excuse violence by the state or by themselves. Many are themselves murderers; most have authorized the killing of others by the governments they rule. Be warned.

The principal purpose of this text is to disseminate ideas which bear on surviving the great ecological, economic, political and military crises ahead of humankind today. Those ideas have been surrounded by other concepts which seem important. But many words can obscure main points. So the two most cardinal ideas, in simple form, are:

1. Population growth is fundamental to war and genocide. War cannot end unless growth is restrained. Inborn and cultural predispositions to ignore this factor are, however, immensely powerful.

2. The moral legitimacy by which governments use violence including death against their "own" people is fundamental to war. Human rights and peace are identical goals in a legal sense, differing only in protecting people from "their own" government versus "some other"

government's use of violence. In different words, law is essential to war. Thus changing law is essential to peace, and the change required is to radically reduce the scope of legitimized attacks by states.

When governments attack the prostitutes, homosexuals, drug users, tax-protesters, hermits, free thinkers, "dissidents" and other unpopular but non-dangerous people for the generic crime of being different, or refusing to obey, they express this cardinal sin of law. The persecutors always claim that the victims of their laws are dangerous, but that is mostly moral facade for various kinds of bigotry and expediency. Many people are so thoroughly embedded in the myths which say that it is OK to persecute or even kill, so long as a legislature has approved, that few see the moral wrong in attacking people for being different, much less the connections between this philosophy and war.

It is easier to see this wrong by looking at countries other than one's own. The Ayatollahs' theocracy in Iran has killed thousands of people since their revolution, for crimes like prostitution, or having sex with a married man (only the women are killed) or using drugs, or even dancing in the streets or practicing another religion like Baha'i, or writing forbidden words about the flaws of the Ayatollahs. Americans know this is terrible, because we were humbled by Iranians some years ago, but most Americans are blissfully unaware or unconcerned when our government commits similar crimes.

To end war, beliefs about the legitimate use of force by governments must be fundamentally altered. This will be the main topic of chapters on Legalism and Authoritarian Law among others. So long as governments believe it is OK to kill their own people over complex codes of behavior, people will fear imposition by other governments, and governments will vie over who gets to rule whom, with lethal consequences.

We also cannot end war so long as we ignore the ecological crisis which drives so many other global problems today. Because in the long run, birth rates determine death rates. Therefore, birth rates determine life expectancy. This is an Iron Law of biology; like the law of gravity, it cannot be altered by any government no matter how composed. If birth rates are high, death rates must be high also, in the long run. And if death rates must be high, some people will use violence in their competitions for resources. So the essence of solution to the problem of war and genocide is simultaneous rejection of ancient myths about endless resources and the alleged virtues of police-states.

Interviews With People Who Have Studied War and Peace

Early in my inquiry, after a few of the better questions had been identified and the classic works had been read, I interviewed about 70 people who knew war well. Three groups were sought: professional scholars of war and peace at universities, senior military officers and NCO's, and peace activists who had worked for 20 years or more toward that goal. Six diplomats also shared their thoughts, and a standardized interview form and style was used.

My more prominent informants included a Chairman of America's Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. John Vessey, Lt. Gen. Mikhail Milshtein of the USSR, scholars like Johan Galtung, Melvin Small, Adam Yarmolinsky, P. Terrence Hopmann, and Gwynne Dyer, peace people like Frank Barnaby, Elise Boulding and Kenneth Boulding (all excellent scholars also) and diplomats like ex-NATO Ambassador Harlan Cleveland and the head of America's nuclear weapons negotiations in Geneva, Max Kampelman. Others were not so well known, but most were wise and each was interesting.

There was considerable overlap between scholars and peace activists and my military informants were quite highly educated if not published researchers, so classification was somewhat arbitrary.

The great diversity of their responses is the outstanding observation. Whatever causes wars, it is very, very complicated and there is no consensus.

Some examples: Vessey cited sin, stupidity, cowardice, greed and ignorance; Milshtein said that categories matter, like nuclear or international vs. wars of national liberation; Galtung prioritized expansionist ideology / theologies; Small noted political-economic conflicts and misperceptions; Yarmolinsky also named misperceptions plus overweening ambition; Hopmann cited development of good / evil stereotypes, internal social conflicts and arms races; Dyer named the warrior ethic and 9000 years of civilizations manipulating that; Barnaby saw defense of territory or property as key; Elise Boulding said that the search for cause was intrinsically hopeless because everything is interrelated while Kenneth

Boulding dismissed standard economic / political explanations citing the existence of war institutions and the lack of comparable conflict resolution systems. Cleveland cited injustice, exclusiveness and a "revolution of rising expectations" in the Third World, while Kampelman said that "all animals fight," "war is inevitable" and that "many very bright people have concluded that (war) is the best way to solve certain kinds of problems."

These were all useful views, although I must object as a behavioral biologist when economist Kampelman claims falsely that "all animals fight" and that "war is inevitable." These are certainly incorrect observations, or conclusions, or myths, which I will address shortly in the chapter on Human Nature. His last observation is no doubt true, many very bright people have embraced war, along with many dumb ones. Some other observations:

1. Economic competition was the most frequently cited cause, overall. Excessive nationalism came second.
2. Many informants dismissed traditional explanations in favor of more purely psychological explanations. One soldier / scholar summed it up with the word "**FEAR**." And many referred to greed or hubris or similar terms.
3. There was an odd response to two of five questions asked about how informants saw themselves (see Figure 1). The term "weapons" yielded extreme responses, e.g. many either loved weapons or hated them. The term "fighter" yielded something different. A clear majority placed themselves near the middle of the five point scale, and many also felt compelled without any prompting whatever to make some comments to the general effect that they did not support violence, but did feel it important to fight for principles they believed in. Cowardice was never popular. Peace people tended to emphasize their non-cowardice, and military folks to say that state violence should be a last resort, and sometimes to decry the fundamental immorality of war. Peace people and military people were quite divided on their reaction to the term weapons in the expectable direction. The scholars disliked

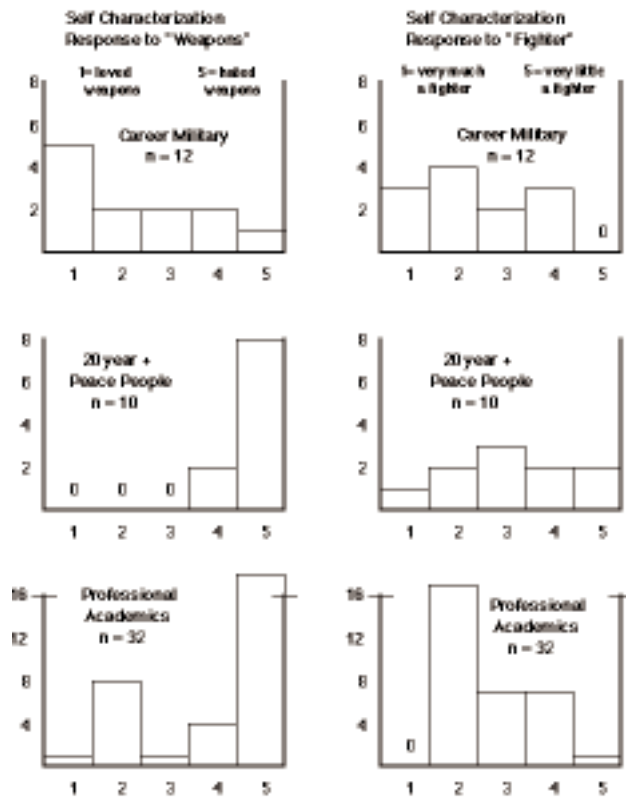


Figure 1
Responses to "Weapons" and "Fighters"
Interviews on Causes of Wars

people. You must judge that. I suspect, however, other reasons why many people find it difficult to link reproduction, competition and violence in their minds, starting with innate predispositions to protect our reproductive freedom, heavily reinforced by traditional ethics codified centuries or longer in the past. A small minority of at most a tenth of all informants did agree with my central thesis and have viewed the ecological and political crises facing us today as joined for some time.

weapons, but saw themselves as moderate "fighters."

4. Both military and peace people were more overtly religious than the scholars. Both were far more concerned about moral issues bearing on war than the scholars were. I have concluded since then that sterile abstraction aids war, and that "objectivity" can be a mask for lack of human feeling (see Chapter 18 on Evil).

5. Very few informants shared my view that biological factors are important to war. My opinion was strictly withheld during interviews, and biology scored last as a war cause when ranked among seven factors by informants (the others, ranked: economic, political, psychological, historical, religious and technical). After the interview during more open discussion, more agreed that growth of populations could be important and most agreed that competition for resources was a powerful factor in wars. Only a handful noted connections from population growth to resource competition to violence on their own.

I may be completely wrong of course, about the connection between scarce resources and numbers of

Brief Review of Relevant Literature

Prof. Jack Levy of Rutgers University wrote an excellent, comprehensive review of prevailing political science theories of war for the National Academy of Science (in, Tetlock, et al., 1989). He finds many useful ideas, but absolutely no consensus. John Stoessinger has written the most insightful study I know of the minds of leaders prior to war (Why Nations Go to War, 1985). He discerns a set of common delusions prior to war. Prominent among these is belief in a short, decisive victory, or that war has become “inevitable.” His work is filled with many other examples of hubris, and of self fulfilling prophecies drawn from wars of this century.

Here, I wish to highlight mainly classic works on war and the best review of quantitative studies of which I am aware. The latter is William Eckhardt’s Civilizations, Empires and Wars: A Quantitative History of War (1992). Eckhardt systematically reviews, and in meaningful ways reanalyzes the central findings of Quincy Wright (1942, 1965), J. David Singer and Melvin Small (1972, 1980), Jack Levy (1983), Lewis Richardson (1960a, 1960b), Pitirim Sorokin (1957) and non-analytic but comprehensive histories of war provided by Dupuy and Dupuy (1986), Harbottle (1904, revised 1981), Kohn (1987) and others.

Each of these studies was a landmark of its own, and Eckhardt did the world a great service by distilling their essences into a single volume and comparing them for consistency and significant differences. His most essential conclusions were:

1. Europe experienced many more wars than any other region on earth (but big holes probably exist in our data on wars in Asia, except in China, indigenous America and especially Africa, where written traditions and the practice of naming battles and recording casualties were not established until recently).
2. Recognizing this large limitation, there was general consistency among the studies Eckhardt reviewed.
3. During the 20th century, the percentage of civilian vs. military casualties in war has risen fairly steadily.
4. Most initiators of wars during the 20th century lost them. This was not true in earlier periods.

5. Wars are a byproduct or function of civilizations which establish empires to secure resources. These civilizations and empires ultimately sow the seeds of their own destruction by exploiting colonies and becoming corrupt, which results in growing power imbalances until equilibria similar to those conceived by Wright and many “balance of power” theorists are reestablished after a general (world) war.

6. Since World War II, casualties averaged about 400,000 per year from about 125 small wars (to 1992). I call attention to a significant increase in casualties to war during 1993 and 1994 — Rwanda alone, among about 30 ongoing wars, probably lost more than 800,000 in 1994. Whether this increase in death rates will continue remains to be seen.

I commend for the reader Eckhardt’s excellent review, and Wright’s work before him (which involved about 60 scholars and over 20 years work at the University of Chicago) as the most comprehensive efforts. One serious lack is apparent in all of the sources cited above, however, a lack which is addressed briefly in the remarkable book by Sun Tzu. This is the role of secret forces. Not mystical forces, but spies and lies.

Sun Tzu’s The Art of War stands alone as the most insightful and concise discussion of warfare of all time. It also, incidentally provides a window on warfare in ancient China (about 400 B.C.E.). From about the same historic period but from Greek and Hindu civilizations, one may profit from The History of the Peloponnesian War by Thucydides and the Bhagavad Gita from India. Of these three works from three distinct but contemporary civilizations, only Thucydides is comparable in style and detail to what modern historians would call historical scholarship, and none of them is a quantitative analysis. But they are incomparable classics nonetheless, and comparison among them provides an excellent window on that period of ancient warfare. And of eternal factors.

John Fairbank (Kierman and Fairbank, 1974, 11) says this about The Art of War:

“The military classic of the fourth century B.C., the Sun Tzu, is still in vogue today, no doubt because it is more compatible than the Analects with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. As the Sun Tzu makes plain, violence is only one part of warfare and not even the preferred part. The aim of war is to subdue an opponent, in fine, to change his attitude and induce his compliance. The most economical means is the best: to get him — through deception, surprise, and his own ill-conceived pursuit of infeasible goals — to realize his inferiority, so that he surrenders or at least retreats without your having to fight him. This stress on gaining victory without fighting is not a utopian fancy but part of the larger view that seeks to maintain the established order without the use of violence. The author of the Sun Tzu would readily understand today’s system of nuclear deterrence. He would smile at the American exaltation of firepower, which too easily makes a means into an end in itself. In the old China, war was too complex a matter to be left to the fighting man, however well trained he might be. Its object was not victory but the reestablishment of order, and for this the arts of peace were equally necessary.”

A different, more ruthless school of thought currently dominates in American political science. It calls itself “realism” and denigrates a range of alternatives it calls “idealism” or “utopianism.” I will return to the theory, but what is important here is recognition that the ruthless view is heavily sponsored by those industries and bureaucracies which make billions of dollars each year serving the war machine. This creates significant distortions in both published data and predominant philosophical or political analysis. Those distortions make any innocent survey of literature on war or especially on causes of war subject to a range of mistakes of fact and interpretation which I will spend much time addressing in this work.

The “realists” have one thing right. There is much ruthlessness in the political world. But they often make a fundamental error of overextension, which is concluding that politicians therefore must be ruthless, all too often that they should be, and finally that war is therefore inevitable. They often cite Thucydides as their first author.

Thucydides chronicled thirty years of war between Athens and Sparta of ancient Greece, recording details of battles, troops and armaments far more like a modern historian than the sparse descriptions of principles found in Sun Tzu’s Art of War. Contemporary “realists” often cite Thucydides as the original “realist” because of his attention to the details of weapons and disposition of forces. However, Thucydides also records the speeches of political figures of the time, and is quite judgmental as he

cites their decline into chaos.

Perhaps his most quoted sentence, from book I, section 23: “What made war inevitable was the growth of Athenian power and the fear which this caused in Sparta.”

Modern “realists” love that, but also fail to notice that Thucydides was recording the death of his civilization, a remarkable failure to me. After the decimation of Sparta and Athens by each other, and the subjugation of principled politics to rule by the most ruthless and brutal, Greece never regained its former glory and was soon conquered by Philip of Macedon. The Romans took knowledge and some methods with them, but one of the greatest intellectual civilizations of all time was reduced to ashes by its own internal foolishness, never to recover. From Thucydides, book III, sections 81 and 82 on civil war in Corcyra, and later everywhere:

“There was death in every shape and form. And, as usually happens in such situations, people went to every extreme and beyond it. There were fathers who killed their sons; men were dragged from the temples or butchered on the very altars;..

So revolutions broke out in city after city, and in places where the revolutions occurred late the knowledge of what had happened previously in other places caused still new extravagances of revolutionary zeal, expressed by an elaboration in the methods of seizing power and by unheard-of atrocities in revenge. To fit in with the change of events, **words, too, had to change their usual meanings**. What used to be described as a thoughtless act of aggression, was now regarded as the courage one would expect to find in a party member; to think of the future and wait was merely another way of saying one was a coward; any idea of moderation was just an attempt to disguise one’s unmanly character; ability to understand a question from all sides meant that one was totally unfitted for action. Fanatical enthusiasm was the mark of a real man, and to plot against an enemy behind his back was perfectly legitimate self-defense. Anyone who held violent opinions could always be trusted, and anyone who objected to them became a suspect.” [my emphasis]

So died ancient Greece.

Carl von Clausewitz, On War (1911) is the most cited classic in Western military literature, and it is certainly useful. But I find him wordy, inconsistent and less wise than others, so I recommend a summary. Clausewitz is probably popular in military academies because he is a leading proponent of the high firepower, full scale, frontal assault school of warfare. He is most

often quoted for phrases like “War is nothing but a continuation of political intercourse, with a mixture of other means” and for defining war as “an act of violence intended to compel our opponents to fulfill our will.” That is true, but these qualities are also particularly consistent with the institutional interests of military bureaucracies and weapons industries. The political writings of Machiavelli (1516) are also popular with ruthless politicians who seek moral cover for their self-serving murders and intrigues, I suspect that the militarists enjoy von Clausewitz for similar reasons.

One of Britain’s most famous military historians and strategists, B. H. Liddell Hart, had a similarly caustic view of Clausewitz. Brian Bond summarized Hart’s views in a collection of his writings and thoughts (Bond, 1977, 37-38). “The main external impetus to a period of almost frenetic study and writing [by Hart] was supplied by his increasing disenchantment with the conduct of the First World War and a hardening conviction that the chief cause of the futile holocaust had been adherence to a false military doctrine, namely Clausewitz’s interpretation of Napoleonic warfare.” “In practical, operational terms he [Liddell Hart] became one of the foremost advocates of mechanization and mobility; while in theoretical terms he attempted to devise a counter to what he regarded as Clausewitz’s evil legacy in the form of the ‘strategy of indirect approach’.”

That strategy looks remarkably like Sun Tzu, in retrospect.

Having said all that, one concept of von Clausewitz should never be forgotten, which is: “the fog of war.” He expresses something which most thoughtful people who have encountered war agree is real, and important, an air of confusion and muddled thinking which makes the simplest things hard to do while war is ongoing. One can easily point to the chaos and fear and physical factors of war which contribute to this condition, but these are not the whole or even the essential factor. Confusion is. Meticulous, clinical plans are blown awry by unanticipated events. Miscalculations, misunderstood messages, mental lapses: on such things the fate of nations have foundered and millions have died (Jervis, 1976).

Examples of that, in Clausewitz’s own words, can be found in his third chapter on “The Genius For War.” As he lists the preeminent features of war, they include: “War is the province of danger, and therefore courage above all things is the first quality of a warrior.” “War is the province of physical exertion and suffering.” “War is the province of uncertainty: three-fourths of the things on which action in war is based lie hidden in the fog of a greater or lesser uncertainty.” “War is the province of chance. In no other sphere of human activity has such a

margin to be left for this intruder, because none is in such constant contact with it on every side. It increases the uncertainty of every circumstance and deranges the course of events.” He follows each of these bromides with advice for generals whom, we infer, desire to cultivate a “genius for war.” Thus of Clausewitz’s four generalizations, two emphasize the unpredictability of war.

Finally, for the interested non-academic, a book by Gwynne Dyer called simply “War” (1985) is among the best introductions to the subject I know. No one has equalled his description of how militaries all over the world are able to take 75 percent (or so) of 18 year old males, and reverse years of mothers’ instructions to turn them into willing, even eager soldiers in a few weeks of basic training. He taught at the British military academy, Sandhurst, and served in three navies, so his history and scholarship is as good as his assessment of how drill sergeants use human nature and common culture to teach young men how to kill without contemplation.

There are many, many other great works on war. The literature includes thousands of books and hundreds of thousands of articles in journals (about 200,000 of which have been abstracted by the Peace Research Institute of Dundas, Canada, available on CD-ROM). This has just been a review of a few classics and classics-to-be which I have actually been able to read, which highlights another great limitation in this brief review.

When the American Pentagon builds a bomber, they hire 10,000 engineers to work on design, and 10,000 more highly skilled workers for production. We will know the end of war is near when someone hires 10,000 scholars, or even 100, to do a really thorough review of what is known about how wars start and how to prevent them.

Another teenaged Irish girl, named Aoife, offered a simpler analysis in the poem below.

War

The victims of a bloody mess
A big religion race
Deciding which religion’s best
And forcing it upon another place.

A cemetery especially reserved for young soldiers
All the headstones identically the same . . .
except for the name.

Will these brave boys really be remembered?
Or in years just a field with little stones
all neatly, linearly assembled.

Relationships Between Genocide and War

Most contemporary authors define genocide in terms of ethnicity or group membership, that is, where one group is slaughtered because of ethnic or religious differences between it and a dominant other group. I prefer the concept of non-resisting victims. That is, the essential difference between genocide and war (to me) is that in war both sides fight, while in genocide one side kills while the other dies without mounting significant organized resistance.

Certainly ethnicity is important, and most genocides certainly involve an ethnic minority being slaughtered, usually to make room for a more powerful and expansionist group. Thus was born the term “ethnic cleansing” used by Serbs to describe their behavior toward Muslims, Croats and Slovenes in the north and western Balkans, and later toward Albanians in Kosovo.

Some authors prefer to reserve the term genocide for the “Holocaust” involving the mass murder of Jews in Nazi Germany. But many other peoples were slaughtered wholesale during World War II, including Gypsies, Slavs, homosexuals, the retarded and many others considered undesirable. And while the Holocaust involved exceptionally cold blooded and well organized genocides, it was by no means unique in the history of humankind.

Genghis Khan killed something like 40 million Chinese to free pastureland for his horses, and the Han Chinese have killed more peoples than the world will ever know, expanding to dominate Asia and to become one fourth of all humanity. The continent of North America was appropriated wholesale by Europeans who did not kill so many directly, but accomplished the same end by driving indigenous peoples onto lands so marginal they simply starved quietly or died by the many diseases imported by the conquerors. Dominance of South America by Spanish descendants was almost as complete, but more natives survived. Tension between the two groups remains one of the most fundamental sources of civil conflict in Latin America today, showing the resonance through history of mass killings and economic injustice which can precipitate wars hundreds of years later.

Genocide most often occurs in the context of, or in the aftermath of war. War provides several essential

conditions for genocide, specifically motive, means and a complex mix of bureaucratic and psychological conditions which facilitate wholesale elimination of large numbers of nominally innocent people.

Since ancient times, the ultimate spoils of war have been the land of the conquered peoples. In modern times, there are no truly empty spaces where refugees can flee — and survive; fleeing to barren land which cannot support life is one of the indirect ways by which genocide is accomplished. War provides abundant reasons for vengeance and a context whereby troops are brutalized by combat conditions. This can produce something Lifton and Markusen called The Genocidal Mentality (1991).

Many professionals are involved in modern genocides, exemplified in Lifton’s work by the Nazi doctors who did so much to facilitate the Holocaust. The doctors were joined by engineers, accountants, lawyers and professionals of all sorts — all engaged in what propagandists called a “noble duty” to help the German nation. Today, the Serbian leadership in former Yugoslavia is also flush with psychiatrists, doctors, engineers, professors and other professionals who see “ethnic cleansing” as an appropriate response to historic grievances.

In Rwanda the genocide of Tutsis by Hutu extremists shows another example of mass bloodletting based on historical animosities. It also shows that as many or more people can be killed in a few weeks by simple means — machetes and small arms — as by high technology and modern bureaucracies. Organization is important, however, and the Hutu’s spent great effort training cadres to respond when the order came to kill (called Interahamwe, or “those who attack together”). And the first killed were not Tutsis, but rather moderate Hutu opposition leaders, reflecting an exceptional but not unique level of ruthlessness in domestic politics.

Historic genocides show that measures less than wholesale slaughter can yield the same result over longer periods of time. Occupying armies can enforce conditions of life so severe for the victims that death rates are sharply elevated. Thus do the Han Chinese slowly squeeze the gentle Tibetans to death today, and thus did the Spanish

eliminate the Arawak Indians on Hispaniola centuries ago -
 - by working them to death. Or there is the method of relocating the victims to “reservations” on barren land, the method of choice for the US Army during “pacification” of the natives of North America.

Finally there is the method of forced assimilation, where troublesome minorities are simply absorbed in a larger body which may speed the process by outlawing the indigenous language and customs. This has been called cultural genocide and it is certainly less brutal than the direct kind, but may be nearly as cruel in the long run. In South America today, linguists estimate that one native language per week is becoming extinct due to pressures like these. Not so terrible as direct murder, the Turks make it illegal to teach Kurds their own language, and the Sinhalese outlaw Tamil customs in Sri Lanka. But the Yanomami Indians in Brazil are just as doomed as if condemned to gas chambers if gold diggers and plantation owners keep taking their land, importing diseases, and shooting any who resist as pests, like American cowboys did a century ago in North America.

In The Holocaust and Strategic Bombing Markusen and Kopf (1994) show how modern propaganda and bureaucracy capture the minds of participants in mass killings of the twentieth century. They find that the majority of those involved in governmental mass killings are psychologically normal and regard themselves as patriots rather than as mass murderers. No doubt the hoards of Genghis Khan were equally sublime; he is often cited as the inventor of “psychological warfare,” an important subject to which we will return.

There are very deep relations between genocide and war, so I will list both in reviewing mass killings of the last few years. In Part 2, every cause examined will be followed by a search for solutions. Part 3 will look at solutions mainly, but from a deeper perspective. I say again here that the quest for human rights within nations is equivalent to the search for an end to war among nations. So solutions to one imply solutions to the other.

Review of Wars, Genocides and Flashpoints: 1990-1995

Panama was invaded on the night of December 20, 1989 by U.S. military forces in an operation the Americans called “Just Cause.” The official death toll as reported by the Pentagon was 516 Panamanians, of whom 202 were civilians, and 26 American soldiers (Report of the Investigations Subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services, U.S. House of Representatives, July 7, 1992). Death estimates provided by critics of the US invasion range from about 1,000 to over 4,000 Panamanians killed (The Independent Commission of Inquiry on the U.S. Invasion of Panama, 1991). My working estimate is between 1,400 and 2,500, based on all the information I have (which includes eyewitness accounts of mass graves, some hidden on military bases, most denied by the Pentagon; one of my witnesses was a US Army chaplain in Panama). That is a large range for error. The official U.S. figure is far outside of that range, and is probably false.

Most of this chapter will be a spartan review of the 45 wars (and ten near, or police-state wars) six genocides and nine flashpoints which we record for 1990-1995 worldwide. I have deliberately chosen end dates of Dec. 15, 1989 - Dec. 15, 1994, in order to include the invasions of Panama by America and Chechnya by Russia, because each reveals important lessons. It is better for my purposes to include both, than either without the other.

Some categories overlap, especially wars and genocides: Table 1 lists these more concisely (Appendix B, pg. 250). But we will begin with a more detailed consideration of Panama because this case illustrates well the statistical artifacts which can result from strict definitions, temporal, casualty or type boundaries, and errors caused by calculated distortions of information (e.g. errors induced by propaganda) which almost always cloud large scale, organized, armed operations.

I use Eckhardt’s definition of war (1992, 8: which he attributes to Glossop, 1987, 7): “Armed conflict between organized groups, including at least one government, with deadly consequences to the extent of at least one thousand deaths per year.” Among counters of wars and casualties, Eckhardt was liberal in the extent to which he included deaths from starvation and disease directly related to the armed conflict. Many official

sources do not count civilian deaths of any kind, and most do not count deaths from causes other than wounds from military action.

To these wars I will add a limited number of genocides where large numbers of deaths in one ethnic group are caused by a calculated campaign to eliminate them, or enabled by a government, but where organized resistance is minimal (e.g. Tibetans, in China; the Yanomami Indians, in Brazil; the Kurds, in Iraq; the Timorese, in Indonesia; the Tutsi in Rwanda and the Muslims in Bosnia). In several cases, like Bosnia, there is organized, armed resistance in some areas, and mass killings of non-resisting people in other areas of the same theater of conflict. Table 1 also lists a few “flashpoints” which are regions where large scale killing does not now occur, but where armed preparations and political tension are so intense that some observers believe war could break out with little warning but many casualties (one example is North and South Korea).

One reason for this spectrum is because the phenomenology of war is fluid. War can turn into genocide almost imperceptibly, and an armed peace stable for decades can turn into massacres on very short notice, as has been seen many times during this century. Those who count wars carefully often use strict definitions — in the name of clear thinking, an admirable goal. But one inevitable consequence of this method is loss of data which falls outside definitional boundaries. Like Panama, which started 11 days outside of the original time frame for this chapter, and does not even count as a “real” war if one accepts the Pentagon’s numbers. It was real enough to the dead, the wounded and their families.

I am quite certain that hundreds of wars have been lost down this memory hole as authors (often government sponsored) have used careful definitions which somehow excluded many large scale mortal combats. The most striking example which I know, is that formal literature on wars seldom includes the battles with Native American peoples by which Europeans took over two continents. The battles were deemed too small, or the Indians too poorly organized, to count as wars between nation states. Yet there were hundreds of battles, involving hundreds of

distinct tribes, many gone forever now.

Much of this data loss is truly accidental, or an innocent byproduct of scholars just trying to be as accurate as they can be, in their view necessarily throwing out grey data or ambiguities which would boggle their statistics. That factor alone can result in very large distortions of the resulting picture, as the near elimination of native peoples in the Americas (without any formally recognized “wars”) and creation of a new civilization on their land well illustrates.

But governments do more. Distortion of information by propaganda agencies is more pernicious because it is deliberate, calculated, and because the entities involved have vast resources and exceptional professional skills they can bring to their task. This is such a significant factor that much of chapters 19 and 20 will be devoted to it.

For example, the official causes of the invasion of Panama, as stated by President George Bush were: 1) to protect US lives, 2) to defend the Panama Canal, 3) to restore democracy to Panama, and 4) to stop drug trafficking and bring General Manuel Noriega to justice. Many innocent Americans believed this public relations story, but few people outside of America did.

General Noriega was the CIA’s main man in Panama. He was recruited at the age of 17 at a military academy. Drug running was part of his normal business, of which CIA got a percentage as did also MOSSAD, the Israeli foreign intelligence service. Noriega’s true sin, in the eyes of these secret powers, was refusing to support covert operations in Nicaragua. At that time a “contra” army created, armed and funded by the CIA, was conducting insurgent warfare against a government known as the Sandinistas. Noriega would not let Panama be used as a staging area for this war against his neighbor, and he was becoming less obedient in other respects. He even threatened publicly that he knew secrets about President George Bush (whom he’d known intimately when Bush was director of the CIA in 1975-76) which would protect him (Noriega). This was a major mistake. Bush was also concerned, not about the operational integrity of the Panama Canal, but whether Noriega would allow the US military to retain rights to military bases after the year 2000. For five years preceding the invasion the U.S. had been pressing for renegotiation of treaties arranged during the Carter administration (1977) guaranteeing turnover of these bases to the Panamanian government.

In short, the invasion had nothing to do with 1) protecting Americans (who were not at risk), 2) defending the Panama canal (which was working fine and under attack from no one), 3) restoring democracy (which did not exist in Panama where the CIA spent millions to buy

elections, and which hardly exists today when every senior Panamanian government official is paired with a US military officer or State Department official who must approve all significant decisions) or 4) stopping the drug trade, which has been managed by the CIA and other intelligence agencies in league with organized crime for a long time. The drug trade has, if anything, increased through Panama since their disobedient employee, Manuel Noriega, was forcibly removed, and put into an American prison from which he can reveal no secrets. In fact, Panamanian banks were recognized then as the most active regional drug money launderers, and still are, and the man who replaced Noriega is a banker with longstanding ties to organized crime (Guillermo Endara) who was sworn in on a US military base (Albrook AFB).

Finally, operation “Just Cause” also served as a timely reminder to all of Central and South America what could happen to them if their leaders thumbed their noses too publicly or often at the American President. The slaughter of large numbers of civilian supporters of General Noriega, and the professional and effective control of information about the invasion which reached the American public, were integral aspects of the real power behind the real war which occurred in Panama late in 1989. But so powerful is that force that this war will not be recorded in most lists on most academic shelves, because the casualties, they say, were under 1,000, and it wasn’t really a war, they say, it was a “police action” for a “Just Cause.”

Something similar is occurring in Russia today regarding its renegade republic of Chechnya, which we will get to in geographical order as we review conflicts in the world.

Remember the power of information control, as we consider the wars and the casualties we know about, which occurred during 1990 - 1995 around the world. And please note that the U.S. government is by no means the only government which tries hard, and often effectively, to cover its murders. China and the Soviet Union obscured the murders of many millions of their own people (Rummel, 1987) and they are followed by a long list of other governments which differ only in the scale of their lethal crimes.

My principal sources for this list include the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute’s annual reviews of major armed conflicts around the world (SIPRI, 1993, 1994) which may be the most objective available source today although its death estimates are conservative, careful, and low (e.g. they are typically two years old and almost certainly undercount actual casualties) a review of major armed conflicts of 1991 by Prof. David Wilkinson of UCLA (who relied on SIPRI, Facts on File, and Keesing’s

Contemporary Archives) William Eckhardt's data maintained until his death in 1992, and my own files of countries and conflicts drawn from a variety of mainly newspaper and journal sources.

Starting in South America and moving north, there was civil war in Peru between the government and two groups, the "Sendero Luminoso" (shining path) by far the more ruthless, and the MRTA (Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement). At least 30,000 people have died therefrom, but it may be ending as the government captured the prime leader of Shining Path (Abimael Guzman) and has been more effective in crushing all opposition since it disbanded the legislature and established a dictatorship under a man named Fujimori. A few bombings have occurred since then in Lima, but the war appears to be in remission, at least for now.

In Colombia, a long running civil war between the government and at least two organized resistance groups, FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) and ELN (National Liberation Army) killed at least 1,600 in 1992 and more than 11,000 from 1980-1992. A group called M-19 was active in the very early 1990's, but appears to have been crushed by the government after a particularly shocking attack on the supreme court of Colombia which killed many of their top jurists.

Ecuador has periodic armed conflicts with Peru over a land dispute dating back to Ecuador's creation, but so far these have not resulted in large scale deaths. Peace was declared in 1998.

In Brazil, the Yanomami Indians are being displaced by gold prospectors, timber companies and ranching interests. They are suffering very high death rates from disease and other factors, but critics of my classification scheme would not call this a genocide because there is no formal, organized campaign by the Brazilian government to slaughter the Indians, nor organized resistance by the Indians. I do call this a genocide, because it is ultimately government policy which lets the companies take the Yanomami land, and which fails to prosecute garimpeiros (gold diggers) when they shoot annoying Indians like they would annoying cats or dogs.

My particular view on this subject is heavily influenced by the experience in North America where an effective genocide occurred but where most of the killing was done by individual ranchers and other settlers killing individual Indians. The Army only came in when resistance was severe, as in a "Mankato Uprising" of 1862 in Minnesota, USA, which killed about 700 Indians and 700 settlers but still failed to make conventional lists of wars. Following this small war, 38 Indians were hung in Mankato and 1,600 survivors "interned" beneath Fort Snelling during the winter of 1862-63, where 200 - 300

starved or froze to death. Survivors were shipped to desolate land in another state by barge when spring came, where many more died. Again, such deaths of "civilians" due to "neglect" are simply not counted in most official records of mortal combat. But the aggregate effect in this case was the virtual elimination of one peoples to the advantage of another. So I call it genocide, preceded by wars of conquest.

In Guatemala, a civil war which began in about 1968 between the government and a large number of indigenous (Mayan peoples) resistance groups aggregated as the URNG (Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity) continued on a reduced scale in the early 1990's. Killing peaked in the mid-1980's. Aggregate deaths exceed 100,000 and partisan reports suggest as many as 50,000 more Mayans were "disappeared," a term for people abducted by security forces but never seen again, and therefore generally not counted as killed by official casualty counters. SIPRI's numbers are 2,800 military deaths and 43,500 civilian deaths from 1968-1992, providing a much more conservative estimate.

In El Salvador, a similar if somewhat less brutal civil war between land owning oligarchs of Spanish descent and mostly landless poor of Indian descent with extensive involvement by outside powers was resolved, perhaps temporarily, in 1992. But it killed at least 50,000, some say 75,000. Since many fundamental issues have not been resolved, it may restart again in time. One of the most significant factors in that equation is the matter of outside powers. El Salvador, like much of the rest of the Third World, was a battleground during the Cold War between America and the Soviet Union. When that started to unravel in 1989, pressure on local battlegrounds like El Salvador became less severe, and several nominal civil wars were resolved, though by no means all.

Another civil war in Nicaragua with similar dynamics ended in 1990 when the CIA effectively purchased a national election for the moneyed side (over \$10 million were spent on covert campaign support alone). That election, combined with several years sponsorship of a contra army (which cost several hundreds of millions of dollars) and the slaughter in Panama (which cost about two billion dollars) just weeks before the election in Nicaragua broke the will to resist among the group called "Sandinistas". And the war ended. Poverty and misery remain the rule in Nicaragua today, but I must acknowledge that one way to end a war is to give up, if you are the weaker, or to crush all opposition, if you are the stronger.

An uprising in Chiapas, Mexico, early in 1994 resulted in at least 145 deaths, too few to call it a war. But if population pressures in the south and corruption in the

north do not improve, this will have been a warning ignored. A confidential study by the Mexican government describes arms trafficking and violent groups in 10 Mexican states (US News and World Report, Aug. 15, 1994, pg. 43), and smaller scale uprisings have occurred in the states of Guerrero and Tobasco in 1995.

In Haiti we observed what I call a “near war” or “police-state war.” Table 1 lists 10 entries under this ambiguous category. Some were major armed conflicts where hundreds, but less than a confirmable 1,000 died. In other cases, like Haiti, there is no doubt that over 1,000 people died in 1992 and 1993 to political violence instigated largely by the police and paramilitary death squads. But most casualty counters follow the lead of the UN and of most governments, by considering such killings to be legitimate in some sense. It is, strictly speaking, legal for governments to kill their “own” people. In Haiti, the military junta which ruled after deposing elected President Aristide exercised this power with enthusiasm. The US came within hours of another armed invasion of a tiny Latin country in the name of its own welfare in October, 1994. But a deal was made as troops were on the way, the junta resigned, and the elected government was reinstated. In this rare case, intervention may have been a good thing. Even if good, America and the UN peacekeeping forces which remain there have inherited the challenge of trying to make enduring peace in a desperately poor country with far too many people on far too little land. Too many people on too little land; that is a formula for failure which the whole world faces today, but it must be faced because it is one of the main driving forces behind war.

The communist government in Cuba certainly kills some of its enemies, although far fewer than neighbors like Haiti. President for life Fidel Castro will die someday, or be deposed, and there are nearly a million expatriate Cubans waiting 90 miles away for the day they may reclaim what they believe is rightfully theirs. So I consider Cuba a flashpoint, armed with armed enemies, and under a great deal of political tension. But on the scale of deaths from actions by governments today, Cuba is really very quiet.

Some Native Americans in the north consider the genocide they certainly experienced historically to be ongoing, and some critics of US government would extend my loose use of that term to conditions faced by blacks and other minorities. I do not. There is much injustice, no argument there. But conditions for Native Americans and blacks today are vastly better than they were in the 1800’s. So while death rates are certainly higher for minorities than for the majority white cultures north of Mexico, I see no evidence of planned genocidal policy nor of violent killings by governments or by resisters to government on a

scale required to call it war at this time. If one counted deaths from the “War on Drugs” this estimate could change, since many more than 1,000 die each year from that, and it undoubtedly involves the armed forces of several governments, in interesting and contradictory ways. But the “War on Drugs” is so problematic that I devote Chapter 29 just to that.

In Africa, rivers of blood were flowing during the period in question from about 12 major armed conflicts with at least two other “flashpoints” which could erupt on short notice. On the other hand, one of the world’s most hopeful moments also occurred as the apartheid government of South Africa peacefully handed power to a more democratic alternative after 30 years of bloodshed. It is important to acknowledge stunning steps toward peace as we itemize descents into war. During this same decade, the Soviet empire disintegrated without blowing the world up, yielding new levels of freedom to hundreds of millions of people in dozens of countries. As I write, the Israelis and most of their Arab neighbors are making steps toward peace which most would have thought impossible just a year or two ago. Whether any of these hopeful developments will last remains to be seen. But I will return to each of them in due time, as we search for solutions to the dilemmas posed by war.

Even while nominal peace has come to South Africa, and truly exceptional political progress toward enduring peace, thousands died every year during the early 1990’s from political violence leading toward that end. 1996 may be the first year in a long time when political killing becomes rare; we shall see. Much depends on the sustained good will of all the major political factions, on the continued decline of major power interventions, and on the ultimate recovery of economic prosperity which depends on factors beyond bricks and mortar and capital to rebuild. There are still, effectively nine major tribes in South Africa, seven black and two white, with an aggregate birth rate of 33/1000/year which means growth rates of 2.3 percent per year which means doubling every 30 years.

The power of population growth will be discussed in detail soon. Just recognize that solution to immediate political crises in countries like South Africa merely buys some time to deal with ultimate causes of war.

Angola, Mozambique and Zaire all had civil wars extending into the early 1990’s. The first two are calming down, Zaire is getting worse (resulting in a change in government in May of 1997, after an unambiguous civil war accompanied by some ethnic slaughters). Each reflected in part destabilization campaigns by both the white government of South Africa, and by the superpowers America and the USSR, with occasional meddling by other

major powers like China, France, Britain, and Israel. Each reflected in part indigenous conflicts, often along tribal lines and often exacerbated by boundaries drawn by colonial powers indifferent to such issues.

In Angola, at least 200,000 people died, in Mozambique many more, perhaps a million if war induced starvation is included. SIPRI counts only 36,000 military deaths in Angola and 86,000 civilians during the 18 years from 1975-1993, but they count far more conservatively than I. The UN reported that 1,000 people per day were dying to armed violence, in the largest battles on earth in 1993, and 3,000 more to starvation directly related to the civil war, per day. SIPRI notes the UN's estimate of 1,000 war related deaths per day in 1993, and records that the UN suggested 450,000-500,000 deaths in Angola from October 1992 to December, 1993, including victims of war-induced starvation or disease. SIPRI's numbers for Mozambique are 22,000 military and 110,000 civilian dead; Eckhardt counted one million deaths, reflecting again the great range which occurs depending on whether one accounts for starvation and disease which accompanies these kinds of wars. Observers agree that a fragile peace is holding today in Mozambique, and hope for the best.

In Zaire few even try to estimate since the violence is so disorganized. The corrupt central government of a vast land is simply disintegrating, leaving soldiers to loot and rampage as randomly as the bandits they theoretically exist to contain. East of Zaire lie two tiny countries, Burundi and Rwanda. In 1993 Burundi erupted in ethnic fighting between majority Hutu's and minority Tutsi, killing at least 100,000 although estimates are very rough. Between 1990 and 1992, fighting between a Tutsi rebel army (the Rwandan Patriotic Front) and the government had killed at least 5,000 people. On April 6, 1994, an anti-aircraft missile, probably French made but probably fired by extreme elements in the Hutu government of Rwanda, killed the Presidents of both Rwanda and Burundi (both Hutu). Almost immediately orders went out to the regular army and to numerous militia (the Interahamwe) to start killing Tutsi's, while elite forces murdered Hutu opposition leaders, according to a calculated plan in place. Within weeks, hundreds of thousands of Rwandans were dead (many more Tutsi than Hutu) and millions more were on the move as refugees (of all tribes, but mostly Hutu). A rebel army composed mostly of Tutsi was also on the move and forced the Hutu government out of Rwanda. By mid-1994, rough estimates were that half a million people had died from violence, with about 10,000 per week dying from disease in the refugee camps surrounding Rwanda. US News and World Report estimated 1 million deaths in Rwanda as of August 15, 1994, but I have not seen that high figure elsewhere except in one Amnesty International

report. The principal outside powers with interests in Burundi and Rwanda were France and Belgium.

In Liberia on the west coast of Africa an armed rebellion began in 1989 against a ruthless leader named Samuel Doe, who was trained and sponsored by America's CIA. Eventually, he was killed as were at least 20,000 Liberians, and the war spilled over to involve Sierra Leone in particular, with troops committed by a seven nation consortium called ECOMOG (Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group) whose largest member was Nigeria, then ruled by a military junta itself.

By mid-1994 this civil conflict was dying out (although 20,000 refugees fled something that fall), and a peace deal was signed in September, 1995. The civil war in Sierra Leone became far more intense, however, displacing one fourth of the population, and killing many thousands. Nigeria was close to civil war itself due to corruption (a single politician was widely believed to have stolen \$5 billion in state oil revenues), an election annulled by the military group which lost, and deep ethnic tensions between dominant Hausa and lesser but still powerful Ibo and Yoruba tribes. The Hausa are mostly Islamic, but not the Ibo or Yoruba, which introduces another factor we will see many times in 1990's conflict zones. Religious differences compound the ubiquitous inequalities of wealth, power and ethnic division.

To the north of Liberia and Nigeria, lesser lethal conflicts involved Mauritania between an Islamic government and a black rights movement, and Western Sahara which Morocco tried to annex against the wishes of Polisario tribespeople. But it is not clear that 1,000 or more died in these conflicts, so we will not call them wars at this time.

To the east of Morocco, Algeria is a flashpoint of conflict between a corrupt, but secular military government, and ruthless Muslim fundamentalists. Sometime during 1992 the level of killing probably passed the thousand dead per year line. The Associated Press reported twice in 1994, that 10,000 had died in the Algerian conflict during 1992 and 1993. At least 2,000 died in 1993, but this is very hard to determine with confidence since the war is largely covert, involving a lot of back alley murders of police, and by police reacting to their foes. The death rate has continued rising slowly, but a calculated campaign of assassination of journalists makes accurate estimates ever more difficult to obtain. Who is to blame is not at issue here. What matters to me is what happens when two authoritarian systems vie for control of the lethal powers of a police state. No matter who is more virtuous, war is almost inevitable and many innocents will die. The issue of secrecy compounds the conflict and the misery manifold.

Further east lies another flashpoint, Egypt, but the killing remains below the thousand per year threshold. So it is not yet a war, but it could become a far larger bloodbath if tensions between militant Islam and a more tolerant, but also more corrupt secular state cannot be resolved. Compounding these pressures are a very high population growth rate in a desert land where only four percent of the soil is tillable. The Nile valley is very rich, but it is also very, very full of people, and grain yields have been declining there for some time.

South of Egypt lie Chad, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Uganda and Kenya. Each of these countries experienced civil war during the early 1990's although varying widely in total casualties. Chad's war flared up and down, with "only" 300-600 killed in 1992 according to SIPRI. In Sudan, a militant Islamic government in the north has tried for years to impose Islamic law on black animists and Christians in the south, killing at least 40,000 military combatants by SIPRI's count. Many observers note, however, that food is being used as a weapon against drought stressed southerners, and ten or twenty times as many may easily have died to war induced starvation there as to bombs and bullets.

Ethiopia's wars virtually ended in 1991 when two things occurred, the incompetent and brutal dictator (Mengistu) fled, and the largest and longest contesting rebel group was given the independent land they sought (Eritrea). But many thousands died before that happy day, and thousands more Oromo and Tigre people who also fought in organized groups did not get countries of their own. The war with Eritrea restarted in 1999 killing at least 40,000 more. To the east, Somalia became a model for disintegration of a country when another corrupt cold war client, Muhammad Siad Barre, finally fled, but left competing militias with thousands of weapons provided by his prior sponsors (including both the Soviet Union and the United States as Barre played one off against the other). The Bush administration estimated that 350,000 had died there from war and war related famine by mid-1992, tens of thousands from direct combat in Mogadishu during late 1991 and early 1992. By comparison, deaths were less in Kenya and Uganda, but there was substantial civil conflict with lethal consequences in both these countries responding to similar pressures in the early 1990's. Ethnic cleansing occurred in the Rift Valley of Kenya as Kikuyu speaking people were driven out by Kalenjin speaking people who dominate the government.

Israel has been one of the world's most delicate flashpoints for some time. In the early 1990's, it contained within itself a civil conflict between the Israeli state and Palestinians which killed enough people to call it a very small war. There was not enough killing in Lebanon to call

that a war, during the early 1990's, yet almost every month a few targets were attacked there by Israeli planes or troops and a few Israeli's were attacked from there by angry members of Hezbollah, Hamas or other radical Arab groups. Syria occupied eastern Lebanon, and Israel occupied a 10 mile strip along the southern border patrolled by an Arab militia (Amal) which it funds and arms, further complicating the question of just who governed Lebanon during this period.

I have already acknowledged the radical improvements in Israeli - Arab relations during 1993-94, and we hope that this will be the beginning of a road to enduring peace. That process has continued through 1995, while several hundred Israelis and Palestinians have died from extremist violence, including most recently Israel's Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, shot by one of his own citizens (see Table 3 in Appendix B). It is a great experiment in peacemaking while extremists fight for power.

In 1997 the peace process was moribund again due to suicide bombings by Arab fanatics and dunderhead politics by the numbskull then in charge of right-wing Jewish power. I must consider Israel one of the world's prime flashpoints until the peace holds at least 10 years, or as importantly, until general conditions of life for the poor people improves.

Another example of the global dilemma is the pressure created by Palestinians resolving to breed as rapidly as possible as a tactic of war against Israeli Jews, and the Jewish response of doing everything possible to attract over 1 million additional Jews from around the world, many during this period from the disintegrating Soviet Union and eastern Europe. This tiny spot of land is already straining, every inch contested; they are running ruinously short of water, oil and other vital supplies which they cannot produce themselves. Yet both sides of the conflict were growing as fast as humanly possible, doubling in numbers about once every 25 years. So I wish them all good luck in improving relations among themselves and with neighbors who need those improvements as much as Israel (like Jordan and Egypt). But I will be more reassured when governments in the area apply their rhetoric, money and engineers to topics like water, food, fuel and housing rather than to politics, religion and military affairs.

Further east lies Iraq which gobbled up Kuwait in August, 1990, only to be decimated in turn by US, and allied forces in 1991. Something like 100,000 to 200,000 died, although estimates vary from a high of 350,000 to a ludicrous low of 2,500 (an estimate by John Heidenrich, a former military analyst with the Defense Intelligence Agency, in *Foreign Policy*, Spring, 1993, #90, pp. 108-

125). This after 100,000 combat sorties by America's best warplanes, with British and French support, and a four-day textbook land campaign against a Third World force by an Army designed to defeat the Soviet Union. Which merely shows how far the urge to propaganda can take official analysts.

Iraq also killed enough northern Kurds and southern Shi'ite peoples during and after this period (e.g. 1990-92) to consider them two small civil wars or perhaps a genocide and a war (Iraq also killed by poison gas and other methods about 100,000 Kurds, just for being Kurds, in an exercise in 1988 called the "Amfal").

Eastward is Iran which finished an eight year war with Iraq prior to our accounting period here, which killed about a million, only to begin a war against its own people which has killed at least 10,000 more within Iran. Some allege ten times that number, but no one knows for sure. One reason is the closed nature of the police-state there, an equally important reason is that huge numbers have been simply executed by the government. But "legal executions" do not count in the statistics of war, even if those executed were killed for crimes like being Baha'i, or being an unmarried woman who had sex with a married man, or a prostitute, a drug user, insulting a mullah, or crossing the local police chief, etc. There is an organized resistance in Iran, called Mujahedeen Khalq, which occasionally fights the government or sets off a bomb. Enough die this way for SIPRI to count this a major armed conflict, perhaps 5,000 killed over several years, but those casualties are smaller than the "legal" killing of all kinds of non-conformists in Iran today (1995).

Iran also supports a variety of terrorist groups which attack targets in Israel, in prosperous Western countries, and among Muslim governments not considered sufficiently Islamic, like Egypt and Iraq. One bomb killed 95 people in and around a Jewish community center in Buenos Aires, Argentina on July 18, 1994, which the Argentines blame on Iran, although who is truly guilty is unclear at this time. Such state sponsored terrorism is not fundamentally different from murders by the KGB or CIA in their destabilization campaigns, or by MOSSAD in its underground war against Arab and Persian enemies. The CIA once sponsored a bomb in Beirut, for example, which killed 80 bystanders but failed to scratch its intended target. But state terrorism poses a problem of classification and counting common to all secret wars and lesser lethal covert operations.

A civil war erupted between North and South Yemen in June, 1994, and it appears that well over 1,000 died in this struggle between two Arab groups which decided to unite just a few years ago.

West of Iran lies Turkey which killed about 3,000

Kurds in 1992, 3,000 more in 1993, and 3,200-4,500 more in the preceding 13 years. God only knows how many others have died from the indirect effects of murdering leaders, forbidding instruction in the Kurdish language, and the many economic disbenefits which accrue to a minority being "assimilated" by force into a larger society. According to the Turkish military, a single bombing raid (of five in two months) killed 115 Kurds in a camp about 10 miles over the border in Iraq in August, 1994. But they don't talk about indirect victims of secret war.

The government's adversary is called the Kurdish Workers Party, and it is still seen as an ideological enemy rather than a desperate expression of people who wish to live free from military rule by others. To the government of course, they are merely armed terrorists resisting a rule which was established decades (or centuries) ago. This difference of view between governments and rebels (terrorists vs. freedom fighters) is nearly universal among the civil wars which prevail today, and provides an important clue for how to resolve these wars (see Chapter 35, on the critical importance of freedom).

Turkey's relations with Greece have been bad enough for years to call this a potential flashpoint due to a conflict on island Cyprus, and dozens of other conflicts going back to the days of the Ottoman Empire and before. Relations between these two countries are so bad that one of NATO's secondary missions has always been preventing war between NATO members Greece and Turkey. Another possible trigger for such a conflict would be if the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina were to expand to involve Kosovo or Macedonia (other provinces from the dismembered former Yugoslav Republic). War in Kosovo would engage Albania first, then probably Greece. War in Macedonia would ignite the Greeks, and Turkey would likely respond as soon as Greece started killing Muslims anywhere.

The war in Bosnia has killed at least 200,000 people by most estimates, and was preceded in the very early 1990's by smaller wars between Serbia and Slovenia, then Croatia. This war has been so heavily covered, that I won't say any more about its genesis or possible consequences now, except to note that any place which has served as a trigger for past world wars deserves special attention from those concerned about how wars start.

Whether or not we comprehend why, we must observe regularities in the occurrence of war. And two of the all-time champion flashpoints have been the Balkans and the Middle East.

Looking north from Bosnia we see all kinds of chaos and change, but very little large scale armed conflict. Czechoslovakia divided into Czech and Slovak Republics without bloodshed, and cold war enemies East and West

Germany, which maintained the largest directly opposing armies in the world as recently as 1989, merged in 1991 equally peacefully. Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia obtained freedom from Russia with almost no casualties (17 died in Lithuania, according to one source) in a remarkable story of active non-violence against what was then still a superpower, albeit a besieged one. Eastern Europe is in tremendous flux during the early 1990's, but so far no wars. Except, that is, for the vast bloodletting including genocide in former Yugoslavia, and for five tiny to small civil wars on the territory of the former Soviet Union.

Moldova-Trans Dniester, North Ossetia vs. the Ingush Republic, Georgia vs. South Ossetia and Abkhazia, and Armenians and Azeri fighting over Ngorno-Karabach in Azerbaijan: all these conflicts produced large numbers of dead in 1992, on the periphery of the disintegrating Soviet Union. SIPRI excludes Moldova (only 830-930 killed, according to them, with over 100,000 refugees). The AP on August 11, 1994 reported that about 1,500 people were killed there in 1991-92 before Russian troops intervened. SIPRI also excludes Georgia (where dividing the dead among three identifiable adversaries reduces SIPRI's totals to under 1,000 per conflict — I call this a civil war on three fronts) and North Ossetia where SIPRI counts only about 350 killed. Whatever the death toll, it produced over 60,000 mostly Muslim Ingush refugees. I am including these ambiguous cases due to my recurrent desire not to forget the dead, or to discard data useful for understanding war. When police-states fall, long hidden animosities may erupt especially on the periphery.

The fighting in Azerbaijan killed at least 7,500 in 1992, so there is no doubt this was a war. But variance in reported casualties is great, which usually means underreporting where estimates are conservative. For example, SIPRI notes (1993, 95) that: "On 27 February, 1992, the Azerbaijani town of Khodzhal was burnt down by Armenian forces and the massacred civilians were filmed in a documentary shown in Moscow on 4 March. The Azerbaijani side claimed that over 1,000 were killed in Khodzhal alone, as against Armenian reports of 30-40 Azeri troops killed in the battle." Elsewhere, "News Services" reported just prior to the cease-fire in 1993, that the war had taken up to 15,000 lives on both sides. Lacking confirmations, the usual practice is to take only the lowest figure since there is agreement on that, at least. But with such ranges between claims, the conservative method overlooks large numbers of victims. And the usual sources for numbers, governments, have propaganda reasons to minimize casualty counts more often than to maximize them, although both distortions certainly occur. Tensions over Ngorno-Karabach are exacerbated again by the Islamic-Orthodox Christian factor, as well as by

ethnicity, but PRIO considers the ethnic factor clearly more important. PRIO (the international Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway) also reports in 1995 that: "After five years of war between Armenia and Azerbaijan 20,000 people have been killed in the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh."

Russian military forces launched a major assault on the territory of Chechnya, within Russia, on December 11, 1994. This assault was preceded by several years of friction following rebellious words by ex-Soviet Air Force General Dzhokar Dudayev, who was elected President of the secessionist republic of Chechnya in October, 1991. The AP reported on February 13, 1995 an estimate that "at least 1,000 and perhaps 3,000 Russian soldiers have been killed since Dec. 11. ... About 20,000 Chechens have died, mostly civilians." By late 1995, estimates of casualties there remained vague but usually cited several thousand Russian troops, and 20 to 35,000 Chechens dead.

A peace pact was signed on June 30, 1995 and mostly held, although scattered fighting continues to October, 1995. The Chechens have been crushed, but some can hold out in the mountains for a very long time if they chose to. One of the larger lessons of this conflict has been hardly discussed. Domestic Russian politics was deeply involved, specifically corruption involving illegal weapons sales by the Soviet defense minister Pavel Grachev, and Chechen involvement in organized crime throughout post-Soviet Russia. These secret details get obscured by all the obvious recording of troop dispositions, casualties and statements by political leaders.

Rather than attempt a book all to this, which some Russian is surely writing now, I will just share a quote from former prime minister Yegor Gaidar, of Dec. 28, 1994 (via World Press Review, February, 1995):

"In Moscow, [Russian President] Yeltsin was sharply attacked again by his former prime minister Yegor Gaidar, who said that the president was losing his grip on real information which was leading to 'fatal political mistakes.' 'We and the president, it's as if we live in different worlds of information,' Gaidar said. 'He has a different picture of what's happening in Chechnya than myself and my colleagues in Grozny [Chechnya capital] and most Russians.'

Gaidar, speaking on Russian television, added: 'I don't know if he wants to know [the real situation], but there is an enormous danger of relying exclusively on information coming through so-called special channels. It is information coming through these channels that gets especially distorted, though to the one who receives it, it seems especially reliable.'"

Over and over again in war we see the critical role of secret channels of information, and what happens when

leaders get surrounded by spies, sycophants, or by rivals out to get them. Either way, the adoring or the plotters, can start terrible wars by use and abuse of the special powers of secret information. This will be covered more in Chapter 19.

Formerly Soviet Tadjikistan does not lie within the territory of Russia, and is now an internationally recognized nation state. They killed at least 20,000 of each other during an unambiguous civil war in 1992 over who would rule whom (SIPRI). The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists (September, 1994, 10) writes that "Human Rights organizations report that during 1992 and 1993 alone, more than 50,000 people were killed — and the killing goes on."

I consider the former Soviet Union today to be one big flashpoint peppered with several small civil wars. Civil order has decayed even in Russia itself, organized crime is running rampant and the economy has been in freefall for several years now. These are very dangerous conditions for any great power, much less one with a long history of authoritarian governments and thousands of nuclear weapons.

In Afghanistan, to the south of Tadjikistan and east of Iran, the international war of the 1980's became a complex civil war of the 1990's. At least a million died from direct and indirect effects while the Soviet Army and American covert support were engaged. Now that they have left, mere thousands die each year in complex struggles between rival militias and a central government so weak that SIPRI cannot discern any real countrywide power center. In addition, over one million land mines still litter the territory, ensuring that many more innocents will die before the wars' killing truly ends.

South of Afghanistan lies Pakistan which continues its low-scale conflict with India over a region called Kashmir. Violent deaths in Kashmir easily exceed 1,000 every year but most involve Kashmiri Muslims fighting the Indian Army so this counts for now as a civil war. It should be recalled, however, that this region prompted three international wars between Pakistan and India since 1947, so it remains a flashpoint with larger potentials, especially since both nations are now equipped with nuclear weapons capability. India's central government also sustains long running conflicts with Sikh's in Punjab (about 25,000 have died from that since 1981) and with various tribes and political factions in the Northeast (e.g. Nagaland and Bengali in Assam province) and South (e.g. the Tamil). Violent deaths for political reasons in Karachi, Pakistan, have sharply escalated in 1995, but this is outside of our timeline and remains less than 1,000 so far.

In Sri Lanka about 4,000 died in 1992 (excluding civilian deaths) of 24,000 since 1983 (SIPRI) in a civil war

between majority Sinhalese Buddhists, and minority Tamil Hindu's of the "Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam." The military there does not provide numbers of civilian dead, which is a recurring theme where militaries are responsible for data collection. This has practical, analytic and propaganda consequences. Other sources estimate about 35,000 total dead, and the war continues.

In Bangladesh a 13 year struggle has occurred between the government and the Chittagong Hill Tracts People, but so far as I can tell the numbers killed each year has never exceeded 1,000.

In Burma, an exceptionally murderous military government has been waging war against at least 21 rebellious minorities leading to at least 10,000 deaths and hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing to Bangladesh, Thailand and other neighbors. The military regime changed the country's name to Myanmar and placed Aung San Suu Kyi under house arrest. From this semi-prison, her party won elections in May, 1990 by overwhelming numbers — nearly 82 percent of the seats at stake were won by the National League for Democracy. So the junta abolished the election results, stiffened her house arrest despite her award as the Nobel Peace Laureate for 1991, and began murdering political opponents with abandon. They control information ruthlessly; very few journalists go to Burma these days, many more refugees flee.

An unknown number of people have died in Cambodia even while the UN was sponsoring one of its most successful peacemaking missions during the early 1990's. This peace plan effectively united all but one of the then warring factions into a common government with significant disarmament and disengagement by Vietnam. Unfortunately, the one faction which did not truly participate was the Khmer Rouge of Pol Pot, which had murdered between one and two million Cambodians before being driven out of the capital by Vietnamese intervention in 1978. Elections have been held, boycotted and attacked by the Khmer Rouge, a new government formed, and progress of sorts is undoubtedly being made. But it is also clear that none of the factions can completely disarm so long as the Khmer Rouge will not cooperate, and that many more than 1,000 people per year are still dying from political violence in Cambodia in 1994. Cambodia also has the largest concentration of landmines in the world today, which kill several hundred people every year, and the largest number of amputees as well.

There is organized resistance in Laos to the central government, but too few known deaths to call this a war at this time. Much of the support for that resistance comes from expatriate members of the old CIA sponsored secret army which fought during the Vietnam war of 1965-75 (largely evacuated when the Americans were defeated).

Crimes by the government against the people are likely to be common as in most authoritarian regimes (in this case a communist one) but I have no numbers whatever to base estimates on.

In Indonesia the government continues actions against the Free Papua Movement and the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor resulting in enough deaths that some observers consider these small wars today (e.g. Wilkinson, 1994). Certainly killing continues, and conditions of life for the oppressed minorities are very grave. It is nothing like the 100,000 to 200,000 whom Indonesia killed (of 600,000 East Timorese) when they occupied the island in 1975 and tried eliminating the Timorese to make room for ever more Indonesians. Whether the killing is enough to call it a war today is unclear to me, but whether a genocide has occurred is not in doubt. Other violence of undetermined scale is apparently occurring in Borneo and Sumatra within Indonesia's domain.

Indonesia is now the largest Muslim nation on earth. While a distinctly Asian style there rather than Arab, it still results in lethal frictions when minorities like those on New Guinea or East Timor resist imposition of Islamic religious law, or expropriation of land to feed a birthrate of 42/thousand/year.

The Philippines has maintained ongoing civil insurgencies with the New People's Army and the Moro National Liberation Front, sustaining enough deaths each year to political violence to call this two ongoing, if low level, civil wars. In this case the central government is secular or nominal Christian, the minorities tribal or Muslim. The central government currently employs "low intensity warfare" strategies developed by the United States, which means among other things that violent conflict could continue indefinitely, and that "psychological operations" or modern propaganda will be an integral part of the low intensity killing process (see Klare and Kornbluh, 1988, and Col. David Dean, 1986).

North and South Korea are a flashpoint, where very few people die each year in the violent standoff since 1953 (though a few do die every year) but where most observers are nervous about the future. North Korea was adamant about developing nuclear weapons, but an agreement between them brokered by America in 1994 may have resolved that issue by trading nuclear power plants built in the north by southern technicians for a supervised pledge to drop the weapons program. The leader of almost 50 years, Kim Il Sung, died in 1994, turning the levers of police state power over to his psychotic son, Kim Jong Il. Economic disasters in the North weaken its power, but also worry its neighbors. So Japan is buying plutonium quickly, quietly, and everyone is worried about that too.

We have circled China, one fourth of all humanity, the third largest nuclear power, and ancient eater of neighboring nations. It is also the longest enduring empire in the world. Relations with heavily armed Taiwan are tense enough to call this a flashpoint, and China will soon consume Hong Kong when the British leave in 1997, although we are told that is not a problem with the people there. This will be a supremely important transition for global stability. Today, all China is eating is Tibet. The gentle Tibetans were conquered in 1950, and are being slowly digested today in one of the great tragedies ignored in our time. But the Chinese are long term thinkers, and their police-state kills people internally whenever it pleases — perhaps 5,000 died in Tienanmen Square in 1989, which could count as a civil war except that no one really resisted. One daring man faced off a line of tanks, and the world cheered at their TVs. He was quietly executed later, and almost no one noticed.

Every year China executes well over 1,000 people, making this a nation in a perpetual condition of police-state war.

The Chinese are masters at talking away their victims, changing the records, controlling information, managing murder. We know that tens of millions were killed just after communists gained power under Mao Tse Tung, for example, and during the Cultural Revolution. But we don't really know if it was 20, or 40 million or more. R.J. Rummel notes that estimates vary between 20 and 83 million, he takes 45 million as his middle guess for the total killed by the communist regime (Rummel, 1987, 24). Such a range of uncertainty, such vast ambiguity, down which millions of lives may disappear without a trace.

I digress from the 1990's, trying to convey a sense of the true scale of organized killing by governments and those who resist governments during the 20th century. It has been awesome. As more is uncovered, it may be as Rummel suspects that as many deaths have been obscured by governments controlling information, as the 100 million plus which all agree have been killed by overt wars during this exceptional century. If Rummel is right, another 100 million or so have been killed by their "own" governments during this time.

I wish to remember my friends Natalie and Alison, who must dodge the non-war in Northern Ireland, so classified because "only" 3,200 died there during the last 25 years. My newspaper reported a Catholic killed in Belfast last week, then two more shot to death by the IRA, believed to be members of a Protestant paramilitary group. A few days later, the Ulster Volunteer Force (Protestant) killed a pregnant woman in her home. On Aug. 9, 1994, the AP reported that a part-time British soldier was

murdered in his Belfast butcher shop. The score is 2:2:1 this week, in a three way contest which does absolutely nothing of value for people like Alison and Natalie.

In 1995, breakthroughs for peace occurred, and ever more progress has followed in Northern Ireland. We wish them all the best, but warn about the current deadlock. One side wants the other side to disarm, while there is no intention whatever that it shall, nor the British. This is a common deadlock in civil wars. Governments inevitably feel that their use of force is legitimate while challengers' is not. The only generic way around this dilemma is, a) for the governments to disarm, which they clearly will not, or b) for the governments to accept some form of organized militias, which is almost as unlikely but would enable a more comprehensive solution to the recurring problem of war (see Chapters 16 and 32).

I might have recalled the bombings by Basques in their long effort for independence in northern Spain, or any of dozens of other smaller insurgencies by groups of people resisting rule by force by larger neighbors. To the participants, these are all wars, and the numbers which appeal to academics are irrelevant to their cause or to the families of those who die on any side. But one must stop somewhere.

Adding the countries and sub-country locations I have cited here, we find 45 probable wars in 35 country locations, most civil wars, 6 non-war genocides and genocides occurring in the context of war, and 9 flashpoints currently inactive but important to contemplate. Table 1 also lists 10 "near" wars, or "police-state" wars, where the killing was probably less than 1000 per year, or mostly by a government against disorganized "bandits," "criminals," "terrorists" or simple non-conformists. This is background for those who are serious about what causes wars at the close of the twentieth century. Some of these wars will recur as case studies when specific causes are cited, especially since there are usually many causes of specific wars, and some of the most important causes are usually kept secret from public eyes. Soon, we will consider why the world is preparing for general war today, and what people can do to change the odds.

Causation is Complex: Ultimate vs. Proximate Causes, and Triggering Events

The causes of war are complicated because peoples' minds are complicated, and in the end they may choose to go to war for any reason they desire. Also, no one person causes war. Many people are required, and they often have many very different reasons for supporting war. Finally, wars are not all the same, so some have different causes than others.

I have asked at least 1,000 people what they thought the causes of war were — scholars, soldiers, peace activists, revolutionaries and people of every shape, size, and ideology. By far the most common response was: “Oh, that’s simple, wars are caused by ____.”

Wars are caused by greed.

Wars are all about power.

Wars are caused by economic conflicts.

World leaders are insane.

Wars are caused by sin.

Wars are caused by religion.

Wars are caused by human nature (often followed by) “so there’s nothing we can really do about war” or “so war is inevitable,” two false conclusions from a true premise.

Wars are caused by weapons (usually followed by) “So get rid of them!” or “So we need more weapons so that no one will attack us!”

Wars are caused by soldiers, military bureaucracies, or militarism.

Wars are caused by capitalism.

Wars are caused by communism.

Wars are caused by totalitarianism.

Wars are caused by nationalism, or some other ism.

Wars are caused by men (males) and something vaguely hierarchical.

Wars are caused by injustice.

Wars are caused by misperceptions, or mistakes.

Wars are caused by dirty terrorists, who should be crushed by an all out war against them.

These are all statements I have heard many times

from people who believe the causes of war are simple. Whatever wars are caused by, it is almost always something seen in other people rather than in oneself. That is another important partial truth.

When L.L. Bernard contemplated the thousands of causes of hundreds of wars, he classified them (Bernard, 1947, 228-249) and it is worth excerpting here the skeleton of his system just to hint at the true complexity of cause when it comes to war. Professor Bernard was a very famous sociologist in his day. It was a time when science was in good repute, and he had witnessed two horrible world wars so he was methodical, thorough and enthusiastic to include categories for every cause. He even had two categories for his categories, “Departmentalized” and “Particularized” classifications, shown below.

Bernard’s Classification of War Causes

Departmentalized

Biological
Psychological
Economic
Political
Social or Cultural
Religious
Moral
Metaphysical

Particularized

incidental and fundamental
superficial and profound
accidental and purposive
unpremeditated and
premeditated
immediate or proximate
and remote
temporary and persistent
initial and ultimate
original and derivative
concrete and abstract
simple and complex
open and concealed
special and general
physical and psychological
explicit and obscure
personal and social
single and multiple
reputed and actual
obscure and obscured
human and natural
efficient and final

Causes of wars are complicated, not simple.

Rather than duplicate his excellent work, I am going to consider in this chapter only distinctions between ultimate and proximate causes, between secret and public causes, and the concept of triggering events. Throughout, we will be more interested in general causes which endure over centuries, but examples will necessarily come from specific causes of specific wars. And rather than engage in the futile quest to determine “the most important” cause of war, I will approach about 40 causes in Part 2 with the questions: “How does this cause work to increase the probability of war?” and “What does this cause imply which may help us to prevent wars?”

Before leaving Bernard, I want to share just a few other wise things this scholar said in his book War and its Causes.

p. 229. “Famines, from whatever cause they arise, were a frequent stimulus to warlike raids among primitive peoples; and overpopulation pressure is still a potent cause of war among modern peoples.” ... “The economic causes of war are especially important in the making of modern wars... and they’ve always been important.”

p. 231. “These causes also may be traced back to other types of causes, as indeed may all other cases of causation.” (Current author’s note: This transmutability of cause, and infinite regress of causes are two of the profound analytic problems of this domain).

p. 232. “Certainly moral causes of war have been exploited in pretty much the reverse ratio as the decline of theological and magical causes, although genuinely ethical motives to warfare are perhaps more a matter of profession than of fact.”

p. 233. “In modern times, however, economic motives to war tend to conceal themselves under political, moral or even religious disguises, and not infrequently they dress themselves up in the guise of some social ideology.”

p. 235. “The practical significance of this interchangeability and transmutability of the causes of war lies in the fact that it gives rise to a great deal of confusion in the analysis and popular apprehension of the causes resulting in war, and thus prevents the development of a unified social policy in dealing with war.”

p. 240. “It is safe to say that only a small fraction of any population at war realize the most potent causes which have resulted in the war in which they are engaged.” ...

p. 241. “It is largely because of this blindness of the masses to abstract causes that renders it so difficult to control war in the interest of public welfare.”

Some of that blindness is accidental or the normal limitations of ordinary human beings. Some of that blindness is fostered by calculating men who work very hard, every day, to keep the people blind. Warmongers exist. At several other junctures I have warned about the secret causes of war, and I will devote two chapters later to detailing how these work. But this is such a fundamental complication to accurate understanding of the true causes of war, that I urge consideration of four brief examples here.

To this point, I have not said a word about banks, yet international banks have had a profound effect on many wars both large and small.

I have barely mentioned weapons companies, yet these multi-billion dollar enterprises send their salesmen everywhere in search of markets and are extremely powerful actors both in public advertising and in private lobbying in the centers of political power.

Between them, the banks and the weapons companies own a substantial fraction of all mass media outlets in America today (Bagdikian, 1997), a fact which is kept as little known as possible. This distorts information to the world’s most powerful pseudo-democracy.

Spies from America alone have been engaged in hundreds of secret, covert operations to destabilize scores of mostly Third World countries, and to alter “democratic” elections even in many nominal allies, like Italy, Greece and Turkey, all NATO allies. Wherever American spies have been, there have also been spies for the Soviet Union (now Russia), spies for the local interests, and often spies for the other big countries in espionage, like Britain, Israel, China and sometimes France. In virtually every country there are also spies (or representatives) from major church organizations (like, but by no means exclusively, the Vatican). Agents for international cults or secret power clubs are also taught the arts of secret reporting and action in support of their organizational goals (like the Moonies or the Masons, both of which put special effort into liaison with business). The followers of Rev. Sun Myung Moon, for example, are trained specifically in psychological operations, and are known worldwide for their efforts to penetrate and coopt military intelligence agencies as part of their quest to capture the world for their leader, whom they believe is the “Third Adam” or Messiah.

The role of spies in creating wars cannot be overstated. Some engage in political murders of special importance — hence the special term, “assassination.” They are very good at making atrocities look like someone else did it. All use propaganda, and the media and academic world often believe their falsehoods, faithfully recording many cover stories as gospel, historic “facts.”

The business of propaganda is not exclusive to the spyworld, of course. Politicians and departments of government have been using it for a very long time. Genghis Khan is often cited as the father of modern “psychological operations” due to his systematic use of terror as a weapon in war, and he merely refined techniques begun by Sargon of Akkad, 4,300 years ago. The primary purpose of propaganda is to shape the opinions of people toward a desired end by either artful lying or terror. I have known several professional propagandists, and conclude that the best propaganda is artful use of partial truths.

What they leave out makes the lie, but it is hard to detect and nearly impossible to prove because what they say is so often “technically” correct. Or, their definitions for key terms like “justice” or “democracy” may be profoundly twisted, but remain unstated. Propagandists are often so clever they cannot see themselves how deeply they have bought their own baloney. Having done so, they are genuinely frightened by information contrary to their party line, and they run to avoid the parts of truth which they have deliberately omitted.

So, the business of war and its record in history is full of propaganda which greatly complicates the serious business of figuring out what actually causes real wars.

The quest for the “most important” cause of war

It is natural for scientists and others who are seeking causes of war to wonder which are more important. I hope you will not waste as much time as I have in this mostly futile endeavor. So some words will be devoted to why this is an unproductive trap.

There are so many actual, true causes of war, that even the largest among them can hardly account for 5 percent of the variance among wars in history. Even the largest of these ants, therefore, can barely be distinguished in aggregate data. This means also that modern, multivariate statistics no matter how artfully applied must fail to yield many good significant differences since the error variance in our basic data is certainly many times greater than 5 percent.

Some excellent scientists have devoted their lives, and the lives of many graduate students who have gone on to be professors devoting their lives to the demonstration of this unfortunate reality. The best examples of this come from the Correlates of War Project, headed by J. David Singer and Melvin Small (Singer and Small, 1972; Small and Singer, 1980). I mean them no criticism at all, for their work has provided many useful things including a much cleaner database on certain wars than ever existed before them. But it also has shown, because of the

excellence and thoroughness by which they applied their technique, that this technique cannot ultimately solve the problem which concerns us all.

Singer, Small and their many able students were animated by another problem best stated by David Wilkinson who also applied big computers and sharp brilliance trying to quantify that which eludes statistical methods. He observed, most correctly, that much of the discourse in political science on causes of war was simply a war of words among people preoccupied with career advancement. This was worse than a waste of time, it produced a fog of nonsense masquerading as “scientific thought.” In his words (Wilkinson, 1980, 2):

Much current talk on war and peace amounts to no more than high-handed assertions that my chosen theory is right, and all others therefore are evidently wrong; a more or less grudging reference to one or two recent wars that “demonstrate” my theory and “demolish” yours; and a clarion call for you to abandon your foolish conceits and take vigorous action in conformity with my wise ones. The debate is spiced with epithets: your theory is utopian or cynical, rightist or leftist, dovish or hawkish, isolationist or interventionist, moral or amoral, appeasing or militarist, capitalistic or socialistic, naive or corrupt. The participants appear to have spent most of their time in devising new ways of styling each other’s views as “rubbish.”

I have not seen a better description of the sorry state of professional collaboration among political scientists. Rather than engage in this pointless war of words, Professor Wilkinson went on to reanalyze most carefully the statistical work of Lewis Richardson, a pioneer I have already mentioned. Like Singer and Small, Wilkinson’s work is precise, accurate, useful in descriptive ways but incapable of cracking the problem which occupies me for the same reason you cannot cut down a redwood tree with a butterknife. The tool is not up to the task, no matter how diligently or professionally applied.

The large number of significant variables, the extreme difficulty in measuring or even defining them, the complex ways they overlap, merge, interact non-linearly and transmute from one to the other, and the basic, bedrock dirtiness of our data must inevitably blunt the theoretical precision of complex statistical methods. Yet in their desire to be “scientific” some insist on using them, no matter how often they do not work. And again, the basic conundrum of spies, lies and secret forces frustrates accuracy. Calculated propaganda and selfish interests

presented as public goods: all these factors compromise accurate understanding of the complex causes of real wars.

Now one of the principal advantages of numbers and quantitative method in academe, is that many highly opinionated and verbal people become silent when confronted with numbers or complex equations. The war of words is mostly pointless headache, and precision would be a blessing wherever it could be truly found. There are other advantages to quantitative method. But numbers derived from garbage data are not better than warring words. So I will just do the best I can to find a middle ground, especially in the chapters on models and estimation of effects on the probability of general war.

Two last points. Most people know much more about “triggering events” than about ultimate causes of war. Triggering events are what the papers and the TV stations talk about when wars erupt. Most know, for example, that World War I was “caused” when a Serbian nationalist, Gavrilo Princip, shot the Archduke of Austria, Franz Ferdinand. Most people do not know that Princip was a member of a Serbian secret society, the “Black Hand,” nor anything about the underlying issues between Serbia and Austria at that time. Most know that World War II was “caused” when Hitler attacked the Poles, or perhaps when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, depending which way you are looking, and whether you are European or American. Most do not appreciate the importance of “Lebensraum” and its Japanese equivalent. Well, this is natural. But it should be obvious that superficial events which trigger underlying forces are not the only important causes of the explosions which result. The match is not the same as the dynamite, nor as important, and neither tells as much about why the explosion occurred as the minds of the men who put the two together.

Thus there are ultimate causes, which build pressure, like the dynamite, and proximate causes which release forces. The proximate causes, like the match, are usually easier to see, and are recorded more faithfully by scholars. And behind both causes are men, with motives. The historians, by contrast with the political scientists, often record in detail the behavior and the thoughts of key leaders when they can. In this respect they are more helpful to me, because key leaders undoubtedly play a very major role in the genesis of wars (Stoessinger, 1985). Political scientists tend to look for system variables and more abstract expressions of something called the nation state, which in their view acts on its own after its own interests.

I have already commented on “realism” in the scornful tones which Wilkinson warned against. “Realism” is a partly true view, emphasizing national “interests,” as is the historian’s focus on leaders. Nation

states are living organisms parallel in many ways to organisms at the lower level, so I do not desire to pit the historian against the political scientist. This is just another example of the complexity of cause. Interests at national levels and personal psychology among key leaders both matter a lot. And while decisions of leaders are critical, none of them wages a war on his own in modern times. Many other people matter. Argument over which is the more important cause is liable to be arbitrary and unproductive. Even the context within which nations act, a yet higher level called the international system, is also important as “realists” claim and as I will try to explain more realistically in later chapters.

There are also different kinds or types of wars, which confounds statistical analysis in many ways. Wars have varied over history, ancient wars being simpler (apparently) and more clearly territorial than modern wars. Most observers would agree that civil wars are dynamically different from international wars in important ways. There were periods when religion (or ideology) seems the most important cause, or motivator, or rationalization, and others when resources were most important, or control of terms of trade. Because wars differ so, Eckhardt divided wars into historic periods: primitive, archaic, ancient, classical, medieval, and modern. Wright divided wars into type: balance of power, imperial, civil and defensive wars. Others use similar taxonomies. These differences of period or type of war, also make a clear analysis of what causes wars difficult.

Then finally, there is human nature. Yes, human nature has a lot to do with war. But much of what is believed about human nature is mythical and false. People cannot even agree whether human nature is “basically good” or “basically evil” — an argument with large consequences for those who would end war. Of course, both extreme views are wrong; people are “basically” mixed up, neither purely good nor purely evil, rather capable of both. Even though human nature is laid out for all to see, myths about it abound as commonly as clear insight. So before we finish the background foundation from which to assault the causes of war, some words on human nature are required.

Human Nature, Nurture, Free Will and War

Some people believe that human nature is essentially warlike, others, that we are basically peace loving. Conceptions like these are misleading because they obscure the fact that people are always capable of both warlike and peaceful behaviors. For any complex behavior we require all the nerves, hormones, genes and other elements of biology, and community, learning, and environment from the most simple nutrition to grow to the most complex aspects of enculturation by which societies shape our lives. People are essentially mixed, both peace loving and warlike at the same time. We also rely on both nature and nurture for almost everything we do.

The nature-nurture debate has also usually ignored the importance of free will in determining complex human traits. This is a mistake with major practical consequences. Independent initiative greatly expands the options available over outcomes predictable only from genetic or environmental information. Free will is practical, and powerful, because it can overcome natural predilections and environmental indoctrinations, to do what must or should be done. Or will be done, regardless of others' views on what must be, or should be.

There are two other major myths about human nature:

1. that natural equals inevitable. No, free will can overcome when it desires.
2. that natural equals good (or evil). No, we are all both good and evil, naturally. And what is good in nature is not always good for modern society.

People may behave in both good and evil ways, and our predilections for doing so vary with some predictability from infancy through old age. It takes a lot of effort mediated by society even to learn distinctions between good and evil, much less to choose reliably among them. Some things are easier to learn, others harder, and a great deal of what is thought of as "natural" or "genetic" behavior is manifest in that which is very easy to learn, or in other words in "predilections," not in pre-determined behavior patterns.

One of the most important is the differential behavior which nearly every human displays toward those in his or her "in" group, versus those in "out" groups. With

rare exceptions, we are better to "in" people than to "out" people, a commonality which ethical leaders throughout time have tried to use as they urged their followers to exercise versions of the golden rule. Primate social structure depends heavily on recognition of the small social group upon which survival of the individual usually depends. This may be the root of human distinctions between "in" and "out" groups, but whether that is "naturally" based or not hardly matters. People display these traits whatever their origins.

The view that behaviors are inevitable, however, is important to war and peace. The alleged "inevitability" of war has been used for millennia to promote preparations for war. "If you desire peace, prepare for war," a famous Roman general said (Vegetius). For a time, this meant peace for Rome, but not for its neighbors. After a time, Rome itself was destroyed by responses to this idea. Many other empires have risen, and fallen on this motto. They conquer, creating enemies, who later destroy them. They rot within, from the corruption of exploiting others. Still, inevitability weighs heavily on any serious mind, because it is certainly true that war has been common, and there are undoubtedly hundreds of peoples no longer with us because their armies were not strong enough when confronted by aggressive neighbors. The power of free will can free us from this trap.

Urination is as inevitable as any biologically based behavior. Yet almost everyone can be trained reliably to pee not randomly, like monkeys in a tree, but in the designated spots. How much effort it takes to condition a behavior depends very much on whether one goes "with nature" or against it. Training kids to climb, for example, is far easier than toilet training. Climbing is an important part of ape and monkey existence, while urine dispensed from a tree simply vanishes from the monkey's world.

Nature establishes predilections, nurture teaches the details. And free will may do whatever it pleases within very broad limits, whatever society teaches and nature urges. Training people to prefer non-violent solutions to conflicts can be done and is done to a significant degree around the world already. Even though some neighborhood fights get out of hand everywhere, almost

everyone on earth agrees that shooting your neighbor is a wrong way to solve disputes. Those who ignore this law face almost universal sanctions, excepting that we do not indict national leaders for murder when they order troops to kill neighbors wholesale.

Even governments, which are more casual about the use of violent methods, seldom resort to war considering the number of conflicts they mediate. Local governments almost never do. This is the main subject of chapter 30, so I will only state its essence here, which is that war is almost uniquely an institution of the nation state. Rebels who desire to become the national government represent the other most common initiators of war.

It is usually irrelevant whether a behavior is biologically based, culturally learned, or individually motivated (or more accurately, how these three factors mix). If a man is physically dangerous to your children, for example, he should be restrained regardless of whether his anger is inborn, a product of upbringing, or a conscious, free-will decision by him. If barbarians or totalitarians are invading your land, it really does not matter why. They should be defeated because they are dangerous whatever their reasons.

Is there a drive for dominance among many people? Yes, especially among politicians. This, and factors to follow will be considered in detail later.

Are racism and nepotism problems with enduring roots and profound social consequences including war? Yes, of course.

Do the stronger feel superior? Always. In fact, the weaker often do also. But they explain their condition by reference to words like "oppression" or "injustice," and there is often a good bit of truth to their complaints. Are people naturally selfish? Well, they certainly look out for their own interests most often. What difference does it make whether that selfish predilection is "natural" or "cultural" in origin? Not much.

Do people breed without considering the welfare of the world? Mostly, yes. And if challenged, most prolific breeders feel their children are a gift to the world, because they are so superior. This is very natural, and leads to many wars.

Are males more aggressive than females, on average? Of course, worldwide. Those who would banish biology to irrelevance must deal with testosterone whether they like it or not. But like every factor in war, even this simple hormone is complicated. The women who have achieved supreme office in national governments have not been conspicuously less warlike than the men, although they could argue they were surrounded by intemperate males. Indira Gandhi, Margaret Thatcher, Golda Mier and

their wars will be considered later. And testosterone does what it does partly because those who did not face historic dangers aggressively often lost their land and their lives. Sometimes, wives were "spared." Those who would end war must provide solutions for all of these dilemmas without resort to simplistic notions like "getting rid of the men" without whom human life would end as surely as without women.

Do young men in particular display a predictable appetite for "adventure," and a taste for contests between good and evil? Beginning between ages three and six, the child development people tell me, and peaking in the late teens. Gwynne Dyer (1985) shows how militaries all around the world exploit these natural tendencies to turn almost anybody's sons into reliable soldiers. A broad reading of history reveals plenty of cases where women fought along with the men, with less enthusiasm and less alacrity, but the drive to survive can lead women to fight just as it can lead men to nurture. Nothing is set in stone with human nature, just boundaries on what one can or cannot physically do, and predilections on what statistically "average" people would prefer to do if given choices.

Each of these factors is important to the biology of war, but none so important as the essential selfishness of "human nature," the expansionist habits which lead to population pressure, and the "in group" "out group" dynamic. Those are the big three natural factors relating to war.

One of the most verifiable aspects of human nature is that we are often very self centered and apply a dual standard of good behavior toward family, friends and often to a small community beyond those, with more aggressive, competitive, suspicious and sometimes downright evil behavior toward enemies, strangers, foreigners, or anyone too different or dangerous looking. This dual standard is probably related to primate social structure where kinship equals survival. * We are good, almost by definition -- "they" are evil.

Life in general and people specifically are intrinsically expansionist. Those who were not are now extinct due to competition from others. There are biological roots to this which go far deeper than the

* See Shaw and Wong (1989) for a more technical discussion of these points, as well as contrary aspects such as theories of how altruistic and other non-selfish behaviors might evolve due to kin selection or group mortality. See Axelrod (1984) for data on the evolution of cooperation, and Bender and Leone (1983) for opposing viewpoints on relationships between war and human nature.

mammals much less the primates. This does not excuse killing neighbors to take over their land, but it helps explain why this has been so common.

Because biological roots are so deep, and historical examples to verify our fears so common, people need no special education to be suspicious of reproductive and aggressive behaviors of their neighbors. Those who bred and fought aggressively in history have often displaced those who did not. In any event, for whatever reasons, one can see that people are often not objective about reproductive and survival issues. That non-objectivity is also very important to war.

Expansionist philosophies, political and religious, abound to encourage the natural feeling that we are a “superior people” deserving of the fruits of the earth. A thousand examples of moral facade cover this essentially selfish and nearly universal (but also usually hidden) worldview.

It is natural to love your brother, or your family. It is not natural to love your enemy, or competitors. Deeper thinkers like Gandhi (see Kripalani, 1958), Mohammed, Jesus, Moses, Confucius, Buddha and others urged us to love our enemies like our families, or to love our neighbors as ourselves, or at least to treat them decently whether or not love is possible. For we who cannot love our enemies easily, it is adequate to develop social conventions which reliably keep us from letting our natural distaste for strangers result in violence against them.

It bears repetition that each of these thinkers also advocated more sharing, and that competition for resources and inequalities of wealth within and between nations are among the most important causes of war today.

We live today with the violent law of the jungle, internationally. Deep thinkers urge us to consider the law of love, which is best but also hardest. If we can achieve a law of reason we may survive long enough to approach a law of love.

Remember that there is a general solution to all natural causes of war — natural in a behavioral sense, like the desires for dominance, revenge, racism, greed, adventure, etc. The general solution is recognizing the transcendent power of free will, and using the power of education to condition or channel even the most stubborn of natural behaviors, like urination. There is much more we could do to educate responsible global citizens, just as we educate children to pee in toilets, to clean their rooms and keep their clothes on, all as unnatural behaviors as can be.

Remember that although war has a genetic or biological basis, as does almost everything else people do, this does not mean that war is genetically determined. Or

especially, that it is inevitable. War is by definition a social activity. It requires participation by governments, which can be changed. And prior to “civilizations” wars were puny things.

Some other aspects of human nature are relevant to war:

a. All other things equal, crowding increases conflicts and aggressive or bizarre behavior generally.

b. All other things equal, desperate people are more aggressive.

c. Rationality is an important factor in calculations prior to war, but it is equally important to recognize that rationality is relative, subjective, varies from culture to culture, and that by any definition, rationality does not always apply. In particular, as desperation or fatigue increases, rationality tends to decline and misperceptions to increase. These obvious comments are necessary because of a factor called the “rational actor assumption” which appears in nuclear deterrence theory (one of the craziest ideas of the weapons enthusiasts) and in the dominant school of political science referred to earlier as “realism.”

d. People may be heavily influenced by propaganda calling on their loyalty to the “in” group. This has been used for ages by leaders to control masses of people.

e. People crave scapegoats for their problems, especially when they are expressed in terms of other, “evil” people.

f. In our primitive brains we understand an ancient paradigm, that those who breed and fight well often crowd out others. There is a deep connection between sexuality and violence which goes beyond that observation. This may be rooted in mystery, or in something mundane like proximity among specialized brain tissues responding to similar neurotransmitters.

g. Young men fight wars, usually, but old men generally plan them. Women, on average, fundamentally support war regardless of what they say. That is, while they protest or object symbolically more often than men, women also pay their taxes quite reliably (which buy the bombs and bullets) and give their sons and husbands to the service of war far more often than they withhold such support, or protest effectively. And when genuinely frightened, women positively push their men to war.

h. The desire for freedom has natural roots, which is especially relevant to civil wars. Animals which lose their freedom, usually do so in the jaws of death, and therefore almost every animal rebels against the cage. Tyrannies are common in human history, as men exploit each other, but all eventually fall to the desire among men to be free. This has very important implications for preventing war which will recur throughout this book.

i. People, on average, will not be “rational” about reproductive issues. People in general will be highly self-centered about reproductive issues, for natural reasons heavily reinforced by cultural norms established by institutions which themselves compete in a Darwinian fashion. Rationalization in these competitions will be more common than “reason.”

j. Even so, survival is slightly higher on the hierarchy of natural priorities. The triad of survival, reproduction and freedom is intimately related to war. Biological principles can provide the keys to ending war while preserving these values in a stable balance.

Never doubt that where there is a will, ways may be created to solve the major problems of human friction. Getting people to want peaceful coexistence is half the solution. Having appropriate and carefully restrained police, courts and law is the other half. In the Twin Cities of Minnesota, and in many other cities of the world, Lebanese, Israelis, Palestinians, Iranians, Iraqis, Kurds, Afghans, Russians, Central Americans, South Americans, Cubans, black and white South Africans, Angolans, Nigerians, Sudanese, all other Africans, Pakistani, Indians, Laotians, Cambodians, Vietnamese, Koreans, Chinese, Bosnian Serbs and Croats and all the other peoples of the world coexist without substantial violence and certainly without wars. This is not something special about Minnesota — it has to do with the lack of competing nation states here in a context of reasonable social order, protection of minority rights and little desperate poverty. Their friends far away may be killing each other wholesale, but all the peoples of the world coexist in Minnesota because they will be tried for murder if they do not, and their needs are not profound. The same is true in many other places in the world.

War is **not** inevitable. Human conflicts are inevitable but war is not. War is a social institution. Institutions have been created by people; therefore they can be changed.

Two Models: Earthquake, and Three Green Lights

Models can provide a frame of reference for discussion of complex phenomena. Models in social science are usually gross oversimplifications. The two presented here have no greater utility. They are greatly simplified frames of reference which can help bring some order to the chaos of data and perspectives on the complex phenomenology of war and genocide.

The probability of war between any two entities is influenced by a very wide range of factors including personalities of leaders, the mood of populations which must support them if war is to occur, the history of potential combatants, the context of alliances or international law within which decisions are made, levels of arms available to each, and many other factors. Each of the chapters in Part 2 attempts to describe one or more of those factors which have influenced war through the centuries, and there are 20 chapters in that section.

Scholars in social science often look to the natural or the physical sciences for examples of effective modeling because the physical sciences in particular have been more successful (largely because they deal with much simpler phenomena). I have already discussed some perspectives from behavioral biology which bear on the problem of war. Vanhanen (1992) covers the main theme better than I will, which is the application of the principle of evolution to social systems which undeniably compete for scarce resources just as organisms at lower levels in nature do.

The best example I can find of modeling in physical science which mirrors the problems faced in understanding war, is the quest to predict earthquakes.

Earthquakes, like war, are influenced by a great many variables, a few of which can be measured (like distortions of the Earth's crust over time) but most of which are unseen and unknowable (like the structure of bedrock miles below the surface, and the movement of magma miles below that). Faced with these huge dilemmas, but challenged by the practical need to deal with earthquakes, geologists do four things worth noting.

First, they observe what regularities they can.

Second, they have developed a general theory called plate tectonics which correlates well with the phenomena they observe.

Third, they measure what they can, but do not succumb to the tempting illusion that what they cannot measure is not important.

So fourth, they accept the principle of prediction as their ultimate test of the validity of theories, both macro and micro, and they hedge predictions in very large boundaries of error, or statistical confidence.

As noted earlier, much of the discourse on war and its causes is merely a war of words among opinionated people jousting for scarce positions at universities and defense institutions. So I accept, and urge others to adopt, the demanding standard of prediction. Prediction is much harder than description. But description is important too, and necessarily precedes the theory development necessary for prediction.

As with earthquakes, prediction of war is almost impossible at this time except right before armies strike, which is hardly prediction because armies do not move until many orders have been given, decisions made, and logistical preparations completed.

By observing regularities and measuring stresses, the earthquake people now dare to give very broad predictions hedged within very broad time, geographic and error boundaries. For example, most will assert that a very large earthquake (say, greater than 7.5 on the Richter scale) will probably occur (say, $p > 50\%$) along the San Andreas Fault (give or take a few miles) within one hundred miles of Los Angeles, California (or pick another geographic radius: larger increasing p , smaller decreasing p) within X years (say, 30: or longer increasing p , shorter decreasing p). All this, for the prudent seismologist, will be further hedged with some level of confidence in the whole prediction.

This is prudent because truly, only God knows when the next really big earthquake is going to hit Los Angeles. But the science of seismology has advanced to the stage that more qualitative statements can be made with much greater confidence. Like: The odds of a huge earthquake hitting the Los Angeles area during the next thousand years are very high.

In the next chapter I will advance a prediction, and a method I call qualitative geometry which struggles to

move toward a level of confidence in describing probabilities of war similar to the level of confidence geologists now enjoy when predicting earthquakes, which are simpler phenomena since so far as we know, the rocks don't think, much less change their minds at the blink of an eye or on the advice of some spy the world can not even see.

What are the regularities of war, where is our general theory, what can we measure to help us, and what must we attend to even though it cannot be measured at this time?

Like the rim of fire around the Pacific ocean, where earthquakes and volcanos occur much more often than elsewhere, some places on earth have seen much more war than others. The quantitative people provide us pretty good data on that.

Europe has seen much more war than other continents. Recorded wars, that is.

The Middle East is comparable. Though much smaller than a continent, it has been the crossroads of civilizations for a long time, and a site for a great many wars.

The periphery of Chinese empires have seen a lot of war, which devolved into wars among competing states when the empires collapsed as they have several times in history (Kierman and Fairbank, 1974).

The periphery of empires or civilizations have been the physical site for more wars than the cores.

Africa and especially Latin America have seen the least recorded wars, though this may be an artifact of the European practice of naming battles, counting the dead, and writing books about that. Or it may be an artifact of the definition of wars which we use now, requiring at least 1,000 dead in a year and participation of large organizations including at least one government. Or it may be an artifact of colonial history, since after establishing dominance, empires have a record of suppressing wars between their colonies (or sub-national states of Federations).

Within the high frequency zones of Europe and the Middle East, the Balkans and the area around Jerusalem are especially hot spots, with unusual potential for spreading conflicts to much wider areas.

Unlike earthquakes, the frequency and dynamics of war have varied considerably over time, so what appears reliable from aggregate statistics may be quite different from the current situation. It is important with models to recognize always their highly simplified nature, and the limits to analogy.

For example, the periphery of Islamic civilization contains a great many current conflicts today. In the past, this only occurred during the great expansion of Islam in

the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries A.D., and its subsequent contraction.

More wars are occurring now in Africa than on any other continent.

International wars used to predominate. Civil wars predominate now.

Finally, wars between highly developed, weapons intensive cultures and indigenous peoples with nature based cultures are more often genocides than wars and are often not listed as either by historians employed by the stronger side.

This completes a brief review of relevant regularities. The model I call "Three Green Lights" will provide a severely simplistic general theory. First, I want to acknowledge the best general theory I have seen to date, which was advanced by Quincy Wright in his epic Study of War (1942, 1965 rev.).

He concluded that the international system is characterized by equilibria among very complex forces and that wars indicate when these equilibria are disturbed. In this respect his model is like plate tectonics. He identified four major factors relevant to those equilibria, paraphrased by Karl W. Deutsch in a Preface to the Second Edition, page xiii:

"Quincy Wright has done more than pile up information about war. He has developed a basic theory of war. Summarized, and in drastically oversimplified form, it might be called in effect a four-factor model of the origins of war. Put most simply, his four factors are (1) technology, particularly as it applies to military matters; (2) law, particularly as it pertains to war and its initiation; (3) social organization, particularly in regard to such general-purpose political units as tribes, nations, empires, and international organizations; and (4) the distribution of opinions and attitudes concerning basic values. These four factors correspond to the technological, legal, sociopolitical, and biological-psychological-cultural levels of human life respectively. At each level, conflict is likely, and violent conflict becomes probable whenever there is an overloading or breakdown of mechanisms or arrangements that have controlled the interplay of actions and actors at any level and that previously have preserved some non-violent balance or equilibrium."

I recommend the next paragraph, essentially stating that peace requires energy to achieve, maintain and regain once lost, and indeed the whole 1,600 pages of Wright's massive study, for serious students.

Wright's concept of equilibrium is undoubtedly sound and correlates well with the earthquake analogy.

His focus on technology correlates well with traditional balance of power theory (where equilibria are also important) is analogous to my third green light, and correlates with the interests of those who wage and rationalize or justify war — who are, I remind the reader, more important to what happens with war than are those who merely observe and complain about war. His focus on law is especially important to me, because I think I have found a specific solution to this very central aspect of war which has been obscured by assumptions embedded in us all (the chapter on Legalism addresses this most directly). Wright's focus on social organization is pertinent, but too vague for me except to restate the truism that war is undoubtedly a social institution whose primary locus is the nation state. And finally, Wright's focus on "the distribution of opinions and attitudes concerning basic values" correlates with the decisions of populations which must support war, the second factor in my "Three Green Lights" model.

What can we measure pertaining to probabilities of war, and what is unmeasurable but extremely important? Part 2 will be as specific as I am able about each of the causes listed there, but some general conclusions are due here.

I pay attention to discernable levels of hatred between peoples with long standing conflicts. Approximating this is difficult but one can, as first order measures, keep files of hate crimes, riots, acts of terror, statements of rabble rousers and analyses thereof.

Diplomatic historians pay close attention to the recorded statements of key leaders. These are nearly impossible to quantify, or to put on artificial linear scales for squeezing with statistics, but the minds of leaders are undoubtedly of great importance to the probability of war since almost always they must ultimately decide whether to declare war or to negotiate for peaceful resolution of conflicts. Conflicts are ever present, wars are not. Discerning historians look for hints at what key leaders say in private, or what their spies have told them, which is recorded very seldom but is also often central to decisions for or against war. Ferreting out such secret information is half of classical espionage.

Everybody measures weapons inventories and compares the capabilities of weapons and the troops which use them. Both of these are more easily quantified than many other matters, and undoubtedly bear on the decisions of leaders, hence the natural interest in them. Estimating capabilities is less certain, measuring intentions even less so. Weapons inventories and troop capabilities may be decisive for outcomes, but I am not concerned here with the waging of war, only with how wars start, and why.

I attend to the level of authoritarianism among the

governments in question. Like most variables, this is hard to quantify but some groups devote themselves to that task, like Freedom House, a quasi-governmental, somewhat private foundation in America, and Amnesty International which does a better job of objective measurement of use of torture and other authoritarian methods by governments against their "own" people.

I attend to corruption of governance, which appears to me extremely important to the probability of civil wars which so predominate today, but which is also very difficult to quantify in any meaningful way.

I attend to population pressure, and the growth rates which underlie this, and to demographic differentials between potential combatants within nations or between volatile dyads. Some of this can be fairly quantified, like birth and growth rates; other aspects much less so, like attitudes about birth rates or especially about neighbors' birth rates.

Further comments on measurement will be reserved for later chapters, except to highlight one of those factors which almost no one measures but which may be quite important. This is spirituality and the lack thereof. In ten million words on war, you will not find much mention of this factor. But I will submit without proof that where spirituality is abundant, war is rare. Where militant religion prevails (an utterly different phenomenon) war is common.

The Three Green Lights Model of Causes of War

Figure 2 shows this model in picture form. Its foundation is recognition that several things are necessary for war to occur, specifically weapons and decisions by both leaders and populations. This model assumes that genocide or police-state war are forms of war where resistance is limited. Elsewhere I have concluded that both genocide and police-state war are intimately related to war as defined by most observers.

This is a decision model. It starts with the basic conclusion that wars are not acts of nature, but acts which require concrete decisions by both leaders and people. At a minimum, a leadership must decide to initiate war, a population must decide to support that decision, and some means to prosecute the war must be available. This latter factor, the stock of weapons available, is included because of its undeniable significance to conventional thinking about balances of power. But its force, in this model of three green lights, is due to the role which weapons play in the decisions of leaders and populations.

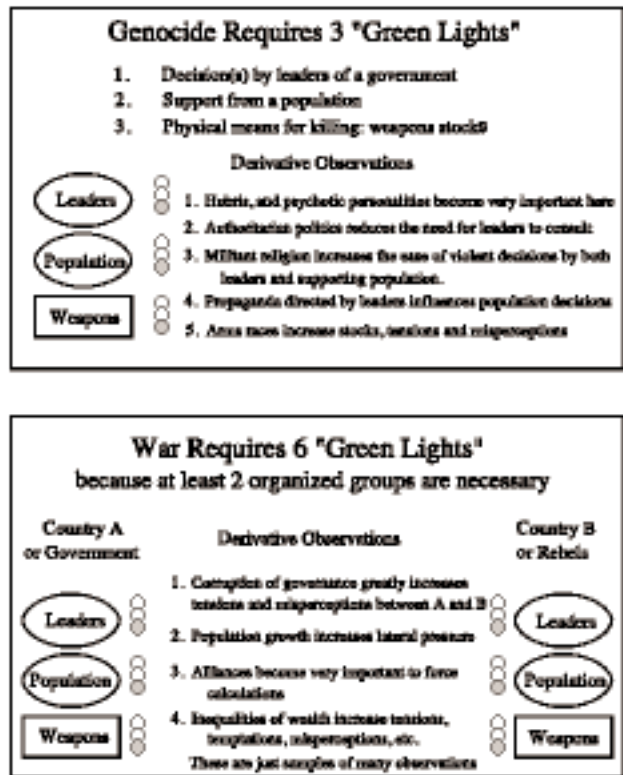


Figure 2: The 3 Green Lights Model of Genocide; 6 Green Lights for War

That leaders consider military power relative to potential adversaries when weighing options for dealing with international disputes can hardly be questioned. Their populations do too, as does nearly everyone who advises the leadership. Much of that thought is automatic, unspoken, even unconscious sometimes, but ever present. In the argument between the United States and Cuba, for example, lasting from 1960 to the present time, no one thinks for a moment that one of Cuba's options might be armed invasion of America for the same reason no one thinks of mice attacking lions. The same observation could be made of the argument between Latvia and Russia, lasting from 1939 to 1990.

Military force has been an option for the stronger in each of these dyads. Russia annexed Latvia on the way to partitioning Poland in 1939, and the United States sponsored an ill-fated invasion of Cuba called the Bay of Pigs in 1961. The latter failed only because regular forces of the United States were never engaged due to infighting between the CIA and President John Kennedy. So the abandoned CIA proxy force of expatriate Cubans was left to be slaughtered on the beach.

That military force is never the whole story is shown

by the 33 years since the Bay of Pigs during which the US has consistently declined to invade Cuba, despite occasional provocation and undying animosity in some quarters, largely due to an agreement between Kennedy and Soviet Premier Krushchev in October of 1962 whereby Kennedy agreed not to invade Cuba if the Russians agreed to get and keep nuclear weapons out of Cuba. Kennedy also agreed to quietly withdraw American nuclear weapons from Turkey. Despite this agreement, covert war including use of biological weapons was waged against Cuba for many years thereafter, under the CIA's operation Mongoose (Ayers, 1976), including elaborate assassination attempts (ZRRIFLE) which led to profoundly adverse consequences, including the death of President Kennedy.

Another anomaly in the Weapons factor of this model is the fact that in the modern world virtually every government has enough weapons to begin a war if it really wants to, and to dominate domestic resistance which is the only war most governments will actually conduct. That light, in effect, is always on for the government side of internal conflicts — it is only the rebels who must consider weapons inventories in their calculations of whether to resist, or not, and how.

That revolutionaries do this can also hardly be doubted. Building logistical stocks for war comes second in the priorities of revolutionary leaders only to building the political support which provides people willing to fight for a change of government. In fact, turning that population support light "on" is the overwhelming task of political oppositions which have elected to use violent means to accomplish their ends. Keeping it extinguished is the preoccupation of the sitting government, whether the means they choose is the carrot of good government or the club of repression.

Figure 2 distinguishes between "genocide" where only one government is necessary, and "war" where two organized groups including at least one government are necessary. Another anomaly is obvious, when one government attacks without warning or apparent provocation. An example might be the Gulf war between Iraq and Kuwait in 1990. We will consider this case in detail soon to reveal more of the complexity which makes all models pale skeletons of the reality of wars. But when Iraq's massively superior army poured into Kuwait on August 2, 1990, whether Kuwait's lights were on or off, green or red did not matter much. All that mattered was the decision of Saddam Hussein to attack, and the willingness of his army, built by his people, to obey.

Weapons stocks and alliances had a decisive role in the outcome, but we do not consider outcomes here as politicians and generals must. We are only concerned with the causes of war, and weapons inventories play a large

role in the decisions of leaders and people. In the invasion of Kuwait, the balance of military force also had a large impact on the degree of resistance of the Kuwaiti people who mostly ran as quickly as possible to Saudi Arabia, leaving Kuwait to their many guest workers who hid, and to the Iraqis.

Each of the causes of wars listed in the chapters of Part 2 can be classified according to whether they affect the decisions of leaders, decisions of populations, or overall system properties within which leaders and peoples must act. These are not clean distinctions. For example, competition for resources is among the most widely accepted causes of war, but this factor undoubtedly affects the minds of both leaders and people and who can say which is more important?

Other items are more distinct. Hubris is not confined to leaders, but it is extremely important to the probability of wars when it infects politicians with armies to deploy. Propaganda is a one-way factor, promulgated by authorities to affect the minds of populations. Authoritarian political systems may both increase the probability of war outside national boundaries, and decrease the probability of war within national boundaries, by suppressing dissent. One thing they always do is decrease the relative importance of gaining support from the population since it is coerced in advance.

That support is still necessary, but it is mainly gained ahead of time. And when opponents of the leader's views may be promptly jailed or worse, response to calls for support is predictably brisker than is generally seen in democracies. Still, even many democracies assemble enough support ahead of time to maintain substantial standing armies.

What can one do with simplistic models like this? Well that is a challenging question for any model in social science which I wish were asked more often. Two answers apply here. For the intellectual quest of considering causes of war, the Three Green Lights model can serve as a framework for discussion, for generating questions and fumbling to answer them. For the practical job of ending war before war ends the human experiment, one can focus on how to keep the "lights" turned off.

How does one keep leaders from declaring war? Rebels from organizing revolution? And failing that, how can one discourage peoples from supporting leaders in war whether presidents, kings or revolutionaries? Is war ever necessary, and if so why and when?

Answering these questions will be the primary task of Part 2. First let us consider an actual war about which much is known, and see how well or poorly the Three Green Lights model fits it. We will keep in mind Quincy Wright's model also. The causes of actual wars are filled

with specifics, but some of those specifics may exemplify general principles.

The Gulf War Between Iraq - Kuwait and the USA, 1990-1991

Shortly after the Gulf War some colleagues of mine and I gathered together to consider stated and putative causes of that war. I will list them now, because they illustrate general problems and form the basis for further discussion. Our list includes items which would not be included on official lists, and experience indicates that every serious student of war, when asked to produce a list of causes of a complex war, will identify some differing factors. The rank here indicates only very vague prioritization. In any event, in our view the causes of the Gulf War of 1990-91 included:

1. Oil.
2. Money. [a rough equivalent to oil]
3. A territorial dispute between Iraq and Kuwait — alleged northward movement of a customs station on the northbound road between Kuwait and Iraq.
4. Alleged poaching from the Iraqi Rumallia oil field by slant drilling from and by Kuwait.
5. Saddam Hussein's ambitions to become the preeminent leader of the Arab nations.
6. George Bush's "wimp factor" and his desire to erase any misperceptions thereof. Another way to phrase this is domestic politics in America, and Bush's desire to secure a second Presidential term by exploiting Simmel effect. *
7. Bizarre diplomacy between Kuwait and Iraq prior to the invasion, including demands by Kuwait to quickly repay huge war debts incurred during a recent 8 year war between Iraq and Iran, alleged overpumping of Kuwaiti oil reserves to depress world prices, and other maneuvers much commented on by observers like Jordan (which had no direct stake in the oil aspect). One interpretation was that the Kuwaiti's had gone mad, provoking so notorious a warmonger as Saddam Hussein, who had such public claims to Kuwait, and was so powerful and poor, next to an ex-"province" so rich and weak. Another interpretation was that someone, probably the U.S., was urging this stance upon Kuwait for unknown reasons after guaranteeing its security privately (Viorst, 1991).

* Georg Simmel was a sociologist who identified scapegoating, a recurring political phenomenon where leaders deflect domestic opposition by attacking foreign countries. Wright describes this as "the significance of out-group conflict in developing and maintaining in-group solidarity." (1965, p. 1387). The 1982 Falklands war is a clearer contemporary case.

8. Bizarre diplomacy between the U.S. and Iraq, including comments by Ambassador April Glaspie, alleged by Hussein of giving a green light to his thoughts of military resolution of the disputes with Kuwait one week prior to his invasion, and comments to similar effect by undersecretary of State John Kelly to the US Congress on July 31, 1990, carried worldwide by the BBC radio. **

9. Jobs, stated by Secretary of State Jim Baker, and also by Saddam Hussein on separate occasions as the main reason the states were about to wage war. In each case “jobs” was a derivative word for oil.

10. Subtle meddling by the Israelis through their covert contacts in the region and in America, pursuant to a general strategy of encouraging war between its most powerful

** There are several other bits of information which support a theory that Hussein was enticed into a trap, including suppression of reports by a CIA national warning officer about impending events one week prior to the initial invasion, the fact that U.S. General Norman Schwarzkopf tasked his 350 man planning group to begin work 5 days prior to the invasion of August 2, 1990, early orders of long lead time materials such as antidotes to potential biological weapons, and various diplomatic steps which foreclosed possible solutions to the conflict shortly after the August 2 invasion, pinning Hussein in position for 6 months while a political coalition was assembled along with an army designed to defeat the Soviet Union. Data on these factors may be found in an article by Milton Viorst, in the January 7, 1991, “New Yorker” on Jordanian views of relevant diplomacy; in *Iraq and Kuwait: a History Suppressed*, by Ralph Schoenman, 1991, Veritas Press, on the border disputes, the oil poaching and the long relationship between CIA and Saddam Hussein - who murdered his predecessor with CIA help, according to Schoenman; by Phillip Agee in the Nov. 1990 issue of “Z” magazine on the meeting between April Glaspie and Saddam Hussein in August of 1990, and in the Washington Post which reprinted an alleged transcript of that meeting provided by the Iraqi government; from the Congressional Record regarding testimony of Undersecretary John Kelly; from a Los Angeles Times article of Feb. 26, 1991, regarding Schwarzkopf’s order “Five days before Iraq invaded Kuwait, Schwarzkopf called 350 members of his staff together at MacDill for a paper exercise. He told them to draft plans to protect the Gulf’s oil fields from Iraq, and added, ‘Oh, by the way, you have to be prepared to protect U.S. regional interests too.’”; and from an article in the Minneapolis Star Tribune of January 25, 1991, on 25 year CIA veteran and national warning officer Charlie Allen’s five-day frustration trying to warn the NSC that war was imminent before August, 1990, among other sources.

local enemies. There is much doubt about whether this factor is real as it might pertain to the Iraq-Kuwait war, but there is no doubt that the Israelis were pursuing this general strategy, including covert weapons support for both Iraq and Iran during their earlier 8 year bloodfest (Ben Menashe, 1992).

11. A desire to decimate Saddam Hussein’s Army pursuant to a concept of long term balances of power in the oil rich Middle East. This is an America version of item ten.

12. A desire to field test new American weaponry which had faced few combat tests for a generation, and to blood its Army which was similarly declining in combat experience.

13. A desire to bury the ghosts of Vietnam (a “syndrome” much hated by the Pentagon, identified as American reluctance to intervene militarily in international affairs) and to ward off calls for a financial “peace dividend” due to the recent collapse of the Soviet Union.

14. A desire among the international community to “uphold international law” and “make sure that aggression is not rewarded” which was undoubtedly a sincere desire among some participants, undercut by the very limited expression of this desire in many instances of aggression where global oil supplies were not at stake, as in Rwanda.

15. A desire among some participants to divide up \$49 billion which the U.S. spent to encourage key countries to join the coalition against Iraq. Major recipients included Egypt (\$14 billion, much of which was forgiven debt) and Syria (\$7 billion). The \$49 billion figure comes from a Pentagon report cited in Air Force Magazine.

Now, how do these fifteen putative causes of war fit into my Three Green Lights Model, or Wright’s four factor model? Not very well.

In terms of my model, virtually all of the factors cited relate to decisions of key leaders, and one of the important observations for this war is that key leaders included a large number of people beyond the original combatants. Another observation is the insignificance of the public relations version of the causes of this war. Preserving democracy in un-democratic Kuwait had nothing to do with the war, but was much discussed, while control of oil was central, but was hardly discussed at all in public. The brutality of Saddam Hussein was very widely trumpeted in America and elsewhere to drum up public support (easy to do in this case since he is undoubtedly one of the more brutal beasts of the world). But all indications are that the war would have occurred regardless of public sentiment. Indeed, it occurred regardless of strenuous efforts by nations like Jordan attempting mediation to get Hussein out of Kuwait voluntarily, which was undercut by

U.S. diplomacy. None of this commentary is intended to excuse Saddam Hussein or Iraq, merely to illustrate how irrelevant public opinion can be once the decision to go to war is made, if the information control systems available to a government are good.

An obvious corollary is the importance of secret diplomacy and planning. Much of the information I have cited relevant to that war was not available to anyone outside the centers of power when Congress, the UN and others had to decide whether to sanction war against Iraq, or not. Much of it is still uncertain, and could be disputed. But secret objectives, and secret diplomacy, are undoubtedly important parts of the international system we observe today.

Another item is the complete discordance between stated objectives of key leaders, and more cynical observations by arguably more objective witnesses. Neither George Bush nor Saddam Hussein would ever agree that personal ego or political ambition had anything to do with this war, yet it is abundantly clear that it had much to do with the thinking of both men. Blindness like this is a highly recurrent feature of war (see Stoessinger, 1985, for review of a series of delusions common to leaders prior to war).

In terms of Wright's theory, we may accept the assertion that the war was evidence of a dis-equilibrium, but it is hard to see what equilibrium was actually disturbed prior to Hussein's fateful decision to attack. We border on tautology. In terms of technology, again there is little to see here unless the desire to field test the new generation of American weapons was a decisive factor. But more likely this was incidental, just a derivative bonus which animated forces within the American defense establishment. For social organization and the distribution of core values, one may observe the long standing contest between authoritarian systems and more democratic ones, which may indeed have played a significant role in international support for the coalition against Hussein's Iraq. But it hardly played so important a role as oil, and who would control the terms of trade in this vital resource.

So both our models are pretty feeble when it comes to the question of whether either could have predicted the war between Iraq, Kuwait and the U.S. led coalition in 1990-1991. But each provides some framework for considering the general causes of wars throughout time.

“To believe a war to be inevitable, and to act accordingly, is the best way to make it so.”

— George F. Kennan

If Present Trends Continue, the Probability of General War Will Peak Between 1997 and 2002 A.D., and How Such Estimates May Be Obtained

Another general war is **not** inevitable, but it is likely if present trends continue. Whatever that probability is, I expect it will peak between 1997 and 2002 A.D. The reasons are: a) belief among millions in an “End Times,” combined with, b) a willful refusal to face the real causes of crisis in the world today.

In May of 1990, I presented a paper on this topic to the annual meeting of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations, which I wish to thank here as the most helpful among several academic societies for my work on causes of war. At that time, the abstract read, in part:

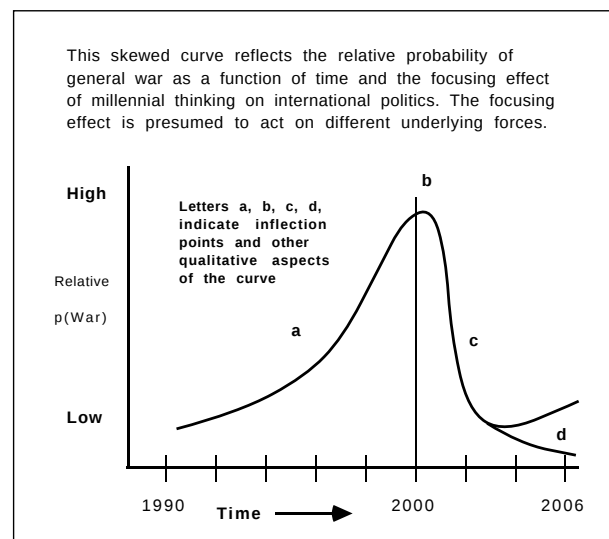
“Onset of the next general, or world war is predicted to occur between 1997 and 2002 A.D. based on a developing theory of the causes of war. Factors considered include: 1) population growth, 2) inequalities of wealth between and within nations, 3) corruption of governance, 4) lack of effective international conflict resolution systems, 5) fundamentalist religious philosophies, 6) ethnic violence and hate crimes, 7) instability in Eastern Europe and Western USSR, 8) unexpected aspects of the developing global ecological crisis, 9) millennialism, and 10) the possibility of a force of evil.”

Five years later we appear on course, but I cannot be very objective about my own predictions. Time will provide a much more definitive test.

Many items cited above are considered in detail in separate chapters, so we will focus on items not covered elsewhere, like millennialism. I will begin by outlining a method I call qualitative geometry which tries to strike a constructive balance between the precision of the quantitative scientists, who must omit so much of importance because it doesn't fit statistics or cannot be measured, and the insight of qualitative scholars who are broader, but trapped in ambiguities which cannot be resolved since so much is opinion backed by problematic evidence. Rigor is good in science, but rigor mortis is not.

Figure 3 shows a qualitative geometric graph of the alleged probability of general war on earth during the period in question.

The first principle of this method is to quantify that which you can, but to include important elements of that which cannot be quantified as relations between shapes. Thus inflections, peaks, bifurcations, and sometimes end points become important. The relative shapes and relations between curve and axis are important, rather than



- a. Monotonically increasing slope as year 2000 is approached.
- b. Peak during years 2000 and 2001.
- c. Sharp decline in $p(\text{War})$ as millennial focus dissipates.
- d. Bifurcation based on whether actual, fundamental crises on earth are dealt with constructively, or denied. (Population pressure, resource depletion, inequalities of wealth and power, corruption of governance, secret power systems, etc.)

Figure 3: The Probability of General War as a function of "Millennialism"

the quantitative value of points of the curve which often cannot be assessed accurately at this time.

So, in Figure 3 the horizontal axis representing Time is presented in linear scale with numbers, since measuring Time is relatively easy. The vertical axis representing the probability of war is labeled only qualitatively, going from Low to High without any presumptions of scale, or of the actual numeric value of p . A more complex analysis recognizing the many different kinds of war would subtext $p(\text{War})$ with terms like “general” or “civil” or “between Iraq and Kuwait” or any other dyad or cluster of competing groups. This graph portrays changes in $p(\text{general war})$.

Since qualitative geometry attempts to represent that which can be identified in relative terms, it is important to label and explain those elements. In Figure 3, these are labeled a, b, c and d.

“a” represents the effect on $p(\text{War})$ of belief among many tens of millions of people today that we are in an “End Time” which will climax in a general war of unprecedented consequence. Whether this belief is realistic is not very important, because those people act upon the world based on these beliefs whether you share them or not. This belief is most commonly associated with what some call fundamentalist Christianity, but it has analogues among orthodox Judaism and fundamental Islam to lesser degrees. More specific discussion of Millennialism will follow this example of qualitative geometric method.

“b” indicates the period of maximum effect of the millennial factor, which is presumed to peak during the year 2000 A.D. but to extend at least part way through 2001 due to uncertainties in historic dating and the lag which so often separates thought, actions and reactions. The year 1000 saw similar phenomena, with a minor recurrence during 1033 based on belief that the millennium might mean 1000 years after the death of Jesus rather than after his birth.

“c” indicates a rapid fall off in the alleged millennial factor if the expected war does not occur. This fall off is presumed to be more steep than the build up, yielding a skewed curve, which is identified explicitly in the subtext of the graph.

“d” indicates a bifurcation. The purpose of this is to identify two important points. 1) The Millennial factor is presumed to focus attention and possibly actions, but the forces underlying general wars are far more complicated and powerful than any single belief. Some of those forces march on totally different time scales, like population pressure, and are not going to respond as rapidly as social beliefs (unless catastrophe does indeed come). 2) The actual probability of war, I contend, is far more a function

of what people believe, and decide to do, than of any other force. Having passed through a period of high anxiety and a lot of bizarre behavior, the millennial transition, humankind will still have to deal with the profound effects of the developing global ecological crisis — unless the general war does indeed come, in which case the survivors will have to deal with a much altered global crisis, but the probability of another general war soon will probably be much less due to physical inability to wage global war and psychic shock from the last one. Presuming we avoid the war, people after the millennial transition may decide to address the enduring causes of war, thus reducing its probability, or to slip back into complacency and wishful thinking which allowed the crisis to develop in the first place. The upward swing of $p(\text{War})$ indicates the latter possibility, the downward slope from bifurcation “d” indicates the more constructive possibility.

So, unlike rocks, people will decide whether to have another social earthquake or not. But I do think we are in for a period of exceptional danger as millennialism concentrates pressures which have been building for some time.

This completes an overview of qualitative geometry. It generates pictures derived from conclusions based on all evidence available to the investigator. Thus, they cannot be proven in any replicative sense, since no one else is really able to review all the data which I have considered. But qualitative graphs are also not limited merely to that which can be quantified. They may be proven or disproven by events, and can stimulate thinking about the dynamics of war whether provable in any strict sense or not. Similar graphs will be offered, where they can be, pertaining to specific causes in Part 2. Millennialism requires more detail, since it is a highly specific factor pertinent to this time, and is not included in the chapters on general causes of war which have applied throughout history.

Millennialism

Millennialism will focus hatreds and craziness around the year 2000 A.D. It happened a thousand years ago, during the first millennial transition, but this time many millions of people have far greater means at their disposal to fuel chaos.

Hal Lindsey provides an extreme version of the millennial view in his book The Late, Great Planet Earth, (Lindsey, 1970) where he claims that catastrophic war between America and Russia over issues originating in Israel is inevitable, and that to oppose this is, in effect, to oppose God’s will. He claims in later works to have been enthusiastically received by very large crowds at both the

Pentagon and Air War College. Lindsey's interpretation is particularly important because of its wide coverage, but one should remember that his interpretation is but one view of a much broader phenomenon of anxiety about events to come, otherwise known as thinking about an "End Times."

Grace Halsell (1986, 4) claims that Lindsey's book "was a best seller all during the 1970's, outselling any other book except the Bible." Sara Diamond (1989) claims it had sold over 35 million copies by 1989. Both authors and Cornell University radio producer Joan Bokaer (1987) provide evidence that the view therein, called "dispensationalism" was taken seriously at very high levels of the Pentagon, especially during the Reagan Presidency and especially among the Air Force. Retired General John Vessey (Reagan's Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1980-86) suggested a much less apocalyptic view, responding to a call from me in 1990. He is an exceedingly honorable and devout man, who dedicated his life to defending America as a private in World War II, later becoming the country's top ranking soldier. So I listen carefully when he speaks, and respect him greatly. But like all other superpower Generals, he was also fully capable of incinerating half of humanity during his senior years, if so ordered. It's a paradox of the business.

I extend these contrary observations to illustrate the range of uncertainty around a very important point. Whatever the actual extent of serious thinking about impending Armageddon, I can say with absolute certainty that many people take this very seriously, because I have met them also. Some have risen far in politics and defense establishments.

One was Ronald Reagan. Absolute atheists should take millennialism seriously, if the President of a superpower and powerful figures in his military think that God wants to destroy the earth with nuclear weapons. Even if Presidents and Generals do not take such views seriously, we must recognize millennialism as a force, albeit smaller, because millions of ordinary people do, and they also affect the world to come.

This "End Times" view is prominent among a group called the Christian Broadcast Network which reaches audiences in all of America's major media markets. Its most popular show is "The 700 Club" of CBN President, founder and one time U.S. Presidential candidate, Pat Robertson, which presents news on world and national events interpreted through this "End Times" lens. This one program is seen by millions of people daily, some fraction of whom must share Mr. Robertson's view that God desires a final war, beginning in Israel but involving the major powers, soon.

Pat Robertson has also established one of the more powerful political forces in America today, called the

"Christian Coalition." This is nominally non-partisan, but in practice a wing of the Republican party. They are known for absolutist views on a variety of social issues, mainly sexual, but there is no hint so far of millennialism in their public platform. I contend, in the lingo of End Times theology, that Mr. Robertson is actually a "false prophet" like the Rev. Sun Myung Moon, but their followers are completely smitten.

There are Jewish and Islamic analogues. Members of Gush Emunim in Israel ("Block of the Faithful") believe "Eretz Yisrael" (greater Israel) includes all land from the Nile in current Egypt to the Euphrates River in current Iraq, and oppose any efforts to share this with Arabs of any kind. They await the Jewish Messiah, promised within one generation of the founding of Israel, a time which has almost passed. And millions of Muslims long for return of Muhammad who will, they feel, restore the Islamic Umma to its past dominance in world affairs. There is much more millennial thinking, involving many more actors and variations on theme, which will be concentrated by the power of three zeros on a year.

No religious urge, nor belief in scriptures of any kind, is necessary to notice the power of such thinking. Nor to notice several related phenomena.

1. Medjugorje, Yugoslavia has been home to an unusually persistent set of Marianic visions involving up to six children, daily since 1981, but tapering off after ten years, with some related inexplicable but tangible phenomena which so far defy a fair amount of skeptical and occasionally scientific scrutiny (Laurentin and Rupcic, 1984). That is, a vision of the virgin Mary appeared to these six Catholic kids who have transformed their village in many ways, attracting hundreds of thousands of pilgrims from all corners of the earth to this remote spot. The essential message of the vision is: a) work for peace, by b) prayer and fasting, and c) work hard for a better relationship to God and to heal the earth, because d) major troubles are coming soon. It bears mention that Medjugorje was spared most of the horrors of the Yugoslav civil war. You don't need to be Catholic, believe in Mary, or be religious in any way to notice this message has reached many millions of ordinary Catholics and others, each of whom acts upon the world. It matters if millions of Catholics and one very powerful Pope believe an end time is near. The millions who study the messages from Medjugorje are largely separate from the millions who have read Hal Lindsey's interpretations of "Revelations." He speaks mostly to evangelical fundamentalist Protestant Christians. There are other voices murmuring to other multitudes.

2. The psychic community tells me that lots of communication is coming from spirits of various

persuasion that a big crisis, catastrophe or transformation is close upon us. Once again, whether you “believe” in psychics is not as important as the fact that they believe in themselves, they have a following, and both act to create our future just like you and I do. The consensus here is “get ready,” the rest is noise to me.

3. The “New Age” community is saying similar things, except that they are relentlessly positive about everything. New Age phenomena do not enjoy even the low level of scientific credibility which paranormal phenomena do. New Agers are also conspicuously uninvolved with actually trying to solve the major problems like hunger, environmental deterioration, or war which they say will soon disappear, so I regard this source with special skepticism. Still, a great many people subscribe to “New Age” thinking, and as the name implies, they expect big changes.

4. UFO’ology is taking off again, with dramatic examples of: a) rings on farmland in Great Britain (over 700 during 12 years) most within roughly 30 miles of Stonehenge, and b) US Air Force studies of UFO’s since the mid-1940’s, including alleged recovery of at least one craft and several bodies near Roswell, New Mexico during the summer of 1947. Conferences of UFO enthusiasts get bigger each year, and at least one academic society of serious, tenured astronomers has been organized to look at these phenomena. One of the few areas of agreement is that whatever these things are or may be (UFO’s) they’ve taken a special interest in nuclear weapons facilities.

Jacques Vallee is a computer scientist who has written a series of careful and thorough books (Vallee, 1991) with three conclusions worth restating here. First, UFO’s have been appearing all over the world and there is little doubt that some of these phenomena are “real.” Second, he advances a theory that what we are observing is some kind of control mechanism, a theory worth considering by the serious minded. Third, he notes that governments all over the world actively obscure whatever the truth about UFO’s is, and in particular that military intelligence often uses the UFO phenomena as cover for various secret research operations. This makes sorting out that which is real from that which is illusion from that which is calculated psychological operation or cover for exotic weapons or aircraft testing extremely difficult. Howard Blum’s book Out There (1990) is also worth considering. This award winning investigative journalist essentially proves that the US government knows a lot more about UFO’s than it will tell, but suggests that even its inner circles are pretty confused about what UFO’s mean. Vallee thinks that Blum was fed false information (based on Vallee’s extensive experience as a security cleared specialist for the Department of Defense) and that

real working groups in and around the Pentagon have been studying UFO phenomena continuously for decades.

My most interesting source on the whole affair is convinced we are being observed by aliens who are quite benign but also quite untrusting of human governments. Something very large will occur during the year 2001, he feels, but I won’t get into what because none of it is provable. In terms of the millennial transition, this just represents to me another community which is searching the skies and their minds for clues to big events.

5. Predicting disaster around the millennial transition is hardly a solo activity. A wide variety of other characters have done so from recent times going back for centuries. One fairly well known example is Nostradamus, who refers to a third war during this century in the Northern Hemisphere, after two great powers align themselves against the East:

“When those of the Northern Pole are united together

In the East will be great fear and dread . . .

One day the two great leaders will be friends;

Their great power will be seen to grow.

The New Land will be at the height of its power:

To the man of blood the number is reported.”

The “man of blood” is identified elsewhere as being the world’s third anti-Christ who will emerge in Asia. The “new land” was used by Nostradamus to refer to what we now call America. Thus, Nostradamus seems to suggest that a war will occur between China and a Russo-American alliance.

He gives a date for when the conflict will come: “when the cycle of the centuries is renewed.” Nostradamus writes the following:

“In the year 1999 and seven months *

From the sky will come the great King of terror . . .”

Already there are hundreds of books written about millennialism and related phenomena. Remember that people got very excited around the year 1000 A.D.; preachers warned of floods, famines and flying dragons, but nothing very dramatic happened then. We shall see. Figure 3 represents my effort to put the effect of this social-psychological phenomenon on the probability of large scale war into a simple graph. I think it will focus underlying anxieties. And the main forces to be focused will be population pressure, competition for resources, ecological damage, ethnic and other tensions, arms races and the effects of all these forces on the global economy. These underlying forces have been building for a long time, and are pertinent to the causes of war whether the millennium has any effect or not.

* Now past -- another prediction of doom undone. !!

Other Factors of Interest

I will review here very briefly: a) fundamentalist religious philosophies, b) ethnic violence and hate crimes, and c) instability in Eastern Europe, because they are not fully covered in later chapters.

For a long time I struggled to find a better term than “Fundamentalist” to describe the opposite of ecumenical thinking, both of which can be found in every major religion. What exactly fundamentalism is, varies. Sometimes it relates to war, but other times not. “Orthodox” was another possibility, but again sometimes the orthodox are militant, other times they are strict pacifists. I am indebted to a very bright student, Corrine Kohut, who helped find a clearer way to discuss this important distinction. The main meat of this will be covered in the chapter on “Authoritarian Law and Militant Religion” because it is militancy, and resort to law enforced by violent means, which is the factor most directly related to probabilities of war. Some other properties of what is commonly known as fundamentalism in Christian, Islamic, Judaic and Hindu traditions deserve mention here.

Having acknowledged serious ambiguities about the term, Fundamentalists often:

- 1) Promote very high birth rates among their often
- 2) “chosen” people.
- 3) Are less tolerant of other religions or philosophies than ecumenicalists, or than secular liberal governments.
- 4) Employ legalistic codes of conduct, and are otherwise dogmatic in their theology and social constructions.

These four factors in combination have a significant impact on the probability of war whenever different fundamentalist groups come into contact, since they never share exactly the same codes of conduct or spiritual leaders, and they virtually always experience severe population pressure and economic stress due to item one. The chosen people theme guarantees friction with other, presumably inferior people.

Regarding ethnic violence and hate crimes, these appear to be rising all around the world. Estimating this, like estimating everything else related to war is difficult. It may be that we are just seeing more, due to advances in information technology. But the files I keep seem to indicate a real increase in these phenomena, from neo-fascism in Germany and hate crimes in America, to ethnic slaughters in Bosnia, Rwanda and elsewhere. In 1990, the U.S. Congress passed a law which requires national reporting of hate crimes. If one considers what it takes to get a law through our Congress, one may infer that something major is probably occurring.

Ethnic violence is not a fundamental force, to me, but rather an index of underlying hatreds. Hatred is a fundamental force, and the more hatred there is between two peoples, the higher the probability of war for that dyad.

Regarding instability in Eastern Europe and Western Russia, we have seen the most remarkable news so far. This most heavily armed region of the world has undergone truly radical social and political reorganization with almost no bloodshed, even accounting for four or five small civil wars within what was Soviet territory just a few years ago. Czechoslovakia split up, two Germanies reunited, the Baltic states declared independence, and the Soviet Empire disintegrated with barely a shot fired. It is as though someone poured a magic lubricant along the great San Andreas fault, so the Pacific and North American plates could move smoothly against each other without destructive tremors.

I recall this, and the other great surprises of the last few years — steps toward peace in the Middle East, and steps toward reconciliation in South Africa — because it is important to remember major positive developments from time to time as we chronicle the signs of a general drift toward general war.

Cycles

Many scholars have looked for cycles or other evidence of periodicity in the data on wars. No consensus results, partly because the database on war includes considerable variation depending on which definitions are used and which histories are read.

Gwynne Dyer (1985) thought he discerned a vague, 50 year cycle of “major” wars, extending back 300 years from World War II to the Thirty Years War which ended with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. This pattern required a fair amount of interpretation, ignoring many smaller wars and subjective explanations for why World War II followed World War I so closely. Modelski and Thompson (1988) find evidence for a hundred year cycle of general wars. Joshua Goldstein (1988) finds a similar cycle of war proneness which he relates to classic Kondratieff business cycles. Small and Singer (1982) found a 20-40 year generational cycle in their very carefully studied database on interstate wars from 1816-1980. Many others have studied the question of cycles of wars with differing results, and the null hypothesis remains safe at this time (i.e., no clear cycles). In my view, periodicity or lack thereof for wars is less significant than the explanation which Dyer, Modelski and others came up with to account for it.

Their essential thesis was that “major” or “general” wars determine the terms of power for the international system at that time, which then remain fairly static. But the real strength of nations always changes. The longer time passes, the less consistent the international legal, economic and other relationships become with the ever changing actual power relationships between key nations. Therefore, Dyer suggested, pressure builds until an inevitable eruption as new powers object to the pretensions of old powers. Thus comes another general war, including the “great powers” of the time, at the end of which come new terms of international law and trade which gel until the next eruption roughly 50 years later. The similarity to earthquake processes is obvious.

My simplistic earthquake model accommodates pressure from any source, suggesting only that forces will release catastrophically unless some means is found to grease the fault lines and let the major plates move gradually to new arrangements of power, rather than abruptly through violent means. One pressure is predictable, the population pressure referred to often here. Competition for resources is eternal. Wars need not be.

Other explanations for these vague periods have been advanced, the most engaging to me being that one generation suffers so much in major wars, that so long as the living memory remains, war is less likely. As that generation with personal memory of suffering dies off, however, the romantic images of war remain to excite young men who then become prey to the power brokers who are always ready to use and abuse the gullible to increase their estate.

In terms of the millennial transition close upon us and the prediction of this chapter, one need only recall that we are 50 years past World War II in 1995. The current international system, the framework of the United Nations, and financial institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund were largely formed right after that general war. One superpower has partly disintegrated while the other is in unambiguous decline. Another historic note worth pondering, is that when empires are expanding or in decline, smaller nations are at increased risk. Finally, there is much talk about global economic and environmental problems, but very little effort to solve them.

So these factors also contribute to a conclusion that, if present trends continue, the probability of general war will peak between 1997 and 2002. Of course, people may decide to alter present trends. That is humanity’s hope. Or,

.... survivors may decide to change their ways.

Scenarios For Global War

I will now present 6 scenarios for general war, for three important reasons.

1) These scenarios are quite different, leading to different forms of general war. I can measure some pressures, and ponder historic regularities, but I cannot begin to predict the exact form by which those pressures may be released. There is too much stochastic process, and too many important things depend on what individual leaders and masses of people decide to do in response to stressful circumstances. That is both a methodological problem and the main hope for a better future for humankind. Again, no war is inevitable.

2) Three of the scenarios involve responses by what are commonly called “terrorists.” I emphasize the term responses, because nation states inevitably place all the blame for violent acts of terrorism on the rude revolutionaries, without acknowledging for a moment that these acts are often responses to lethal actions and unjust policies formulated by the governments of nation states. I am not excusing here either murders by terrorists or by nation states. I am emphasizing that a more objective view of all the parties who kill people to secure their power, is an essential key to the problem of ending war.

3) I desire to acquaint the innocent with the lethal capabilities of modern weapons, specifically of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons of mass destruction. We have already passed the threshold where acts of very small groups of determined men can threaten everyone. Soon, perhaps already in the case of biological warfare, we will pass the threshold where one individual threatened by the violence of nation states may pose a significant lethal threat in return. In the long run, this will fundamentally alter relations between governments and individuals if civilization is to endure.

The first three scenarios of general war do not require terrorists.

#1. Limited, but high tech, regional war with global consequences. Starts in the Middle East, escalates to chemical, nuclear and possibly biological weapons all of which are known to be in inventory among several nations there (specifically Israel, with all three including 200+ nuclear warheads; Iraq, Iran and Libya all have chemical and some biological weapons, and each has active programs to develop or buy nuclear weapons) (Iraq’s much diminished but not eliminated by the Gulf War of 1991 and subsequent sanctions). War engages America and Russia as intermediaries and armorers, who suffer casualties but manage to avoid direct combat between their forces per existing agreements designed to forestall a nuclear holocaust. Casualties include a significant fraction of the

Arab and Israeli populations, parts of Iran, with significant casualties among neighbors worldwide due to diffuse, long term effects of radiation and pathogens released, but no greater threats to central European, Asian or African interests occur. **Total war dead about 100 million.** The most critical resources destroyed are Mideast oil fields, industry, farmland and fisheries, with some collateral damage due to exotic weapons effects worldwide.

#2. **Disintegration of governance across wide areas of the world without a single triggering event or unified military contest.** Starts in Central America as population pressure and gross inequalities of wealth remain unaddressed; India and Pakistan fight over Kashmir again but this time both have nuclear weapons. Southern Africa destabilizes after Nelson Mandela is assassinated, and conflicts spread to include Angola, Mozambique, Zaire (now Congo), Zimbabwe, Namibia and Nigeria. The Koreas start fighting again as superpower interest becomes scattered, Cambodia devolves into new civil war, and China diverts domestic discontent by new campaigns against Vietnam and Taiwan. The Persian Gulf implodes, partly due to terrorist acts by other parties interested in interrupting global oil supplies, and partly due to impoverished Islamic militants overwhelming corrupt regimes in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

There is no distinct triggering event for this general war, just a gradual slide into chaos as existing civil wars, and recently dormant conflicts flare up, fuel a deep and spreading global depression, and merge into a general war among Second and Third World countries. Eventually, this engages Israel which almost inevitably engages the superpowers due to deep infiltration of the US political and intelligence communities by Israel's MOSSAD intelligence service. As access to key resources becomes harder for northern industrial powers, even the Europeans and Japanese become involved, the superpowers become engaged, but by some magic general strategic nuclear war is avoided, and mere hundreds of millions are killed. By some miracle of reason, someone decides to accept defeat without full resort to their ultimate arsenal.

Total war dead, about 1 billion. The most critical resources destroyed are as in Case 1, plus industrial and biological resources in the wider areas of conflict identified in Case 2. Termination of this degenerative war could be as uncertain and drawn out as its beginning. It could even stabilize into the kind of chronic, low level war we have seen recently in Lebanon and Cambodia.

#3. **Catastrophic nuclear war.** Eastern Europe destabilizes, global depression ensues and regional war begins there. Somewhere along the line, Russian vital interests are severely threatened. Both they and the U.S.A. get nervous. The Russians initiate tactical use of nuclear

weapons in their theater including casualties among new and old NATO members, America initiates strategic first strike because of confusion in command and control and illusions about a marginal Strategic Defense in place by then. A general strategic exchange takes place engaging China, Japan, all of Europe and major nuclear and military sites in the Southern Hemisphere according to existing SIOP's plans in both superpowers (despite its decline, Russian nuclear weapons remain fully capable of wiping out the world with or without help from others). Nuclear winter ensues and **4 billion people are dead** within a year or two. No one really wanted it, but it happens anyway because they prepared so hard, just like World War I.

These scenarios were all developed in 1990, prior to the collapse of the USSR and the rise of Chinese power. Like any scenario, they are mere possibilities, not probabilities. Any of them could be altered to reflect new conditions, and new anxieties in Asia, like having China dare to grab for Taiwan with some risky overreaction by America. One can imagine endless disasters, but as usual, the total news has been mixed. For example, there has also been some progress in nuclear issues, like movement toward a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing, and the Soviet Union *per se* is gone. But Russia certainly is not, and neither are her exotic weapons.

In fact, as Karl Grobe notes in the Frankfurter Rundschau: "As the number of countries owning weapons of mass destruction increases, the principle of deterrence and predictability diminishes. The proliferation of nuclear weapons endangers the modicum of relative security that we had at the beginning of the atomic age. If we do not reach agreement on limiting the escalation of the atomic spirals, the atomic age will enter a second stage — one in which regional atomic wars become thinkable and the destruction of civilization more likely." (in World Press Review, October, 1995, p. 4).

The next three scenarios involve terrorists and exotic weapons, for the reasons identified earlier. A lot of diplomatic venom has been spent on Libya, for example, or Iran or Iraq, all of whom have sought the "Islamic Bomb" for some time. Libya must be close since it financed Pakistan's successful bomb development program. Russian nuclear materials and technicians are perfusing now into a large market of nations like Iran, with money to spend and intense desire to join the big boys' club. Sooner or later, all will get the bombs they seek so long as the superpowers persist in bully-like behavior. The fat men can tell the skinny men "Don't eat!" but the skinny ones just laugh at such hypocrisy.

So consider for a moment what terrorists might do, if they really wished to injure the prosperous North of the world, which in their view has done more than enough to

deserve revenge.

#4. Simultaneous suitcase bombs in Washington and Moscow. Once a couple of very small “suitcase” nuclear bombs are available — they have been in America’s inventory for decades, called the MPND or “Man Portable Nuclear Demolition” * — our “terrorist” might engage his agents to smuggle one each into Washington, D.C. and Moscow, to be set off simultaneously hoping that confusion and hair-trigger response systems would prompt either superpower to launch against the other. The rest has been thoroughly planned by the general staffs, paid for and built by their loyal peoples, and engineered by some of their best scientists. Smuggling exotic materials into big countries is not hard; tons of marijuana and cocaine flow into Washington, D.C. every year. A MPND could be hidden in a bale of pot if no better method were available.

The casualties from such an endeavor could vary from a couple of million killed and injured by the original nuclear detonations, to global holocaust depending on how many other people react who would suddenly have the opportunity to push buttons of their own. Each and every one of those commanders would have to decide not to fire, if escalation was to be avoided.

#5. Biological warfare. If getting a nuclear bomb is too difficult, another cheaper method has become available which is to use the new genetic technologies to insert lethal genes (like the botulin toxin gene from Clostridium botulinum) into obligate gut residents (like E. coli). Once the very hard work of creating the lethal bug is done, growing them by the ton is cheap and easy. Lest all this seem like science fiction to you, precisely this kind of work was done in the biological warfare labs at Fort Detrick, Maryland, U.S.A. and near Sverdlovsk, U.S.S.R. (now Russia), and may still be being done at both locations.

If the fat boys do it, why shouldn’t Libya? Or the Ayatollahs in Iran, or the Butcher of Baghdad? Or North Korea, or any country in the South? We have not shown much concern for their lives and welfare, why should they care about ours? A Strategic Air Command intelligence briefing of May 16, 1990, (O’Brien, 1990) noted that 8 Third World countries were then confirmed to be conducting biological weapons research, with twice that many expected by the year 2000, and that 20 had already acquired chemical weapons. One thing is absolutely certain --- weapons development never remains secret

* Now we know that Russia has MPND’s too, and possibly many others, since Russian General Alexander Lebed told CBS’s “60 Minutes” on Sept. 7, 1997 that they have “lost” 100 man-portable nuclear warheads designed to look like suitcases. This increases the probability of many terrorist scenarios.

forever. Information leaks, and what the fat boys get, many others will envy.

Casualties resulting from release of live biological weapons could range from almost none (because they often fizzle, or fail to compete against the many hardy bugs already in the world) to almost everyone (because biologists can be as creative as other weapons engineers when they are paid fortunes to study ways to kill, and are told this is all in the urgent national interest). There is a persistent rumor that AIDS was one of their creations which got away, or was deliberately introduced into African populations and homosexual populations in several U.S. cities. But the data on that is very uncertain and difficult to follow. It will be summarized as a cautionary tale in Chapter 34.

#6. Disruption of existing radioactive waste stores. Citizens of democracies should know that over a quarter million tons of high level nuclear wastes sits in tanks at the Hanford reservation near Richland, Washington. A single nuclear detonation there could release radioactive fallout at least 5,000 times greater than from any single warhead exploding. This fallout would sterilize regions downwind across the entire northern tier of US states and much of Canada as well, depending on the winds. The Chernobyl disaster in Ukraine, Russia and Byelorussia which killed thousands of people and permanently contaminated thousands of square miles, was many orders of magnitude less than a disaster at Hanford would be. Or similar disasters at Russian, Chinese or other nuclear repositories scattered around the world. But Hanford is the biggest, and best located in terms of wind and geography, to do serious damage to hundreds of millions of people.

My point is not to give advice and comfort to terrorists.

My point is objective exposure of the positively stunning level of risk which the current national “security” paradigm has exposed all citizens and all civilization to, under the cover of secrecy.

These items of information are well known to intelligence services, and you could find them yourself if you tried. Information leaks, and the public domain is large. But most of the funding and work to develop these remarkable hazards has been done secretly, in the name of protecting you and me and all our kids (or their Soviet counterparts). We have not really been consulted about whether we think taking such risks is wise. I do not.

And finally, certainly, so long as the powerful and affluent North says it is legitimate to wave weapons like these over the Third World, to wage “Low-Intensity War” on their soil with their bodies, and to control terms of trade so that we pay bottom dollar for their timber, metals, oil and agricultural products whether or not some of them

starve in the process — well so long as we do this, some “terrorists” of the world will feel perfectly comfortable about plotting Western deaths by any means “necessary,” no matter how ruthless.

That is the natural end of the modern arms race, lots of death. So, to the three scenarios offered for general war, add the prospect of a triggering event coming out of the blue, completely unexpected, like a sudden explosion in Washington state, or two in superpower capitals, or just a mysterious sickness popping up almost everywhere at once.

Hopeful Notes

It is quite important to remember the positive side of life when dwelling on its most awful aspects. I have noted remarkable geopolitical progress several times; please remember these aspects of the Middle East, South Africa and Eastern Europe. Remember the great compromisers, Yitzhak Rabin and Yassar Arafat, Nelson Mandela, Frederik de Klerk, Mikhail Gorbachev and Jimmy Carter. If global war is avoided, it will be because of visionary statesmanship from people like these and many others. Remember also that all great progress results from the strenuous efforts of millions of other people, most of whom are forever unseen except by close associates. Rapprochement between Israel and the PLO would not have happened when it did, for example, without the determined efforts of two Norwegian families who brought Rabin and Arafat together secretly, over two years of meetings over family tables, bringing humanity to what had been an ideological debate.

Never doubt that there are millions of people scattered around the earth today who are working as hard as they can on human survival. I call them the gossamer web. Most of these people work without pay or stretch one income to cover two jobs, while almost all the weapons engineers, generals and politicians command high salaries. This is an important paradox, but perhaps some things are too important to be done for money.

And perhaps some changes in the allocation of social resources are in order. You can be certain that if you invest in something long enough, you will eventually get what you paid for. The world has invested nearly 1 trillion dollars per year in war and preparations for war over the last two decades. Investments in peace are at most one tenth that, using very generous assumptions about what counts for peace. Some things are too important to be done for money, but the mass of ordinary people cannot work for peace or any other major goal without income. Unless there are some changes in the allocation of social resources, large scale war remains a very likely result.

This chapter begins with attention to a millennial transition, so I would like to close it with an idea which began with Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (so far as I know). It is a very wise idea whatever its ultimate source. “The battle lines between good and evil do not run between nations or between political parties. The battle lines between good and evil run through every human heart.” Gandhi would approve of this. So would Thomas Jefferson. I am certain that solutions to war which do not engage the individual human heart first, are doomed to failure. But where there is free will and compassionate hearts, there is certainly a way for civilization to survive.

If present trends continue, there may be disaster. But people will decide whether to continue present trends, or to create a better future. I have scouted the terrain ahead. What you do is your decision.

Introduction to Part 2

Selected Causes: How They Work, and How to Solve Them.

In Part 2 we will consider about 40 causes of war which recur throughout history. We will use simple, qualitative geometric graphs as an aid in thinking about how the probability of war varies with causes considered in isolation. They are listed in a general order of importance, but that is subjective judgment not quantitative conclusion. Also, this order was adjusted several times to group related concepts, like legalism and justice, or evil and secret power systems. So the order of chapters is not very significant. All are important causes of many wars. Several hundred other causes did not make this list.

Every chapter in this section will end with “solutions.” Some of those are pretty feeble; others I am sure are genuine keys to ending war. That task is daunting, both analytically and even more, practically. But it must be attempted, and I learned long ago that describing wars was much easier than preventing them. My primary interest in the whole affair is in figuring out how to get people to stop killing each other’s children.

Therefore, the causes selected for discussion in this part all have “utility.” That is, understanding how they work may yield practical clues for how to influence the process and prevent war. Common causes of war without “utility” (like “human nature” and “sin”) do not make this list, although they are discussed in Parts 1 or 3.

Trying to think up solutions for each aspect of the war problem has been a sobering exercise. Psychological causes are especially frustrating — how does one reduce greed, for example, or cure egomaniacal leaders of the hubris which is so dangerous in war? I don’t know, but I do ask and struggle to answer such questions. I encourage others to do better. Because even if my time frame is off by a century or more, if present trends continue, the next general war will begin sometime. So there is limited time for airy academic thought, and an urgent need for practical solutions which may reduce the probability of global carnage.

Competition for Resources and Inequalities of Wealth Within and Between Nations

The “rich” are composed of:

- a) brilliant, hard working people who have created wealth by their own labors and by skillful organization of the honest work of others,
- b) indolent, lazy or greedy people who have stolen adroitly, exploited others, or inherited wealth which they fritter away, and hard working people who inherited wealth, but use it wisely and share it well,
- c) criminal, ruthless people who have broken laws or abused power to exploit or steal from others, and simply lucky people who have won some lottery.

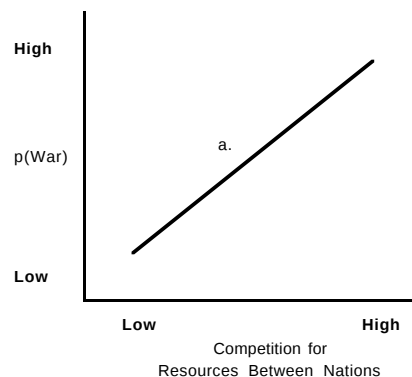
This diversity among the rich makes solving the problems of excess concentration of wealth more difficult. Many times in this work I will call for more sharing with the poor, because severe inequalities of wealth are so intimately related to war. But it is also vital to remember that much wealth is justly earned, and that the rich however they acquired their wealth, are people too. War cannot be ended by attacking the rich, just as revolution cannot be contained forever by wars against the poor.

The “poor” are composed of:

- a) hard working, intelligent people who have chosen to work on things which are too important to be done for money, or which are not rewarded financially in the modern world (like motherhood, to cite one very common example).
- b) lazy, ignorant people who survive off the labors of others.
- c) people of any quality of intelligence or industry who have simply been unlucky in life, and have suffered due to accident, injury, injustice or simply from being born in a place where opportunity is scarce, rather than another where it is abundant.

All statements about the “rich” and the “poor” are confounded by the highly mixed nature of both these groups. This complicates serious discussion about inequalities of wealth. Both rich and poor tend to cling to the negative stereotypes of the other. Thus the stage is set for class war if inequalities of wealth become too great.

Figure 4 shows the simple relationship between competition for resources and the probability of war. The line is monotonic, which means it should be detectable by



a. Monotonic, endpoints and slope indeterminate. $p(\text{War})$ increases as competition for resources between nations increases.

b. $p(\text{War})$ = “the probability of war” is presumed to be composed of many partial values reflecting inputs from many factors which overlap and interact in ways too complex to map objectively.

c. Rather than trying to estimate actual values (impossible at this time) I simply try to estimate the shape of the basic relationship between variable X and $p(\text{War})$.

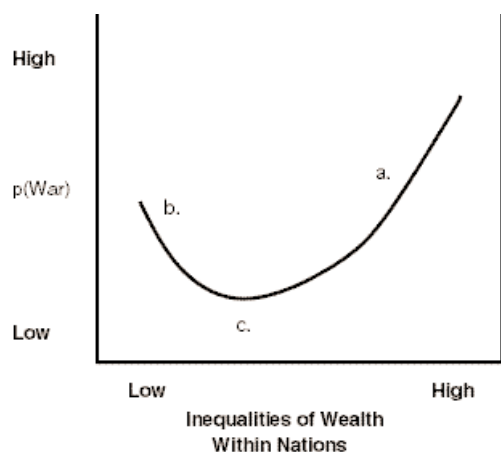
d. Thus, $p(\text{War}) = p_1(W_1) + p_2(W_1) + \dots + p_n(W_1)$ across differing types of war ($W_1, W_2, \dots, W_n$). We discuss 4 types here (international, civil, police-state, and general wars). Other typologies are possible.

Figure 4

Competition for Resources and $p(\text{War})$

correlations, unlike U shaped curves. This may be one reason that competition for resources is among the very few causes of war about which something close to consensus may be observed among scholars of war. Almost everyone agrees that as competition for resources increases, wars become more likely. But there are always nuances which can be argued.

Figure 5 shows a U shaped curve, with a minimum, where the lower axis is now “inequalities of wealth” (could be labeled concentration of wealth). Unlike pure competition for resources between nations, this curve suggests an optimal point where wealth is not so concentrated that people are oppressed, but also not so equal that police state methods are necessary to enforce



- a. Among the civil wars which predominate today, gross inequalities of wealth are roughly equal in importance to corruption of governance, injustice, and ethnic or religious differences as causes of these wars.
- b. Near exact equality of wealth requires either severe and general poverty, or strong, active measures by a government to redistribute wealth from rich to poor. If police-state war is included in $p(\text{War})$, this implies an increase in $p(\text{War})$ at the lowest range of inequality of wealth (near exact equality of wealth) as was demonstrated by communist societies. In simpler terms, perfect equality of wealth requires police-state war to maintain, unless people become saints.
- c. Thus, the curve above has a minimum, indicated by point c. U shaped curves imply an optimal value for variable X, unlike monotonic curves which imply the lowest $p(\text{war})$ at either the minimum, or maximum of X.

Figure 5
Inequalities of Wealth and $p(\text{War})$

equality by severe redistributions of wealth. Non-linear relationships like this can easily be missed by correlation analyses, which rely on assumptions of linearity.

Vanhanen (1992) concludes that competition for resources is the only universal cause of war. Wright does not include this factor among his main variables, but presumes it as a background factor in relations between nations, such that when equilibria break down nations use violent means in competitions which were previously conducted by non-violent means. When explicit, Wright is skeptical of this factor using analogies from theoretical economics. Beginning on page 1146, he writes:

“A people cannot live if it cannot get the means of life. Nature does not provide all the means of life everywhere in unlimited abundance. From these two propositions it has been inferred that the struggle among peoples for the limited resources provided by nature

inevitably leads to war. This theory of the cause of war has often been called economic because it argues from rational motives and natural conditions.

Economists have, however, usually rejected this theory. The position of different economic schools differs, but in general the argument may be analyzed by considering the ambiguities lurking in the key words in this proposition: (a) “struggle,” (b) “peoples,” (c) “limited resources,” and (d) “nature.” [Skipping to page 1148:]

“The struggle between similar individuals or groups for limited resources, through competition, has rarely resulted in conflict. The identification of this struggle with war is therefore not justifiable.” [Dr. Wright will use American Indians as an example for this, but he obviously did not consult any live ones. Continuing on page 1150-51:]

“Competition for a livelihood tends, therefore, to be of general advantage in proportion as trade is conducted as a form of co-operation and of general disadvantage in proportion as it is pursued as a form of conflict. Conflict, instead of being one of the possible ways of winning in the competition for existence, tends to become a way of certainly losing.

In this respect competition for a living differs radically from competition for political power. The latter is relative. One man’s superiority of power is another man’s inferiority. Political competition therefore tends toward conflict, while economic competition tends toward co-operation.”

Wright’s closing comments on competition for political power pertain mainly to my next chapter. His conclusions about economic competition are, to me, like a glass which is half full. He is right about the economic benefits of cooperation, and that people often suffer the downside of economic competition without rebellion. But I also think he is simply blind, like many Chicago school economic theorists, to the harshest edge of economic competition, which is why he can cite the Native American experience without noticing that an entire continent was taken from them, by force, by Europeans eager to harvest wealth from the same land.

Eckhardt explicitly links wars with the expansion, maintenance and contraction of empires which compete for resources within their domain and especially on their periphery.

Even balance of power theorists recognize competition for resources (Morganthau, 1949), they just see competition for power as antecedent to competition for resources. Those who win the competition for power will win the competitions for resources which are ever present.

This is no doubt true, recognizing that all generalizations about war admit of exceptions, and illustrates again the transmutability of so many war causes.

In ancient times land was the main resource competed for, and land remains today the ultimate source of most resources. In modern times, we see oil as a principal resource, while gold was one in the past. The literature of national security is filled with references to the importance of secure access to "strategic materials" which today usually means specialty metals necessary for construction of high tech weapons systems (like cobalt and titanium, necessary for high strength, high heat tolerant components of jet engines or missile parts and the hulls of submarines).

In modern times when civil wars predominate, competition for land is severe between those who have and those who do not have the means for basic subsistence. Soon, water will be as important as oil, and arable farmland as precious as specialty metals. Timber and fisheries are other resources of special importance to the basic struggle for life in the twenty first century.

Konrad Lorenz (1963) and Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1970) demonstrated that territoriality was the most common "cause" of aggression among a wide range of animals, a fact amply confirmed by many primate studies of particular significance to humans (Dolhinow, 1972, DeVore and Hall, 1965). Among primates, another prominent cause of violence is "dominance" within the small social groups upon which most primates depend. Dominance hierarchies occur among both males and females, are determined mainly by fighting between individuals or by simpler threats (alliances involving kin can be important), and result in preferential access to everything from food to shady or secure spots, to females which are the object of greatest interest among competing males. Actual 800 pound male gorillas sleep wherever they wish, and smaller gorillas settle for second best. Or fifteenth, if that is where they fit in the totem pole of gorilla society.

Returning to human wars, it bears mention that control of territory may be merely the measure of dominance (or victory) rather than the motive cause of the conflict (as in the Falklands War, a head-butting contest between General Galtieri and Prime Minister Thatcher where the resource in dispute was probably far less significant than their popularity to domestic audiences).

Examples abound of competition for resources between nations which lead to wars; I will cite just World War II and the Gulf War of 1990-91 here. "Lebensraum" for his German people was undoubtedly a driving force for Hitler, at the expense of Slavs and many others. And the policy of Manchukuo in Japan which began their

involvement in the war, was explicitly aimed at securing oil, timber, rubber and the land which produced all other resources for this island nation which faced severe population pressure. Saddam Hussein cited poaching of oil, and northward encroachment of the border with Kuwait, as key reasons for his assault on Kuwait. And he constantly proclaimed a historical view of Kuwait as a former province of Iraq, which highlights the importance of colonial decisions from 1920 when a British diplomat, Sir Percy Cox, drew lines on a map to create a tiny country with a lot of oil and only one city (Kuwait), simultaneously depriving Iraq of any good port to the ocean.

Remember, it is a feature of causes of war that they blend with other causes, and extend into historical time, thus presenting other factors which may also influence the minds of those who ultimately decide to declare and to fight wars.

Among contemporary civil wars the connection to ownership and control of land is even deeper than in international wars. In El Salvador and Guatemala, wealthy oligarchs, a tiny fraction of the population, own 80% of the land and virtually all of the land which produces cash crops. In Angola, Nigeria and a dozen other countries, tribal divisions which correlate starkly with who controls the oil supplies, diamond mines or other key commodities, are the taproot of civil conflicts there.

Half of Haiti's total income goes to just one per cent of the population (US News and World Report, Aug. 29, 1994, p.38) and political killings occurred almost daily during a police-state war by a military junta sponsored by haves, against those who have not. The junta was deposed later that year by U.S. forces under UN flag, but inequalities of wealth have not been relieved. So we may expect more conflict there unless progress occurs.

Other examples provide mixed messages, and exemplify again the inexorably mixed nature of war causes. The war between North and South Korea of 1950-53 could be called a simple contest over who owned the whole land, or it could be called a contest of ideology over how people were to be ruled, or it could be called a proxy war, between larger powers (Russia, China and the U.S.A.) over larger geopolitical issues. Each of these causes mattered, and while diplomatic historians may ponder archives and argue about the meaning of cables and correspondences (e.g. Cumings, 1981-1990) I do not know any way to sort out clearly which factors were truly most important to which leaders, much less to their peoples. All of these actors have some impact on p(War).

The war in Bosnia is another good example of inexorable mixedness. Was it, to begin with, a civil war among Yugoslav factions, or an international war between nation states (Serbia, Republika Serbska, and the Republic

of Bosnia-Herzegovina recognized by the UN)? Any answer to this must be arbitrary, or at best legalistic. Whatever one decides about political categories, the parties were undoubtedly fighting over control of land. Control of resources is undoubtedly one of the keys. But historic hatreds of complex gestation are also important. Context must be important too, otherwise why did they not fight so ferociously over exactly the same land twenty years ago when Tito managed to keep them from each others' throats, thereby increasing the wealth of all enormously? And if Tito was so important, then how important are the personalities of new leaders or the singular demagogic lust for power we can see among Milosevich, Karadzic, Tudjman and other names now famous for leading the bloodletting there?

If competition for resources is important, do the poor attack the rich, or the rich the poor? In contests between established nation states it is safe to say that most often the powerful attack the weak, irrespective of wealth, although there are obvious correlations between wealth and power. In contests within nations, the rebels are virtually always identified with the poor and blamed for first actions. But unbiased observers also note that the rebels virtually always cite violent policies by a wealthy, powerful and often corrupt central government as the reason for their actions. Which use of violence really came first becomes similar to the question of whether chickens or eggs come first.

Chickens and eggs beget each other. Violence by the rich against the poor begets violence by the poor against the rich begets repression begets revolution begets counterinsurgency and so on — the key to me is not trying to trace back who is most to blame earliest.

The key is recognizing the fundamental tension which grows when inequalities of wealth become too severe. As inequalities of wealth grow, the probability of violent conflict also grows. Who starts it is a separate question. $p(\text{War})$ increases monotonically with competition for resources. Whether that effect is linear or curved does not matter much, and I urge people not to argue over details which cannot be well measured anyway, at this time. But in a U shaped curve when $p(\text{War})$ is charted against inequalities of wealth *per se*, we can acknowledge the lesson of communist police states. Absolute equality of wealth is as unnatural, and resented, as severe inequalities of wealth. So it can only be achieved on a large scale by police-state methods, which constitute a war of sorts by the state against its own people.

Experience with various economic systems indicates that some amount of competition for resources is necessary to stimulate energetic production of wealth. A

large part of the genius of capitalism (when it is not self-destructing) is turning ordinary human greed to productive purposes. But the most productive economies of all today appear to be mixed capitalist - socialist economies which consciously moderate the severe inequalities of wealth that un-regulated capitalism produces, which can lead to war of various kinds.

To restate the most important observations on how competition for resources affects $p(\text{war})$ before moving to solutions:

- 1) As competition increases, $p(\text{war})$ increases more or less monotonically.
- 2) Between nations, competition for resources is almost always a factor in war, beginning with territory. But it is often a factor compounded with other factors like ideology and history. Whether war will occur, and especially who will attack whom, is even more a function of who is the more powerful.
- 3) Within nations, inequalities of wealth are profoundly important to generating the tensions which underlie civil wars. But as we shall see soon, corruption of governance, injustice of non-economic kinds, ethnic differences and other factors are at least as important, and may be more so.

Solutions

As realtors are fond of noting, they stopped making new land a long time ago. The population rises, therefore competition for land can only increase until that fundamental force changes. Land is the ultimate source of almost all other tangible wealth, from food and water to oil and metals and every other commodity. Contrary to some academic economists, services and commodities are not equal regardless of current cash value. People can live without most services; they cannot live without food. When competition becomes a matter of life and death, not mere academic exercise or arguments over luxuries, the probability of war increases greatly.

So, $p(\text{War})$ could be reduced by the following means.

- 1) Reduce population growth to near zero as quickly as practical. Details on that are presented in the chapter on Population Pressure (Chapter 12).
- 2) Establish lower and upper limits on socially acceptable levels of wealth within nations. These correspond to minimum wages, and either income caps or progressive rates of taxation without major loopholes.

3) Recognize that in countries where competition has been severe for some time, no change of “minimum wages” will matter to those who already have no land and no job. More extensive economic development efforts could help greatly, including significant redistribution of land rights, and job creation by various means. If interest in dealing with this factor is not great enough today for such radical attempts to reduce inequalities of wealth, the next general war will stimulate interest as well as destroying much of the surplus wealth available to anyone.

4) Internationally, no significant redistribution of resources will be possible until population growth is either controlled or well on the way to being controlled. Why? Because the wealthy never desire to subsidize irresponsible growth by the poor, and the poor cannot endure much more irresponsible growth by the rich. However, if reduction of population pressure can be obtained, a “Marshall Plan” for global economic development would become possible, and could greatly reduce p(War). In other words, success with economic development (item 3) requires progress with population pressure (item 1) as well.

5) Reducing materialism and increasing spirituality could have a great effect on the whole situation. Spirituality as I use the term has very little to do with churches or organized religion. A “solution” like this will seem very odd to many who cannot conceive of a society promoting spirituality. But I will just note that modern American society puts great effort today into promoting materialism and reducing spirituality, with expectable consequences. It is equally possible to reverse this effort, and doing so would reduce the probability of war, general or civil.

6) Recognize that the global challenge to human survival is fundamentally a biological, ecological, and spiritual challenge, not merely an economic dilemma. This requires a few basic responses based on biological principles, not economic theory. The most specific of these is maintenance of sustainable resources, which requires a lower annual harvest rate than maximum extraction of resources immediately, which is encouraged by “present value economics” or predatory capitalism. That is utterly destructive of biological resources, and leads to war.

7) Recognize that war over resources is phenomenally destructive of resources in the modern era. While it has served to transfer control of land from one party to another in the past, modern warfare is the single most destructive

activity ever invented, and seldom results in a net increase in wealth even for total victors today. Indeed, the only industries which profit from modern war are the banks and weapons industries. But thinking has not progressed as quickly as weapons technologies, so there are still many influential people who believe that war is good for the economy. Some of this is due to the very peculiar and untypical experience of America during and after World War II.

That experience was peculiar and untypical because almost all the fighting occurred on others’ soil. Their economies were destroyed. America emerged with 80 percent of the manufacturing capacity of the entire world, and unprecedented dominance in other ways. It is only because of these very unusual results that some Americans were able to conclude that war is “good” for the economy. Correcting this misunderstanding would help also.

Competition for resources between nations, and inequalities of wealth within nations, are very prominent causes of war. Ending population growth and reducing inequalities of wealth within and between nations (not to zero, to point b on Figure 5) would reduce this contribution to the overall probability of another general war, and reduce the specific probability of many other possible wars, especially civil wars.

Competition for Power: International and Domestic Politics

Competition for power is where the “realists” excel.

They perceive correctly that nations pursue national interests, that the international context is a mostly lawless jungle where the strong and ruthless rule, and that nations which do not take precautions sometimes cease to exist. All those things are true, but those partial truths are not the whole truth of human affairs. Even the view of politicians as ruthless, untrustworthy, calculating, power hungry predators, while often true, admits of some exceptions. In their minds, they are all saints. In his mind, even Hitler was trying to do something good for his people.

Where “realists” err is in dismissing the many other causes of war, and the positive aspects of statecraft. They err more seriously when they justify war as “necessary” or “inevitable” rather than a calculated decision by murderous politicians to accomplish their desires. This latter statement is, of course, a rude and simplistic moral conclusion. The “realists” are very polite about war. Using a disguise of “rationality” they present their moral view, which is that murder is OK as a method of nation states and national leaders. They call this “Realpolitik,” while often opposing political actions which might solve national problems by more constructive means.

So much for moralizing. Competition for power is intimately related to competition for resources. Control of resources is a major component of the quest for power. But they are not identical. Calculations of power between nation states begin with the counting of weapons and troops, and estimation of the capabilities of each. Calculations of power require consideration of alliances, and of political aspects of contests between nations which might affect those alliances. Military power degrades over distance, since to project power requires protecting long and vulnerable supply lines without which no modern army functions. None of these factors is strictly a matter of who has the oil, the farmland, strategic metals, or other resources. But control of resources is important.

Other resources of central importance to calculations of power are money and population. How large and how loyal populations are to their leaders affects how many will likely be willing to die for any particular cause. Here again, there is a dramatic attrition over

distance. Populations are far more willing to defend their homeland than to die for objectives far away. Populations have also shown themselves more willing to fight on behalf of ethnic or religious comrades among close neighbors. This is a significant factor in many wars at the close of the twentieth century.

Cash on hand has been recognized as important to war since the days of Greek city-states and the Warring States period of China. Armies require a lot of supplies, most of which must be purchased prior to a campaign. Extended industrial war, best exemplified by World Wars I and II, requires mobilization of entire national economies to feed the prodigious appetites for munitions, fuel and food which modern armies consume. In extended industrial war, people become another “consumable” in the lexicon of military logisticians. Without fresh weapons and fresh people to consume, no modern army can function long in large scale war.

Competition for power can be divided into three functional types. Competition for power between nations in an international system; this is geopolitics. Most of the preceding paragraphs dealt with this kind of competition for power. Scapegoating, or distraction of domestic discontent by declaring or fomenting war with neighbors, once called the Simmel effect after Georg Simmel, is so common and important a cause of war that it will be considered a special case of competition for domestic power. All other competitions for domestic power will be considered as the third category. Since civil wars predominate today, this is the most important type of competition for power which results in war today. That will change if and when the next general war comes because of the extraordinary consequences of general wars.

Competition for Power Between Nations

Contemporary “realism” has been defined by writers like Hans Morgenthau (1949), Kenneth Waltz (1979) and many other authors. None of these men was a monster; indeed a former student tells me Morgenthau was very kind. But their main thesis is repeated like a mantra:

‘War is necessary for nation states and national leaders, because they live in a jungle and if they do not make war they will be conquered.’ Michael Howard (1984, 55) explains why: “What was dominant in their consciousness [the post-WW II generation of statesmen], was the impotence, almost one might say the irrelevance, of ethical aspirations in international politics in the absence of that factor to which so little attention had been devoted by their more eminent predecessors, to which indeed so many of them had been instinctively hostile — military power.”

This is true, but it is just a partial truth. By reciting it to the exclusion of other important truths, one makes for self-fulfilling prophecy (and comfortable reading for the warmongers who actually decide to initiate or promote wars, and who are often anxious about their public image). For this reason, I call “realism” the “ruthless” school. Diplomatic historian John Lewis Gaddis provides a wise and balanced review of its genesis, in The Long Peace: Inquiries Into the History of the Cold War, 1987.

Rather than reproduce or summarize this vast literature with which I so often disagree, I have referred you to a few of the recognized masters of “realism” and wish to add only two perspectives which you may not find in a million words on “realist” theory. Both involve calculations, one of power, the other of the half-life of the current civilization.

“Realists” make much use of game theory and other mathematical models which claim to explain decisions by leaders. In their language, the quest for power is a “zero sum game” which means that for one side or leader to win, someone else has to lose. Quincy Wright was referring to this view when he said that competition for power is relational (in contrast to economic competitions, which can be positive sum games). That view of power is quintessentially political, and is embedded in assumptions that power means power over other people, and that power over other people is usually obtained by the ability to coerce through force. Hence their near exclusive focus on military power.

Well, that is one view on power which is certainly held by many who enter politics, but it is neither the only, nor the wisest view. There are many forms of power besides the power to coerce: there is economic power, and power of persuasion and power by moral example, to cite just three examples expressed by people in business, media and religion. (Edward Carr and Kenneth Boulding wrote about these in 1939 and 1989).

Even confining myself to the power of force, consider a theoretical condition exemplified by many real world cases. Imagine a life or death contest between two political systems. One is totalitarian, the logical extreme of the “realist” position, where all people and other

national resources are mobilized in a rigid police-state hierarchy to serve the interests of the government, which feels it must compete ferociously in the jungle of anarchic international relations. The other is a utopian democracy where nobody in the nation state has power over others, only the power to aggregate for agreed upon purposes. No actual utopian democracies exist, of course, but some governments strive toward that ideal.

Which will be the stronger?

As I read the history of war, the totalitarian states are losing in the long run to more enlightened states which advance (though not completely embracing) the principle of individual freedom. It is a long running struggle, and the outcome is still in doubt. But Hitler certainly lost, the Soviet Empire certainly fell, Idi Amin was routed, Pol Pot hid in the jungles of Cambodia until he died in April, 1998, South Africa is transforming, the military dictators of South America are yielding, one by one, to more democratic forms of rule, and many other tyrannies which had their day were ultimately destroyed or deposed by the necrosis which comes to those who use the ruthless principle as their guide to governance.

We shall see. The authoritarians are still powerful, and work hard every day to resurrect their beastly systems. America is at risk to totalitarianism from within today, a danger which increases as its empire collapses. Pressure on our tiny globe of too many humans will be very intense, which also tends to increase the attraction of demagogues when people are desperate. So we shall see; the ultimate outcome has not occurred yet. Freedom and Peace, or Totalitarianism and eternal War? We each must decide which to support. This struggle is the paramount political struggle of our age.

Point two on “realism” concerns something called the “rational actor assumption.” “Realists” often look to economics for examples of complex modeling, and they adopted an economic assumption which posits that decision makers use a process they call “rational” to calculate expected benefits and costs from any particular action. Once again, they have taken a real observation and a real partial truth, but by exaggerating its significance they lose sight of the forest by their focus on one tree.

The most extreme expression of the rational actor assumption is “deterrence theory” which underlies the massive deployment of nuclear weapons around the world. Assuming that politicians are rational actors, * the weapons enthusiasts concluded that the safest world would be one where two superpowers each could destroy the other and everyone else many times over under any

* proof positive that the modelers dealt with computers more than with people.

conceivable circumstance of surprise attack. So they produced tens of thousands of nuclear weapons and spent trillions of dollars developing them and their related support systems (delivery, command, control, communications, intelligence, etc.) In short, they wired the earth for self destruction, and called this a rational response to their fears.

First, I will observe a few assumptions neglected by this system, which they aptly named “MAD” for Mutual Assured Destruction. Then, I will calculate the half-life of human civilization, using their own arithmetic.

They forgot that national leaders sometimes become insane, a fact of war abundantly recorded in history.

They did not notice that what is called “rational” varies widely around the world, with geography, culture and time. “Rationality” can also be relative. It might not be rational for the US and the Russians to destroy each other, but at the same time it might be very rational for suffering peoples in the Third World to pray, and to work, for that end.

They forgot that whatever “rational” is, it degrades when people become desperate. It is rumored that the Israelis offered to nuke southern Russia during their 1973 war with Arab states in order to precipitate holocaust between America and the Soviet Union, if President Nixon did not: a) urge the Soviets to stop supplying their Arab allies, and b) deliver a long list of American weapons promptly to the Israelis. You may decide whether this would be rational or not. Nixon certainly did what the Israelis desired. But will ultimate threats work every time a nuclear nation gets desperate about its survival? Forever?

What nation would allow its major cities to be overrun by invaders, if it had nuclear weapons, without resorting to its ultimate force? I do not know of any. But we certainly do know of many nations which are now nuclear capable, with more on the way.

The statistician named Poisson gave us a way to estimate how long it will take for rare events to occur if one keeps trying. Like all statistical calculations, his method involves many assumptions, but I will spare you those, like the weapons enthusiasts spared you their assumptions when they wired the world for self destruction. Just accept for this example that a general nuclear war would probably destroy civilization as we know it. If you will accept that, and the idea that we might estimate the probability of a (general) nuclear war during any year, then Poisson gives us a way to calculate the half-life of human civilization.

If $p(\text{nuclear War})$ is 1 percent per year, .01, and if this probability is maintained, there is a fifty-fifty chance

of a nuclear war occurring within 69 years. These odds continue as long as the assumptions continue, so the probability of nuclear war within 138 years becomes 75 percent (50 percent plus $.5 \times .5$ or 25 percent) and so on. The half-life of human civilization (the fifty-fifty point) becomes a simple arithmetic function of the probability per year that someone like the Israelis, or the Americans, or the Russians, or the Chinese, or the French, or the British, or the South Africans, or the Indians, or the Pakistanis, or the Iranians, Koreans or any other eager entrants to the nuclear “club” will get desperate, will gamble, and initiate nuclear escalation.

“Realists” call this “rational.” I call it ruthless, reckless, and probably stupid.

A general alternative is possible, often called “collective security,” which we will discuss in due time. It is not pacifist, but relies more on people, light arms and healthy alliances than on megadeath arsenals and monolithic, secretive military command structures. Weapons industries and general staffs usually oppose it. Here is one final short arithmetic note before moving to scapegoating and similar problems.

Another concept advanced by the math nuts was “risk of war.” Like other theories this contained a partial truth worth contemplating. In their mathematical lingo, $r(W) = p(W) \times c(W)$. In English, the risk of war equals the probability of war times the cost of war (which may vary across types of war). Deterrence theory tried to reduce the risk of war by reducing the probability of war by increasing the cost of war, to near infinity. Well, they succeeded in the latter by building and deploying all those nuclear warheads, not to forget the biological, chemical and other exotic weapons tucked away in secret stockpiles.

Where they slipped a digit was forgetting that while $p(\text{War})$ could be reduced this way, it could never be reduced to zero so long as the capability for war was maintained, because people are just not 100% reliably robotic calculators and persist in being idiosyncratic. Besides, what looks good to our team undoubtedly will be desired by every other general staff on earth, which multiplies the numbers of “rational actors” with weapons of mass destruction, which greatly multiplies the aggregate $p(\text{War})$. The probability of general war defines the half-life of human civilization today, if we are looking at nuclear or biological war — a point to remember next time warmongers ask for several hundred billion dollars to invest in secret labs and stockpiles.

Try to remember that “our” warmongers are by no means the only warmongers in the world, which is why we still need generals, weapons and military budgets to support them. The art is in discerning how many, how selected, and most of all how to cultivate an enlightened

philosophy among those entrusted with the tools of the world's deadliest endeavor.

Scapegoating, or Simmel Effect, or the Rally Around the Flag Effect

Jack Levy (1988, 667) said this about the scapegoat hypothesis: "Theoretically, the scapegoat theory is based on the in-group/out-group hypothesis in sociology. Simmel, in the first systematic treatment of the subject, argued that conflict with an out-group increases the cohesion and political centralization of the in-group, and generalized to international relations: 'war with the outside is sometimes the last chance for a state ridden with inner antagonisms to overcome these antagonisms, or else to break up definitely.'" (Simmel, 1955). Dr. Levy is far more impressive to me than most "realists" because he at least contemplates the views of sociologists, historians, psychologists, anthropologists and many others who have examined war.

Elsewhere in his excellent review of domestic politics and war (pg. 665) Levy notes that: "Peoples in both democratic and non-democratic states are often highly enthusiastic at the beginning of wars, although this support may decline rapidly if the war becomes prolonged and costly. In American politics popular support for a president invariably increases immediately after the use of force, regardless of the wisdom or success of that military action. This pattern has been explained by the tendency of the public to rally around the flag, the president, and the party, and ultimately by the phenomenon of modern nationalism." This fits well with Stoessinger's observations about the psychology of national leaders. Levy also cites Mueller (1973) Stoll (1984) and Ostrom and Job (1984) for empirical evidence in support of this conclusion. Simmel effect and "Rally Around the Flag" effect are different terms for the same scapegoating phenomenon.

This phenomenon of initial enthusiasm among peoples and leaders recurs in many thoughtful studies of how wars begin, and will be dealt with in Chapter 26 on Adventure.

One can make fine distinctions between scapegoating, domestic politics, nationalism, and Simmel's in-group/out-group hypothesis, but I am not concerned with fine distinctions here. It is enough to recognize that domestic politics can have profound effects on the decisions of leaders whether or not to initiate wars, and has throughout history. Levy provides many other references supporting this view, which would be obvious except that other "realists" have put so much effort into concluding that both individuals and domestic politics are

irrelevant to war. He also observes: "Public opinion is not always hawkish, and there are numerous examples of public opinion constraining decision-makers from taking more hardline policies." That is balanced, and correlates with one of the Three Green Lights (or red) of my simplistic model of war causation.

I have cited the Falklands war of 1982 as an especially clear example of scapegoating, as Max Hastings and Simon Jenkins detail in The Battle for the Falklands, 1983, and will add just two others. Many scholars cite Bismark's consolidation of Germanic states as an example of adroit use of scapegoating (e.g., Planze, 1971). And if the evidence for covert manipulations prior to the Gulf War of 1990-91 between Iraq, Kuwait and a US-led coalition is correct (by no means certain, but highly provocative as detailed earlier in the Review of Wars Genocides and Flashpoints, 1990-1994), then this war was also a Simmel-like stretch for domestic political popularity by American President George Bush. If that evidence is accurate, he manipulated both Kuwait and Iraq's Saddam Hussein into fatal miscalculations which cost at least 100,000 lives and wounded many more people. All to boost Bush's ratings in opinion polls, which the war undoubtedly did.

This war illustrates especially well an important methodological point. When studying causes of war, one must seek a balance between rigor and rigor mortis that is very difficult to achieve. The hints of covert action which support the darker view on how this war began could never show up in any rigidly quantitative "empirical" study of war, much less in "large 'n' correlational studies." It could only be found by case study, and even then superficial case studies will usually overlook the covert factors that are so common in war causation, but so professionally executed and thus very hard to detect.

For these reasons, the level of uncertainty about how and why even this highly televised war occurred will never be low, it must always be rather high. In statistical terms, the error variance around even this one datapoint must be great. When you compound this over the similar uncertainties pertaining to the record on most wars through history, one may embrace quantitative data and rigor when it is truly available, but one must never lose sight of the ephemeral quality of most of our data.

Above all, one must not allow paralysis of analysis by requiring levels of certainty regarding our data which, in truth, are never possible. Rigor is nice, because opinions are so loose and subjective. But rigor mortis means analytic death. The study of so important a subject as how wars occur must strike a healthy balance between them.

Domestic Politics More Generally

Most people who observe American politics agree that public opinion has a significant influence on whether Presidents will go to war. The impression I have received from diplomats and historians is that this is generally true among democracies, and even to a degree within authoritarian political systems, albeit less so.

Authoritarian systems have much less need to consult their polities, since support is enforced by coercion. But even tyrants need supporters, especially among the army, police, and intelligence agencies upon whom they rely so deeply to retain power.

The techniques by which democracies acquire “voluntary” support, and authoritarians obtain coerced support, are many and complex. So I will consider two cases of the most extreme sort next, of particular significance to war, political assassinations.

Assassinations

Earlier, I submitted that the most important type of competition for power today, affecting causes of current wars, is competition among domestic factions for power within nations. Levy’s review is pertinent to that, and I commend the whole to you. But he neglects an area of secret actions that I find quite important to understanding many civil wars today, and which emphasizes the bedrock uncertainties that must forever remain between us and ultimate answers regarding why particular wars occur.

That subject is political murders, for which the special term assassination was created. Table 3 (in Appendix B, page 255) lists 21 examples of political murders in recent history which had a significant bearing on conflicts in the countries indicated. Many other assassinations have occurred around the world. My purpose is merely showing that this is a common phenomenon, not confined by any means to Third World countries, or to “terrorist organizations” as might sometimes be inferred from the American press.

Because assassination is so important, but so poorly understood and so secretly employed, I will digress to two specific cases of special significance so that you will have some depth necessary to appreciate this general factor. One was the murder of American President John F. Kennedy, which was directly related to the subsequent war involving the U.S.A. and Southeast Asia (South and North Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos), with the Soviet Union and other parties on the margins. The other is the probable murder of Pope John Paul I, which is profoundly related to two of the most powerful causes of war in the world today: population pressure and corruption of governance.

President John F. Kennedy was undoubtedly murdered on November 22, 1963 but who killed him is a subject of great controversy in America to this day. The government and major national media who comment on it maintain that Kennedy was killed by a man named Lee Harvey Oswald. Over 600 books reach other conclusions, and up to 90% of the American public do not believe the official story, citing a number of conspiracy theories.* Foreign intelligence agencies have reached the same conclusion, notably MOSSAD (Ostravsky and Hoy, 1990).

Rather than review these many theories, I will simply state my summary conclusions based on personal conversations and correspondence with intelligence personnel, scholars and investigative journalists close to the subject, review of visual evidence compiled by the House Select Committee on Assassinations and especially their photo expert Robert Grodin (1992), forensic evidence as assessed by past-president of the American Academy of Forensic Science, Dr. Cyril Wecht, and careful review of the following books among others: Fonzi (1993), Garrison (1988), Groden (1993), Lane (1966, 1991), Lifton (1988), Marrs (1989), Newman (1992), Posner (1993), Prouty (1973, 1993), Russell (1993), Scott (1976, 1993), Sloan and Hill (1992), Summers (1981), and Weisberg (1967). Posner contends that Oswald really did the deed, everyone else disagrees, and the weight of their evidence crushes the analysis of this Wall Street lawyer turned novelist.

Some of the most persuasive data has come from anecdotal comments from people who were there, on both sides of the shooting. Based on all this data, this is my formal opinion on this political murder at this time.

President Kennedy was almost certainly ($p > 99$ percent) killed by multiple bullets, one entering the front of his head, commonly thought to have come from a “grassy knoll” toward which dozens of people ran immediately after the event, many citing observations consistent with a rifle shot from that site. This fact, abundantly corroborated by eyewitness testimony from six physicians and many others who attended his body, and forensic evidence available but suppressed by the government, compels a conclusion that some conspiracy was necessary, since Lee Harvey Oswald was also involved and could not have been in two places

* CBS News conducted extensive polls on this in 1993 and 1996. In 1993, 50% of the public believed that the CIA killed JFK, and 40% more that the prime conspirators were organized crime, Cubans, Russians or other plotters, with only 10% believing the official government story. In 1996, only 9% believed the government’s version of events. This despite 33 years of pervasive and persistent propaganda in support of the government’s view.

simultaneously. A CIA man named Frank Sturgis (a.k.a. Frank Fiorini) is likely to have been one of the shooters, but all details regarding who fired what, how, etc. are less certain than the basic conclusion that more than one shooter was involved. Such details are also infinitely less important. That said, there were most likely three guns, four shots, three hits and a miss, although a few more shots could be supported by the available evidence. Available evidence has undoubtedly been tampered with, another aspect of the case which is far more important than details, because it implicates the U.S. government. None of the many other alleged conspirators had the capability to grossly distort forensic evidence, control the investigation, produce a blatantly deceitful Warren Report, or control subsequent inquiries.

The probable conspirators included, as prime visible party, the Central Intelligence Agency (p > 98 percent); as active collaborators, elements of organized crime commonly known as the Mafia, and as vital adjuncts other elements of government like the FBI, especially Director J. Edgar Hoover, and key personnel from the Pentagon, especially Gen. Edward Lansdale, father of “psychological operations” in “low-intensity conflict” and then commander of Special Operations, whose executive officer was Col. C. Fletcher Prouty, one of the authors cited. At least one shooter team was probably provided by the Mafia which also provided Jack Ruby who murdered Lee Harvey Oswald two days later. Evidence was manipulated by the FBI and Secret Service, or by men with credentials claiming to be Secret Service Agents who confiscated much photographic evidence at the scene which has not been seen by the public since. Many CIA trained expatriate Cubans were involved, and control of disinformation efforts was pre-planned and professionally executed by the CIA.

It is possible that more powerful and more secret entities than the CIA lie behind that agency, as alleged by Prouty and Scott among others, but I cannot speak to that and it is not especially relevant to the importance of this case although it could be highly relevant to the actual causes of war since intelligence agencies are often implicated in actions which initiate wars. So whether they are in charge or someone else orders their actions is a significant item. See Chapter 28, Balances of Power, for more on that.

So, the CIA killed John Kennedy, with help from organized crime and some Cubans angry about Kennedy policies. Extremely wealthy interests in Texas and Wall Street were also probably consulted and involved behind the scenes. One reason important to some actors was consummating a planned war in Vietnam which Kennedy was about to pull out of. (US Army Intelligence Major

and Ph.D. historian John Newman’s book, JFK and Vietnam, 1992, is focused entirely on this latter question, and is decisive. Kennedy’s order to withdraw from Vietnam was reversed by Johnson five days after Kennedy was killed.)

Well, you can read the official American literature on the war in Vietnam for a hundred years and not discern that Kennedy’s murder had anything to do with it. And you can read a hundred academic texts, most couched in the abstract “realist” worldview where personalities are irrelevant, and you will still not get a clue about this very important cause of that particular war.

That one war killed at least 58,000 Americans and 3 million Southeast Asians, maybe more, although no one will ever know very accurately since so many were peasants in Cambodia and Laos who were bombed into the stone age with no organized government able to count them. Vietnam counted 3.2 million dead on its soil, north and south. About six times as many Americans were maimed as were killed; I don’t know the ratio for the Southeast Asians.

Prior to, and since that time, the CIA was involved in clandestine operations in at least 60 other Third World countries (generating several dozen wars and coups) and the Soviet KGB often was also (see Blum, 1986, and references in Chapter 19 on Spies, Cults and Secret Power Systems). My purpose here is not weighing superpower blame, but documenting how important secret agencies and very professionally disguised political murders can be, indeed truly are, in the actual causes of real wars. If Kennedy had not been killed, America would have withdrawn from Vietnam, and both nations would have been spared vast tragedy.

Regarding Pope John Paul the First, I can offer only one reference, David A. Yallop’s In God’s Name: An Investigation into the Murder of Pope John Paul I, 1984. No matter how credible the author, one reference cannot be considered definitive proof of anything so profound as an alleged murder of a world leader. That said, this author is unusually credible, his research is careful, his prior works were all investigative matters about real crimes, and he was invited to do three years research on the death of John Paul I by highly placed sources within the Vatican. I was guided to his book by a nun of exceptional reputation who was in the Vatican at the time of John Paul’s death, and who left convinced that he had been killed by dark forces within. But no one reference can be decisive. Also, this murder lacks the physical, visual and documentary evidence necessary for firm conclusions.

So I cannot place any estimate of probability on Yallop’s conclusions. I can only say that he convinced me, and that his work correlates very well with other works on

criminal activities associated with the Vatican Bank, with the opinion of credible private parties who were in or near the Vatican at the time of John Paul's death, and with subsequent behavior by Pope John Paul the Second.

I hasten to note that nowhere in Yallop's book does he suggest that John Paul II was a party to this murder, he just won the subsequent contest for successor. And I could spend a long time listing his virtues, like his innumerable speeches for peace in scores of countries with ongoing conflicts. But Karol Wojtyla, a.k.a. John Paul II, satisfied certain requirements of the alleged murderers, and those who conduct political murders usually do so for a reason and with plans for the succession. Specifically, a) John Paul II stopped inquiries into criminal activity by Vatican banking interests, b) he clamped down hard on progressive thought or discussion of sexual, in particular birth control issues, which John Paul I was about to reverse, * c) John Paul II also reversed a centuries long ban on clergy joining Masonic secret societies in 1983, and d) he reversed other significant changes begun by his predecessor, for example, unleashing rather than restraining secretive organs of ideological control within the church whose mission is to suppress critical thought about ancient policies.

John Paul I was trying to let divergent views flower; John Paul II suppressed them. John Paul I supported the reforms of Vatican II; John Paul II opposed them. Reactionaries in the church call this the "Restoration." They are the same people who objected to pardoning Galileo for claiming the earth revolves around the sun, and who have fired professors like Hans Kung for daring to question Catholic teachings at Catholic Universities. Penny Lernoux describes the Restoration in People of God (1989) with special reference to the political consequences for "liberation theology" and resultant insurgencies and police-state wars in Latin America. But in terms of global war, the most significant consequence was probably preserving the ban on birth control. John Paul II opposes any rethinking of sexual issues; John Paul I was about to bring the Church into the 20th century, and reverse a policy which leads directly to starvation and war over resources.

Most of Yallop's book is about the activities of the secretive Vatican Bank, and alleged connections to an equally secretive Masonic organization called P2, or "Propaganda Due." ** Related murders surely occurred,

* John Paul I intended to reverse the Vatican ban on birth control, but died after only 33 days as Pope. This pending policy reversal was terrifying to theological conservatives within the Vatican, and is of the most profound consequence for the causes of war.

such as of Roberto Calvi, found hung under a London Bridge, after which roughly a billion dollars was found to be missing from the Vatican's Bank. Yallop does not single out one culprit, but names and details six who had the means, motives, and likely connections with the others.

It is a long, complex story, as top level political murders usually are. There are always uncertainties. And I say again, I have far less data to base an opinion on this case compared with Kennedy's murder where vast reams of physical, photographic, and eyewitness evidence is available, however tainted. But what is important is to notice how profoundly such murders can affect the probability of war, whether or not one ever determines exactly who did it, how.

As I write, the UN is hosting in Cairo, Egypt, a once-every-10-year conference on population issues. Dominating discussion is the Vatican's stand on sexual subjects, especially abortion, to the exclusion of dozens of other topics related to the survival of humanity on earth. Population pressure is one of the fundamental forces behind dozens of small wars today, behind starvation, behind general environmental destruction, and sometimes lethal competitions for resources.

Whether John Paul I or II is making the key decisions matters greatly since they disagreed diametrically on whether to maintain the Catholic church ban on contraception. Few things matter more to the probability of war in our time than population pressure. Whether criminal forces control the seat of financial power in this vast church matters also; no one owns more land in America for one example, excepting the Federal government. Of course, a billion followers may do as they desire anyway, and often do. But it matters a lot when the head of a billion humans and a vast hierarchy changes his mind, or loses his life to dark forces, and it matters greatly to the probability of wars, both small and large.

Domestic Politics by Military Means: Civil Wars

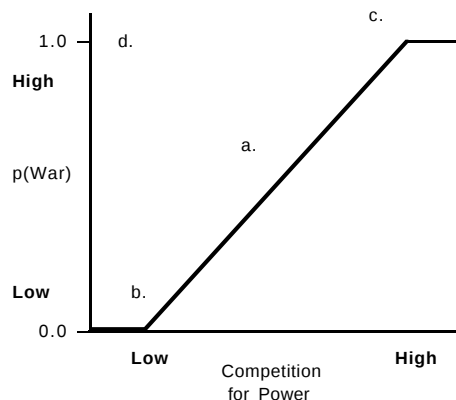
Of the 45 Wars during 1990-1995 listed in Table 1, 43 are civil wars, excepting only Iraq vs. Kuwait and allies, and the U.S. invasion of Panama. Clearly, competition for domestic power reaches its brutal apex when civil war is the means chosen.

Competition for power is always commingled with other causes, like ethnic or religious divisions within a

** P2 was publicly disbarred by the European Grand Lodge of Masonry later, due to alleged involvement with organized crime and other political murders, such as of Italian Prime Minister Aldo Moro.

polity, and always with the specific reasons why contestants choose to fight. About half the civil wars today involve ethnic or religious divisions, which themselves are often commingled. Others involve more basic battles between the rich and poor, as in Iraq and Kuwait where relatively poor but strong Iraq attacked relatively rich but weak Kuwait, or in El Salvador and Guatemala where the rich attacked the poor. In some cases religious zealots attack each other, as in India where fundamentalist Hindus are engaged with fundamentalist Muslims in Kashmir, and with Sikhs in Punjab. Elsewhere Buddhists battle Hindus (Sri Lanka) and Muslims Christians (Bosnia, and East Timor) and sometimes ideology seems the main issue, as in Cambodia.

But everywhere civil war occurs, there is another contest. This is a contest between powerful men or women who desire to rule. They use the existing religious or ethnic mosaics and tensions to further their personal quests for power. In their minds, they are the saviors or protectors of their people. But by their acts, many people on both sides die, and usually a very great many innocents in the field lose their lives, their limbs or their loved ones.



- a. Monotonic, with endpoints.
- b. At near zero competition for power, there can not be wars. Anyone may be invaded, but even then without resistance (e.g., no competition for power) war is unlikely, although genocide may still occur.
- c. At some point prior to maximum competition for power, states of war are presumed to exist because war is the classical maximum expression of competition for power.
- d. Therefore this graph, unlike most, has zero and 1.0 points indicated on the $p(\text{War})$ scale. This can only occur with a factor like competition for power which is so nearly synonymous with war. Most incremental effects on $p(\text{War})$ are presumed to be very small, and additive to other causes of war. $p(\text{War}) \text{ total} = p_1(W) + p_2(W) + p_3(W) + \dots + p_n(W)$.

Figure 6

Competition for Power and $p(\text{War})$

Given these complex mixtures of cause, any attempt to parse out single factors is doomed to yield very partial and limited truths indeed. This will be true whether sophisticated statistical techniques are used or my simplistic and crude qualitative curves. Still, Figure 6 (page 63) attempts to discern how competition for power affects the probability of war, in aggregate, with all those mixtures of cause and types of war left mixed.

Close examination of the factor of competition for domestic power as a cause of war reveals one of the paradoxes of this field. Vast numbers of people around the world are aroused to war out of fear that they will lose their freedoms to some other faction, or by desire to regain freedoms once lost. Many of these same people do not hesitate to seek the power to rule other people, depriving them of freedom; indeed the one's security is often believed to require power to rule other people. It is not possible for everyone to be free if someone has power to rule others by force. In fact, it is not truly possible for anyone to achieve real freedom if they insist on rule over others.

Ruling elites are the ones who must live in fortresses and travel secretly, with armed guards.

Resolving this paradox provides one of the ultimate answers to the problem of war. It will be detailed in the chapter on Authoritarian Law and Militant Religion where it fits most perfectly. The short form is: "Stop trying to run other people's lives" and there will be less war. There would be less fear among elites as well. The other ultimate answer to the question of how to end war requires reducing population pressure, the subject of the next chapter.

Solutions

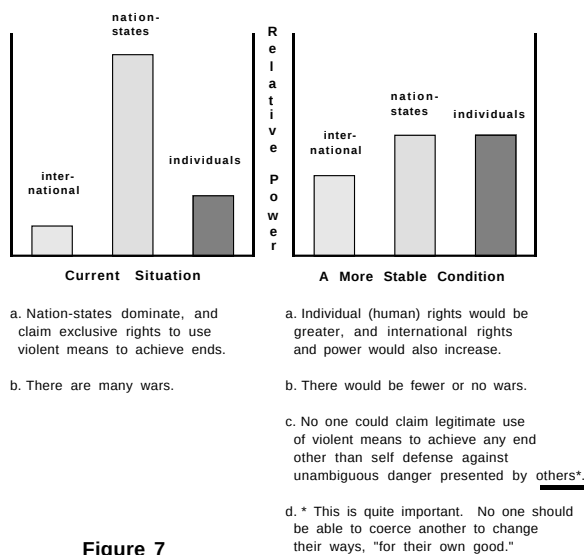
The most general solution to the problem of competition for power would be to resurrect the notion that murder is not a legitimate means for pursuing power. If only those who kill would respond to sweet reason, but of course, they seldom do, which is why we need police and military forces for the foreseeable future despite the problems these sometimes present.

My response is to make more clear the ideal, indeed sacred, purposes of police and military forces, as opposed to the corrupt purposes to which they are so often put by governments. The ideal purpose of both police and soldiers is to protect the people from injury by forces within, or outside the nation state. The soldiers should be capable of doing things which no one else can, because of the national scale resources at their disposal, and because of their special dedication, training and skill. The police should be a community's premier conflict resolvers, since they are on the front lines of conflicts every day, and

merely jailing or incapacitating or killing the culprits is seldom the best solution over the long run, as every good cop knows.

Maintaining reasonable order, without which society cannot function, without lapsing into police-state tyranny, is the magic balance toward which honorable police must strive. Protecting the people without becoming their oppressors, or parasites, or mercenaries hired by the rich to persecute the poor — that is the sacred goal of honorable soldiers everywhere. Both should be the guardians of peace and justice, not mere protectors of privilege. This is not easy when the paymasters and the politicians order police and soldiers to do otherwise.

The corrupt functions to which police and soldiers are often put today include collecting bills for the rich, persecuting select minorities, and enforcing rules of bigots and power hungry politicians who exploit others. More will be said about this in the section on Corruption of Governance (chapter 14).



Reducing the Relative Power of Nation States is a means for reducing probability of wars

Figure 7 shows another aspect of the path to peace in a warlike world. Its essence is reduction in the relative power of nation states, increasing the power of international governance (which is not the same as an international government) and increasing the power of individuals simultaneously. This is consistent with and pursuant to a broad reduction in the legitimacy granted to use of violent force as a means of rule by anyone.

Some very detailed and specific thinking has gone into intermediate ways to move toward this more peaceful world, ways which recognize the dangers which undoubtedly exist in our world, and the need to go step by step in a prudent manner. One term for this great experiment of thought is "Collective Security," another significant term is "Civilian Based Defense," and a third is "Governance without Government."

Collective security recognizes that the old fashioned way is unstable. Even Henry Kissinger, known worldwide for arranging the deaths of millions of people in dozens of countries in his pursuit of greater American power, finally understood that: "Absolute security for any one nation means absolute insecurity for all the rest." The rest become nervous, build up their arsenals, conduct covert and overt operations to bleed the power from the hegemonic nation, and eventually bring it to its knees as the fall of every empire in human history has illustrated.

Collective security is what Europe with NATO is trying to exemplify today. Not pacifism, not total disarmament, but recognition that everyone's security is amplified if no one nation dominates all, and if coalitions become recognized as necessary before any military means is selected to solve a problem. Not absolute rejection of weapons, but a wiser awareness that some weapons are powerful offensively, others defensively. And that defensive weapons serve the greater good, by reducing the chance they will be used in offense, and thereby reducing the insecurity of the neighbors with whom one arranges security for all.

Security for all is the goal, with moderate weapons, not a competition of security for the strongest only, which leads to destabilizing arms races. Collective security acts as a restraint on what Stephen Van Evera called "the cult of the offensive" (1984) which helped turn a political assassination into a war that would kill one tenth of European males (World War I). The cult of the offensive also fueled the cold war arms race at a cost of trillions of dollars and millions of lives around the world.

Collective security recognizes that some weapons are simply so indiscriminate and dangerous that they probably should not be built in the first place, most notably biological weapons and nuclear weapons. So it tries to develop regimes of international law which restrict the lawful use of such weapons, testing and eventually their deployment or production. This is a long, stepping backward process, and no one believes it will be easy, especially so long as "superpowers" cling to their ample nuclear, chemical and covert biological weapons capabilities. But when you are marching down a slippery slope toward death, there comes a time to face the facts and backtrack if you want to survive.

Civilian based defense recalls the strength of Sparta during its prime, where the safety of the nation was secured by the strength of its individual citizens rather than by an elite, professional army. Civilian based defense is best exemplified today by nations like Switzerland, where most people are properly trained and equipped to defend their mountain country on short notice. Many men keep Army machine guns in their closets, for example, and are able to mobilize in literally minutes. No nukes for Switzerland, just great terrain for defense and a citizenry trained, able and equipped to defend it. A centuries-long tradition of staying out of other people's fights by strict neutrality also helps.

No one fears Switzerland because it injures not, so no one attacks them out of fear or anger. But all Europe also knows that to do so would be like kicking a hornets nest. Why bother? Little to gain, much to lose. So the Swiss can concentrate on getting rich and enjoying the good life — really, this is not a bad formula for the rest of the world to consider.

Civilian based defense can also take advantage of non-violent methods of active resistance which have obvious limitations but also far more power than most states suppose (excepting Nordic countries, most nations have refused to contemplate such methods). Gene Sharp of Harvard wrote a three volume work on the politics, methods and dynamics of non-violent action (1973) which is regarded as a definitive review of historic examples of effective use of these methods.

Governance without Government is covered in Chapter 30. Its essence is arranging user pays, voluntary associations around functional problems (like delivering mail, eradicating smallpox, or managing international air travel safely) without establishing either government bureaucracy or coercive measures for enforcing compliance. So we will move now to the powerful and deceptive factor called population pressure.

“If population size is controlled only by misery and starvation, then human populations will grow until they are miserable and starving.” — Thomas Malthus

— Or, until they are killing each other over resources — the present author.

Population Pressure

Population pressure is the largest force behind competition for resources, and competition for resources is the most common proximate cause of war. Competition over control of territory is the most obvious expression of these factors.

At equilibrium, birth rates determine life expectancy for all biological populations.

**At Equilibrium, BR determine LE, or,
LE = 1000/BR**

For example, at a human birth rate of 12/1000/year, life expectancy is 83.33 years (at equilibrium). A birth rate of 32/1000/year yields a life expectancy of 31.25 years. The birth rates chosen for examples are typical of human populations which have stabilized versus those which are growing rapidly.

In this simple equation lies one of the most powerful keys to ending war. Therefore, I will derive it in a bit more detail.

1. Life Expectancy (LE) over the long run is defined by death rates (DR), which are usually expressed in numbers per thousand per year. **LE = 1000/DR**. Thus, a death rate of 20 (per 1,000, per year) would yield a life expectancy of 1,000/20 or 50 years. A death rate of 10 would yield a life expectancy of 100 years. Numbers observed in human populations can range from as low as about 8 to over 20, with the lowest values found only in populations where there are few old and many young due to recent growth. Population growth can distort such numbers, but only temporarily in the time scale of species, since every living thing dies eventually, and no non-human living system ever observed has grown forever. People like to think they are immune to Natural Laws. But measurable deterioration of the environment (with respect to human needs) ensures that this deviation from the general rule is both temporary, and nearly finished.

2. At equilibrium (which means where population does not grow or decline) birth rates (BR) equal death rates

(DR), or **BR = DR**.

3. Therefore, **LE = 1,000/BR** at equilibrium, or in words: Life expectancy is determined by birth rates. In the long run, birth rates always equal death rates in every living system, and in the long run, living systems always reach equilibrium or go extinct, so . . .

Birth rates determine life expectancy, in equilibrium populations.

This is an Iron Law of Biology; it admits of no exceptions. Because people do not accept this, we have starvation and wars over limited resources.

Like the Law of Gravity, people may accept its dictates, or suffer. With gravity, the penalty for denial is broken bones. With birth rates, the penalty for denial is high death rates. Those deaths may come from starvation, disease or other factors besides war, but come they absolutely must if birth rates remain high.

“At equilibrium” means when birth rates equal death rates, and the population neither grows nor shrinks. This item gives many intelligent and well meaning people an excuse for disastrous behaviors, because they can pretend that humankind can grow forever. But in nature nothing grows forever; things which try to, die. On the time scale of evolution, populations are essentially always at equilibrium since even a slow decline per year leads quickly to extinction, and even slow increases lead to resource degradation for that species. That leads, at best, to severe increases in death rates until the population is again at equilibrium. Just a 2% per year increase means doubling every 35 years, and doubling populations quickly eat up any resource base. The current global human growth rate is about 1.6% per year, doubling time (dt) = 43 years.

This factor is very important to war, because people often choose to fight each other over resources rather than

to accept high death rates from suffering, disease and starvation.

Here are a few relevant growth rates and doubling times: 1% growth = 69 years dt; 2% = 35 years, 3% = 23 years. The rule of thumb is 70 divided by the growth rate in percentage, and the exact formula is the natural log of 2 divided by growth rate. Upon numbers like these lie the fate of human civilizations.

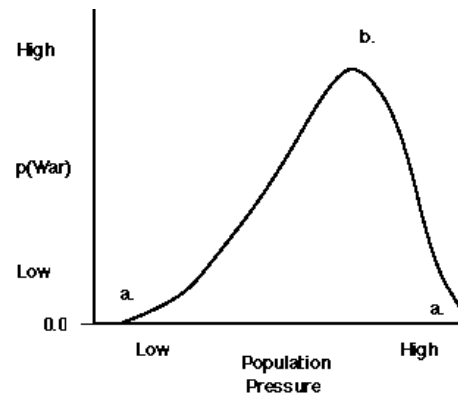
People are predictably non-rational about reproductive issues. Non-rational. This is predictable, because while literally billions of humans did not live long, or failed to reproduce, every single one of your ancestors and mine did both. They lived long enough to reproduce successfully. Thus evolution assures us that people will be most stubborn in protecting those two things, survival and unrestricted rights to reproduce. Non-rational attitudes about reproduction are also easily observable, whether one might predict them or not according to any logic.

There are several other reasons why many people are resistant to reducing personal birth rates, among them innate feelings of superiority that are often encouraged by groups which feel that their people are a “chosen people” of some kind. I will return to these and other important dynamics like a partial truth called the “Distribution Argument” after showing how population pressure acts to increase probabilities for war.

Figure 8 shows the very non-linear relationship between population pressure and $p(\text{War})$. Because of its shape, and because population pressure acts on $p(\text{War})$ only through the minds of leaders and populations, this factor does not show up in “large ‘n’ correlational” studies. But it is a very powerful factor indeed, because population pressure increases nearly every other friction among people, and because it resonates with a knowledge in our genes which is far more ancient even than the primate roots which give rise to “in group/out group” differentials. Animal populations have pressed against a “starvation boundary” from the beginning of biological time.

Nazli Choucri and Robert North (1975, 1986) have made the best effort among modern political scientists to understand how this factor affects war. They recognized a central complication, that population pressure is quite different than population size, or even density, and far more subjective. One man’s crushing crowd is another man’s friendly community. All populations are also sustained on their resource base by a very complex web of technological and cultural practices which makes a huge difference in both the real wealth available to people at any density, and in the perceived health of the communities which result.

Choucri and North also encountered two large



- a. This curve has endpoints, at and near zero $p(\text{War})$, because:
1. At very low population pressures, war is impractical because even very aggressive states can not easily capture free people with lots of room to roam in.
 2. At very high population pressures, poverty is so great that people are reduced to desperation, and have no surplus wealth for arms. Bangladesh could not fight a meaningful war with China if it wanted to, for example, and China has no incentive to conquer Bangladesh, because who wants to own a basket case with few resources, but 125 million impoverished people?
- b. Therefore this curve is bell shaped, with a peak, which makes detection by “large ‘n’ correlational” studies unlikely since they assume linear relations between variables which does not apply.
- c. The actual effect of population pressure on $p(\text{War})$ will be mediated by the minds of key leaders and the populations which support them.

Figure 8

Population Pressure and $p(\text{War})$

biases among their political science colleagues: the desire for correlation analysis above all else for proof, and antipathy toward biological factors under any circumstances. This is crippling, because correlation analysis works when variables covary in linear fashion, but it fails when relations are U shaped or bell shaped, as in this case. It was obvious that desperately poor, high density populations seldom make war on their richer neighbors (never mind the all too common civil wars they have) so “realists” doubted the validity of Choucri and North’s observations. And since social science in general had been repulsed by Nazi concepts of eugenics, and before that by Social Darwinism, two generations of students had been taught to regard biological factors related to social phenomena as similar to the devil in church.

This is more than unfortunate, since population pressure is certainly one of the most significant causes of war, and population pressure is undoubtedly biological in origin and dynamics.

A deeper look into history is helpful. After World War II, the dominant explanation for Japan's entry into that war was population pressure, and this remains the main view within Japan to this day. Not so in America. The pressure of a social science dogma has caused scholars to forget that pre-war Japan was experiencing one million new mouths to feed each year, and faced imminent starvation. Debate in Japan's Diet (Parliament or Congress equivalent) was explicit about the need to obtain new resources, especially oil and rubber but also timber and food for their island nation before catastrophe struck. The policy called "Manchukuo" was an explicitly colonial policy, to take resources from China and Southeast Asia. China was invaded in 1931, and one conquest led to many others until the disastrous decision to attack Pearl Harbor in December, 1941.

Japan's main reason for this war was urgent need to secure resources for a growing population, clearly acknowledged by contemporary scholars like L.L. Bernard cited earlier. But this historic view by the principal party involved has been transformed by modern American social science and especially political science. Not by new data, by words alone. By what they choose to look at, and what they refuse to consider.

Go back 2,500 years, and consider the words of China's Lao Tzu: **"To prevent war, you must reduce the size of population and of the state."** (Tao Te Ching, 1963 trans. Lau). Lao Tzu figured that out 2,500 years ago, some Chinese formed a religion around his book, and they still killed each other wholesale for millennia before addressing population growth. Indeed, they are still absorbing or coveting the land of neighbors today, as witness Tibet, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.

There are many variations on this theme, and I dwell on it, because it is central to the problem of ending war. People do not want to believe that population growth causes war. The thought is frightening. Many who know this to be true avoid speaking out because of the predictable and sometimes hostile response of others. Most especially, people do not want to accept anything which might threaten their own personal freedom to reproduce without restraint. And people will be anything but rational in pursuit of that goal, because those who have bred fast in the past have outnumbered those who were self restrained.

Thomas Malthus is another writer who figured out this dynamic, and who is widely discredited today among some people even though his essential view has been well confirmed by history. His most cited comment was: **"If population size is controlled only by misery and starvation, then human populations will grow until they are miserable and starving."** Which they undoubtedly

have. Look at China, which ended centuries of recurring famine only when they finally restrained population growth. Look at Bangladesh, trapped in the pit, unwilling or unable to lift itself off the starvation boundary, crippled by dogmatic versions of Islam which insist that high birth rates are good regardless of obvious suffering. Look at Africa in general and Rwanda in particular, with the highest growth rates in Africa until they slaughtered roughly a tenth of each other with small arms and machetes. The critics of Malthus choose not to look in those directions. They look at northern Europe, with near zero population growth rates, and see affluence — but at larger populations than in Malthus's day. They look at America with all its wealth, and fail to notice that this wealth is possible only because Europeans took over an incredibly lush, resource filled continent (rather recently) and forced someone else to suffer and starve.

Other biases derive from love of family and devotion to archaic customs. People should love their families. But the day when survival depended on large families is past. People love their churches, and should, but forget that some church dogmas were created centuries ago when death rates were very high, birth control was unknown, and churches competed for bodies and souls by any means available.

Since such great biases exist against objective consideration of population issues, I will cite a few more examples from history where high population growth rates appear to be directly related to war. In most of these examples — excepting Easter Island and the Mayan Empire which disintegrated internally — the conquering or aggressive population had high growth rates, e.g. 3% per year or more. 3% growth means doubling every 23 years. It also means that half of the society is under 25 years old, which produces fantastic pressures at home to find new land, or jobs, or money. When combined with superior firepower, the ancient solution was to conquer your neighbor and take his land. Examples include:

— Greek expansion into the Aegean which wiped out many island tribes.

— Roman expansions into northern Europe and North Africa, which often did not eliminate the natives provided they accepted subjugation and paid tribute. North Africa became the granary of the Roman empire.

— The "Barbarian" invasions of A.D. 350-484, which toppled the Chinese Empire around 375, the Gupta Empire of India in 480, the Persian Empire in 484, and indirectly the Roman Empire in 410 by pushing desperate Visigoths and other Germanic tribes ahead of the rampaging Huns.

— Mongol expansions into Eastern Europe, a.d. 1204-1330.

— First Japanese expansion, with near extermination of the native Ainu in Japan.

— The European expansion in North America, cited often here.

— The Spanish expansion in South America, where genocide was much slower and less severe, but continues in some respects today as ethnic warfare in Guatemala, Peru and elsewhere.

— The cases of Easter Island and the Mayan Empire which will be detailed at the end of this chapter. Both collapsed from internal violence after critical resources were destroyed by excess growth (timber on Easter Island, topsoil in Mexico and Guatemala).

— Pre-World War II Japan, as detailed earlier under the “Manchukuo” policy.

— Hitler’s Germany, where “Lebensraum” (living room) was undoubtedly a real factor in Hitler’s mind as he sought new fields for German Aryans among the eastern Slavs.

— Biafra, where over a million people were starved to death during an inter-tribal dispute in Nigeria. Trouble is brewing there today which could assume a similar scale.

— in Central America, the “soccer war” of 1954 was widely attributed to unwanted immigration from El Salvador into Honduras, although this is also an example of how trivial triggering events can be. A disputed call in a soccer game was the incident which started the shooting, but the driving anger between the countries was due to Salvadoran refugees impacting Honduras. Civil conflict in El Salvador during the 1980’s was fueled by a population density greater than India’s on land which is 75% mountains. Another way to put this is that El Salvador has a population greater than Minnesota’s, in a land area less than Rhode Island, three-quarters of which is not very suitable for farming. Abject poverty for most, coexisting with conspicuous wealth for the oligarchy energizes conflict throughout this region. El Salvador’s growth rate in 1986 was 2.4% per year, which means doubling every 29 years, and they have already lost most of their forest.

— Despite excellent news from the Middle East during 1994 and 1995, it is still true that most land there is claimed by at least two parties. All groups are still expanding their numbers rapidly, and all recognize that to be landless means a desperate future. Concentrations of technology, money, and good will can make the desert bloom — if folks can find and distribute water, of course — so there is hope. But it is a very fragile balance today, which could be destroyed by terrorists on any side, and which continued population growth does absolutely nothing to help.

— The Shatt el Arab waterway between Iraq and Iran has been a precious waterway in a land of deserts for

centuries, and a starting point for many wars between Persian Iran and Arab Iraq. Both sides have ruthless authoritarian regimes, and 3% plus growth rates, which means doubling in 23 years or less with very large teenage populations.

A byproduct of rapid population growth is skewed age distributions with many more young than elders. That results in both momentum of growth and large numbers of potential soldiers. Large teenage populations are especially relevant to war because this is the age range which yields by far the most, and most enthusiastic, soldiers. During their last war, the Ayatollah Khomeini sent tens of thousands of Iranian teens to their deaths, armed with Korans and vigorous discussion of the sensuous benefits of martyrdom.

To compound the dilemma presented by these pressures, many human institutions with very long views of their competition with each other have encoded in their ethical teachings one version or another of: “Breed a lot, because we are God’s favorites.” This view is usually stated much more delicately, but it remains at root a selfish view oriented toward competition with other churches or clans. Examples may be found in all major faiths: Catholicism, fundamental Protestant Christianity, orthodox Judaism, fundamental Hinduism, Mormonism and Islam. The Associated Press reported in 1989: “The Muslim population of the world could double by the year 2020, to 1.9 billion. John Weeks, who directs the International Population Center at San Diego State University, and Saad Gadalla, its technical director, said about 42 babies are born to every 1,000 people in Muslim countries each year. That compares with fewer than 34 in other Third World countries, and 13 in the Western industrial world.”

A 42/1000/year birth rate, sustained to equilibrium, would result in life expectancies of under 24 years. It’s expand, or die, at birth rates like these, which means war with neighbors.

Despite the well known Catholic position on these issues, or rather the Pope’s position which determines the hierarchy’s view, the most aggressive breeders in America today are probably the Mormons followed by some evangelical Protestant Christian sects who share the same essential worldview that they are God’s chosen people and that the world needs more of them to counterbalance all the corrupt heathens. Mormon doctrine is explicit about this, declaring heaven to be filled with souls desperate for a good home. So Mormon females are expected as a matter of duty to provide as many spiritually correct homes as possible.

It is important to remember that people and groups can be quite pro-natalistic without reference to churches. Many governments through time have had very explicit

policies to increase their populations, including dramatic restrictions not merely on abortion but on birth control, and even awards and honors for very fertile mothers (e.g., Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia). Indeed, there is a correlation between warlikeness and reverence for fertility which we will discuss further in the section on Authoritarian Law and Militant Religion. It stems from the practical recognition that armies need soldiers, and lots of them.

But nothing grows forever. Things which try to really do die. And birth rates do determine life expectancy, in equilibrium populations which all must eventually become. These things are as certain as that water must flow downhill, not up. But because they run against the natural grain of our beliefs — reinforced by self centered, competing institutions — it takes much more effort to learn.

Equilibria are achieved quickly, as species measure time. And when that happens, birth rates must equal death rates. Since death rates always determine life expectancy, equilibrium birth rates do also. People can choose between high birth rates with low life expectancy, or low birth rates with high life expectancy. But they cannot, and never will have both high birth rates and high life expectancy except in a very temporary sense. Like national debts, the cost can be pushed onto children in the form of obligations, or of gross environmental deterioration and high death rates, but the cost will be paid.

It is an iron law of nature. You cannot break it; trying will only break you. Or possibly, your children or grandchildren. There is that much flex. Often, children pay the ultimate price.

Our dilemma is yet more severe. Garrett Hardin, in The Tragedy of the Commons, showed convincingly that unless all parties agree on restraints, powerful incentives for individual greed remain, to take advantage of those who cooperate for the good of all. In nearly every other part of this book, when I turn to solutions, I urge non-coercive means to advance the cause of peace. But I am forced to agree with Hardin, that if population restraint is requested only of those who cooperate for the good of all, then cooperation will simply be outbred by those who choose selfishness over the general welfare.

The Distribution Argument

Many people take comfort in the correct observation that enough food exists to feed everyone if only that were distributed with theoretical perfection. I call this the "distribution argument," and it is seductive because it is founded on a genuine partial truth, not on falsehood. It is true that enough food exists to feed everyone, always has;

what this bromide fails to note is that neither theoretical perfection nor cost free distribution is achievable in any real world we know. There has always been enough food to feed everyone if we suspended the realities of what it takes to transport food from where it is abundant to where it is scarce. But farmers want to get paid, whether in America or in Ethiopia, and stocks on a farm cannot be moved to other places without much additional effort and cost. So people continue starving, and have for all time despite full granaries somewhere else in the world.

There is another more troubling complication. Unequal distribution of wealth acts like a shock absorber for living systems such that 100% equality would be unstable in any event, and disastrous if not accompanied by a rigid halt to population growth. Biology aside, absolute equality of wealth requires a police-state to enforce redistribution, and even then human nature ensures that the police will get a bigger slice of the tiny pies which result.

There are humane ways around these dilemmas, but they require considering all factors related to poverty and starvation, not elevating any one to an extreme position. Long ago I saw that the task of ending war required ending starvation also (although we will see by the end of this chapter that the latter is not strictly necessary if the desperate agree to die quietly, an alternative I reject but which some cultures have accepted). So I will spend some time here on the details of why both population pressure and distributions of wealth must both be considered by anyone serious about ending either starvation or war.

Many people support the goal of ending starvation on earth as a worthwhile end in itself, including myself. In that effort an argument recurs between groups which see the ultimate cause of starvation in different ways. One view holds that starvation results from unjust distributions of wealth, and therefore that transferring wealth from the rich to the poor is the solution to starvation. Another view holds that starvation results from profligate population growth, and therefore that restraining population growth is the solution to starvation. Sadly, quite often, these two groups spend time and precious energy railing against each other, rather than working together to solve the common problem.

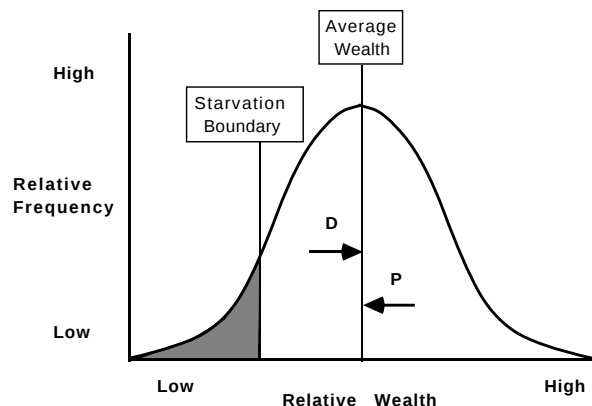
I maintain that starvation is caused by both population growth and unequal distributions of wealth. So if we want to eliminate starvation in any reasonable time, we must both restrain population growth and transfer wealth. Most arguments between proponents of one view and the other are, therefore, quite unproductive. Even though the starving are seldom a serious threat for war, those who are a bit richer and can see what waits for them are a considerable threat for war in many parts of the

modern world. Thus the goals of ending starvation and war are united.

Remember that humankind has increased food production many, many hundred fold over the centuries. The richest get ever richer, and the poorest still starve. Increasing production alone cannot be the answer. I will present a simple, abstract model which attempts to relate these variables in a meaningful way. It rests on simple, provable ecological principles, but is just a description of how things are, not of how things should be. Humans have an enormous capacity to change the way things are toward how they should be, if we choose to, and this is the goal toward which I work. We cannot, however, change natural laws like gravity, nor the iron law of biology.

Therefore, if we wish to fly, we are better off respecting the law of gravity and using an airplane rather than jumping off cliffs. And if we wish to end starvation, we are better off respecting ecological limits, so that our solutions will work and endure.

Figure 9 shows a “normal” curve to illustrate how variance in wealth interacts with the pressures of excess



1. All biological populations display variation in their access to the means for survival, which we will call "Wealth" above.
2. The Average is simply the total wealth available divided by the total numbers in the population.
3. Births above replacement levels result in a net pressure reducing average wealth, labeled "P" above, and called the "Pressure Vector" in text.
4. In equilibrium populations, the pressure vector is exactly matched by a death vector, labeled "D" above, which represents premature deaths compared with what would occur in an optimal environment.
5. In societies, who dies young is influenced by economic factors, represented above by the "starvation boundary."

Figure 9 Pressure and Death Vectors and the Starvation Boundary

births and excess deaths in living populations. All biological populations, including human populations, display variations in their access to the means for survival, which I will call “wealth.” The average is determined by the total wealth available divided by the total numbers in the population. Of course, this average will increase if the total wealth available increases faster than population, as has been the case among humans for much of the modern era. But as I have tried to show earlier, and will demonstrate soon in another way, that situation is rapidly changing as six billion people try to double in 50 years or less. In fact, average wealth even in wealthy America started declining in 1973, and global per capita grain, beef, and fish production have also started to decline. Farmland per person clearly declines with each new mouth to feed. For now we shall simply set total wealth available as a constant, like total land available to humankind is today as a practical matter.

All biological populations display an ability and inclination to produce more young each cycle than can be supported (populations which did not do this went extinct long ago). This results in a pressure reducing average wealth, labeled “P” in figures 9, 10 and 11. Its vector is illustrated by an arrow of varying size. In equilibrium populations, the pressure vector is exactly matched by a death vector, labeled “D” with an arrow in the figures. The death vector represents excess deaths compared with what would occur in an optimal environment. For illustration a “starvation boundary” is shown, where relative wealth is too low to sustain life, but Death rates could be slightly elevated throughout the entire population. In real populations, death rates rise gradually as poverty increases.

Now the “Distribution Argument” can be represented by turning to Figure 10 (next page) where the variance of wealth has been reduced, compressed, such that no individual of the population falls below the starvation boundary. This would require transferring wealth from the rich to the poor, in human populations. The consequences are straightforward. This would reduce the death vector to zero, but only temporarily, if one continues to neglect the pressure vector caused by excess births. If so neglected, the pressure vector decreases average wealth over time until balanced again by excess deaths as the poorest slip below the starvation boundary again.

At this point some distribution enthusiasts will claim that birth rates would decline spontaneously in human populations, by magic, and they may cite another partial truth (and partial myth) called the demographic shift. It is true that many northern European populations are wealthy, and have reduced their growth rates to nearly

zero. This does not happen automatically, only by great effort. America is very wealthy, yet our growth rates bottomed out at about 1% per year (doubling time about 69 years) and are currently rising. That figure includes immigration, since immigrants quickly assume the rights and expectations of native born citizens — excluding that factor would reduce American growth rates to about .6%, which is still a positive number. European populations are also receiving a wave of new immigration now which will prevent them from actually achieving any real halt to population growth unless and until that factor is changed.

Migration of people along opportunity gradients is as predictable as that water will flow downhill, and nearly as unstoppable. People will move toward opportunity unless they are forcibly stopped. Magic has consistently failed to end starvation and war throughout history, despite thousand-fold increases in wealth. And while few people starve in America today, some freeze to death under bridges in the winter every year and many others die prematurely from the diffuse hardships of poverty.

Now if people consciously choose to reduce birth rates, many things become possible that were not before. But if they do not, then pressure vectors will continue to

reduce the average wealth of the population until equilibrium is restored and death vectors again equal pressure vectors. The deaths may occur from war, starvation, disease, random violence, other suffering or any other manner, but excess deaths must occur if birth rates do not decline. Population up, quality of life down. This is another way to state the iron law of biology.

Distribution determines who shall die, not whether some must die. Population pressure determines that.

Some will observe that wealthy populations could reduce their consumption, and thereby increase the total wealth available to others. Well, that is also true, in theory. But when in history have wealthy people stopped dining in comfort because others were starving? Not very often. For close neighbors, yes, in emergencies. For the anonymous desperate of the world, almost never. It is easy to rant against greed, there is plenty of greed to go around. But another reason for reluctance to share is recognition that unless population growth is restrained, you are sharing with a bottomless pit. And few people, even poor people who are demonstrably more generous, care to share with bottomless pits. Both China and India maintained wealthy

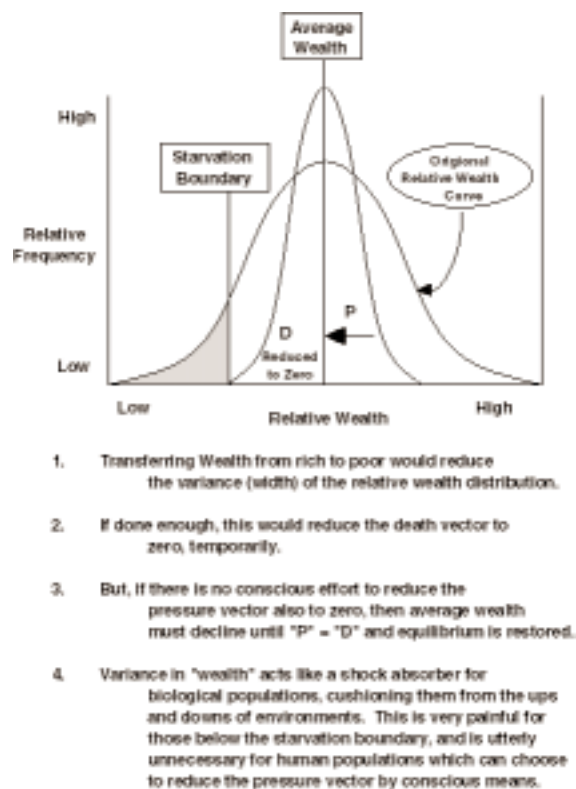
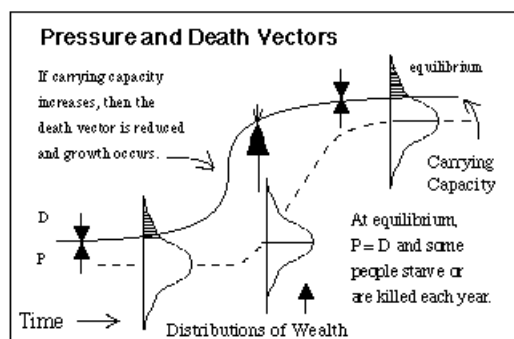


Figure 10

Effect of Reducing Variance
of the Distribution of Wealth

In equilibrium populations, excess deaths each generation (that is, deaths which would not occur in a healthy environment, "D") equal the natural pressure produced by more births than can be fed to maturity each generation. If carrying capacity for a population increases, but growth is not controlled, then deaths are temporarily reduced. Population grows. But soon, the new limits are reached, and death pressure rises again to halt growth. The natural way, a horrible way, is to starve the weakest members of the population, usually children and elders. Another ugly alternative is to kill off the weaker members, often kids.



Vertical axis represents carrying capacity. Bell distributions represent variance in wealth, low to high. Increases in population on finite resource base reduces mean wealth.

Figure 11

Pressure and Death Vectors: effects
of change in carrying capacity

classes for thousands of years while peasants starved when harvests were bad, which was often.

Jack Nelson-Pallmeyer (1980) and Francis Moore Lappe (1986) have shown how international economics can interact with human nature to produce bizarre results, such as wealthy farmers in desperate countries converting food crops to cash crops while their neighbors suffer or literally starve. These are all real examples, and shocking, but just illustrate again that neither transfers of wealth nor population restraint will occur automatically, nor I submit, in isolation from each other.

Figure 11 illustrates the shock absorbing property which variance in wealth provides, by putting the population through an artificial, rapid, 100% doubling of total wealth available. If humans enjoyed such a windfall, but did not change the current growth rate of 1.6% per year, all that benefit would be eaten up in about 43 years, and we would have twice as many people who would still have to face the iron law of biology and agree to restrain their growth by conscious means. Or they might decide instead to starve quietly or have a global war over resources, which is what we move toward now.

If variance of wealth were greater than shown in Fig. 11 (a fatter bell curve), then the change in population

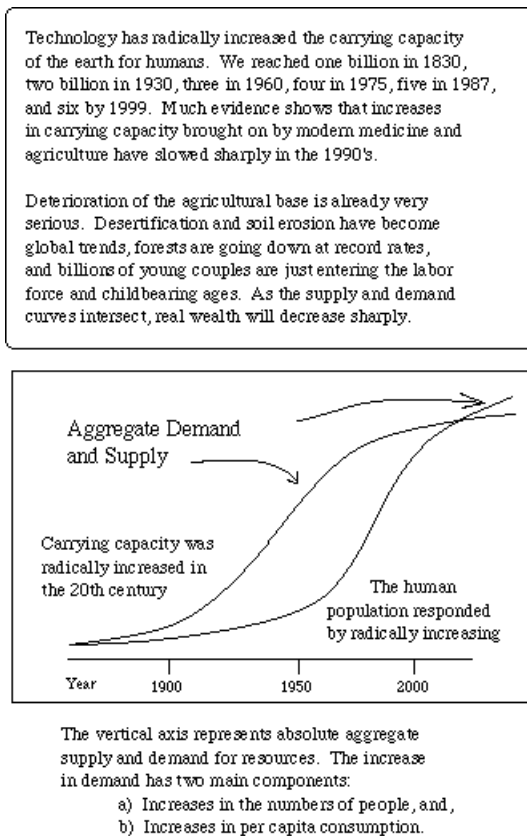


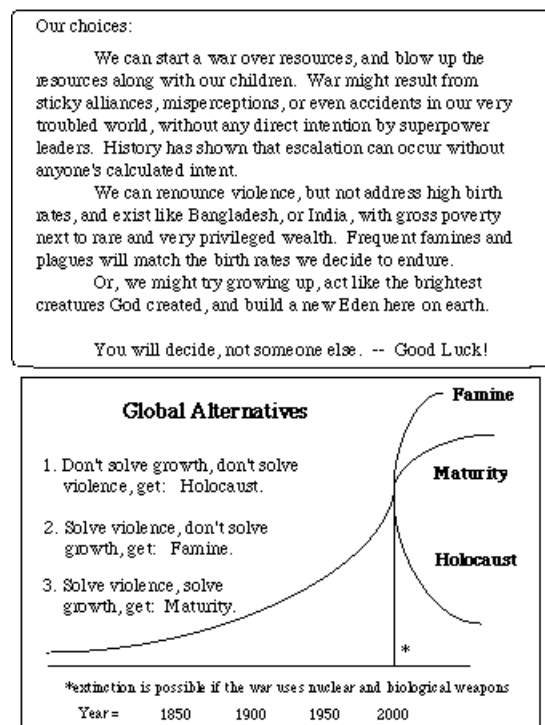
Figure 12

Aggregate Demand and Supply,

size would be more gradual. If variance of wealth were less than shown, then adjustments would be more abrupt, with a harsher rise in death rates when the new carrying capacity was reached. The effect of variance is like the inflation of a tire going over a pothole, fatter means a softer bump, flat means a hard shock, maybe a broken axle.

Figure 12 shows the aggregate increase in supply of wealth of all kinds during the twentieth century, and the stunning increase in population which resulted. What matters here is recognizing what will occur as these two curves intersect, as they certainly must, because population growth has vast momentum while the signs of depletion and destruction of biological resources are very clear today. Desertification, deforestation, soil erosion, species depletion, pollution, global warming; the list goes on and on for those who watch environmental changes. Real wealth per person declines sharply as these curves intersect. The decline in growth of resources has already begun, and absolute declines in available oil, grain, beef, fish and timber have either started or are close upon us.

An enormous pressure is building, a pressure with vast momentum. Humankind can still decide how things will turn out. But two generations of ignoring the warnings of biologists have left us much less room to maneuver. Figure 13 shows the starker alternatives before us.



Vertical Axis Represents Relative Population Size

Figure 13: Global Alternatives

Three Alternatives: Nuclear Holocaust, Global India or Ecological Sanity

You cannot pick two. Global war could assume many forms: it could be nuclear and quick or a Hobbesean war of each against all is possible, which could last for generations. I do not want to be rude to 1000 million good people in India. I could have chosen 150 million in Bangladesh who have also accepted high death rates from misery instead of war, for Muslim reasons rather than Hindu. Or Christian El Salvador, where war has stopped for awhile, but high death rates and destruction of environment continue. The bottom line remains the same: we will choose to do something wiser or suffer catastrophe during the next 50 years, destroying everything of value including some billions of people, making fine distinctions among cultures irrelevant.

It is undoubtedly possible to accept high death rates without having a global war. Two thousand years of South Asian history illustrate one way this can occur. Poor Hindu peoples more or less accepted their awful lot in life for millennia, and millions starved periodically while their richer neighbors survived what were called “bad harvests.” The difference between a “bad harvest” and rampant starvation is how many people must be fed from the stocks available!!! Yes, distribution matters, but absolute demand and supply matter, too.

The philosophy of karma and the social institution of caste were critical to this cultural adjustment in India; I do not know how the Bangladeshi rationalize the consequences of their very Muslim birthrate. If you solve the violence side of the problem before us, a civilization can go on indefinitely with both high birth rates and high death rates, by paying nature’s price of periodic famine and endemic disease. If you will not lower birth rates, death rates must rise some way — that is the iron law of biology. It admits of no exceptions. But the deaths need not necessarily be by war if large numbers of people accept early deaths to other factors stoically.

If we solve both the violence and the growth aspects of our civilizational challenge to survival, then we may finally pull all humanity away from the starvation boundary and begin to build a truly mature, humane civilization. Conversely, if we fail to solve both the violence and the pressure aspects of our dilemma, the result will be global war, and death rates will skyrocket that way. For the first time in human history, extinction is a small but real possibility, if nuclear and biological weapons possessed today are used.

Lao Tzu and Malthus were both ignored, and we have suffered mightily for it. So the earth prepares now for general war, over oil, water, food, land, and all the

resources which land provides. It is not inevitable, because people may still choose whether to take the path of life or the path of death. For a while, we may still choose.

Solutions

It is fortunate that the general solutions to population pressure are already known to exist, and have been tried and refined in many places during this century. As is often the case, it is getting more people to apply them which remains the difficult task. We know a great many things about what results in lower birth rates. And we will have some help from interesting places. Nature will do a part. Male fertility appears to be declining in the Northern hemisphere (although this, like every other trend, has been disputed). The common guess is that diffuse pollution is taking its toll, or growing stress in our “wealthy” but not so healthy modern world.

There have been dramatic reductions in fertility in unexpected places for other reasons, as in Mexico, a 96% Catholic country whose birth rates dropped 40% between 1980 and 1992. Nuns distribute birth control information (clandestinely, of course) and sometimes materials from the backs of churches where priests recite the party line at the altar. God works in mysterious and wonderful ways when compassion has an outlet. A campaign of sex education on the very sexual soap operas also had a dramatic effect. More important than the views of a somewhat celibate, males-only hierarchy, the women of Mexico have made millions of individual decisions which are far more significant in determining whether Mexico will have a sustainable future or not. Many millions have chosen birth control, so pressure is reduced. But remember, if only the voluntary do this, they may quickly be outnumbered by the selfish.

Iran has also witnessed a stunning decline in birth rates for a fiercely Muslim country. World Press Review (Oct., 1995, 26) reports: “In 1979, Iran’s population was 38 million, and Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini opposed family planning. But after years of annual population growth rates of nearly 4 percent (Iran’s current population is 60 million), religious leaders ruled that contraceptive pills, intrauterine devices, and even sterilization are permissible. Today, the population growth rate is 1.8 percent.”

There are many potential solutions to the problem of population pressure. Here are a few of the more widely known and most important.

1. The most general solution to the problem of population pressure is continuing emancipation of women worldwide from domination by men on reproductive issues. The movement for women’s rights has generated

its share of excesses, as all movements do, and those excesses create derivative problems which must be corrected (see Chapter 33). But from the narrow perspective of reducing population pressure which is driving the world toward destruction, no other solution has as many positive dimensions as simply enabling women to exercise greater control over their own reproductive destinies.

2. Specific elements of greater rights and opportunities for women which have a large bearing on population pressure include:

a. Inexpensive access to the widest possible range of birth control methods.

b. Better access to a broader range of educational opportunities would be good for men and for the children of the world as well. But it is especially important to the goal of reducing population pressure that educational opportunities for women be increased.

c. Access to safe, legal abortions within prudent limits. This topic is so loaded with political meaning and implications beyond the narrow focus of reducing population pressure, that it will be covered more thoroughly in the section on “Authoritarian Law and Militant Religion” where it most properly belongs.

d. Access to broader economic opportunities for women would also help greatly.

3. Economic development has long been associated with reductions in birth rates. This is certainly true, but we must also acknowledge some limits. I have discussed dilemmas presented by the “Distribution Argument” in some detail, so I will just emphasize two points. First, transfers of wealth alone cannot solve the problem of population pressure; indeed unwisely done this can make population pressure worse. Second, there is zero chance that the Third World is going to be able to copy Western or particularly American levels of consumption before population pressure is reduced. So those who say we should wait for development before preaching about reductions of birth rates, are saying we should experience starvation and war forever. Or rather, that Third World peoples should, where most of the wars and starvation are now. This is neither a wise, nor a compassionate conclusion.

4. Development of social security safety nets are an aspect of economic and social development with special implications for population pressure, since the lack of social protections in old age are a potent reason for many people, men and women, to desire large families — the traditional approach to security during old age.

5. A wide range of cultural shifts is imperative, away from traditional views which cherish large families and toward the view humankind needs to survive now, which

cherishes small families. All cultural changes are difficult. This is particularly difficult, since there were good reasons for people to cherish and encourage fertility historically, when death rates were high and both economic and physical social security were nearly nonexistent. This condition prevailed for millennia extending to the living memory of people today. It should be obvious that shaming elders who already had ten kids will not accomplish any good, and may easily increase resistance to recognizing that in the modern world, families with ten children are a poison for human civilization. I came from a large family; it will not help to berate my parents. But somehow, recognition must be furthered, quickly and far, without lapsing into condemnation of those whose decisions have already been made. By whatever means, it must be made clear that large families are extremely selfish and dangerous to the earth and to all people on it now, while the importance of cherishing families must be kept intact or even enhanced. Families are the foundation of human civilization; they are not the problem. Large ones are a problem. Selfish people and institutions who desire more of the Earth than Mother Earth can support, are a life and death problem. It is the size, not the concept of families which should be limited.

6. The theologies of “chosen people” need be confronted. This concept occurs within all the major religions, if not as a central element then as a driving belief among the more “fundamental” elements within. People who think they are God’s favorites very often conclude that God wants them to outreproduce the “lesser” folk of the earth. This idea correlates exactly with the mindless selfishness which evolution predicts of genes.

This concept is also very common among economic and political elites, with or without a religious foundation. They are “superior” in their view, as evidenced by their exceptional wealth or power. And the world would certainly benefit from more of them, in their view, and fewer of the “lesser” folk of the earth. The wealthy can also claim that since they are “able to provide” for their large families they cannot be part of the problem. But in fact, even the wealthiest seldom want their young to settle on just their own family land. With only the rarest exceptions, they actually want their young to go out into the larger world and find someone else’s land to settle on. For those interested in numerical modeling, it is very easy to construct a computer model where the poor produce no children at all, but where a wealthy class imbued with this view ensures starvation forever by their production of ever more young with large appetites.

My main point here is that the theologies of “chosen people” need to be challenged, and I challenge them all here. True religion does not desire the destruction of

Earth. I do not think God loves any group of people more than others, and therefore to be most pointed about it: people who claim that God loves them more than others or wants them to outbreed the rest, are not religious teachers at all. They are merely selfish people trying to maximize their own wealth and power, just like the secular elites who rationalize the same view by different words. God does not want children to starve, or men to kill each other trying to feed their children. Those who claim otherwise are false prophets.

7. Reducing the degree of materialism in modern cultures would greatly help the larger endeavor. This is a problem for the developing world, which wants to emulate the extravagance of America and the North, as much as it is for America. But America exemplifies shameless gluttony like no other country. Reducing this love of things, perhaps increasing love of people or the Earth or (heaven forbid) of spiritual values, would help. To take just one concrete example, Americans spend today about \$40 billion per year on diet aids. When folks wonder where the money for increased programs in international birth control might come, well, a 10% surcharge just on the items fat people like me buy to help them restrain gluttony could fund them all. If the desire was to end starvation — temporarily of course, if no restraints on growth are forthcoming — a 10% surcharge on our budget for pet foods would cover that bill. The money exists; what is lacking is will to do the things necessary for humankind to survive the crisis before us. No economy need be so strict as those promoted by the extreme vegetarians (vegans) who would outlaw eating meat or wearing leather, to cite another, more radical example. The examples are details; what matters is that reduction of materialism in favor of more enlightened values would help us to survive. It would also help us to end war.

8. After electing to support the above types of change by one means or another, then societies might succeed in reducing population pressure by more general transfers of wealth from the richer to the poorer sectors of societies and nations of the Earth. Transferring wealth is helpful for increasing education, promoting development, and many other goals above. It will not occur on any large scale so long as limiting the bottomless pit of need which population growth represents is not clearly part of the program. Why should even the most enlightened businessman pour his or her hard won assets into a program which is guaranteed to fail? Any program to solve population pressure merely by increasing production, or promoting opportunities, or transferring wealth, without squarely facing the life or death need to

reduce birth rates, will simply fail. You cannot outrun exponential growth. We have increased agricultural production a hundred fold, and people still starve. They will continue starving forever unless and until people in general take the hard step of stopping the increase in numbers of people.

9. The hardest thing I must say in this entire book is that eventually people will, I regret very deeply, have to acknowledge that merely voluntary restraint of population growth must also fail. It must fail because those who are selfish will outbreed those who volunteer to restrain their reproduction. And since reproduction is next to survival on the hierarchy of biological drives, there will be vast pressure among billions of people to push whatever social limits are selected, and to serve themselves over the general welfare. They will not see things this way, because it is as natural as nature to feel superior. They will think they are doing the world a big favor by breeding more than others. They will say they love children (and they do; it is not a lie) and they will say they can take care of theirs. Mostly they will do that, too, except of course for the very poorest who can always point to some injustice which put them at the bottom. But in aggregate, every freedom will be sacrificed on the altar of reproductive freedom, and even human survival itself may be put at risk if restraint is not made, in some way, mandatory.

In every other part of this work I urge, strongly, selection of non-coercive, non-violent means to achieve ends. This is directly related to the task of ending war. The idea of violent solutions to human problems is my greatest enemy. But China, in particular, and a wealth of general research, has shown that without laws of some kind which penalize selfish reproduction and reward responsible reproduction, the selfish will simply continue enhancing their own gain even while the Earth is being destroyed. If it happens in India, and Haiti, and America, and Brazil, and Nigeria, indeed virtually everywhere but in Northern Europe, it will happen worldwide. It is happening now. Sexuality is embedded in the institutions which teach us “right from wrong” as much as it is embedded in the marrow of our bones. So laws, with sanctions, appear necessary.

If one accepts that sad truth, one can find many creative ways to make law more humane and to develop incentives and disincentives rather than rigid and ruthless punitive rules. China’s model is not the only model. There is evidence that economic incentives have helped greatly to reduce birth rates in Singapore and Iran, for example. But voluntary population restraint probably will not be enough.

Examples of Ecological Collapse: Easter Island and the Mayan Empire

The power of population pressure is so important to war, so subtle in its effects and so easily dismissed, that I feel compelled to consider very briefly here two examples of civilizations which chose not to respect its force. Unable to expand by conquest, they disintegrated to internal violence instead. So consider very briefly, please, these civilizations which went through stages the whole world faces now.

Easter Island lies in the South Pacific, west of Chile but far from the island clusters farther west and north. We know it from records of Captains Roggeveen, 1722, Gonzales, 1770, and Cook, 1774, and from Thor Heyerdahl and Jacques Cousteau of the modern period who supported some formal archeology on the island. The most pertinent verifiable facts about Easter Island follow.

When it was rediscovered by Captain Cook in 1774, there were less than 1,000 people on the 9 by 13 mile island (14.5 by 21 kilometers), apparent descendants of a much larger civilization. They scratched out a stoic living on an island where no trees grew, but where 30 foot stone statues were abundantly arrayed, standing erect miles from where the stones were quarried.

For decades the mystery was: who built the mammoth statues, weighing hundreds of tons? How did they cut and haul them around the island, and why? Where did they go? Why was the island barren of trees? Thor Heyerdahl showed that colonization of the South Pacific could have been accomplished by people in rafts or great canoes from South America. Others surmise that the island was colonized from Polynesia, but what matters is: Did the statue makers leave, or die? Cousteau and others added some bits to the data. There was wood on the island originally, and the culture which developed there created a unique form of writing, carved on wood pieces found in numerous caves. Many hundreds of skulls were also found in the caves. Why did they hide in the caves?

From the information they reviewed, Cousteau and an island archaeologist reached these conclusions. The island was originally forested and lush, as is generally true in the South Pacific. The first immigrants lived by fishing from dugout canoes made from the local trees, supplemented by abundant natural fruits and some agriculture. For a while, for generations, there was room for everyone, wood for everyone, food for all, and a mini-civilization arose. Growing populations develop considerable momentum, and on an island, physical limits are abrupt. Suddenly, there wasn't enough land for everyone. Family agricultural plots became much more important, probably jealously guarded, and the trees which

provided wood for cooking, construction and canoes began to disappear. People killed each other, and clan affiliations became far more important.

There is some evidence that collapse was accompanied by development of a second, bizarre and ritualistic culture characterized by religious-governmental practices including human sacrifice. Certainly archeology describes a cultural transformation which some label the cult of the Bird Men, after an annual event used to choose a leader. An estimated 20,000 people were reduced to under 1,000 before the killing stopped or at least by the time Captain Cook arrived. Subsequent disease reduced this number further until it bottomed out at 114 survivors. The island still has almost no trees, and land fit only for pasture.

The Mayan Empire is a more complex case, and many questions remain unresolved by anthropology although it has spawned a prodigious literature. What can be said with confidence is that another great empire arose, indeed a far larger society than any island one, developed literature, art and complex governmental and religious institutions. Then, it too suffered catastrophic failure, losing 90% of its population over a 100 to 200 year period. Unlike most civilizational falls, there is no evidence of invasion from outside (Culbert, 1990; Yoffee, 1988). Lester Brown of Worldwatch Institute asserts that soil erosion was the most important aspect of the ecological collapse there. Populations dependent on agriculture are as vulnerable to loss of fertile soils, as island fishing peoples are to loss of wood for canoes.

We can certainly avoid the catastrophe before us, humankind can. But not by denying that it faces us now. A vital link connects resource stress, and authoritarian violence against "evil people." Desperate people tend to revert to an ancient template: "Me and mine are good; others are evil." "Our problems are caused by the evil people, someone else." What governments add are symbols (national, religious or ethnic) which provide a community "in group" larger than the family or clan. Thus people are induced to kill and die wholesale in service to symbols like a flag, a cross, or for linguistic icons like "freedom" and "justice," undefined here purposefully. These are topics of following chapters.

Our dilemma is sharpest when the enemy is not, in fact, evil others, but rather, behaviors of our own. By attacking other people rather than the real causes of distress, the society assures its own demise. Population pressure is a penultimate cause of war.

Deal with it, or die young.

“I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man.”

— Thomas Jefferson

Authoritarian Law and Militant Religion

Authoritarian legal systems increase $p(\text{War})$ by making initiation and operational prosecution of war easier. Militant Religion increases $p(\text{War})$ by providing moral rationalizations essential for mass killing.

These factors are not identical, but they are intimately related and interact such that both in combination increase $p(\text{War})$ much more than either alone. Authoritarianism refers to legal and political structures; Militant Religion refers to religious beliefs and institutions. One emphasizes the practical matters of waging war, the other the moral. Since leaders always need people, money, weapons and organizations to support war, both law and faith are important.

Authoritarian law embodies the idea that it is legitimate for governments to use violent means to accomplish their desires. This one concept is as important as all the functional ways by which Authoritarian law makes wars easier.

Authoritarianism concentrates decision making power, in the extreme to a single leader. Congresses and Parliaments provide an important hedge against insane or incompetent leadership, which are common in history. Authoritarianism concentrates wealth by enabling the state to coerce financial and other support from populations, such that large armies with large inventories of weapons and money are available for use at any time. Authoritarianism provides soldiers for military establishments by conscription. Authoritarianism conditions leaders to the use of violence to achieve their desires. If it is all right to use violence against one's “own” people — to conscript soldiers, to tax revenue to build the army, and to ensure compliance in many other ways with plans and preparations for war — it can hardly be less legitimate for a state to use violence against neighboring people, who are usually seen as threats to the Authoritarian state. The power of Authoritarian law begins and ends with this central idea. If it is OK to use violence against

your friends and neighbors, how can it be wrong to apply violence against your enemies?

Authoritarian law makes every aspect of war easier to prosecute, because it mimics the organizational structure which militaries have adopted to face combat. The ferocious exigencies of combat place a premium on unity of command, strict discipline, rigid hierarchy and immediate obedience to even the most terrifying or terrible orders. Soldiers know that adherence to this strict, hierarchical order can be the difference between life and death for troops in combat. Authoritarian law is an expression of this way of life beyond the military domain, and it conditions millions of people to obey and to accept rule by force.

All of this makes it much easier for leaders to declare war, and to count on support from the population whether or not they agree with or even understand the reasons why war is declared. Often, they are not.

Militant Religion is more subtle and complex than Authoritarian Law, but no less important. For years I struggled with how to label this factor. Theocracies have a well deserved bad reputation, from Inquisitionist Spain to the “witch” burners of Salem, Massachusetts, to the Ayatollahs' Iran. Terms like “fundamental” and “orthodox” were tried, but each fails. Some “fundamentalists” and some “orthodox” groups are pacifists, the opposite of the problem I seek to describe. They read “do not kill” literally, unlike many others who oddly, also call themselves fundamentalists, and claim strict adherence to Biblical or other scriptural principles, while supporting war and state violence of other types.

While Militant Religion is often correlated with fundamentalism and orthodoxy, they are not the same in a very important way. When the fundamental or orthodox adhere strictly to the teachings of their prophets to love neighbors, or to serve God by positive works on earth, they are a restraint to war, not a cause of war. It is when the

fundamental or the orthodox adopt the teachings of those who preach war as religious truth, and when they urge use of criminal law to force other people to obey their customs and rituals: this is when the fundamental and the orthodox become a potent force for war.

The embrace of force is the key, between nations in war or within nations in service to dogma. The real core of the problem is when religious enthusiasts adopt and encourage violent means to achieve their ends. So I will use "Militant Religion" to describe this factor henceforth, while recognizing that it often, but not always, correlates with those who describe themselves as fundamental or orthodox.

How does Militant Religion promote war? In a great many ways.

a. Militant Religionists tend toward dogmatic doctrine, "divine" inspiration of texts, or otherwise adopting "unquestionable" truths, which makes them demonstrably less tolerant of people who differ from these views (see Sullivan, 1981, 101).

b. This rigidity has other consequences besides intolerance. It yields governments which are inflexible over time, in the extreme imposing legal codes appropriate for centuries past on a modern world which is radically different. This results in many dysfunctions, inefficiencies and impracticalities, just as insisting that the world is flat would complicate air travel and satellite communications.

c. The most important of those many rigidities is reverence of high birth rates, often accompanied by violent opposition to others who disagree. High birth rates were necessary for community survival centuries ago; now they are the path to communal death. But doctrines that are believed not merely divine, but unchangeable for all time, and where those who question are faced with militant anger: these yield very slowly to increases in human knowledge or spiritual wisdom. High birth rates yield poverty, high death rates, and great pressure to expand, all of which increase p(War).

d. Militant Religion often includes a strong drive to proselytize, which guarantees friction with many not part of the "chosen" church. This friction is greatest when Militant Religionists of two different sects meet, because each is convinced that their way is the only correct way, and often that they alone are God's "chosen people." There are many hundreds of different fundamentalist sects in the world that believe they are each the "one" truly correct faith. This provides abundant opportunities for disagreement, which, if combined with the Militant factor, may lead to violence of large or small scale.

e. Individual and institutional paranoia follow, another little step on the road to war. By pushing against others, by demeaning other views, and by trying to impose rituals and

customs on all by force of criminal law, Militant Religionists guarantee angry responses. The anger that they see, they interpret as persecution, sometimes as evidence of Satanic control of the outside world, which they seek to conquer, "for God." The relationship between paranoia and war is intimate indeed, and goes far beyond religious paranoia; it has fueled many arms races, and many "preemptive attacks" against neighbors whom the paranoid were sure were about to attack. It is self-fulfilling prophecy in its most concrete and demonstrably insane form, when people start a war in order to prevent war. It is sacrilege when they start wars to "serve God."

About religious paranoia and militancy, Richard Hofstadter (1962, 1963) observed that: "The fundamental propensity to believe that they are engaged in warfare (indeed, a fight to the finish, and within which everything that one believes in is at stake) with an enemy both malevolent and nearly all powerful has been well documented in scholarship."

f. Militant Religionists are often preoccupied with sexual and dietary rules. Moslems don't eat pigs, Hindus don't eat cows, and orthodox Jews don't eat an astonishing variety of things that Old Testament authors disapproved of. Christians developed a labyrinth of arbitrary and contradictory drug laws that the Pharisees would envy. Trouble is guaranteed when they try to impose these rules on others. Those who study cults found long ago that if you can control what people eat, their sexual lives, and what people read, you have accomplished 95 percent of control over their whole lives.

g. Militant Religionists are prone to simplistic, absolute thinking rather than complex thinking, to black and white ethics rather than to ethics which recognize grays in the world. They tend to believe they have comprehended "THE Truth" about God, rather than "A Truth" about God. Thus they deny any other versions of religious truth which God may have revealed, or any changes in depth of wisdom from the past to the present. They reduce God to what they can personally comprehend. Even this belief alone is not decisive regarding war. It is when they try to impose their pitiful drop of religious insight on everyone else by force, that Militant Religions become a potent force for war.

Which they have been for a very long time.

Of the 45 wars named in Table 1, 19, over one-third, involve religious differences as a major component. In each of these cases the militant religionists are a driving force for war, never the "live and let live" pole of the spiritual spectrum. In every large church there is this spectrum of religious thought, from tolerant ecumenical to militant exclusive. That is one of the keys to solving this cause of war.

Authoritarian Legal systems may easily arise within both “leftist” and “rightist” political regimes. Recall that Hitler and Stalin made a deal to divide up Europe. Even “do-gooders” can be dangerous in their enthusiasm to make the world “better” by forcing it into their own image of proper order, if they do not control the tiny fascist in every man and woman.

Authoritarian Law may also emerge without reference to religion at all — as in strictly Marxist communist systems like North Korea, or in contemporary America where reference to religion in government is strictly forbidden and more people are imprisoned (per capita) than anywhere else on earth. Or it may arise with roots firmly embedded in religion — as in the Ayatollah’s Iran, or Saudi Arabia. Authoritarian law is a versatile beast, as demonstrated by Hitler, Pol Pot, Idi Amin, Gen. Saw Maung of Burma, the Popes of medieval crusades and the Sultans they opposed, the Princes of Catholic or Protestant persuasion who laid waste Europe from 1520-1648, and the political absolutists who laid waste Europe from 1648-1789, Ivan the Terrible who slaughtered whole towns (as has Hussein of Iraq today, Hafez al Assad of Syria and Richard Nixon of America among many others), Stalin, Genghis Khan and Mao Tse Tung who murdered millions each, and a hundred tin-horn dictators of rightist military regimes and leftist military juntas.

Authoritarian Law could not care less what ideology covers its ruthless pursuit of political power, or whether “religion” forms part of the cloth or not. Churches can be handy, because compliant churches, mosques or synagogues help the masses to accept the lie that political murder serves some noble purpose. But “religion” is not necessary, and true spirituality is frankly unwelcome in systems of Authoritarian Law.

Random House defines authoritarianism this way: “1) favoring complete subjection to authority, or 2) of a political system in which individual freedom is subordinate to the authority of the state.” That’s clear, concise, and points the way to one of the fundamental solutions to this cause of war, which is making responsible individual freedom not subordinate to the authority of the state. This will be detailed more in “solutions.”

Militant Religionists like authoritarian law because it validates their worldview, and enables imposition of their customs upon others. Moral certification of violence, including killing as a legitimate tool of government, is the most central root, but there are others important to war. Taking from others (like land) is made much easier, psychologically, if one can believe that “we” are God’s favorites, and “they” are God’s enemies, or at least, are suffering due to lack of instruction in “God’s” favorite ways. Militant religions tend toward institutional paranoia

and also attract individuals high on this mental trait. In Chapter 27 we will discuss subtler psychological aspects of authoritarian personalities.

Any belief system that declares non-members to be less than full people with equal rights generates considerable resentment among non-members. If a minority, militant religionists will experience “persecution” as outsiders reject their pressure, and their leaders will blame problems on external factors rather than on their own incompetence. If it is a dominant belief system, militant religionists use law to impose their customs on others, thus generating even more hatred, albeit in less powerful hands. Either way, the exclusive and judgmental nature of militant religion and its hostile reactions to criticism increase the sources for, and bitterness of conflicts.

The Spectrum from “Ecumenical” to “Fundamental”

Please recall my opening comments on the difference between Militant Religion and the broader term, fundamentalism. That said, there is a spectrum of thought worth noting, the spectrum from ecumenical to fundamental.

One definition of Christian fundamentalism is: “A Protestant movement that stresses the infallibility of the Bible in all matters of faith.” A spectrum of thought exists in all major religious traditions which runs from this fundamental or orthodox pole to another called “ecumenicalism” among the Christian churches. “Infallibility” is a key term; another is “exclusive.” Ecumenical refers to those who recognize legitimacy in differing religious views. Ecumenical people tend to “live and let live” in social life. Ecumenicals like guidelines rather than rigid rules. Fundamentalists like rules, and tend to want to impose their long list of rules on everyone else by force of law.

The distinguishing feature of fundamentalism is its “certainty” about theological issues, and its adamant exclusion of critics and criticism. It fears informed debate. This pseudo-certainty is often accompanied by hostility toward contrary views and contrary people. The critics are more flexible, and arguably, more spiritual. Islam has its Suffi’s in contrast with Shi’ite fundamentalists; Judaism has reformed and orthodox adherents — although again I note, there is a world of difference between pacifist orthodox Jews, and the militant “Gush Emunim” or block of the faithful, who also claim to represent the most Jewish of Jewish views. Within the Catholic Christian church, as among Christians generally, there also exists a very wide range of theological views from dogmatic, rigid, exclusive

and punitive, to doubting, flexible, open and loving (although only one of these gets the blessing of the allegedly “infallible” Pope). The Mormons have an “infallible” President, and there appears to be a rank of Ayatollah which approaches this lofty position within militant Islam. Rabbi Menachem Schneerson of the Lubavitcher Hassidic Jews approached infallibility to his flock, and was regarded by many as a Messiah until he died.

The difference between Fundamental and Ecumenical is profound, and reflects deeper differences between knowledge, understanding and wisdom. It reflects the difference between churches and religion. It reflects the difference between dogmatic religiosity and open spirituality. It reflects the difference between Fear and Love, and between Compulsion and Compassion. The latter are at root, personality types; the former are the two most basic motivators in human affairs. Fundamentalists know more about scripture than almost anyone, but understand its lessons less than many.

Lao Tzu got this lesson right 2500 years ago. The first words of his Tao Te Ching are: **“The way which can be spoken of is not the constant Way.”**

Fundamentalists are “word” oriented. One problem with over-reliance on words is that words are very imperfect. Human language is far more ambiguous and fraught with error than fundamentalists can know or they would not utter silly things, like that any human language is “inerrant.” This subject will recur in Chapter 15, on Legalism.

So long as people allow others to be different, their differences of opinion are not important to war. In fact, differences are assets so long as people get along, because they carry different strengths, or reveal different parts of complex truths. It is when belief becomes militant and intolerant of differences that probability of war increases.

Writing about contemporary American religious fundamentalism, as expressed by The New Religious Right, Walter Capps (1990, 14) observed that: “The literal seriousness enhances the propensity, for example, to expect that the world will end precisely as biblical prophesy and apocalyptic literature foretells. This absolute devotion encourages a tendency towards intolerance of others as well as doctrinal fanaticism.” And later (pg. 193): “And warfare — especially warfare against an enemy who seems directly and blatantly to be challenging the nation’s aspirations and sense of destiny — serves as the signal context within which such virtues are exercised most resolutely, compellingly, and intensely. Until patriotism is put to the test — as only war can do — there is no way of knowing whether it is vigorous or not.”

Finally, one other kind of orthodoxy is pertinent to

war. This is the kind of “science” which denies legitimacy to any aspect of spirituality whatsoever. This fundamentalist “science” excludes from consideration a wide range of phenomena in the real world which suggest or reflect spiritual things, from parapsychology to demonic possession and faith healing. Fundamentalist science, devoid of values, lends itself to war in many ways, including: 1) the cultivation of skilled men who tranquilly develop weapons of mass, indiscriminate destruction such as the biological weapons with which I am most concerned, and 2) an almost complete refusal to study evil, which is invaluable to the forces which promote war. A chapter on evil is included in this book, and war is usually evil. The most impressive accomplishment of evil today may be convincing “serious” men that it does not exist.

Abortion

It would help, I believe, if males would stay on the sidelines of this issue and let the women who have the greatest stake in reproduction sort things out without interference. I violate this perspective now because no issue illustrates more clearly how Militant Religion and Authoritarian Law contribute to war. They contribute to war by encouraging violent fights over complex issues where no side has an exclusive claim to truth. Abortion also serves to derail discussion of a truly fundamental cause of war, population pressure, and to inhibit constructive action thereon.

Please recall this as I comment on abortion, because like every great issue it is complex. I must be superficial here and focused on just one aspect — how law and religion contribute to war — of which abortion is one example of explosive issues. So I must be superficial to the true depth and importance of the whole dialogue on abortion. Of which males staying out is a part.

Abortion presents an extreme example of grey areas with complications of deep consequence for both individuals and society. At one end, you have a live baby which is undoubtedly human and cries out for its fair chance at a decent life. At the other end you have an egg and a sperm, which are certainly not human beings although they contain the requisite genes. Your toe has the genes necessary for human existence, but no one calls a toe a human being, deserving of all the rights and privileges of full term babies, much less adults. In between that which is undeniably human, and that which is not, lies a spectrum of gradual change involving anatomy, potential, viability, consciousness and possibly soul, without any clear landmarks or moments of decisive change.

Then there are complications recognized as important by most thoughtful people, including most of

those committed to protecting unborn children. Incest; rape; danger to the life of the mother; profound genetic disease which guarantees early, painful death to the child if brought to term, and likely devastation of the family which already exists; poverty; ignorance; a 12 year old mother; severe retardation of the mother or other conditions which preclude a healthy environment even if the child has a chance for a healthy life; drug addiction, abusiveness, indifference, child abuse and worse constraints on a healthy environment for children who are unwanted.

For some, every one of these complications would be an adequate reason for abortion, and for others, none of them would be. For most, these complications and others unnamed are part of the moral ambiguities confronting us. So a gradual change from non-human gametes to human being intersects with profound complications of great significance and variability.

I will speak about one of these complications in a moment. But it is important not to lose sight of the main issue for war. None of these complications or decisions is important for war except the decision whether to declare adult humans criminals subject to legal violence depending on how they sort out the other issues.

It is in deciding to use violence against those they oppose, that Militant Religion and Authoritarian Law set the stage for global war. It does this in four distinct ways. First, it deifies the principle of state violence against its own people (I say this recognizing the conundrum presented by those who believe that a fertilized egg actually is a real person deserving of absolute protection from the moment of conception). Second, it distracts attention from the force of population pressure which is driving the entire human world toward destruction, and derails many efforts to solve that problem constructively. Third, it pretends that moral thought is a simple, black and white exercise, which stunts the moral development of living men and women by forcing deferral to rules written by men or women long dead. And fourth, it denies that there are truly some non-reducible differences between males and females with profound consequence for the human condition.

If males would kindly stay out of this issue, I am certain it would not be the divisive political issue it is today. Abortions would be legal, safer, and probably rarer than they are now because women generally comprehend the implications of pregnancy more deeply than the males who have such small relative stakes at risk.

The complication which attracts my attention is genetic disease, not because it is more important than the others but because I did research for two years on genetic diseases at a major University hospital. The experience affected me.

Most people do not know, for example, that about 40 percent of all conceptions are aborted by nature during the first two months of pregnancy. Why? Because reproduction is an extremely difficult process fraught with errors with great consequence, and no human population could sustain huge numbers of babies unable ever to support their own lives, much less to support others.

About 40 percent of all conceptions are aborted by nature during the first two months of pregnancy mainly because they are not sufficiently human to survive to the third month much less to term. There is no indication from this, to me, that God is rigid about the moment of conception, or indifferent to the welfare of adult societies.

Spontaneous abortions continue, at lower frequency, all the way to stillborn children at term. Nature is complicated, and reproduction of healthy children is very difficult. Errors of all kinds occur. Pregnancy is a time when the human gene pool is cleansed of lethal errors, and while that process frightens some people, it is utterly necessary for the healthy continuation of human communities. Utterly necessary.

Of course, not every child destined to die young dies in the womb. There are about a thousand genetic diseases of metabolism and chromosomes which are less severe than the ones which result in spontaneous first trimester abortions. A majority of these still mean very early death for a baby who cannot properly digest food, for example, or excrete uric acid or metabolize proteins or transport oxygen or fight off disease or coordinate their liver with their blood or any of the many other chemical and physical functions which are necessary for life outside of the womb.

Every Tuesday I would participate in genetic rounds about this hospital, a regional center for five states. We would see children with once in a million diseases with every imaginable problem running from a minor inconvenience or oddity to certain death within minutes of birth. I have seen a child born with no brain beyond the stem; I have seen children born who could not clean their blood and so poisoned themselves, etc. Some had life expectancies in minutes, some hours, days, weeks, months, years and on to pretty good prospects if properly cared for.

It was the ones with two or three years life expectancy, followed by certain death after a lingering, painful, and incredibly expensive disease that commonly destroys the family, which focused my heart on one aspect of the abortion issue. What is good for one family, is not good for all. Some such families, like those carrying the disease gene called Tay-Sachs, can be tested to know if they are at risk (if so, the odds are one in four children will get the death sentence, two will be carriers). More pertinent to the abortion issue is that first trimester fetuses

could also be tested to see if they would get this disease.

Anyone who would compel such a couple to carry such a fetus to term, knowing they will get just a couple of years to fall in love with the child and then to watch it die in agony, has a very hard and cruel heart indeed. Anyone who would compel such a couple to abort such a fetus, when to that couple the doomed child is still a gift from God and very precious indeed, does not comprehend the delicacy of human affairs, and has a very hard and cruel heart indeed. This paragraph should be read twice, so you will dwell on the fact that forcing any decision on these couples requires exceptional cruelty and arrogance. What is good for one family is certainly not good for every family.

It was never my business to advise such couples, only to give them what information they desired so they could decide what they should do. It was not my decision, it is not your decision, it is not the state's decision, it is not any church's decision whether that family will be torn asunder or blessed by the birth of that child. Morally, it is their decision, period. Many consult God in making such decisions, and sometimes they go left and sometimes right. They do not need your help, or mine, to consult with God. God does not need your help, or mine, nor any preacher's, to consult with them, either.

People differ, profoundly. And the people who must pay the greatest price for decisions are the people who deserve to make those decisions, morally.

Imagine knowing that one child you might bring to life could live at best 3 years only to die in agony, but that another child you might conceive could be perfectly healthy. Imagine that you must decide, one way or another, paying a great price either way. Then imagine some pushy stranger with nothing at stake insisting they know what is best, and threatening criminal sanctions if you do not agree.

Having used such strong language, I wish to be clear that those who feel that abortion is a moral evil perform an important service to humankind. I do not want them to be silent. I want them to be non-violent. This includes abstaining from using the violent sanctions of criminal law which some want to inflict on women in distress and on the doctors who might help them. Vocal proponents of the sanctity of human life, combined with articulate proponents of the rights of women to control their own bodies and lives, provide the greatest wisdom when both their voices can be heard. The balance and wisdom possible when principled views contend in the arena of words and ideas is far superior to the result when violent laws are used to adjudicate issues like these.

Another disease I studied meant that every second child on average would die of progressive central nervous

system failure, beginning from age 16 to age 32. From healthy young adult through stages of disability onto death, the victims would take about 10 years to die (like Huntington's disease, but this was Hereditary Ataxia Type 4). This would result in all sorts of trauma for their families, enhanced by the fact that each of these victims had necessarily watched a parent die of the same disease. Once again, some of them wanted information to share with prospective spouses, others did not want to know whether they carried the lethal gene or not. Some hoped for information some day (not yet possible) by which they could tell if a fetus carried the lethal gene or not. Some so they could choose to have a healthy child, rather than a child destined for early, painful death. Some just so they could plan life accordingly. These are decisions which belong to them and their God, not to me or you or to any Church or any State. Frankly, these decisions do not properly belong to doctors either, or insurance companies; they belong with parents, period.

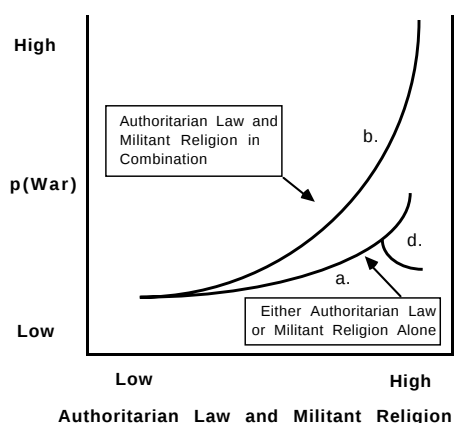
Now, these experiences affected me, and encourage the conclusion that abortions should be safe, legal and rare — the wisest three words which emerged after decades of American agonizing about this issue. But the bottom line for war deserves restating.

The differences of opinion among people are not a problem (in fact, they are an asset for moral development among those unfamiliar with the issue) until one point of view — any point of view — declares people who disagree to be criminals subject to violent legal sanctions. If that occurs with abortion, at least two forms of injustice and injury are likely. If those who would prohibit abortion win, then many deaths of young girls and women from illegal abortions would surely result and some deaths or other sufferings by doctors and pregnant women caught violating the law would also occur.

The other form of injustice applies if the other extreme wins. Abortions would be mandatory, in various circumstances, as in China today. I have met few enthusiastic eugenicists, but they exist. As soon as one puts the power of decision into the hands of a government, one opens the prospect that politicians might someday decide to compel abortions for any number of public health reasons or rationalizations. Imagine politicians or insurance companies making the decisions I have described.

My experience suggests that in this area, as in many others, there is no one right way to a compassionate result. Indeed, what is right for one family, based on consequences for that family, can be diametrically different from what is right for another family.

Can we relate this to an actual war among peoples today? Indeed, remember Northern Ireland. One of the



- a. Monotonic, with endpoints and slope indeterminate. Even at zero authoritarianism or militant religion, $p(\text{War})$ cannot be zero because attack from outside is possible. Also, attack from outside may become more probable when authoritarian law or militant religion are extreme, due to fear among neighbors.
- b. Authoritarian Law and Militant Religion reinforce each other so $p(\text{War})$ increases faster when they are combined.
- c. R. J. Rummel, Jack Levy and others have observed that modern democracies seldom attack each other, but are often involved in wars with authoritarian systems. See text for more details.
- d. Authoritarian systems repress internal conflicts, which can result in splintering civil wars when the central order fails. Thus, highly authoritarian systems may inhibit internal wars, while increasing the probability of external wars, shown here by bifurcation.

Figure 14: Authoritarian Law, Militant Religion and $p(\text{War})$

reasons many Protestants in Northern Ireland would rather fight and die, or kill, before joining a united Republic of Ireland is their freedom to divorce, and to have legal abortions, which they would lose unless changes in current law were made. The church is extreme in the south, outlawing abortions and even divorce,* with many consequences. People are very reluctant to lose what freedoms they currently have, and this fear emerges whenever Authoritarian Law and Militant Religion knock at the door.

Figure 14 shows how authoritarian law and militant religion affect the probability of war. Either alone increases $p(\text{War})$, both together increase it a lot. Authoritarianism has a paradoxical aspect, indicated by a bifurcation labeled “d.” This is because while authoritarianism generally increases the probability of

* Freedom to divorce was reclaimed by the Irish people in late November, 1995.

international wars, it decreases the probability of civil wars so long as the state remains strong, by suppressing dissent and conflicts among national factions. Evidence includes the breakup of Yugoslavia after Tito’s death, and the civil wars on Russia’s periphery after the Soviet empire dissolved.

R.J. Rummel (1983) made prominent a claim that democracies never fight each other. This is extreme, requiring rather arbitrary treatment of data and definitions, but the generalization, first emphasized by Babst in 1972 is correct. Levy (1988, 662) reviews both and states that: “This absence of war between democracies comes as close as anything we have to an empirical law in international relations.”

Even this generalization reflects a certain blindness to secret causes of wars, and to the frequency of clandestine manipulation of elections to preserve illusions of democracy without their substance. Admitting these exceptions, the generalization is valid that democracies are less inclined to fight with each other.

Its corollary is that democracies are very inclined to fight with authoritarian systems, and in the long run are usually winning, at least during this century. The defeat of America by Vietnam is a prominent exception to the latter point, but almost every generalization about war has exceptions. America took sides with corruption instead of with the people’s desire to be free from foreign powers, so even though communists won it may be considered another example of the significance of freedom for deciding who wins. The Vietnamese chose their own authoritarians over colonial rule by a foreign state, and sacrificed about three million dead demonstrating the depth of their preference.

Review

The most basic answer to the question of how Authoritarian Law promotes war, is that it makes war easier to declare and to prosecute functionally. Militant Religion makes mass killing easier for both leaders and peoples, by providing a moral facade for political murders.

Authoritarian Law:

1. concentrates legal, decision making power, in the extreme to a single leader.
2. concentrates economic power to the state.
3. enables rapid mobilization of entire populations to serve war logistics, and
4. enables rapid mobilization of combat manpower by forced military service.
5. creates a judicial apparatus which routinely

condones state violence against its “own” people in order to serve ends chosen by a ruling elite, which conditions both people and the officers of the law to accepting violent methods as legitimate.

Militant Religion:

1. endorses the use of violent means to achieve ends, providing a moral blessing which is essential for many people to do the actual job of killing.
2. increases frictions with others by mandating “exclusive” (and therefore errant) religious concepts. This increases dangers that “chosen people” will mistreat those to whom they feel superior. That then guarantees resentment by the excluded or persecuted, often resulting in paranoia or feelings of persecution among the “chosen.”
3. increases pressure all around by encouraging high birth rates and opposing any adjustments to modern ecological realities.
4. endangers neighbors by the above, and also by aggressive proselytization.
5. endangers neighbors without and citizens within by legalistic obsession with dietary, sexual and other petty rules, and by rejecting the concept of “guidelines” which tolerate differing opinions about the details of what makes for a wise and healthy life, in favor of rules enforced by violent sanctions.

Solutions

1. Confinement of Criminal Law to Consensus Crimes.

Confining criminal law (e.g. laws with violent sanctions) to only those acts which a far greater percentage of people than a simple majority agree are crimes (e.g. 80 percent instead of 50 percent) would help greatly to restrain authoritarian law. Consensus crimes include murder, rape, theft, assault, false witness resulting in injury, and very little else. This factor is so basic, yet so unfamiliar to people raised in the land of 1,000,000 laws that it forms a major part of the chapter on Legalism.

Today, in a vestige from less enlightened times, majorities can deprive minorities of nearly any right. In countries with relatively strong Bills of Rights which are still largely observed, this leads mainly to inconveniences. In countries like Sri Lanka where the Tamil are subjected to a cruel second class status, the rules of majorities can be so unfair as to reduce life expectancy. Other examples from today’s world include Tibet where rules imposed by Han Chinese harshly repress Tibetans, and the condition of Kurds in Iraq, Turkey and Iran where similar conditions

obtain, and are directly related to wars, near wars or genocides in those areas.

2. Reduction of the power of Nation States relative to Individual Freedom and International Governance (NOT Government).

This factor was discussed in the last chapter, and is intimately connected to items one and three, so most discussion will occur under the third solution below, excepting one important, but to some a paradoxical point. Police-states always disarm the general citizenry, and if one wishes to enhance the power of individuals relative to the power of governments which wage war, then one must accept some rather broad right for citizens to own small arms. Haiti provides an example in 1994 of what often occurs when only the government owns small arms. The government killed over 1,000 citizens per year (on a tiny island) preserving its illegitimate rule. An international system of governance should be empowered to police the disarmament of nation states, especially pertaining to weapons of mass destruction like nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. But that international system should be specifically forbidden to disarm citizens in general of small arms, and it should be a system of governance quite different from national governments as we now observe them. Chapter 30 is devoted to this important difference, because just adding a new layer of a failed method could easily result in disaster (a global tyranny).

3. Bills of Rights, or adoption of specific changes in law appropriate to specific legal contexts, such as a “Responsible Individual Freedom” amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Consider the following language, as an example which could advance objectives 1-3. The fundamental goal is furtherance of governments based on non-violent rule rather than on an exclusive right to use violence, which is then often abused. Abuse of legalized violence is central to the phenomena of war and genocide.

“The Federal government may not use violent methods against any citizen to enforce any law which does not directly involve behaviors which unambiguously threaten injury to other, unconsenting people. Examples of these consensus crimes include murder, rape, theft, assault and false witness resulting in injury. Any other criminal law must be approved by 80 percent of the citizenry through referendum in order to legitimize the extreme resort of violent methods of enforcement.”

There are many other choices of words which could embody this idea, and lawyers would have a field day

dissecting them if this ancient idea were ever to be considered seriously. The important core of the idea is that people should be free of violent government laws so long as they do not harm one another. Period. The more words you put around this, the deeper the pit you dig for legalistic types to bury your freedoms in. Or to declare war over.

Politicians would find it inconvenient, but not impossible, to develop non-violent ways to extract revenues from people, and to encourage conformance to the kinds of order which make everyone's life more practical and wealthy, like traffic laws, contracts and business law generally. Most of those laws are enforced today by economic means anyway, not by actually jailing or beating or killing miscreants. Those who might actually injure unconsenting others by reckless driving or dumping poisons in the public well would be covered by the sanctions allowed under the proposed amendment.

"The Devil is in the Details" they used to say, in nuclear negotiations. What matters for reducing the probability of wars today, both of general, global holocaust and of the all too common police-state wars by governments against their "own" people, is dramatic reduction in the legitimate bounds on use of violent means by governments. That is the thrust of my "Responsible Individual Freedom Amendment."

A final caution is warranted. One of the most enlightened "Bills of Rights" ever written is the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Since it is almost universally ignored by national governments, it also highlights the difference between words and action. Also, the list of laws which national governments write for their own people, but routinely ignore or break themselves, would extend to the moon. The Soviet constitution read quite nicely, for example, while they butchered millions of their own people. And the U.S. Constitution is violated every day by the intelligence agencies, by the Federal Reserve Banking system and the Internal Revenue Service, by the Department of (In)Justice, and by many other elements of government today, very much to the injury of American citizens.

So if people ever get around to adopting legal language designed to enhance freedom from governments, remember: Those who define the words and adjudicate the details and prosecute the criminals, will inherit a great power. That power will attract criminals and parasites, as well as men and women of honor, so be careful.

4. Recognition that "God" has "spoken" to many people, in many languages throughout time, and has not told everyone exactly the same things.

Militant Churches generally do not accept this and

should be corrected, gently but firmly.

I have struggled often here with the difficulty of writing for both scientists and ordinary people. One particular problem is how to discuss religious concepts, because there is an almost total taboo on that in contemporary science. Yet religion is deeply embedded in the problems of war and genocide, so to ignore this factor is to guarantee failure. Discussing it abstractly is a waste of time.

Therefore I have taken what risks seemed necessary in that domain. One risk comes now. My views on these issues took a major dent when I experienced what some would call a vision almost 20 years ago. During that odd experience, I seemed to have an opportunity to ask God three questions. The first had to do with exclusive religious "truths" and as best I can relate the answer of something which did not occur through ordinary language, It replied that God has spoken with many people throughout time, and that the words those people used to describe those experiences vary widely.

Having met some people who think they talk with God daily, I have the same fear of revealing this which any rational person feels. But I say it anyway because it has unusual bearing on solutions 4, 5, and 6 which I am presenting here. To restate 4, those militant religionists who claim that God left humankind one perfect text of inerrant rules are just plain wrong, and should be told so firmly whenever they advance this dangerous nonsense.

My second question had to do with the role of population pressure in war, which I have discussed in terms of objective science which need no religious insight to interpret. My final observation now, is that it appeared to me that God is immeasurably more profound and complicated than many people give It credit to be. It was certainly far wiser than me.

5. Just plain recognition that God "is" might restrain a few governments more. Most politicians pay lipservice to this concept, but very few act as though they know what awaits them.

If you are a leader of a government, or an agent of government at any level, I suggest you be more careful when you think about applying violent methods to accomplish your desires. If you are a religious leader, you might benefit from being more careful in concluding that you understand exactly what God is and what God wants.

Everything is observed, and scales are balanced most creatively. Those who are judgmental and punitive expose themselves to the harshest judgments. No one will suffer more than the tyrants and the preachers who injure innocents out of greed or malignant self-righteousness.

6. Resurrection of the Ideal Missions of the Military and the Police.

The Military and the Police have sacred missions which begin, and end, with protecting people from dangers. Governments often extend their orders far beyond protecting people, to enforcing privileges for politicians and the wealthy or powerful people who employ them. To the extent that professional soldiers and police can return to their central missions of protecting people from undue harm, the probability of wars will decrease. Protect your people, and forget the rest. Thus the honor which should belong to soldiers and police will be restored.

7. Break Information Barriers.

Both Authoritarian Law and Militant Religion depend to an unusual degree on control of information contrary to their doctrines. Police-states invariably control their media, in large part to deny their people the ability to see how other peoples with other governments live. The comparison is uncomplimentary to police-states, and thereby reduces obedience to their rule. Militant, exclusive, religious truth also thrives where people are denied free access to the insights of other churches which may expose flaws in dogma. Even more corrosive to claims of exclusive religious truth is observation of the great commonalities of world religions, and the examples which the best people of any faith present to the world. It is difficult to maintain the false doctrine that God will save everyone of a select church, and punish or abandon everyone else no matter how good, when people can see how very good the spiritual are from whatever faith tradition they spring, and how corrupt and bad many of the pious hypocrites are, again, quite independently of which church they subscribe to.

Many new information technologies could be used to break information barriers which governments and churches erect to control their peoples. Those barriers become critically important when peoples are being propagandized for war. In a future world we may imagine, international entities like the UN or NGO's might enter conflict zones with independent information resources, to bring foreign perspectives in, and to get news of atrocities or preparations for war out, to the onlooking world.

In civil war zones and police-state wars, nothing would irritate governments more than independent media assets able to help reveal the principal cause of such wars, to which we now turn, corruption of governance.

“Power tends to corrupt; absolute power corrupts absolutely.”

— John Emerich Edward Dalberg, better known as Lord Acton, 1834-1902

“Among a people generally corrupt, liberty cannot long exist.”

— Edmund Burke, 1729-1797

“When government becomes corrupt, the laws multiply.”

— Tacitus, a Roman historian

Corruption of Governance

Corruption of Governance may be divided into two forms, the petty graft and thieving kind which occurs in bureaucracies all around the world, and a more profound kind which is more significant for p(War). Systemic injustice and murder are much more significant and dangerous than petty theft. Systemic perversion of language is disastrous, but common in severely corrupted systems. Corruption of Governance appears to be a major factor in most civil wars, along with other factors like the ambitions of leaders and inequalities of wealth and power, while it is often not closely related to international wars.

We are living in the decay phase of a civilization. One of the greatest observers and analysts of civilizations, Carroll Quigley, said this about decay phases in: The Evolution of Civilizations: An Introduction to Historical Analysis (1961, 1979, 159). **“The Stage of Decay is a period of acute economic depression, declining standards of living, civil wars between the various vested interests, and growing illiteracy. The society grows weaker and weaker. Vain efforts are made to stop the wastage by legislation. But the decline continues. The religious, intellectual, social, and political levels of the society begin to lose the allegiance of the masses of the people on a large scale. New religious movements begin to sweep over the society. There is a growing reluctance to fight for the society or even to support it by paying taxes.”**

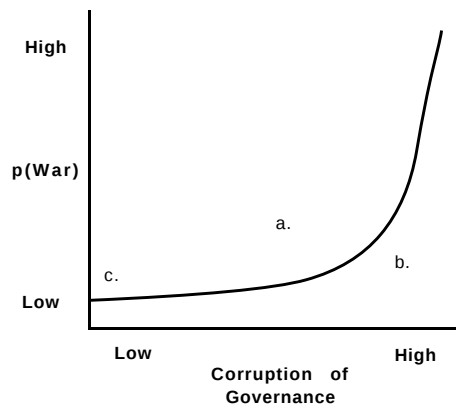
Elsewhere he notes that a distinguishing feature of this decay stage is when agencies of government begin serving their own bureaucratic interests instead of the functional purposes for which they were created. This could serve as a practical definition of the profound form of corruption which I find most significant for p(War). Paul Kennedy notes much the same process in America today and Britain of yesterday, in The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers (1987), while emphasizing two other factors: imperial overreach by military forces, and accumulation of public debts.

Lacking good measures of corruption of governance makes estimation of its current weight or trends, or comparisons among nations, very uncertain. Governments are quite prone to lying about their corruption, therefore basic data about this is likely to be false. Governments are also quite unlikely to fund research on corruption, no matter how important to social life. So I recommend extreme caution in estimations of this variable. But I am also certain it is important, and do not accept paralysis of analysis just because some variables are difficult to define, quantify and compare.

So given these very important reservations, How does Corruption of Governance affect p(War)? Figure 15 provides a start (next page).

This curve is monotonic, with a very flat beginning and a very rapid rise at extreme levels of corruption. This reflects a common observation among those I have read who attend this subject (e.g. Thomas Jefferson) which is that “the people” will put up with amazingly high levels of corruption before being moved to revolt. Many have to die unjustly before it is even the remotest possibility. A large majority must be exploited, typically the whole society except for a narrow elite must be impoverished unto severe privation, and even then, this suffering must be accompanied by egregious and repetitive insults to common standards of justice before there is any chance for rebellion to occur.

This suggests some kind of threshold effect, like development of a social energy responsive to triggering events. But those are abstract concepts. What is certain are two things. 1) Most people will tolerate very high levels of ordinary graft and thieving, and extraordinarily high levels of gross miscarriage of justice and even outright murder to serve the ruling elite. 2) Leaders of rebellions almost always cite corruption as one of the driving forces behind their revolutions and the behavior of their followers gives ample testimony that this view is widely shared.



- a. Monotonic, slope unknown, but probably non-linear with a steep increase in $p(\text{War})$ at very high levels. $p(\text{civil war})$ and $p(\text{scapegoating war})$ would certainly rise, but I suspect that corrupt governments are more prone to international wars as well.
- b. May be a threshold effect. In any event, people will tolerate very high levels of corruption without revolt. But almost all revolutionaries cite corruption as one of their main grievances. When those limits are reached, the outburst of anger can be very harsh.
- c. The probability of civil war might theoretically drop to zero if corruption were equal to zero, but there remains the possibility of invasion from without, demagogic struggle for power within, or wars of conquest regardless of the internal virtue of a regime.

Figure 15

Corruption of Governance and $p(\text{War})$

I will look very briefly at some examples from contemporary times, including Haiti, Italy, Brazil, Nigeria, several Asian nations and in greater detail, America. Most of these countries are not engaged in external wars at this time. Among them only Nigeria is close to a civil war, although Haiti suffers periodic police-state war, and Brazil tolerates slow elimination of its native Yanomami and other indigenous tribes as noted earlier. So even high levels of corruption do not by any means ensure a $p(\text{War})$ anywhere near 1.

Another approach to this question involves listening to those who do rebel. They almost always cite corruption among their grievances, and they are not alone in their evaluation. Consider these quotes from the January, 1990 *Military Review*, published by the US Army Command and General Staff College, a special issue on Low-Intensity Conflict which referred to many of the civil wars endemic to Latin America at that time.

“Insurgency has been a principal political activity of the last half of the 20th century and is likely to continue to

be for some time to come. There is, after all, so much worth rebelling against.” (Col. H. L. Hunter). “The idea that poverty or famine is the cause of insurgency is another misconception. The people of Nicaragua did not revolt against Anastasio Somoza because they were hungry or poor. The revolt was a result of growing frustration with the corruption of the government.” And later, “Simultaneous with the tactical military struggle there must be a political-social struggle against social inequities, corruption and other social ills feeding the totalitarian fire.” (Lt. Col. Vought and Maj. Babb). “Monopolar development of many Third World countries has led to sharp social stratifications characterized by the emergence of a very wealthy and often (as is the case in Mexico) incestuous oligarchy in control of the country.” (Maj. Burgess, and Lt. Col. Balmsen). Finally, on Peru and the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) a particularly brutal indigenous peasant uprising animated by a Maoist philosopher named Guzman, a specialist in the Defense Intelligence Agency (Robert Davis) notes: “Deeply resentful of the corruption and authoritarian behavior of the constabulary forces, most peasants adopted an attitude of benign neutrality as Senderistas expelled counterinsurgency police units from one town after another.” ... “When the Army was accused of massacring peasants at Accomarca in the early 1980’s, the government lost much of its moral credibility...”

My point here is simply documenting that while difficult to define and nearly impossible to measure, corruption has undoubtedly been a significant cause of many civil wars around the world. Almost every file I have on civil conflict mentions the term.

Both Sun Tzu and Lao Tzu warned about this factor in China 2500 years ago. Both felt that the moral basis of governance was the foundation of peace. One of Lao Tzu’s principle themes was advising leaders to restrain the excesses which result in bad government. And Sun Tzu, the most remarkable military writer of all time, felt that moral qualities were the most important requirement for success in the Art of War.

A glance at corruption of governance around the world reveals innumerable examples. Reviewing them could occupy a library, so I am just going to sample a few cases extremely briefly to make some points.

In Haiti they are called the MRE’s by U.S. soldiers, for Morally Repugnant Elites. And repugnant they are, having killed thousands of their own citizens, often after torture, and sometimes for the simplest acts of support for political change. But Americans can hardly be smug. It was America which installed the brutal Duvalier regime, after all, which first raised torture and repression to

common practice in Haiti in the service of U.S. business. After “Papa Doc” came Baby Doc Duvalier, who looted the country before he fled to France where he lives today in exile. A fragile democracy was then deposed by a new generation of generals trained in America, but then thankfully run off by U.S./UN troops when American domestic politics changed.

Italy, the country which invented both the Mafia and the Pope, delivered an epic picture of corruption in 1993 when its magistrates indicted several thousand business men, politicians and government officials on charges of bribery and more serious corruption related to government purchasing and practice. A single CEO, Carlo de Benedetti, the Chairman of Olivetti, was accused of paying hundreds of millions of dollars to all major Italian political parties in exchange for government contracts, and he was but one among a very large crowd of businessmen implicated in what de Benedetti called “a political system which lived off corruption.” Not making the payoffs would have cost Olivetti contracts and jobs, he said.

More severe than ubiquitous theft from public treasuries, however, is corruption of the judicial system. When the prosecutors are compromised, or the judges are corrupted, organized crime goes wild. These political scandals occurred against a backdrop of hundreds of other arrests of alleged Mafia members, and numerous murders of judges, prosecutors and police trying to round up the rest. Seven times former prime minister Giulio Andreotti was accused of ordering the murder of a journalist in 1979, and of intimate collusion with organized crime for decades. Despite wholesale chaos in business, politics and crime, society went on, and there was no external war nor domestic killing during this period sufficient to come near the war threshold of 1,000 killed in a year.

Brazil is widely regarded as a model of political corruption in South America. Their first elected President in 30 years, Fernando Collor de Mello (who won after a campaign against government corruption) resigned while facing impeachment after the exposure of a multimillion dollar extortion ring which involved his family. His brother even testified against him. Later, a former budget director disclosed a system of payoffs that diverted millions of dollars in taxpayer money into the pockets of at least 32 politicians, including three state governors, two Cabinet ministers, the president of the Senate and 20 other congressmen. But the only person in prison a year after the President resigned was an American, a minor participant who was tried and convicted in a Florida court.

The stories read like soap opera. One congressman whose annual salary was \$84,000, explaining how he came to deposit \$51 million in his accounts in four years, claimed that he had won 24,000 lotteries. Citizens struggle

under a ruinous inflation, and wonder why one of the richest countries in the world (in natural resources) has thousands of homeless children running in the streets of the capital and absolute poverty in many regions. The military stands in the background, but is unlikely to seize power soon since dictators ran Brazil for 25 years before Collor was elected in 1989. They established an exceptional reputation for torture and mayhem, having been equipped by the CIA’s best torture teacher, Dan Mitrione (Langguth, 1978). He had homeless people picked up from the streets for demonstration subjects, to be tortured, killed and disposed of like laboratory rats (John Stockwell, in McCuen, 1990, 30-31). Mitrione was later killed in Uruguay by relatives of his victims, and Vice President George Bush (former CIA director and life-long spook) delivered the eulogy personally at Mitrione’s burial in Indianapolis. Brazil has still not recovered from rule by the Generals, nor America from secret rule by the CIA.

Despite these and other huge social problems, there is no prospect for revolution in Brazil today excepting recurrent efforts to organize secession by the richest three states in the South.

Brazilian anthropologist Roberto da Matta (1993) explains the endemic corruption in terms of Casa ethics — meaning house and family values, especially of the elite — being applied to Rua situations — meaning street and public values. That is, it is natural and proper to take care of your own family, to forgive indiscretions and to grant special privileges. When nepotism is applied to a government, as in Brazil (or Indonesia) you get disaster! Elites worldwide are familiar with this concept, and Vanhanen (1992) suggests a comprehensive explanation based on evolutionary theory. See Chapter 22 on In group vs. Out group double standards.

Nigeria is also rich in natural resources, one of the richest countries of a resource rich continent. One government minister there is widely known to have stolen \$5 billion from the oil accounts. The last man elected, a businessman named Moshood Abiola who ran on a platform of reform, was not allowed to take his seat by the generals, and died in jail in 1998. One general, Ibrahim Babangida, installed a figurehead in his place in June of 1993, Ernest Shonekan. The next general, Sani Abacha, forced him out. Oil workers rioted, and went on strike for several weeks in 1994 protesting the endemic corruption and continued arrest of Abiola, but the strike was broken in a few weeks, and my latest 95 report says that Abacha has now eliminated all civilians from his ruling council. Late in 1995, they murdered human rights activist Ken Saro Wiwa by convicting him of a crime he had nothing to do with, and quickly hanging him and eight colleagues while the world objected in horror, but did nothing concrete (like

cancel oil contracts, God forbid).

Whether civil war will occur here is uncertain. Or is occurring, one never knows the true scale of killings in rural areas when one depends on reports from governments. What you can count on is continued dysfunction so long as corruption of governance is so deeply rooted. Nigeria is a land with three major tribes, and 400 distinct linguistic groups, some Islamic, others not, the north in power, the south disenfranchised. Nigeria has 88 million people on a rich resource base where the poor are very poor indeed despite the national wealth, and very vulnerable, but the rich can get away with stealing in the \$5 billion range. And Generals run the country. The civil war in 1967 killed at least one million people, as one tribe tried to separate in the doomed state called Biafra.

In Thailand the generals control everything behind the scenes, politics, business, the illegal trade in drugs from Burma and Laos, timber and gems from Cambodia (where they deal with the notorious Khmer Rouge), teenage prostitutes from the rural areas. The whole country appears to be one big racket run by generals and the organized crime rings called Asian Triads, whose base are ethnic Chinese “businessmen” who integrate illegal activities across East Asia and much of the world. Thailand also sustains one of the highest economic growth rates in the world. It is a fun place to visit, I am told, if you are wealthy. Just don’t irritate the authorities, or interfere with business.

In Japan, the purchase of politicians by business interests appears to be even more brazen than in America (if that is possible). At least, providing corporate stock in return for political favors appears to be endemic, while in America bribes are usually laundered through campaign committees, or by more subtle devices like option straddles (a form of betting both sides of a stock move, where the broker assigns the winning side to the politician’s account, and the losing side to his patron’s account). In South Korea, former President Roh Tae-Woo was arrested for amassing \$650 million in bribes from business “donations” during his 1988-93 Presidency, many from defense contractors such as Daiwoo chairman Kim Woo-Choong, who paid Roh \$32 million in bribes to secure government contracts, including construction of a submarine base in 1991 (Financial Times, Seoul, South Korea, Nov. 16, 1995). Big money corruption like this between arms merchants and governments is very common worldwide, and contributes much to arms races and wars.

In China, if Li Zhisui (1994) is to be believed, Mao Tse Tung’s court rivaled anything in history for corruption. Li was Mao’s personal physician for 21 years, so at least he got a close-hand view. He describes Mao’s court as a

place of boundless decadence, licentiousness, selfishness and relentless toadying. This exemplifies the closed loop from authoritarian legal system to corruption of governance, accompanied by police-states which are simultaneously prudish and punitive toward the people, while endlessly forgiving of the ruling elite. During Mao’s tenure China was involved in wars with or in Korea, Taiwan, India and Vietnam, while annexing Tibet to engage in a genocide which continues today, and killing many millions, maybe scores of millions of Chinese at home.

These are just examples spread around the world, to add context to the great queen mother of corruption in the modern world, America herself. It is rude to discuss the deficiencies of neighbors. Let me focus on my own country, the only one I can understand with any detail, and let us end with clear connections between the corruption of governance at home and wars abroad, with which America has had such abundant experience during the twentieth century.

In America today, corruption of governance is so embedded that many of its basic features are accepted as common practice, so routine they are no longer noticed, like the buying of Congressmen by moneyed special interests. Every year, someone decries this legal bribery, and every year it is ignored. Bills are presented to Congress for reform, and rebuffed with the most amazing rhetoric. The opponents are outraged, “Outraged!!” that anyone would suggest they could be influenced by money; then they refuse to pass the simplest reforms. So general welfare is sacrificed annually to enrich those who are already powerful.

One result is a kind of national paralysis around issues of large domestic consequence. There are endless examples: the most prominent recently was health care. Taking sides is not my point, showing how background corruption prevents solutions to basic problems is, because one aspect of the problem is laws which were bought and paid for by some special interest. In health care, the essential truths are that America has a marvelous system for those who can pay, a pretty lousy system for those who cannot (compared with Europe), and whoever pays the bill is paying almost twice what other advanced, industrial nations pay. For example, Americans pay 14 percent of GNP for health care, Canadians 8 percent, yet everyone in Canada gets care. Over 40 million Americans have no health insurance, unique among advanced nations. This imposes many inefficiencies on the rest of the system, like people appearing at emergency rooms with expensive illnesses that could have been stopped by cheap antibiotics or prophylactic examinations earlier in the disease process.

In thousands of pages of bills presented to

Congress, and millions of words uttered during debate, advertised on television and written by commentators around the country, there was much ado about abstractions, ideology and systems, but there was very little comment on four obvious parts of the problem. 1) Doctors make very large salaries here, 2) Drug companies make enormous profits, as do most health corporations, and enjoy special laws which allow, for example, charging a person 100 times more for a drug, than the owner of a horse who uses the same drug, 3) Insurance companies and bureaucracies consume over one fourth of the entire health care bill to push paper around, much of which is designed to shed the sickest patients onto the public dole, or to get those who can pay to do so out of pocket. Finally, 4) another \$50 billion is wasted annually on ambulance chasing attorneys who sue everyone in sight.

One reason there was so little comment on these obvious parts of the problem, is that those special interests spent over \$100 million keeping such things “off the table” of discussion. At least \$47 million of that investment went directly into campaign “donations” to Congressmen. Well, when you cannot discuss main points of an issue, you can nibble the margins until the sun grows cold and never solve basic problems. Forty million Americans have no health insurance? Too bad. Health care is the leading cause of personal bankruptcy? So sad. Costs are decimating public budgets at every level? Can’t even talk about it, honestly, because the powers that really count in American health care do not want these things discussed. Congress is for sale every day, so do not waste your time talking to them unless you have a lot of dough to blow. Senators must raise \$10,000 per day to run their next campaign. They are not going to have much time to talk with you unless you have at least \$1,000 in personal or PAC money for the privilege of “access.” They never admit to selling votes, but selling “access” is standard practice.

The other big deals in the 103rd U.S. Congress were a “Crime Bill” and “Deficit Reduction.” Deficit reduction was a real (tiny) step, which managed to finesse the fact that the actual national debt continues to rise at over \$240 billion per year (in 1994, in 1998 the national debt rose by \$113 billion) sustaining a money pump which transfers about \$300 billion annually from all who pay taxes to the very wealthy who own this debt. Politicians called a reduction in the growth of this ongoing financial cancer, progress. They called it absolutely stunning progress; they called it a “gift” to posterity. When Corruption of Governance becomes profound, the very language and the world of social thought becomes corrupt as well. Congress is, in fact, screwing America’s young in countless ways including ever growing public debts. But

reducing the rate of that child abuse is called serving the country, and giving gifts to the children.

That was 1994; in 1995 the 104th Congress took debt more seriously, and actually cut programs. Which programs did they cut? Almost everything to do with children, student loans, welfare, education and a big whack targeted for government health care. What increased? Military budgets and tax breaks for moneyed interests. And it was done with such moral zeal! In 1999 Congress dissects a surplus which does not even exist. Corruption of governance has become quite brazen here.

The major selling points for the Crime Bill of 1994 were: a) building more prisons for a country which already jails more of its citizens per capita than any other developed nation, b) putting 100,000 more police on the streets, to fill the prisons, and c) extending the death penalty to 54 more crimes, most of which involve either drugs or assault on Federal officials. This was called progress, in the land where people consider themselves “free and brave.” The 104th Congress added an “Omnibus Counterterrorism Act” in 1995, to this pinnacle of progress. That Act guts the 1st, 4th and 5th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution which guarantee freedom of speech, freedom from warrantless searches, and prohibit the use of illegally obtained evidence at trial. What do you suppose the judges and other Federal officers could be worrying about?

One item is the growing number of people who are arming themselves, and digging in individually or in numerous “militias.” These are people who have lost all faith in “the system.” They rely on the second amendment to the U.S. Constitution which reserves the right for people to own arms in order to participate in “well organized militias.” This trend has been slowly growing for at least 30 years. No revolution is anywhere near to happening yet, so I will not comment on it further except to note that it may increase by small increments the probability of civil war in America.. The government which frightens them kills “extremists” periodically in the hinterlands, including a highly public massacre of 86 people in Waco, Texas, 17 of whom were children under five years old. These killings are usually not covered by major media, but where large and undeniable, they are accompanied by professional information control and “psychological operations” to convince the public that the victims were dangerous criminals without hope of redemption.

Federal agents also entrapped a mountain recluse, Randy Weaver on a trivial weapons charge (they were trying to recruit him to spy on others), then killed his wife and son in a debacle of bureaucratic bungling. An FBI special action team (SAT) went too far and shot them. Liberals sometimes excuse this on the grounds that Mr.

Weaver was a white supremacist (exposing the tiny fascist in everyone, since good liberals certainly would oppose being shot for their unusual or unpopular views). Conservatives counter with the observation that the original weapons charge would never have occurred if a Federal agent (spy) had not pestered Mr. Weaver for over a year to saw off a shotgun for him, specifying illegal dimensions, as part of the entrapment scheme.

The affair became known as Ruby Ridge, for the site where it occurred in 1992, three years before the general public found out about it due to hearings in Congress. In the end, Mr. Weaver was acquitted by a jury of his peers of all but one trivial charge (failure to appear in court). But his wife and son are still dead and no charges were ever brought against the men or the institutions which killed them. So “democracy” is failing here, even though there are signs that it has not failed completely yet. Militias are proliferating (Dees, 1996) and Authoritarian Law, Corruption of Governance, and p(War) are all still growing slowly in the last empire on earth of global scope.

A final note on corruption in American government. A wag once said that the first law any Congress enacts here is the “Full Employment Bill for Lawyers.” America has about two-thirds of all the lawyers in the world today, and a commensurate share of legal problems. We have 20 times as many lawyers as Japan and many times more bitter internal battles as well. A retired Supreme Court Chief Justice (Warren Burger) observed that: “We are in danger of being overrun by lawyers, hungry as locusts.” Too many of these lawyers become politicians, so we can expect no change soon in the fundamental problems with Congress, in our land of 1,000,000 laws.

Criticizing corruption in Congress is too easy. It helps us flee responsibility for a corruption in American society which is even more basic. When the people become corrupt, they can hardly expect a Congress of saints. Some people think you get the government you deserve. So I will identify a few of the corruptions of the American people which Congressmen and women must deal with, and which in turn corrupts many of them. To close the causal loop to our main topic, I remind the reader that declining empires can be very dangerous for the entire world. So I will connect these failures of a once-great nation with a great foundation of political freedom and economic prosperity, and try to show how those failures relate to real wars in contemporary time.

Many people in America today want absolute freedom for themselves, without any responsibility required in return. Yet we often paradoxically want dictatorial controls on the freedoms of others who might annoy or inconvenience the self-centered citizen. He is a libertarian toward himself and a fascist toward the outside

world. Many people in America today want something for nothing and get angry at politicians who fail to provide that. We want prosperity without hard work, and civil society without high taxes. Finally, we want security without sacrifice. So we accumulate crippling national debts which impoverish the future and we import immigrant workers to do our hard labor (over one million per year) even as we build up hatred for immigrants on the theory they are taking jobs from “honest” Americans.

Politicians scramble to provide these things, or — since they are impossible over the long term — to provide the illusion of short term gain at the price of long term pain. On the micro scale, this results in a myriad of internal inefficiencies and weaknesses, like the public debts and the Federal government spending \$11 on retired senior citizens for every dollar it spends on children. Deficit spending on consumption, rather than investing in the future, is a formula for long term poverty. But, as one of our Senators said in a moment of candor with a group of high school students: “Look, I know it is wrong, but the fact is that if I cut education I know I won’t hear from any of you. But if I don’t borrow millions to subsidize senior citizen housing (for which you will pay \$28 in interest on every dollar the government borrows) then my office will be filled with angry people all of whom vote, who have money for campaigns and experience in exerting pressure.” The Senator knows it is wrong, but he also knows that the people who elect him have become fundamentally corrupt, so he gives them what they want to preserve his privileged position. Very few Senators in America today are honest about what this means for the children.

A micro-consequence of this factor is the impoverishment of far too many of our children. America is number one in military power, spending almost 10 times what our nearest competitors spend each year on arms and armies. We are nearly number one in social security for seniors, having almost eliminated poverty for this once vulnerable age group. But we are also number one in teenage pregnancy rates, in teenage children on drugs, in school drop-out rates, in child suicides, in murders by and of juveniles, in the percentage of children growing up in poverty (now over 40 percent), in divorce and separation rates, and in a variety of less direct measures of profound social dysfunction.

A society which eats its young may expect hard times ahead.

A society which plunders its neighbors is a danger to everyone.

And empires in decline are prone to war.

On the world scale, this unreasonable but passionate demand of our public for prosperity without personal effort results in a kind of banker-managed, predatory economic warfare against the Third World (Prouty, 1992, pg. 335). Almost no one speaks of it in those blunt terms. Many who manage it do not even think of it in those terms. But they do think in terms of our national welfare, and they know that our standard of living is better if we can get raw materials like oil, specialty metals and tropical agricultural products at prices which we determine, and determine to be low.

The bankers involved think of balances of trade and returns on investment, and believe in their black little hearts that it does others good to lend them large sums and then to convert their economies in ways which increase their ability to raise cash to pay the interest on those loans. The bankers find many eager borrowers among leaders of Third World nations, who often leave the matter of paying the interest to their peoples after they leave with the loot. After a short time, few have illusions that the principal will ever be paid. But interest must be paid every year. A cash cow has been created, and indigenous agriculture or industries are stripped in favor of coffee, or cocoa, or cocaine, or copper, or whatever will generate the foreign exchange necessary to pay the interest these vast debts generate every year.

It is quite a racket. The net result, on the macro scale, is steady flows of cheap commodities from the South to the North, combined with steady flows of cash to pay the debts, an ever smaller wealthy elite of dependent puppets to run things, and a spreading desperation of poverty amidst the highest population growth rates in the world. This may go on for some time, according to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which often dictates terms on all kinds of social issues to governments in debt. These are called Structural Adjustment Plans or programs. But this cannot go on forever without something breaking in a very big way.

Now, one can rant at the greedy bankers who certainly play a role, or one can rant at the corrupt politicians who certainly play a role, or one can rant at "big business" or "capitalism" or other abstractions. But one should not forget that behind them remain a large group of relatively nice citizens who just want very cheap gasoline, coffee, and chocolate, and who do not get involved politically so long as these keep flowing abundantly. The nice citizens are so far removed from the geopolitics of oil, or cocoa pricing, that most of them truly have not a clue how peoples are abused elsewhere on earth when they object to how their national resources are exploited. Remember Nigeria, and that politician who stole \$5 billion from them. He's a small time player in the

big game. The big companies have stolen trillions over time by rigging elections, killing politicians, and doing whatever it takes to control the terms of trade. Their enforcers are the international intelligence agencies, national armies, and an array of special forces both public and highly secret. (See again Prouty, who was second in command of US Special Operations back in 1963, 1992).

Most of the wars on earth today are civil wars between those who have and those who do not. The CIA has been involved in many. The citizen who wants cheap oil at any externalized or human cost is connected to the murder of Ken Saro Wiwa in Nigeria, because he was killed by a military government for objecting to the damage done to his Ogoni people by the Shell Oil company, which props up the government there. Competition for resources within nations is the driving internal force, competition between nations is the external force of greatest consequence, and corruption of governance is the grease which enables the system to operate without disturbing consciences too much.

Many other factors I have mentioned play a role; war is seldom simple. Corruption of governance is integral to the maintenance of power by morally repugnant elites, who are considered quite reasonable by the international forces which support them. The whole system is spinning toward the next general war, because over the long term, abuse like this breeds a bedrock kind of anger which will be released in some way. And those who make peaceful change impossible, make violent revolution inevitable, as President John F. Kennedy said, before they shot him.

Macro-economics is not taught like this in the London Schools of Economics, or at the University of Chicago, or Harvard. But elite economists are not much interested in the causes of war, which are the sole focus of my concern. Let me say simply that I am not arguing for Marxism; the failures of communist economic theories are abundant for all to see. My interpretation is entirely a product of watching the world from the perspective of war causes. And predatory economics, whether capitalist or communist, is certainly a major cause of war.

Returning to America, there are other consequences of the profound type of corruption of governance which make war more likely in the long term. Just as many people want prosperity without effort, some others want absolute security. To them, there will never be enough weapons in the "arsenal of democracy." To them, there is nothing wrong with covert operations which cripple other nations economically or decimate their leadership by recruiting traitors to spy for us, helping them achieve power and killing or "neutralizing" their opponents. There are few things so sad as a nation whose best leaders have

been “neutralized” and whose economy is run by foreign bankers. But to those Americans who want absolute security, this is a very fine thing indeed, so long as America remains the “only superpower” and receives cheap commodities.

A broad reading of history shows that every empire is eventually destroyed, usually by a combination of corruption within and assaults from the people outside who were used and abused by the imperial power. “War and Class” are the great, universal destroyers of civilization, according to Arnold J. Toynbee (1972). But modern nuclear arsenals and even more grotesque weapons of indiscriminate destruction that are seldom discussed, have a bearing on the global consequences of any further general wars which we might have.

Even Henry Kissinger, possibly responsible for more people killed in wars than any other man alive in 1995, understood that absolute security was a dangerously unstable concept. He knew that for any nation to enjoy absolute security, all other nations must be absolutely insecure. Everyone else must be vulnerable to the hegemonic power, and he understood intimately that very few people can be very powerful without abusing that power at least a little.

Lord Acton observed that: “Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely.” This has not appeared to reduce people’s appetite for power. Corruption of governance increases p(War) as injustices within states grow, and as governments become more predatory toward other states to feed imperial appetites. But criticism alone leads to pointless cynicism. Are there any answers we can find, or at least hope for?

Solutions

I am humbled by the question of how to begin discussing reform of corruption among governments, when the people themselves have become so corrupt. How does one encourage basic values once lost? History is not very encouraging to reformers.

Let me begin by abandoning the rest of the world. Americans are in no position to lecture others about corruption, having reached such pinnacles of excellence in that domain ourselves. So I will not speculate on how to reform corrupt governments elsewhere, even though this is quite important to the goal of ending war — Good Luck to reformers elsewhere!

Regarding America, a few things like campaign finance reform are obvious suggestions, but these have been so thoroughly obstructed by politicians and the corrupt interests behind them, that the deeper problem must be faced first. I will return to obvious things like

campaign reform.

How does one remember why honesty, industry, integrity, community, thrift and other basic values are so important? Not just for the good life individually, but for social life at all? How does one resurrect the concept of “loving your neighbor” which occurs in every religion, when everyone knows it, but few practice it?

These questions seem simplistic, yet they are at the heart of corruption in America today. So I will begin at the beginning.

People should not steal, because a society of thieves is inevitably impoverished. Everyone who justifies theft by the injustices they have suffered is an example to many others who will undoubtedly steal from them, and you.

People should not murder, because everyone is at risk of violence in a society of murderers. Killing people overseas is murder, just as surely as it is wrong to kill your neighbor. And predatory economics turns to eat those who practice it.

Men should not rape, because we all have mothers. And every man’s sister, daughter, mother, lovers or wife is at risk in a society where men allow each other to injure women.

No one should assault, because everyone is injured when assault occurs.

Lying injures everyone as well, no one more than the dishonest, who lose the ability to see the truth after trapping themselves in a web of deceit. False witness to injure another was singled out in ancient times because these lies are especially dangerous. But the general truth that people reap what they sow is applicable to many lesser lies.

Look at spies for lessons on lies. They are the professionals, and they are almost always miserable despite the fortunes they sometimes accumulate. In America, they have the highest divorce rate of those in any government job, and the highest rate of suicide. They lie for a living and it kills them, soul first, body later.

These observations are so simple they are laughable, yet they are not taught in many schools today. When taught, they are often taught as rules which must be obeyed under threat of punishment rather than as wisdom which can benefit every person. Virtues are not lived by many leaders in America today, and you can hardly find them at all on the most powerful teacher of Americans today, television.

The historic judgment of corrupt societies is catastrophic collapse leading to desperate poverty and death. The very poor learn from Mother Nature why industry is required to avoid hunger and pain and why theft is worse than mere deprivation of luxuries. People without police and civil society learn why assault and murder are

wrong directly, by experience, and why community builds wealth faster than any man can alone. Should America choose to step back from the brink of destruction by corruption of governance, several simple steps to restrain that process and begin renewal could be tried.

1. Campaign finance reform, has been identified by many Americans as necessary. How this could best be accomplished is a complicated problem, but no progress can be made so long as the bought-and-paid-for politicians are in charge of this decision.

2. Free TV for candidates would also help **a lot**. Many Americans have thought of this and have observed that the license to use the public airwaves provides an adequate reason to require some contribution to the public welfare, which could free honest politicians from the current need to raise millions of dollars in “donations,” 80 percent to pay for TV time. Of course, the extremely profitable corporations which control TV are jealous of their large profits as well as of their special power. But if America ever decides to retreat from the brink, lowering the cost of informing democracy could surely be accomplished without bankrupting some of the richest companies in the world.

3. Celebrations of virtue, sounds sentimental. It is, but we celebrate violence and scandal and sex and sport so much today, how could it hurt for TV news to celebrate some things of value from time to time? Of course, this would also require news executives, whether electronic or print media, to acknowledge that they have become entertainment managers rather than journalists. Most of them know this already, but it is hard to admit, and they can always blame the business men who own and hire them, who insist on maximum profit, which means maximum ratings, which means sex, violence, sport and scandal in one order or another. The goal of profit is not an evil; without profit businesses must fail. The goal of maximum profit whatever the costs, and externalization of costs whenever possible, is a running disaster show. Maximizing profits is taught in every business school, along with a “grow at any cost” mentality which is ruining America and the world today.

4. Reining in the moneylenders would also help. Recently I heard from an Indian professor that moneylenders in India routinely charge 35 percent interest or more and that many wealthy are quite happy that half of India is illiterate. It is easier to dictate terms to illiterate, impoverished people. Well, this is a problem in America as well. I was amazed to discover that in the land of 10,000 credit cards, few schools teach our young about principal and interest. Yet huge foundations with billions in assets invest great effort into studying our failures of education, and creating curricula every year. Could this

black hole in American education have some connection to the bankers’ interest in public schooling?

Whatever the answer to that question, reining in the moneylenders more effectively, both within America and in the international institutions like the World Bank and the IMF, could help to improve internal economies and reduce external violence of many kinds.

5. Reforming public education in America is another all-purpose panacea. Many books have been written about the profound failures of public education in America today, so I will just acknowledge that improving education for a humane society would help with many problems including the problems of war and corruption.

6. Breaking information barriers was cited in the chapter on Authoritarian Law and Militant Religion, and would also help here. Corruption of governance, like crime in general, depends upon secrecy. Opening up the system to citizen observation cannot hurt society, although it certainly will hurt some people when prying eyes reveal the stunning levels of corruption which today are mostly obscured from public view.

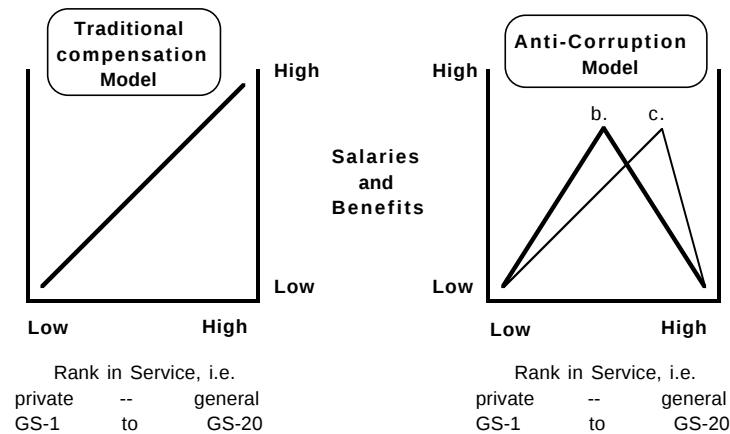
7. Stop supporting tyrants in the name of “democracy.” I have resolved to confine myself to American corruptions, so I will just restate one simple and obvious point. For at least 40 years our government sponsored dictators and tyrants of many sorts to wage a “Cold War” against communism. This was not wise in the long run. Our tyrants have created innumerable enemies who are out to get America for crimes against their parents.

One aspect of that war was an economic war against anyone sympathetic to poor people, waged by the CIA through phony labor groups but also in part by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, controlled mostly by American and European bankers. Now, it is true, they deserve some special influence if they are paying most of the bills. But it is also true that the bankers have a decidedly skewed view of the world, and even of economics, about which they are very expert in extremely narrow ways.

One example of narrow expertise is contained in the concept called “present value economics” by which the entire value of humankind a hundred years from now may be reduced to nearly zero based on current inflation and interest rates. Biological concepts of “sustainable yields” and “self sufficiency” should be placed in proper balance to “present value,” “comparative advantage,” “maximum immediate profit” or return on investments.

So, reining in the tyrants we have sponsored, as well as taming the international moneylenders, would also help.

8. **Adopt a modified compensation schedule for senior management in public service.**



- a. The figure on the left shows traditional compensation by rank, which increases monotonically. The figure on the right shows a peaked compensation scale, where salaries and benefits decline after some point in middle management, in theory to a low equal to that paid to the lowest full time employee of the institution.
- b. b and c simply note that the details of this modified compensation model could be as varied as the details of any compensation plan. What is important is the concept that senior management of vital public institutions should be actual servants to society, motivated by devotion to their missions rather than by ever-increasing money.
- c. An example illustrated above is confining decreases in salary only to the most senior executives (c) versus requiring all management to accept decreasing compensation (b) as their power in the organization increases. Either way "service" would not be confused with "rewards" as is currently the case, leading to problems discussed in the text.

Figure 16

A Solution to Corruption of Governance

The last solution I can offer for corruption in governance is not philosophical at all, but very specific and practical. Except, of course, that it will be resisted by corrupt leaders who have become very accustomed to the luxuries and privileges of high office.

Figure 16 shows the compensation schedule for ranks in any bureaucracy on the left; the graph on the right shows how it could be modified for optimal performance in public institutions. Traditional models rise monotonically; the anti-corruption model would increase compensation up to middle management, but decrease cash compensation thereafter for senior managers. The reasons for this departure from established, traditional practice are simple.

a) Corruption affects people motivated by money or power. I seek to drive them out of public management into

business where they more properly belong, or to confine them to middle management, where they can do less harm to vital public institutions.

b) Senior managers of public institutions should be intelligent enough to manage their own affairs well, and experienced enough to have risen in income somewhere, sometime. If their personal affairs are in order and their appetites are not extreme, a future of declining salary will present no insurmountable problem. If they are less able, or less dedicated to the ideal (functional) mission of their institution, they should not advance to senior ranks.

c) One of the worst consequences of corruption is that elites lose touch with life conditions in the lower ranks. This would be forestalled if generals had to live on the same income and benefits as privates. This would also

help the generals to resist the subtle drift in worldview which almost always occurs in the country club set, when one is surrounded only by affluent, powerful people all the time. If conditions are unbearable for the troops, the generals should know first hand.

d) Senior management in large institutions inevitably enjoys numerous perks of power quite separate from dollar income. It is hard enough to resist their subtle influence, without also dealing with the effects of economic separation (commonly called class). Over time, if not forestalled, class differences destroy even civilizations much less institutions. Power has its own allure. You would not lack for generals or presidents, even if you reduced their pay to that of privates and mail clerks. But you could reduce the power of forces leading to corruption which Lord Acton warned of, and which also lead to war.

There are many other aspects of corruption of governance worth commenting on, and solutions worth contemplating. But I have covered what I can, selecting factors relevant to causes of war. You, and good economists, can undoubtedly improve upon this section. I urge you all to do so before another general war and Mother Nature do their jobs, and teach us all the difference between that which is necessary, and that which is luxury.

I have to move on to lawyers, hungry as locusts, descending on a world at war to clean up any scraps left by the warmongers and the bankers.

Legalism: n. Strict adherence to law, especially to the letter rather than the spirit.

The Random House Dictionary, 1980.

Legalism

Legalism idolizes the idea that the answers to human problems may be found in codes of law. This idea can be carried to extremes which increase $p(\text{War})$.

This can occur with equal ease in totalitarian systems of the left or right. It can even occur in democracies. In the quest to write down the “best” way to handle life’s variety of problems, bureaucracy can smother freedom anywhere. It can squeeze the life out of economics and culture, all with the “best of intentions” and for “the public good.” If legalistic codes are enforced by violent means, the result is police-state rule, whatever the nominal ideology of the government.

Police-states always fail to meet the needs of their citizens, and they harden both rulers and ruled to the use of violent means in human affairs. So war with other nations eventually comes, or civil war with those repressed by the state.

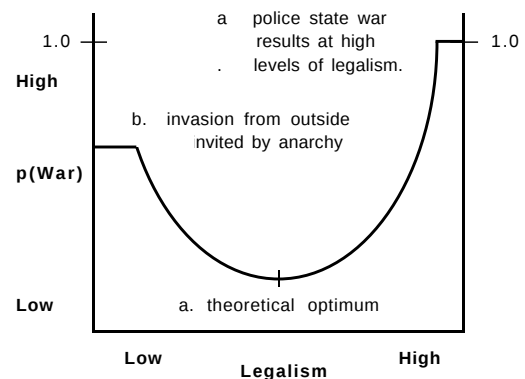
The other extreme is also dangerous. Without any law at all, men express the ruthless side of their animal nature more often, and wars of large and small scale become more likely. Hobbesian war of each against all is nearly inevitable.

The balance between these extremes is the domain of civilized society. Hell may be found on either side of this balance between anarchy and police-state tyranny.

Some concepts in this chapter are found in “Authoritarian Law and Militant Religion,” but not all. The most essential is the false presumption that any court or legislature anywhere can wisely determine the “one best way” to answer most human questions. There are many good answers to most complex human questions, and those who think otherwise are fools or ruthless power parasites. The fools are just foolish. The parasites live off of others using the power they derive from the false presumption that they know best how other people should live.

This assumption is embedded in the systems of law which prevail today. It is a deadly thing, a cause of many

wars and it is the original sin of police-states which wage war against their “own” people, or more accurately, against the people whom they claim to own.



a. U shaped, with endpoints where anarchy or police-states occur. U curves imply some balance between extremes where $p(\text{War})$ is minimized.

b. At absolute anarchy, $p(\text{War})$ is defined by the probability of invasion by outside forces, since disorganized masses are incapable of mounting battles involving at least one government with at least 1000 dead per one year.

c. Comparison between this curve and Figure 14 on Authoritarian Law, Militant Religion and $p(\text{War})$ shows the intuitive and therefore highly uncertain nature of this method. It is still an improvement on no method at all for dealing with variables which cannot be measured at present, or defined precisely, and where insufficient cases of wars exist to create curves derived by strict quantitative methods.

Figure 17: Legalism and $p(\text{War})$

The assumption that a court or congress is wiser than the average human about the person’s own life is the bedrock of power for politicians, judges and the herds of lawyers beneath them. So it will be very difficult to

assault. They are the masters of using words to enslave people; they are very adept indeed. And they rely on ancient traditions that were established by ruthless rulers long ago who hired skilled writers to describe them as wise and benign.

There are, of course, some good politicians, judges and lawyers. Never doubt that good exists there, too. We need the good among them desperately. The excellent among them recognize the difference between “justice” and “law.” But for now, a focus on the “bads” of law and the keepers of law, is required.

American Supreme Court Chief Justice, Warren Burger, warned us that: “American society may be on its way to hordes of lawyers, hungry as locusts, and brigades of judges never before contemplated” at an American Bar Association sponsored conference on May 27, 1977, at the Columbia University Law School.

It is 1997, and we have arrived. We have two-thirds of the world’s lawyers, and a proportionate share of the world’s legal problems. We may assume Chief Justice Burger did not share my prejudice against lawyers, so I hope our convergence of views on this point is persuasive.

Legalists presume that there is one best answer to most if not all human questions. They then conclude that it is the job of legislatures and courts to determine that one best answer and to impose it on everyone. A second basic assumption enables the legalists to enslave humankind. This is the assumption that it is legitimate for them to use violent means to enforce their laws, once they have decided what is the one “best” way to live.

From these fundamental assumptions flow the 100,000 laws on every subject under the sun, including the dietary laws and sexual laws which cause such exceptional harm. A separate chapter will be devoted to them, since they are such stunning examples of damage done by good intentions run amok (The War on “Drugs”). But one paragraph on each here can illustrate the central point.

First, most Americans are amazed when they learn how ruthlessly dietary laws have been enforced by other cultures which have outlawed pork, for example, or alcohol, or consumption of cows. Yet many of these same Americans think nothing of condemning at least 25 percent of the public to criminal status for violating the laws against marijuana and a hundred other “controlled” substances used by hundreds of millions of people worldwide for reasons that those people understand even if the legalists do not. All while the legal drugs, alcohol and tobacco, kill hundreds of thousands and maim millions every year. The legalist response to this inconsistency is to call for even more laws condemning ever more people. That is the short road to hell on earth.

Second, I have been amazed for a very long time

how Americans persecute prostitutes. The persecution of prostitutes has a long history and many arguments and rationalizations surround it. What matters to me here is the utter blindness of the persecutors to the cruel and perverted nature of their judgmental bigotry. The zealots of dietary and sexual laws do not see themselves as criminals, they see themselves as noble creatures upholding a public morality. To do this they are perfectly comfortable imposing death upon many of their victims, and other less severe consequences as certified by law.

These are not demonic people; they include my wife, father, and other kindly people who simply do not comprehend the full consequences of determined attempts to force a way of life on others, no matter how well intended. They are kind people who harm others by imposing their ignorance by force of law.

Like legalists everywhere, they think they know the best way to run a life, their way, and in extreme cases they are prepared to kill those who disagree -- not personally, by means of jails and police. Intermediaries break the process into parts, and spread the strain, blame and benefits around. Legalism is the original sin of law. It is a fundamental cause of war because legalists never agree on the details of the codes they would impose on the world.

Legalism has two parts, the presumption of single best answers to complex questions, and the presumption that violent means are legitimate to achieve well-meant ends. When legalist systems contest, war of one sort or another becomes almost inevitable, because each thinks that it is the best, and both are prepared to kill to get their way.

Of course, when legalists kill they do not call it “murder.” Even in the days of Moses, government lawyers were quick to rush in and claim the right to define words like kill and murder. The commandment “do not kill” was interpreted to mean “do not murder.” To them, when the state or its agents kill, it is never murder. Only when other people kill is it murder. For government agents, it is always a “legal killing,” an “execution,” a “sanctioned death,” “executive action” or some such nonsense.

We want and need a right for people and communities to defend themselves. We need to recognize when killing is necessary to save innocent life, and we want a right for nations or communities to defend themselves against unambiguous attack from outside forces. But there is a slippery slope here, as in many issues where people try to define with words the infinite complexity of human life. In very rare circumstances, killing may be necessary. It is necessary in police work, for example, although nations vary enormously in how many of their own people they find it “necessary” to kill. The beginning of the dangerous part of that slope is letting

governments condemn murders by others, while justifying killing by themselves or their employees.

Before proceeding from the extreme to the mundane, one more slippery slope of common law should be noted. Most sincere moralists object to being accused of murder of prostitutes or pot smokers or other violators of the 100,000 victimless crimes. They do not count those who die during arrest, in jail, or to the manifold consequences of being labeled a criminal whether caught or not. But the law provides for unlimited use of force, if necessary, to arrest anyone who resists. Some people inevitably resist arrest; by this means alone, some are killed each year. Others die in jails. If they are intellectually honest, legalists must admit that many people die each year in the domains I am citing, like prostitution, from the exceptional violence and risk they face when denied protections against assault which law supposedly provides us all. Every year hundreds of prostitutes are murdered in many ways, by customers, by crooked cops, and by crazy people. Very few such murders occur in the countries (and counties of Nevada) where prostitution is legal. These deaths lie on the souls of legalists and others who presumed to know the best way of life for all.

American law has lost sight of freedom and justice in other ways. Chief Justice Burger warned us about excesses of law which have come to pass, but the Burger Court was also noted for systematically restricting the citizen's right to sue the U.S. government for injuries sustained by injustices the government commits. Since then many new Executive Orders (EO's), presidential National Security Decision Directives (NSDD's) and laws like the Counter Terrorism Act have reduced civil liberties and empowered government zealots in manifold ways.

In 1993, I watched a man who had been driven into a mental hospital by a CIA psychological operations campaign for refusing to work for them any longer. An American citizen, he was not seeking monetary damages, merely a restraint to get them to stop harassing him, and to prevent them from harming others as he had been harmed. I watched two Justice Department lawyers ask the judge to dismiss the case based on "Official Secrets Privilege" and refer to a letter written by then Director of the CIA, R. James Woolsey, which an FBI agent with them was keeping in a "triple locked safe." No one else, including defense counsel, a security cleared Air Force Major, would be allowed to see the letter. Federal Judge Richard Kyle accepted these conditions and refused to allow the injured citizen to sue for relief. This would have been rare in any event, because the CIA had admitted their relationship to the victim and to those who had violated his home and destroyed his life over many months (CIA almost never

admits to its many crimes). But they still prevailed, and justice was denied to preserve the secrets of a criminal institution within the U.S. government.

There will be more on the lies of spies and how this affects war worldwide in a later chapter. But this example of government serving its own bureaucratic interests corruptly, rather than the functions of justice and freedom for which it was created, deserves more comment here. American jurisprudence has become not just corrupt, but utterly confused by the million laws it has written. There are special laws for spies, many never even seen by Congress, in the form of secret Executive Orders and NSDD's. Some of these allow the spies to claim exemption from all the other laws of men and God. Some establish secret "spy courts" where Constitutional guarantees, like a right to see the evidence against you or cross examine witnesses, are denied (CIPA, the Classified Information Procedures Act of 1980). U.S. Federal Judge Kyle looked every bit the Soviet judge as he accepted "Official Secrets" as an excuse for crimes against American citizens by government agents on that day.

The Ayatollah Khomeini was a quintessential legalist. He wrote a book detailing even such items as how one should wipe one's body at the toilet, and the regime he founded has killed thousands of people who violated these rules in small or large ways. They are still hunting people far away in foreign lands (like Salman Rushdie), not even Iranian citizens, who dared to utter words about Islam the Ayatollah disapproved of.

The Torah provides orthodox Jews with 613 laws which get down to the level of where milk should be stored when preparing meat, which meats are allowed and which forbidden, which words to say when killing the chicken, etc., etc. The Old Testament laws are not all dietary, but an impressive percentage are. It suggests that God was preoccupied with the diet of a tribal people on a tiny planet at the fringe of a billion galaxies which God must oversee, an unlikely prospect to me. Jews have been less ruthless in enforcement than many, but they have also had less experience in being the dominant political power, and far more experience at being the victims of authoritarian law.

Genghis Khan made do with 22 laws called the Yasa. He was ruthless, but concise, and kept his law within bounds which ordinary people could master. Good law is understandable. This worked very well for the Mongol empire. It would never do for modern schools of law.

Moses made do with 10 laws, the Ten Commandments, which very few lawyers, judges or politicians obey today. When you have 100,000 laws, no one knows and no one can obey them all, so everyone is vulnerable to the zealous or politically motivated prosecutor. And when you have 1,000,000 laws, the really

essential criminal laws may be buried by the mass of other laws enforcing customs or the privileges of elites.

I use the figure “1,000,000 laws” metaphorically. No one really knows the total number of American laws today. About 17,000 new laws are passed each year by local, state and federal governments, and many single federal bills exceed 1,000 pages in length with numerous codicils and clauses. For example, NAFTA, a trade agreement, was 8,000 pages long, and the Federal Tax code alone is now about 10,000 pages long. Furthermore, such laws often empower regulatory agencies to write many more rules which acquire the force of law once published in the Federal Register. Then there are the EO’s, NSDD’s and other executive commands, half secret, and none ever passed by Congress. So America actually has in excess of a million laws, each and every one of which citizens are expected to know and obey, since some of the laws declare that ignorance of the law is no excuse in the courts which enforce them.

I manage 99.8 percent of my ethical dilemmas with one rule of three words of eight letters: “Do no harm.” Like every person, I have failed, but try hard to minimize those times.

The traffic police have convinced me to accept several derivatives of that concise rule which make a lot of sense. I am pleased to obey sensible derivatives of the primary rule, like the traffic laws which preserve an order on the streets that is both useful and necessary. I am pleased to obey the consensus criminal statutes against murder, rape, assault, theft and false witness. I have a hard time with rules which make no sense, or which exist merely to enrich some privileged group. The worst require me to harm someone else. I do my best to disobey the latter laws, as the Nuremberg rulings require me to.

No modern society could function very well with a legal code consisting of three words, because many people would interpret those words differently and many arguments could be anticipated over details. Contracts would be difficult, lawyers unemployed, and politicians frustrated (heaven forbid!). But a society based on the presumption that courts and congresses have a right and the wisdom to select “best” answers to every human question is dysfunctional. It becomes increasingly arthritic, in the end paralyzed by constant argument among factions about which rules shall be the chosen rules. It also generates a steady supply of very expensive criminals, since no rule is ever obeyed by everyone all the time. Injustices abound, created by people who buy rules favorable to them, and respect for law of any kind declines.

There is a tiny fascist in every man and woman, waiting to get out. Legalists express, and take advantage

of that. Who has not desired to command others what to do? The tiny fascist in every man and woman must be tended to, because it is extremely dangerous and intimately related to war. Those who would rule others nearly always cloak their desire in the words “for your own good.”

“Do Gooders” of any persuasion have found a way of life which they think works well for them. When they slip into insisting that others follow this way of life, they enter the domain of legalists who think there is, in fact, but one best answer to life’s important questions. When they pass laws to force people to live as they desire they express the original sin of legalists and dictators everywhere. Hitler’s attempt to “do good” for the German people is an example to us all.

Put two of them in the same room, and you will have micro-wars of words. Put them in opposite political parties, and you get mini-wars with expensive consequences. Put them in adjoining nations, and actual war with large scale lethal destruction becomes a prospect. Put them in international alliances, and the extinction of humankind by the ultimate application of the flawed assumptions of legalism becomes possible.

There is no one best answer to most complex human questions. People differ. Let them.

The use of violent force to impose will is almost always wrong. It is only right in unambiguous defense of innocence against attack by others, or responding to unambiguous dangers presented by others.

Killing human beings is almost always murder. If governments could get that one item right, the probability of war would drop a lot. Police-state wars would disappear, and civil and international wars would be far harder to start.

If most American lawyers could be helped to find something useful to do, society would be calmer and less violent (Japan manages better, on five percent of American lawyers). Some lawyers will always be necessary to manage essential contract law, to advise on wills, divorces, major torts, and other matters of serious legal need. This is honorable work. Some attorneys are required to prosecute consensus crimes, and to defend those so accused. But ambulance chasers and petty tyrants injure us all. America’s experience with a “sue everybody for anything” culture provides abundant examples of the hell which results. The price of nearly everything is inflated thereby, and whole sports have been nearly eliminated (like men’s gymnastics, gutted by ever rising insurance fees caused by ambulance chasing attorneys and money grubbing citizens who refuse to take personal responsibility for anything they do).

Very few lawyers should be elected to positions of political power, if you want well run, humane government.

For that, non-adversarial, nonviolent methods of conflict resolution are preferred, which rely on cooperation, conciliation, mediation, arbitration and similar forms of constructive problem solving. An example of where this helps is in family courts and the tragedies of divorce. American jurisprudence is based on adversarial principles and monetary incentives which lead too many divorce attorneys to take a tragic failure of relationship, and turn it into a brutal and financially devastating personal war. No one suffers more than the children, whom the courts theoretically exist to protect. This is such a glaring contradiction of common wisdom and morality, that many states have begun the process of discouraging court adjudicated divorces and encouraging more humane methods for settling the issues involved. This is a small, but real and valuable step in the direction I am urging law in general to move. There is less money in it for attorneys, but far more harmony for society.

One of the best personal injury lawyers of our time, Gerry Spence (1993) describes the decline of American law in a seminal book called From Freedom to Slavery: The Rebirth of Tyranny in America. He describes the arrogation of power by corporations, which may now legally do many severely injurious things which done by any individual would be criminal offenses. He describes the corruption of judges, especially federal judges, whose black robes, many servants, sycophantic petitioners, and inordinate discretionary power to punish those who displease them, leads to a disease of the mind which Spence tries to illuminate. It is as Lord Acton said — the arrogation of power which corrupts even honorable men.

Spence has retired, but victims still come to him for help, which highlights the paradox of law and ethics that pervades this study of war. For every 100 ambulance chasers — attorneys who use the suffering of others for their own gain, and abuse the laws which strive toward justice between the powerful and the weak — there is a Gerry Spence who helps those truly injured by powerful and reckless institutions. For every prosecutor who persecutes prostitutes or other minor deviants from the common morality, there is one who concentrates on jailing the murderers, rapists and other thugs who actually endanger people. And for every judge who soils the seat he occupies (often because he paid lots of money to a politician) there is another judge who still holds justice in her heart.

The law should be a sacred thing, for without it we are beasts. Yet abused by wrong thinking, it becomes a tyrant as terrible as any Earth has known. This is not obvious to those who render judgment in polite society, but it is very obvious to anyone who knows what people in jail know. Half the inmates should not be there, and half the

folks who should be jailed hold positions of public trust and power. Money talks and bullshit walks, another bit of common wisdom seldom heard in the halls of Washington.

I will close this section on Legalism with a very short story. The story is real, and it exemplifies to me the absolute truth that there is more than one correct answer to many of life's complex questions. It involves a boy who ate "too much" salt.

When I was working on genetic diseases, a boy was brought to the clinical people by his parents who suspected a psychiatric problem because the boy ate too much salt, and everyone "knows" that too much salt is bad for you. They had already tried many remedies, rules, restrictions, counselling, the gamut. But with every attempt his behavior got worse, until he was even caught breaking into a neighbor's home to get salt which was strictly controlled at his home. Well, they hospitalized him and put him on a "healthy" diet while they ran some tests. By the time his tests came back, he was dead.

His kidneys dumped salt like a sieve -- very unusual. So a herd of highly educated people killed him, forcing the diet which works for average people into him. Not one of them meant him ill, not his parents, not his doctors. They were all trying to help him, but they all forgot that what works well for average people does not work well for everyone.

When I have confronted lawyers and politicians with this example, they usually reply that laws must be made of words, and that words of wisdom require average statements about what works best for most people most of the time. And that some "mistakes" are inevitable. My advice to the legalists of the world is to throw such laws in the garbage where most of them belong, and to stop trying to impose the best guess of politicians about what would work best for the average among their peoples. People differ. Let them. What works best for some, very seldom works best for everyone. And most people are far more intimately aware of their own unique constellation of needs than any court or legislature anywhere.

Of course, public business must be done; of course, there are crimes with real victims who should be protected better than they are today; and, of course, someone must decide what is best for the severely retarded and for other vulnerable people in a complex society. But not one of those laws, not a billion words and rationalizations for law, are worth the life of one small child killed by the ignorance and arrogance of people imposing average views and refusing to hear the cries of a dying child. As it goes for children, it goes for nations.

What does this mean for p(War)? Why are the concepts of Legalism central to War? Because men who would never urinate on a public street, because they have

been taught from birth that this is wrong, have often ordered the systematic killing of thousands, sometimes millions of people, because they have been taught from birth that this is legitimate behavior for nation states. So long as some judicial body has OK'd the slaughter, they feel perfectly morally fine with the murder of enemies, and with wholesale murder of innocents unfortunate enough to be in the way of the great campaign. They even feel good about murder of their own citizens in modern police-states.

Attack the concepts of legalism, and you may cripple the moral foundations of war. Do this soon, and p(War) may decline; wait, and another general war must eventually come. Odds are good that one of the reasons for that war will be some foolish disagreement over who gets to write the rules which "everyone" must follow.

Solutions

1. Law schools should stop training people to lie automatically and as skillfully as possible. They have many rationalizations for this, which are not worth a damn, and have thus reduced the law to an object of contempt among ordinary citizens. The time honored difference between "law" and "justice" should be reduced. Telling the truth more often would help this goal.

2. A corollary to this is the observation that while learning to argue both sides of any case is, indeed, good practice in the artful use of words, it is simply not true that every side of every issue has equal merit. Justice is not merely a wordgame.

3. Justice also should not be sold. The legal profession should stop pretending that money or power equals virtue. They do not equal justice, either, although you would never know this from the performance of many modern courts.

4. Unlike contract law where explicit control of the details is a legitimate goal, the political side of law should accept the common and ancient wisdom that there are many good solutions to most problems. People deserve freedom to differ, and politicians and lawyers seldom have legitimate business ordering people about. One of the first lessons every law school teaches is that it is all right for judges and politicians to do just that. Only in rare instances should that be true. Order in the courts is a fine goal; an unlimited right for judges to jail citizens "for contempt" (e.g., for insulting the judge) is an example of the terminal corruption and vanity in modern law.

Forbidding defendants from using moral argument in their defense (common in political trials in America today) is another example. What harm is there in letting protesters tell a jury the reasons for their civil disobedience? They may still be jailed for failure to obey, even though often more moral than the Pharisees who jail them. There are also many double standards which eviscerate respect for law. Discipline of criminal judges or politicians is nearly non-existent. The term "Your Honor" has been debased by commanding its use even in the most inappropriate circumstances. Ending these contrary distinctions would help.

5. The use of violent force by governments should be almost forbidden (see chapters on Authoritarian Law, and Being a Warrior). Criminal law, with violent sanctions, should be reserved for crimes that command a consensus among the people because the behaviors condemned are dangerous, not merely for things that simple majorities or powerful minorities dislike in their bigoted ways.

6. For a specific example, prosecutors should stop persecuting prostitutes, and a long list of other nonviolent victims of law run amok. On the international scale, nations should stop meddling in each others business by war and other violent means. That is, most wars should be considered flat illegal under international law. Conversely, prosecution of international murderers by an international court created to judge those who engage in genocide and similar slaughters, would help to reduce over time the incidence of war. The next chapter deals with this in more detail. Sharpening the focus of law at all levels on those who are dangerous rather than merely different would greatly help to reduce p(War).

7. People in general, but especially officers of the law and the courts, should begin to act like justice was actually a very, very precious thing. Serving it should not be a mere job, or political patronage. It should be a calling too important to be debased as it is today. If lawyers and judges would stop wallowing in the mud and raping justice in relentless pursuit of money and power, their honor would be restored and many lives spared.

8. Words of wisdom should usually not be written into law. Too much meat may be bad for your health, for example, a wise observation which should never be made a law. Promiscuity has bad consequences, undoubtedly true, a disaster if legislated as such. Love carries many undeniable risks, but should legislatures outlaw love? Climbing mountains can be dangerous, but those who fear all risks should not be allowed to deny opportunities to

grow for those who are less timid. Legalists tend to enter every area of human existence, with a set of rules which satisfy their need for control, or their desire to “do good.” But everyone who has climbed a dangerous mountain knows that there are some things in life which require real effort, even real risks, and which are simply not accessible to those who stay below.

9. A more specific way to address the general problem of too much law, would be to enact a single “sunset” law which renders all other laws invalid after 50 years unless specifically re-enacted by a legislature. This would be a gentler way to accomplish the goal which prompted Thomas Jefferson to say that good government requires a revolution every generation or two. Laws become like barnacles on a ship, encrusting. Governments find a thousand reasons to strip freedom away, slice by slice, but they almost never have the energy to return freedoms once removed. Even the wisest politician, faced with citizen unrest over some tragic rare event, finds it nearly impossible not to outlaw that contingency forever for all people. The law becomes arthritic, as thousands of laws age beyond their time, and freedom is lost beneath 100,000 good intentions. So a general sunset provision on all laws except the constitution would be a useful half step toward the full goal of reducing the violence of law itself.

10. Judge not, lest you be judged. This is advice I should take more often — I have been very judgmental here about large groups of powerful people who, in truth, contain the whole mixture of good and bad qualities which each of us knows. I apologize, sincerely and seriously, to the many good people whom I have slandered because language compels me to tar them with the same brush I use to tar the criminal element among lawyers, judges and politicians. They are not all the same, and many of them mean well.

To the criminal jurists, however, I repeat that you would be wiser to judge not, lest you too be judged. The law creates many victims today. Some are arming themselves and grinding axes out of their injuries, axes meant for you. One solution to wars both large and small, would be for people in general to be slower to reach for their judgmental side, and to rest easier with the differences among humankind. This applies especially to the keepers of law. We differ. Let people differ, so that you and they can live and let live.

It is easy to say “Be nonviolent,” but so hard to accomplish. Of course these goals are hard to achieve. But without knowing where to go, the quest to end war and

injustice must fail. Reducing the violence of governments while increasing enforcement of the consensus criminal laws across all nations, is central to that goal.

Finally, let me acknowledge how artificial it is to say, “I use three words, Do no harm,” when I enjoy the many advantages of a nation protected by soldiers, a community protected by police, and affluence provided partly by a vast array of institutions which are far more dependent on law and order than I have noted here. Reasonable social order makes it much easier to “do no harm.”

Many good people enter the professions of law, and some have tried to use the law to expand the rights and dignities of human beings. So I apologize to them again, and say, embrace the good. Embrace the good, but recognize the bad and recognize that 99.8 percent of the good done by law is done nonviolently. The .2 percent remaining is criminal sanctions against unambiguously dangerous people. Embrace the good in law, but never take your eye off the criminal element in law, because its excesses are the wellspring of manifold injustices including the ultimate injustice of wars and genocides. Remember that every war and genocide was enabled by a host of laws written and enforced by people who thought they were doing good, to someone.

11. Quincy Wright (1965) emphasized the legal condition of war. Make war illegal, and you will reduce the probability of war. Right now, it is not merely legal to wage wars, it is illegal to resist war in various ways. Even refusing to support war, much less resisting it effectively, is illegal today in the land of formerly free and occasionally brave people. More on that in the next chapter, on justice.

“Force without justice is tyranny; justice without force is futility.”

— Sir Edmund Burke

“But who is to guard the guards themselves?”

— Juvinal, in *Omnia Romae*

Justice, Injustice, and Lack of Effective International Conflict Resolution Systems

Without justice, there can be no lasting peace.

Yet more wars have been fought over the proper meaning of the term “justice” than over any other word, except perhaps the “proper” name of God.

This is the central dilemma of the quest for peace with justice.

Minnesota does not go to war with North Dakota over rights to the Red River water, because there is a higher authority with courts to adjudicate such issues, and with access to force superior to that either Minnesota or North Dakota can muster.

But Iran and Iraq killed over a million of their young a decade ago, and maimed millions more, over the Shatt al Arab waterway between their nations. No higher authority with sufficient power (and interest) existed to stop that eight-year madness.

Minneapolis does not go to war with St. Paul over pollution control on the great Mississippi River, or the rules which regulate fishing, or a thousand other economic and legal issues which might divide the Twin Cities which share this river, because there is a higher authority with courts to adjudicate such issues. The courts have access to force to back up decisions, although military force has not been considered a solution to these kinds of neighborhood disputes (since, that is, the military force which took 90 percent of the land of Minnesota from the Native Americans less than two centuries ago). Rather, the forces employed have been economic and political, and the moral force of communities which recognize how wrong, and impractical, it would be to use lethal violence against one’s neighbors. Unless they are Indians, which illustrates the limits of reliance on “moral force.”

Bosnia has not been so fortunate. Sarajevo bled for years after its neighbors lost this basic awareness that we must live, or die, together.

We have many models of government to examine, and systems of justice, and systems used to enforce the

decisions of governments whether just or unjust. This is not a new problem. But we have not been able to solve the problem at the level of international order, to the degree it has been solved at smaller levels of human community. We can observe the failed League of Nations for clues, or the failing United Nations. Each provides some excellent lessons, and even better language, outlining the most noble goals of the international community. But the practical problem of establishing effective systems to resolve international conflicts short of war has not yet been solved.

As stated elsewhere, the central dilemma of using government to solve problems of justice and war is the recurring habit of governments to become corrupt and to transform from the keepers of justice to the oppressors of some dispossessed in the service of wealth and power. This is a most important cause of the civil wars which predominate today.

Corruption of governance is another essential dilemma for those who would end war. What is justice? And how do we deal with unjust governments?

The Cold War between the United States (and the idea of capitalism), and the Soviet Union (and the idea of communism), which included so many allies and ravaged so much of the Third World, was an argument over two concepts of distributional justice. One is the principle of merit, the idea that those who work harder, smarter or longer ought to enjoy the greater material benefits of their greater work. The other is the principle of equality, the idea that people deserve more equal shares of the pie of life, since so much of how and where we work, or how much we get paid for work, is dependent on forces over which most individuals have no control, such as who our parents were, where we were born and the context of social relations into which we are thrust by fate.

It is illusion to conclude that one of these concepts of justice is right, and the other wrong. They are both “right” but they are not consistent, and finding the proper

balance between them is not easy to achieve. The rich tend naturally to view the principle of merit as best; the poor tend to view equality as the better principle. But truly, the art of justice is all in finding the proper balance. Too much one way, and you have civil war between the arrogant rich and the desperate poor. Too much the other way, and you have police-state war as government becomes totalitarian trying to impose a strict equality on undeniable human differences, and finds it must then also impose work on the masses because very few people work as hard for the common good as for their individual gain.

Distributional justice, or how we divide the material goods of life, is not the only domain of justice important to why and how wars start. In the chapter on corruption of governance we cited many military authors who observed insurgency in Latin America, and who generally concluded that it was not the poverty *per se* which roused rebellion, but long term systematic violations of common sense justice which occur when elites become so corrupt and so powerful that they can commit crimes of any nature against the poor with impunity.

The desire for justice aroused when government agents rape your daughter or kill your brother is a very powerful desire indeed, and is intimately related to all too many civil wars today.

What sense of justice is aroused when a powerful nation invades a weaker one, in quest of oil perhaps, as in Kuwait? What sense of justice is aroused when one group desires to impose its religious view on others, as in Sudan and so many historic examples? People have a powerful desire to determine their own religion, yet some feel it is "God's" will to convert the world to their church by force. This is not an argument over wealth, but it has given rise to many wars. Even when wealth is at issue, as in the wars over who controls the oil or the land, there is a profound sense of injustice attached to bully nations attacking their neighbors.

Justice, justice, what is that? Two hundred million people have died this century, over just what justice is, many of them children innocent as the dawn. Where is the justice for them?

The traditional answer to the question of what is justice is the concept of laws and the institutions of courts and congresses, or gatherings of learned elders by some other name. Of course, without enforcement capability, courts and congresses are laughed at, so there are also the institutions of police and armies. Edmund Burke said: "Force without justice is tyranny; justice without force is futility." We see again the central dilemma. For justice, we need something like government; yet governments become corrupt, so we need protection from them as well.

Effective International Conflict Resolution Systems (ICRS)

Let us examine briefly the international conflict resolution systems we observe today (hereafter called ICRS) for clues to what works and what does not. First, the categories. There is traditional diplomacy between nation-states, and there are regional, multilateral organizations like the Organization for African Unity (OAU) or the Organization of American States (OAS) which exist specifically to help resolve conflicts among their member nations in order to prevent war. There are similar organizations in every part of the world, some of which are primarily military — like NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Others embrace related issues — like the OSCE, or Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, or ASEAN, the Association of South East Asian Nations. Some are primarily economic but bear on security issues — like OECD, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, a club of the richer economies in the world today.

To date, the United Nations (UN) is the largest system developed specifically to resolve international conflicts short of war. It has derivative, but semi-independent agencies like the World Court (International Court of Justice, ICJ) based in the Hague, Netherlands. The World Court is especially pertinent to our quest for peace with justice, since it is one of the few institutions nominally empowered to actually try cases between governments according to a judicial, as opposed to a diplomatic, process.

Operating almost completely independently from these government-to-government institutions, is a small blizzard of non-governmental organizations (NGO's) like the International Red Cross, Red Crescent, Amnesty International or the many other groups which monitor human rights and welfare around the world. With them comes the concept of citizen diplomacy, and the very important idea that when governments are a central part of the problem, governments may not be as good at solving the problem as independent initiatives by global citizens. It bears reflection that many of the recent UN conferences around the world, on the environment (Rio de Janeiro, 1992), on population (Cairo, 1994), on social development (Copenhagen, 1995) and on the status of women (Beijing, 1995) have been overshadowed by concurrent NGO conferences at the same locations, with more participants, newer ideas, and by far the greater energy despite far lesser financial resources than governments can bring to these issues.

UN, OAS, OAU, NATO, OSCE, ASEAN, OECD, ICJ, NGO's etc., etc.; this is a real alphabet soup of

organizations, all of whose nominal purposes include preventing war. The ultimate International Conflict Resolution System of last resort remains — war. And when bitter disputes fester too long, war is the way by which victor and vanquished are sometimes selected.

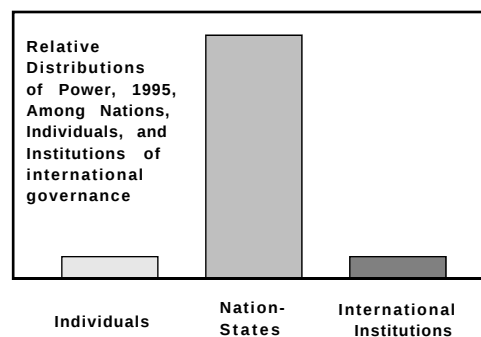
One reason there are so many attempts to resolve conflicts short of war is that war is horrendously expensive, and very weak in selecting outcomes which satisfy any standard of justice more sophisticated than “might makes right.” Another important factor is that reason, when it prevails, can search for win-win solutions where both or all parties to a conflict come out better. This is far superior to the win-lose outcomes which are the very best war can achieve. The far more common outcome in war is lose-lose. Someone wins the war, but all parties are bled, their treasuries drained, their youth and their land laid waste; truly, war is an expensive and unjust method for resolving most conflicts.

Figure 18 shows one reason why the UN and the World Court, while well intended and well conceived, have had limited success at their central mission. Nation states often simply ignore international institutions and the World Court in particular, because they are so weak compared to the more powerful nations. That implies one aspect of the solution to our problem of war. That solution is to reduce the power of the nation states, and to increase the power of individuals and international institutions. One way to do that is for the individuals who create all wealth to contribute less to national governments, and more to international institutions.

Equalizing power relations among different levels of the global polity, and dividing jurisdiction by function, would be a better solution to the war problem than traditional efforts which try to create ever higher levels of authority with access to ever greater force. That method may indeed suppress conflicts at lower levels, but is vulnerable to corruption of governance which ultimately results in police-state war, civil war, or wars of conquest against weaker neighbors.

Figure 19 shows the qualitative geometric curve of $p(\text{War})$ against justice, which declines monotonically as justice increases. I suspect $p(\text{War})$ would also decline as international conflict resolution systems become better, but this is even more theoretical since they are so weak today.

Several other points bear emphasis. One is the concept of exclusive claim to the moral use of deadly force. It is a mistake to empower governments with this legal “right” exclusively. Rather, the more stable solution is to recognize equally the right of self defense against deadly threats at all levels. That is, if national governments claim the moral right to kill in defense of



To promote peace, the unfettered power of nation-states must be reduced, along with claims to exclusive moral use of deadly force.

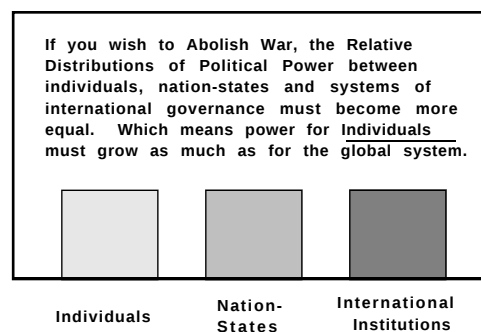


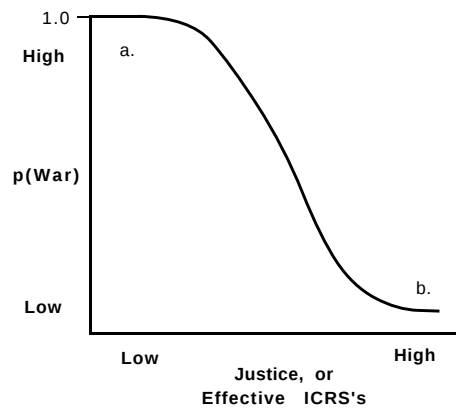
Figure 18

The Problem, and a Solution in Graphs

their interests, then individuals and the international system must enjoy the same philosophical and legal basis for action. This generates an appropriate caution, and my response is to distinguish “interests” from “self defense against deadly threats.”

So, I would recognize a right of self defense for all, including for citizens against any government which turns deadly in its behavior. But I would not extend this right to something so vague and abusable as “interests.” We all have “interests,” and when people use lethal means in pursuit of interests we all live in a dangerous mess. This undercuts the primary claim to a right to live free from deadly threats. The secondary claim to rights to other freedoms, so important to Americans and to me, is pretty well covered if governments were more constrained in their access to deadly force.

This highlights the fundamental importance of urging national governments to be more creative in their use of incentives, disincentives, and guidelines to organize their nations, rather than excessive reliance on rigid rules backed by deadly force. This theme is covered often here, but especially in the chapters on Legalism, and Governance Without Governments. Freedom matters.



- a. Monotonic, with $p(\text{War}) = 1.0$ at very low levels of justice, since gross injustice leads either to police-state war or civil war depending on whether repression is successful or not.
- b. At high "justice or effective ICRS" there is still a non-zero $p(\text{War})$ since even the theoretically perfectly just society could experience invasion from jealous neighbors, but we set this at a very low level. Indeed, this value if calculable, could be an index of how "effective" the ICRS actually was.

Figure 19

Justice, Injustice, ICRS's and $p(\text{War})$ [ICRS= International Conflict Resolution Systems]

Benjamin Franklin said: "When government fears the people, there is liberty. When people fear the government, there is tyranny." I am seeking the balance where freedoms would be curtailed if survival is at risk, but where governments would be afraid to take too much freedom from peaceful people.

Finally, I would encourage the segregation of powers at different levels according to natural need. That is, individuals should enjoy dominant control over those aspects of life which affect them most, like schooling and religion, diet and so forth. International institutions should concern themselves only with those problems which cannot be handled effectively at lower levels, like destruction of the air, water and biosphere upon which all people depend and which know no political boundaries, or the proliferation of indiscriminate weapons of mass destruction, like nuclear bombs and "biotechnicals" which endanger everyone no matter who holds the keys. Somewhere in between, nation states and their local units would still have plenty to do regulating national commerce and keeping the streets and the sewers in repair. This is called the principle of "subsidiarity" in international law.

On to the UN and the World Court, and what might render them more effective. First, very considerable

thought has been given to UN reform by a variety of interested parties. Ronald Glossop is among the wisest writers on this (*Confronting War*, 1994). This philosopher from Southern Illinois University also discusses the illusive qualities of justice, and the values which war serves. One of those functions is settling disputes when other means fail, but there are others, and those who would end war must attend to how to replace the existing functions of war or we will fail in our quest.

Second, I would encourage thinking on two tracks. One is how to make the United Nations better. Reform could help. The other is how to build a more effective institution from scratch, should the Third World War come and civilization be reduced to rubble. We dare not lose hope, despite many reasons for despair. But we also should recognize that the only times this century when international institutions actually changed significantly, were immediately after World Wars. Large institutions are hard to change, and the current UN is deeply flawed.

Three obvious problems occupy most observers: a) the voting system of the UN and especially of its more important Security Council is very weak, b) lack of effective enforcement power makes most UN declarations objects of laughter to those who disobey them, and c) lack of a stable financial base undercuts every good intention of UN diplomats. Overarching all of these problems is the fact that the UN is fundamentally undemocratic, and distant from the people. It is a club of governments and bureaucrats, which can never form a bond with people so long as it remains that way.

Two of the best proposals for reforming UN voting come from Richard Hudson of New York, called the Binding Triad (1981), and Joseph Schwartzberg of the University of Minnesota (1994). Each responds to two anomalies, the discordance between national power and national votes, and the veto. In the General Assembly of the UN, every nation gets the same vote whether its population is under a million or over a billion (St. Kitts and Nevis, versus China) and whether it contributes billions to the UN budget or thousands of times less (USA vs. Haiti). This does not correlate well with actual power to influence events, and leads to unworkable consequences. For example, it takes a two-thirds majority to pass any significant resolution in the General Assembly. This means that 62 nations could block a vote in 1995, and the smallest 62 nations comprise a mere 1.2 percent of the world's population. Or, poor countries may call for economic aid, but without support from rich countries the calls will not be answered. They may proclaim, but big powers just ignore these declarations, which undercuts the authority and the utility of the whole UN system.

So most of the world simply ignores the General

Assembly as a big debating society without consequence. But most still pay some attention to the Security Council which always includes several big powers, and which furthermore has a legal authority to initiate use of force. Unless, of course, any of the five nations with permanent veto power object, which makes the Security Council impotent in disputes directly involving them or close allies. The five permanent members of the Security Council are the United States, China, Russia, Britain, and France.

This structure, like most international structures, was established after World War II and reflected balances of power then. But the world changes while bureaucracies endure. Half measures to adjust to new power relations for the third millennium include discussion of adding Japan and Germany to an enlarged Security Council (as permanent members, including a veto, thus guaranteeing more paralysis) and perhaps throwing a bone or two to the Third World in the form of seats for India, or someone from Latin America and Africa. Brazil and Nigeria are most commonly cited here, the biggest powers on those continents, which would again irritate dozens of "lesser" nations.

The Binding Triad concept says, in simplified form, eliminate permanent vetoes, but require instead, for binding decisions, simultaneous super-majorities (two-thirds votes) based on: a) world population, b) numbers of nation states, and c) financial contributions to the UN. Dr. Schwartzberg's model is more elaborate and sophisticated, but also relies on assessing these three factors: population, financial strength, and numbers of governments. He would also abolish both the veto and permanent membership on the Security Council, which so cripple action in major crises.

It is important to recognize the many successes of the UN system as well as its failures. It eradicated smallpox through its World Health Organization, for example, and every plane which flies between nations, every piece of mail and all international electronic communications benefit from conventions initiated or managed by the UN's functional agencies. The Law of the Sea has settled hundreds of boundary disputes, and established methods for resolving future disputes. Many other environmental and economic issues have benefitted from the UN's hand. The 41 peacekeeping missions sponsored by the UN over 50 years contain at least as many successes as failures, and have cost a mere \$17.4 billion, and only 1,456 lives. Some are keeping the peace today in hot spots like the Golan Heights or the island of Cyprus, at a tiny fraction of the cost for any big city police force. So we should remember successes as we learn from failures.

The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists (March/April, 1995) contains 10 essays on the wide range of problems bedeviling peacekeeping forces and projects of the UN system. Here too, a wide range of proposals exist for reforming the enforcement capability of the UN, most of which involve increasing its military strength by one means or another. Yes, that would enhance its ability to solve certain problems like civil wars in Bosnia, Cambodia or Rwanda. But would all Cambodians appreciate this? Would the big powers? Can you imagine the United States or Russia or China allowing the UN to get strong enough to inflict serious military harm on them, should they come out short on some future UN vote about whom to "fix" and how? Not too likely.

Then there are finances, where equivalent problems apply. The total UN budget for all its functions, many of which are clearly very useful, is about \$10 billion per year (a tiny sum by international standards). Yet it has to beg for much of this, especially for contributions to peacekeeping operations. And some of its biggest donors, the United States in particular, are also its biggest debtors due to irritation over the very large share of expenses assessed to them. The US provides 25 percent of the basic UN budget, and 33 percent of peacekeeping efforts which it chooses to support. This irritation is greatly compounded if the major power in question disagrees with the action proposed.

There is also the problem of bloated bureaucracy, for which the UN is often and fairly criticized. That is peripheral to our main points here, so I will just acknowledge it and move on. But serious reformers should never forget that world citizens will never want to pay for bureaucrats living the high life in places like Geneva and New York, unless the public "servants" are noble as saints and frugal as Spartans. UN officials often are not. Support would be more likely if they actually were frugal, very, very frugal.

Well, you can try fixing this well-intended mess, or you can contemplate building a better system for resolving international conflicts short of war. Starting fresh will not likely occur unless global war comes, so I recommend reform for now, but I plan for both contingencies. Rather than dwell more on the failures of this noble experiment, I will deal quickly with the World Court so we can move into the best solutions which I can see at this time.

A wise man said that law does not guarantee justice, but that without law we have no possibility of achieving the just society to which we are all theoretically committed.

Law requires courts as well as legislatures, and some means for enforcing that which courts proclaim. How does the World Court (ICJ) do today? Very poorly,

since nations are not required even to appear nor to acknowledge judgements rendered. Furthermore, the International Court of Justice is another forum where governments only are welcome. The ordinary citizen has no standing there. So it is used, mainly, to adjudicate very minor disputes between relatively weak nations, like fishing claims between Canada and Spain, and it is impotent to deal with vast violations of human rights by governments against the people they claim to “own.”

One of the more interesting examples of the court in action was when America sued Iran in the 1980's for abducting 52 hostages from the embassy in Tehran (an egregious and no doubt violation of international law). But when America was sued in turn by Nicaragua for mining their harbor (another egregious and no doubts about it violation of international law), the U.S. government said, “We will not appear, and furthermore we will not pay any attention to what the court says on this because we are waging a secret war against Nicaragua and we do not want to talk about it” (more or less). Well, you can imagine why the World Court can do useful things about fishing disputes, where both parties really want to resolve the problem and neither wants a war, but is quite impotent otherwise.

An obvious fix for this would be making Court judgements stick for governments somehow, perhaps by acquiring national funds in escrow via the World Bank or other institution, and fining them when they sin. A more profound fix would be exposing governments to tort claims by private citizens. This idea will be expanded very shortly.

Both the UN and the World Court are limited by the concept of “sovereignty” which makes them loath to intervene in the “internal affairs” of nation states. Since so much of today's carnage involves governments killing the people they claim to own, this matters.

Just one final thought before groping for superior solutions. These are very difficult problems which have defied many very bright minds, and for all their warts, the UN and the World Court have done great good in the world. They deserve our encouragement more than our barbs. It is not really their fault that they have to work under crippling conditions — these were insisted on by the nations which founded them. Without the consent of those national governments, even less could be done. The UN and its sister agencies are like a baby just trying to walk. They fall down more than they progress, for now. But we desperately need the capability they strive for, so look at their defects in the spirit of trying to do better, not trying to destroy that which is barely born.

Solutions

1. Remember first principles.

For example, we must take care of everyone, and everyone must help with the hard work of that. This is one of the great debates on which elites disagree with me, but I state it dogmatically: This civilization will not endure if we let half of it rot into chaos and starvation. The air, the water and biosphere are one, exotic weapons endanger us all, and refugees are on the move worldwide. It is illusion to believe, as elites so commonly do, that they can wall themselves up in well armored enclaves and let the poor simply suffer. That path leads eventually to disaster for all, and the sooner people understand this the better.

On the poor side of this equation there are equally daunting first principles. Everyone has to help with the work (poor and rich) and everyone has to recognize the role of population pressure (rich kids and poor kids) in the challenge to life for anyone.

This does not mean that everyone must follow some totalitarian plan of action. That is yet another first principle. The use of force by governments to impose order has been vastly overdone. So, freedom is another principal aspect of the solution to our problems. Everyone must help with survival, but there are many ways to do so.

If humankind can get beyond such elementary but critical disputes, then life affirming solutions are possible. If humankind does not, death rates will simply rise until the survivors do comprehend first principles like these.

Another first principle with special relevance to war, is that: “It is unjust to murder children.” War does this wholesale today. Indeed, more children are often killed in modern wars than soldiers. Therefore war is an unjust and immoral way to settle disputes among adults. Only after accepting first principles like these, can adjustments to international governance or institutions have their desired effect.

2. Reform the antiquated and clearly inadequate UN voting, peacekeeping and financing systems, or prepare to build a new ICRS out of the rubble of this civilization after global war comes.

Hudson's Binding Triad, and Professor Schwartzberg's concepts of voting reform are good places to start on that subject. Whatever you do, remember, dithering leads to global war. There is little time left to solve these problems, so stop bickering and get on with it.

3. More specifically, on peacekeeping — Without dedicated military forces, backed by physical resources, financing and a durable political mandate, UN peacekeeping will remain more promise than reality.

There are successes and failures, usually depending on the degree of consensus among major powers about what to do in relatively minor disputes in smaller countries like El Salvador or Cambodia (which may be considered successes relative to disasters like UN peacekeeping efforts in Somalia and Bosnia). If military forces dedicated to international issues are ever to compete seriously with major power ambitions, funding is required on a scale much larger than current UN resources. At least as important as funding is the question of how such forces would be trained, and what the legal framework for their use would be. Training is discussed very briefly in chapter 32, on “Being a Warrior in the Third Millennium.” Do not doubt that if an international army is formed which merely copies military doctrines of the past, then that army will become a threat to world peace and freedom as certainly as current armies have.

4. On financing — Without resources, armies lose. So do doctors. Every general recognizes the essential role of logistics in war, and it will be the same for peacekeeping. Logistics includes money most certainly, but it also includes physical resources like food and fuel and munitions and medicine and every expendable item, and the means to move them across great distances. International forces dedicated to peacemaking or peacekeeping would also rely more heavily on informational resources (relative to mere armies of conquest) and those too would cost money for both people and equipment.

Financing has already crippled many UN peacekeeping operations, and will continue to so long as the UN must beg *ad hoc*, each time a crisis arises, often from the very nations with vital interests at stake. But once the will exists to finance things like this, have no doubt that money is available. To seed thought I will offer five quick examples of ways one could raise amounts in excess of the entire UN budget today (1995) from sources relevant to war and peace.

a. A one percent tax on current military budgets, combined with second tier contributions from countries whose military budgets declined as international peacekeeping improved, according to the model of Michael Renner of the Worldwatch Institute (1994) would generate \$7.4 billion in the first year of implementation and \$30 billion by year five.

b. A one-tenth of one percent tax on the approximately one trillion dollars traded every day on international financial markets could raise about a billion dollars per day for use by international agencies. \$300 billion dollars per year would dwarf the current UN budget of \$10 billion per year, and make many international goals

besides effective peacekeeping possible — like clean water for the billions who lack that, or economic development programs which really work.

c. A 10 percent tax on the funds spent in America alone on fat reduction aids in 1995 (diets, diet books, diet drugs, etc.) would yield at least \$4 billion per year. I do not have international figures on funds expended for curing the ills of overeating, but it is a pretty safe bet that this kind of luxury tax could in principle raise the current UN budget of \$10 billion per year.

d. Sin taxes already raise more than that each year in America alone; that is, taxes on alcohol, cigarettes and other legal drugs. Double them; problem solved.

e. A newer source of revenue on a vast scale would be to decriminalize drugs which are currently illegal, and then tax the approximately \$500 billion per year international narcotics trade. One percent yields five billion dollars per year, two percent ten billion, and so forth. This would have the additional virtue of ending overnight one war, the War on “Drugs” which undoubtedly kills many thousands of people in many countries each year. Of course, this would be controversial and difficult to implement with diverse consequences, some of which would not be predictable. So I have devoted a chapter to this specific and unusual war in the world today at the end of the section on war causes and cures.

The main point is simply that the world already spends about one trillion dollars per year on war and preparations for war, half a trillion on illegal drugs, another half on legal drugs, and scores of billions more on reducing the perils of overeating. The bankers shove a trillion around every day in the markets they manage. Should peace become a real priority, ways could be found to finance that too. And peace will become a priority, if another general war comes.

5. Establish a Reformed World Court, or an international court of real justice, enabling citizen torts against national governments.

As discussed earlier, the existing World Court, while better than nothing, is confined to quite minor disputes because of crippling restrictions on its jurisdiction and a complete lack of enforcement power. One of the most sweeping flaws is that citizens have no standing whatever at this court, only governments can dispute issues. So individuals who have been maimed or otherwise injured by their own governments have nowhere to go for justice. Also, compliance with judgements or even participation in the proceedings is entirely voluntary.

Yet we have already seen that governments have killed as many of their “own” people during this century as

the numbers of people killed in formal wars.

If justice is ever to become more than a utopian dream, citizens of the world need a protected legal venue where they can bring complaints about inhumane treatment by governments. If the ICJ adopted this role, it would accomplish two important things at once. First, it would serve as a more effective restraint on barbaric acts by governments. Second, it would give citizens of the world a tangible reason to care about what the UN does. So long as the UN is merely a club of governments, most people will never care what it does. Or they will fear it as a distant center of power responsible to other masters.

6. A Baha'i idea -- The Baha'i faith has developed an interesting idea worth considering. In their scheme for world governance, the highest international body would be ruled by two councils, one a council of governments, the other a council of all the world's religions, and no significant action could occur without agreement by both these councils that action was necessary. This would of course be a very cumbersome decision process, slow, and unlikely to act unless truly dire consequences were near. But I offer it here because it also raises a novel thought — that moral deliberation deserves a seat at the table of international power. Power itself is now the preeminent goal, dynamic, and ticket for entry. Moral words are used mainly as window dressing for Machiavellian calculations of national interests. That approach has led us to the mess we see today. So why not consider novel arrangements, like moral thought in the councils of power?

7. Justice as an Acknowledged Goal. As difficult as justice is to define or find, one small step towards peace would be simply to acknowledge that justice is one of the goals of the endeavor. Today, peace and war are decided by calculations of power and national interest enshrined by centuries of cold-blooded reasoning which laughs at moral thought, and international "law," when it chooses to recognize these concepts at all. Without justice, at least more justice than obtains today, there can be no lasting peace. So those who would end war must take justice seriously despite its many conundrums.

“War is much too serious a thing to be left to the military.”

— Georges Clemenceau, 1841-1929

Nationalism and Militarism

Excessive nationalism was cited often as a cause of war by the experts I interviewed in Chapter 2, second only to competitions for wealth or power, and militarism has been discussed at length by the peace community and dissected in detail. Therefore, this chapter will be shorter than most, because information on these causes is abundant elsewhere and I like to focus on newer perspectives. Also, despite their special significance to war, nationalism and militarism are just examples of the larger problem of worldviews taken to extremes.

“Isms” are worldviews, ideologies or religions, representing a spectrum of intensity of belief. Some people can elevate any system of values or beliefs about how the world works (or how it ought to work) from a simple set of observations to a deeply held paradigm which determines subsequent behavior.

An example of this phenomena was the great war between capitalism and communism. Ostensibly different systems of economic organization, each contained political corollaries. Each saw the other as a mortal enemy, and demonized them. Each was elevated by their most ardent proponents to the functional equivalent of religions, complete with sacred symbols, honored saints, and selective readings of history. For some, they were just two sets of ideas about economics or property rights, for others differing worldviews, for some competing ideologies, and for a few the driving religious force behind a vast Cold War which affected the entire world in many ways.

Nationalism and Militarism are also ways of thinking, ways of thinking with special significance for p(War). Nationalism celebrates identity with a state; militarism with military strength. Both were much used, and abused, during the Cold War. For one view on the connection between the ideologies of the Cold War, and the tortuous deaths of tens of thousands of people, consider these words about police-state wars in Latin America during the 1970’s and ‘80’s from “The Horror Archives of

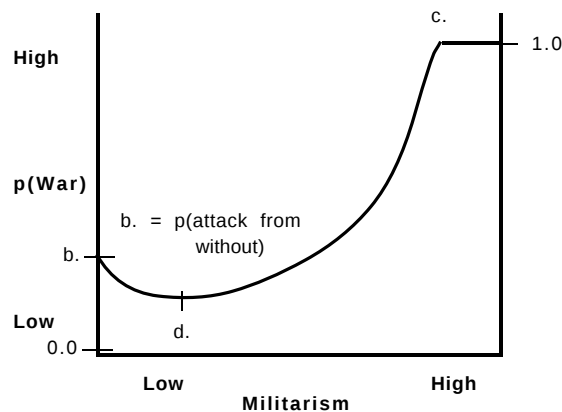
Operation Condor” by Stella Calloni, editor of *El Dia Latinoamerica* in Covert Action Quarterly, Fall 1994, p10.

The toll from the repression in the Southern Cone [Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Bolivia] was some 50,000 killed, 30,000 disappeared — the majority in Argentina — and 400,000 imprisoned. Some 3,000 children are among the killed or disappeared. These numbers, however, only hint at the nightmarish reality of lawless states.

The Southern Cone’s descent into savagery was rooted in geopolitics, political crisis, and a common ideology shared by the region’s military rulers. The U.S. played a critical role in all three. The Cold War provided the global context for pathological anticommunism, and the U.S. provided both ideological and military instruction to its Latin American allies. The region’s armed forces proved very receptive; in fact, they developed a full-blown totalitarian worldview with deadly consequences.

If you prefer condemning Russian crimes, you can remember the millions dead in Afghanistan, who were casualties of the same ideological Cold War between major powers far away. Dozens of other countries carry the scars of this war.

Random House defines nationalism as: “1) devotion to the interests of one’s own country, and 2) the advocacy of or movement for national advancement or independence.” When a movement satisfying definition 2 adopts armed force as a method, one sees either civil war or a war for independence from colonial power. Random House defines militarism as: “1) the principle of maintaining a large military establishment, and 2) the tendency to regard military efficiency as the supreme ideal of the state.” In the extreme, this becomes a religion very much like Nazi-fascism.



- a. U shaped, skewed with endpoints indicated below.
- b. At very low militarism, $p(\text{War})$ is determined by the probability of attack from outside or from within by powers undeterred by low defense capability.
- c. At very high militarism, $p(\text{War})$ approximates 1.0 because police-state war is nearly inevitable, and the probability of external wars appears to increase with militaristic governments as well.
- d. A minimum $p(\text{War})$ is suggested at low, but not zero militarism, because some militarism deters, while excess militarism increases $p(\text{War})$ in many ways.

Figure 20

Militarism and $p(\text{War})$

As best I can discern, the relationship between militarism and $p(\text{War})$ is a mildly U-shaped curve shown in Figure 20 for the reasons indicated. Completely non-militaristic societies are vulnerable to attack from without (b), and indeed most have been wiped from the face of the earth or assimilated by more aggressive neighbors. At the other extreme (c) high militarism almost guarantees war, perhaps against other nations but especially within them as militarists appear inevitably to repress dissent, if they have the power to do so.

I have not tried to graph the relationship between $p(\text{War})$ and nationalism because while similar to militarism, nationalism is harder to define and more variable in its expression. The love of country can be a marvelous, constructive thing. Yet in excess, it can lead to national destruction via ethnic conflict. There can be little doubt that as nationalism rises, some kinds of war increase in probability; it is cited often in ancient wars, and in contemporary ones like the wars in former Yugoslavia, * and the independence movement of Eritrea.

Eritrea was a province of Ethiopia, annexed in 1962, whose people felt oppressed by two central governments. They waged a war of independence for 30 years. Like other conflicts in this region, tribe or ethnicity were also deeply involved. During Mengistu's particularly corrupt and brutal Ethiopian regime, simultaneous rebellion by the Oromo people and the Tigre also occurred, although they did not achieve the independent national status which Eritrea finally did in 1993. It cost the Eritreans 200,000 dead. Regrettably, the war has restarted in 1999 over border disputes, killing at least 40,000 more.

Whatever the underlying issues of rebellion, rebels use the symbolic power of nationalism to rally their followers, which often makes the difference between disorganized riots and organized civil war with casualties sufficient to call it a war. There is something magic about flags and other national symbols which can inspire the greatest sacrifice in service to a common cause.

In its extreme form, militarism is the elevation of war to religious status. Genuine militarists consider war the highest expression of human society, the opposite of evil. Men who travel far down the road to love of war consider conventional moral concepts irrelevant, indeed laughable, digressions into superstitious and sentimental morality. They have a god, War, which they perceive as the font of great art, of scientific progress, as the ultimate balancer of modern economies and of humans with their environment, the essential instrument of subservience of people to the nation state, and maintainer of class distinctions, which they often believe are "necessary."

You can find such men in weapons laboratories, where critics are excluded in the name of "scientific" objectivity. You can find them in secret "think tanks," where "acceptable casualties" of "limited nuclear war" are calculated (comments on this recur in chapter 27). One of my windows on that world was a report on a Pentagon briefing for University Presidents during the early 1980's. An ex-Marine tank officer from World War II who had risen to become president of the University of North Dakota was shocked when a figure of 60 million was offered as acceptable casualties, and shared this data with me. The 60 million figure applied only to American casualties, of course. The conclusion was that this many deaths would be "acceptable" in return for utter annihilation of our enemies, whose casualties would, typically, not be counted.

* "The single most disruptive force in the internal affairs of (Yugoslavia), however, was the re-emergence of nationalism." From *The Yugoslav Conflict*, Adelphi paper 270, by John Zametica, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, May, 1992.

This kind of “objectivity” often covers a value set different from the normal meaning of objectivity, which is “avoidance of preconceived assumptions.” Hervey Cleckley wrote a classic work on this, called The Mask of Sanity (1970). He was describing psychopathic personalities, and how they manage to appear so “normal” in order to avoid revealing the predatory insanity within. The value set which the people I describe call “objectivity” is in fact the value set of fascism, which is the ultimate expression of extreme nationalism and militarism. Their highest priority is actually control of other people.

There are many examples of these worldviews expressed in print, but most of them are classified secret, and I do not wish to violate the laws of my country. So I am offering an excerpt of a book published in 1967, called Report from Iron Mountain on the Possibility and Desirability of Peace, by Leonard C. Lewin.

The context of this writing is critical. It was published as a leaked, “secret” study conducted by 15 men for the U.S. government, begun in August, 1963, and allegedly submitted to their sponsors on September 30, 1966. It caused an incredible stir when the public saw it, but later in life Mr. Lewin claimed that it was a hoax, a parody, a satire on the sterile, sickly, think tank world which he opposed, but was certainly familiar with.

So consider the following quote in that light, a work of fiction (not a violation of American security laws!) but a work that sheds light on a way of thinking which is truly represented in other documents which I have seen, but cannot share, created by think tanks in the secret world, like Rand Corporation and others unnamed. From “Report from Iron Mountain” section 3, pages 28 and 29:

“It is (an) incorrect assumption that war, as an institution, is subordinate to the social systems it is believed to serve.” ... “War itself is the basic social system, within which other secondary modes of social organization conflict or conspire. It is the system which has governed most human societies of record, as it is today” This conclusion is reinforced by observing that: “The ‘unnecessary’ size and power of the world war industry; the preeminence of the military establishment in every society, whether open or concealed; the exemption of military or paramilitary institutions from the accepted social and legal standards of behavior required elsewhere in the society; the successful operation of the armed forces and the armaments producers entirely outside the framework of each nation’s economic ground rules; these and other ambiguities closely associated with the relationship of war to society are easily clarified, once the priority of war-making potential as the principal structuring force in society is accepted.”

Finally, of particular interest to this study of the causes of war, is a paragraph on page 30: “Wars are not ‘caused’ by international conflicts of interest. Proper logical sequence would make it more often accurate to say that war-making societies require — and thus bring about — such conflicts. The capacity of a nation to make war expresses the greatest social power it can exercise; war-making, active or contemplated, is a matter of life and death on the greatest scale subject to social control. It should therefore hardly be surprising that the military institutions in each society claim its highest priorities.”

Much more could be said about this report; it is a treasure trove of amazing statements. We presume it really is a work of fiction, although once things hit the spy world one never knows truth from fiction again. Observation of America’s predatory foreign policies complete with scores of secret wars and covert destabilization campaigns against Third World nations from the mid-1960’s onward provides ample documentation that this way of thinking in fact dominated the true centers of power in American government for some time. Whether this report was fiction as later claimed, or a genuine example of many other secret reports, is not very important because the worldview it expresses is undoubtedly alive and well. The steady erosion of civil liberties in America is another expression of this totalitarian view expressing its ascension to power, for which I add, the murder of President John F. Kennedy, was an important item.

Militant nationalists have driven the American side of arms races for a long time.

Now, it is true that someone must consider issues of war objectively, and conclusions reached on that basis often appear more ruthless than their authors would like to appear as people. War is a ruthless domain. And it is also true that some very wise things have been said in support of war, that war serves some important functions in societies beyond the obvious functions, like training a lot of undisciplined males to clean their rooms and be on time for work, and that some of those functions must be served by other means if people want to actually replace the war system with something better.

Those who would end war would do well to study the positive functions of war, as well as its grisly aspects, because it is certainly true that you cannot replace something with nothing. Look at Russia today, for an example of that in practice. Communism collapsed so fast a political-economic vacuum occurred. Now organized crime is the strongest element in economic activity, and a backlash of prodigious proportions is building.

A few other things should be said about nationalism and militarism in the abstract. First, nationalism is the equivalent of tribalism elevated to the larger social

organisms called the nation states. It is an important cause of war today because of the explosion of national polities and the disintegration of various empires and other aggregates. The UN was founded by 50 countries; 184 countries occupy its halls in 1995, and it could be 200 soon if secessionist movements get their way. Conflicts among the new nations emerging from colonial systems in Africa, from the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and smaller but more barbaric collapses like Yugoslavia into warring states, give ample evidence of the power of nationalist sentiments. Of the contemporary conflicts listed in Table 2, at least half involve embittered minorities or repressed majorities within nations striving for a state of their own.

Militarism acts functionally as an enabling condition which increases the probability of support by a population for the war plans of their leaders. As terms, militarism and nationalism blend and merge, the one focuses mainly on love of military means, and the other on the nation state as the instrument for which, and by which, military means are used.

A physician in North Carolina, N. Arthur Coulter (1991), looked at militarism as a psychosocial disease, and developed what he regards as a primitive “vaccine” to treat this disease. All such attempts are challenged by the task, but his is worth considering for what it reveals, even though we both wonder how often people can be cured of this way of thinking once its grip is strong. But simplified, he asserts that militarism begins with a chain of pseudo-logical reasoning which, in fact, is illogical in many of its steps. And he proposes to break that chain by exposing its contradictions. From his writing:

“Militarism is a psychosocial disorder that affects the mind much the way a psychotic mental disorder causes a patient to accept delusions as true or hallucinations as real. When militarism seizes the mind, perceptions are subtly distorted, transforming the world into a grim place where everything is either black or white, good or evil, for us or against us. Trains of thought that are inherently irrational appear perfectly logical. Moral values that normally guide behavior are suspended and militaristic values substituted that are so barbaric they horrify an observer free of the disease. Fear and hate rule the emotions, leading to an orgy of killing, rape, torture, and other monstrous crimes on a vast scale. The disease afflicts whole populations. Once the epidemic begins, it is extremely difficult to treat in any meaningful way until it runs its course. The long term prognosis is negative.

Partial or even complete immunity is, however, possible and does occur naturally. There is hope that preventive measures can bring the disease under control.

For this to happen, it must be understood that militarism is a disease.”

Coulter refers to a logical cascade which he calls the “McMurtry Sequence.” I will close this section by paraphrasing the McMurtry Sequence as Coulter does in abstract form, and providing Dr. Coulter’s briefest description of his “immunization procedure.”

The McMurtry Sequence

T and U are in conflict. U’s mind (or national command structure) reasons as follows:

1. T is opposed to U. Therefore,
2. T is an enemy of U. Therefore,
3. T is immoral. Therefore,
4. T must be made to yield to U.

Therefore,

5. U must be able to prevail militarily.

And,

6. U must be willing to use this military power to maintain U’s national interest. Therefore,

7. If T continues to flout U’s national interest, U must threaten or attack T. **AND**

8. If T resists, U must seek to destroy T by large scale homicide and destruction.

Coulter and McMurtry maintain that no step of this “logical” sequence actually follows logically. The “Immunization Procedure” is:

Phase One

1. Examine each step of the McMurtry Sequence, checking whether or not each step logically leads to the next.
2. Repeat, and think of alternatives to each step.
3. Repeat, bringing the identities linking each step into conscious awareness.

Phase Two

1. Recall or imagine a Chain Reaction, recording the reaction of each party, for several steps (of conflict escalation). Do Chain Cutoffs occur?
2. Describe how each party might have felt, emotionally, at each step.
3. What alternative action could each party have taken at each step?

Dr. Coulter is trying to find a solution to Militarism which I pass on for your consideration. For a view on how ten confirmed militarists actually transcended their worldviews, try “Breaking Ranks” by Melissa Everett (1989). My modest attempt at solutions is simpler.

Solutions

1. Recognize the proper and honorable role for police and soldiers. Civilization depends greatly on the courage of men and women who will face death to defend core values, the people, and the land from dangerous intruders. Defending the people is not the same as enslaving the people. Warriors defend, militarists and mercenaries enslave. Defending the people is also not the same as slaughtering others far away. Restoring police and soldiers to their honorable role of defending the people, rather than enslaving or killing them (an unstated goal of militarists and their many ideological bedmates) would help a lot.

2. I also urge my purely pacifist friends and the much larger peace community in general to recognize that 5,000 years of military tradition is not all wrong. The books of war contain some very real insights. No matter how offensive and barbaric the values sometimes embedded in these, it is a mistake to disregard them. War does serve several functions, the obvious one of dispute resolution in some cases of conflict between states, and less obvious ones like providing a place to put discontented adolescent males (in think tank terms, “the unemployable”) where they can run around and shoot guns without killing folks in the neighborhood. Conversely, I urge my military friends to recognize a truth which peace people see, which is that militarism often perverts the noble goal of protecting the people, into the corrupt goal of enslaving, and parasitizing them.

3. The world presents some difficult cases in life where one must choose between the lesser of two or more evils. The armies confronting Adolf Hitler did many barbaric, cruel and sometimes wrong things, but someone had to confront Adolf Hitler as someone must confront people in any era who are ruthless in the pursuit of power. Evil itself must be confronted, but I will save that matter for the next chapter.

4. Professional military people might recognize the converse truth, as I know the best do. Peace people also know a great deal which could help protect the people of America and the world to avoid war and tyranny. It is terribly easy to serve evil by pursuing good intentions rashly. It is increasingly easy with modern weapons

technology to kill more innocents “saving the village” than were threatened by the enemy force. The economic interests promoting war are powerful, and evil in a sterile, greedy way. Some think tank types are sick, sick, sick. This is why both are so secretive. It is quite possible that Hitler’s hell will be replaced, temporarily, by an internationally governed hell on earth which embodies the same fascist principles but with much better propaganda.

If the “Iron Mountain Boys” had their way, we would be there now, with an “omnipresent, omnipotent international police force,” and “suitably euphemized, modern forms of slavery.” It is very difficult for people embedded in institutions to see the whole clearly. This is as true for peace activists as it is for professional military men.

5. All should recognize that militarism is, indeed, a religion of war which cannot be stopped by sweet reason alone. The militarist may be demonic, eminently “rational,” he may be suffering a psychosocial disease as Coulter believes, or he may be a simple psychopath with good press. Whatever his origin, we should recognize that once on the move, militarists often cannot be contained without resort to force. We need good soldiers, and many brave people who do not choose the professions of arms, to face evils like this. Only a few, are not enough; only the weak, are insufficient.

This places a special burden on the large mass of “good” people who are neither professional soldiers nor full-time peace activists. If they can band together and share the burden of controlling this malignant type of thinking without adopting it, they can contain the few irreparably evil people who commit most of the crime. Unrestrained, these exceptionally evil people build empires by police-state force (like Saddam Hussein of Iraq, or Slobodan Milosevich of Serbia). But if they will not band together, good people can also be easily dominated. Militarists recognize that most people are more reliably cowards than they are brave. If the good and the comfortable people shirk the common task or try to simply hire a few soldiers to do their hard work for them, the full-time soldiers will soon become the ranks of the most ruthless, and the nation will be at risk again.

The good who pay money to a government to protect them, but who care not what it does to its victims, are at especial risk. Because at best, the militaristic government will abuse neighbors, generating hatred, and enemies. At worst, it will enslave the very people who gave it life.

6. Reducing the relative power of nation states relative to individuals and to international institutions has already been mentioned, but obviously has a direct relationship to the goal of taming nationalism.

This was a difficult chapter, since it deals with forces which can serve both good and evil, and can switch rapidly between them. Love of country is not bad unless it turns into hatred of neighbors. Nationalism is patriotism, which can be great, unless it leads to unnecessary war which can certainly destroy the nation. The next two chapters will be even harder: on forces of evil, and on spies, cults and secret power systems. But if there is any center of the problem it is here; if there is any central headquarters of war, it is among the secret power systems of the world. You might get some rest first, because what comes next is truly difficult.

“The battle lines between good and evil are not between political parties, or between nations.
The battle lines between good and evil run through every human heart.”

— Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

Forces of Evil

Evil may be divided into three categories for purposes of analysis: individual evil, organizational evil, and supernatural evil. The first two are relatively easy to identify, though often hard to understand, but it is not certain that supernatural evil is even real. However, I think a thorough analysis of the causes of war must address all three because, however poorly understood, evil has a lot to do with war. Failure to examine evil objectively is one of the reasons it is so abundant on earth today.

Individual evils include all the ordinary sins that every human is familiar with, from literature and the experience of our own lives. They include greed, hatred, sloth, criminality, wanton appetites and hubris, especially important to war. Hubris is overweening pride, or extreme arrogance. It often leads to obscene ambitions and delusional thinking, extremely common in leaders prior to declaring war (Stoessinger, 1985). Many other negative traits of human personality could be added to this short list. But as with most causes of war discussed here, I will not attempt an exhaustive treatment of evil because that could easily occupy several books (e.g., Staub, 1989; Terry, 1987; Peck, 1983; Martin, 1977; Arendt, 1963).

Individual evil and organizational evil reinforce each other. The latter makes the former far more acceptable, easy, and dangerous. Since supernatural evil is ambiguous at best, science ignores it. I will use a dual track method to consider its potential later in this chapter.

The annals of war are littered with examples of the most extreme forms of barbarism and cruelty. Consider these words from “The Bones That Haunt a Nation” by Ralph Johnstone in *Eastern Express*, a Hong Kong magazine, in fall, 1994:

“Ken Yuasa does not look like a killer. With his wispy gray hair, thick rimmed spectacles, and gentle smile, the 76-year-old doctor seems the archetypal nice old man. But Yuasa carries a dark and terrible secret —

a secret that half a century of pain and regret has failed to erase. Yuasa was involved in the darkest chapter of Japan’s wartime atrocities: the experiments by military medics on live prisoners of war in China. Yuasa says that between February, 1942, and August, 1945, during the Japanese occupation of China, he used 14 healthy prisoners for surgery practice at his hospital in Changzhi, Shaanxi Province. He talks of testing anesthetics, of amputating arms and legs, removing intestines, appendixes, and brains. Yuasa says some prisoners were shot so the doctors could practice removing bullets. “I was evil. I was a devil,” he says sadly. “We all were.” [Johnstone describes Unit 731.]

“Unit 731 was set up in 1936 at Pingfang, in Manchuria, to operate a water-purification plant for frontline Japanese troops in occupied China. But from the outset its agenda was much more sinister. The unit’s leader, Lieutenant General Shiro Ishii, was by all accounts a brilliant doctor, and he saw in Manchuria a unique opportunity to further Japan’s medical and imperial prowess. So the water-treatment plant rapidly became a scientific Auschwitz, a giant laboratory where the prisoners, often civilians plucked from the streets by military police, were treated as guinea pigs. Between 1936 and the end of the war in August, 1945, more than 3,000 Chinese, Korean, and Russian prisoners met agonizingly slow deaths there from a terrifying array of laboratory-bred diseases — bubonic and pneumonic plague, epidemic hemorrhagic fever, anthrax, typhoid, cholera, smallpox, and syphilis. . . . So secret was the Pingfang operation that most of Ishii’s 2,600 subordinates never knew the true nature of their work. Those who did know what was going on were terrorized into silence. Says Akira Ogasawara, who bred plague-infected fleas at Pingfang for the last two years of the war: “My superior told me that if I leaked information, I would be court-martialed and executed.”

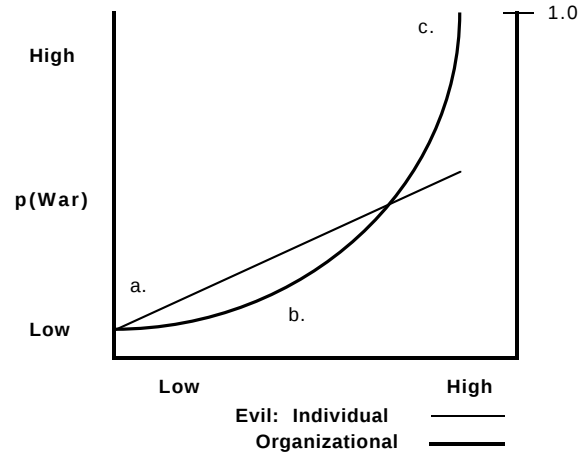
Observe how essential were secrecy, the compartmentalization of tasks, propaganda, and enforcement within the killing machine of obedience to the rules. These are recurring themes in organizational evil. Those 2,600 subordinates were utterly essential to this example of evil in operation, as were the millions of taxpayers and supporters of the regime which conducted it. Like the Nazi doctors, they now claim ignorance, or when that fails, the desire to simply serve their country and follow orders, or when that cannot be maintained, terror at what happened to those who did not follow orders. Yet by the millions, good people ultimately decided to support the evils of Unit 731 and claims of ignorance, duty and terror while somewhat real, are also often exaggerated. "Good people" accomplish most of the evil in the world.

It is happening today, in even more sophisticated ways. Remember these signs: secrecy, compartmentation, propaganda, enforcement and obedience. These are the tracks of organizational evil, and they are tragically common.

What people learn is more a function of what they seek to know than of information manipulators, important as these are to evil organizations. Those who desire to learn, can. Those who desire not to know the true consequences of their work may be presented with disturbing data until the sun grows cold, and most will continue to deny the reality of their work, so long as they are well paid. The propagandistic state provides its death machine with an endless array of magazines, newsletters, videos, "classified documents" (of special joy to those who relish the secret world), and all manner of information tools to keep their minds busy, and to distract them from unapproved, and therefore suspect, sources. The general public in America is exposed to the most subtle and professional propaganda in the world, as Noam Chomsky describes in Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies (1989). People who are cowards simply serve their masters, with or without propaganda help, and regardless of which nation state they labor for.

Figure 21 shows a qualitative geometric guess on the relationships between individual and organizational evil and $p(\text{War})$. It cannot show the interaction between individual and organizational evils, which I suspect is quite important to actual probabilities of real wars. Real wars profit from exceptionally evil people like Adolph Hitler, but evil men also rely on elaborate organizational systems to guide, cajole or coerce millions of others to support the leaders' dreams of glory.

Organizational evils are less obvious than individual evils, but are probably more important overall to the phenomena of war and genocide. Organizational evils take good people into evil systems, and turn their good efforts,



a. Monotonic, individual more linear, organizational more exponential. Minima for both are non-zero due to the possibility of outside attack.

b. Some level of organizational evil appears necessary for war, since war is a social endeavor. Given sufficient organizational evil, many "good" people will contribute to war systems, by following orders, and even to genocide, as history amply documents.

c. Very high levels of organizational evil appear to make war nearly inevitable. Whether individual evil can become great enough to do so is uncertain. All we know for sure is that social organization is a requirement for the prosecution of war, unless and until single individuals can kill thousands by their own hand. This, unfortunately, merely awaits broader distribution of existing weapons technology.

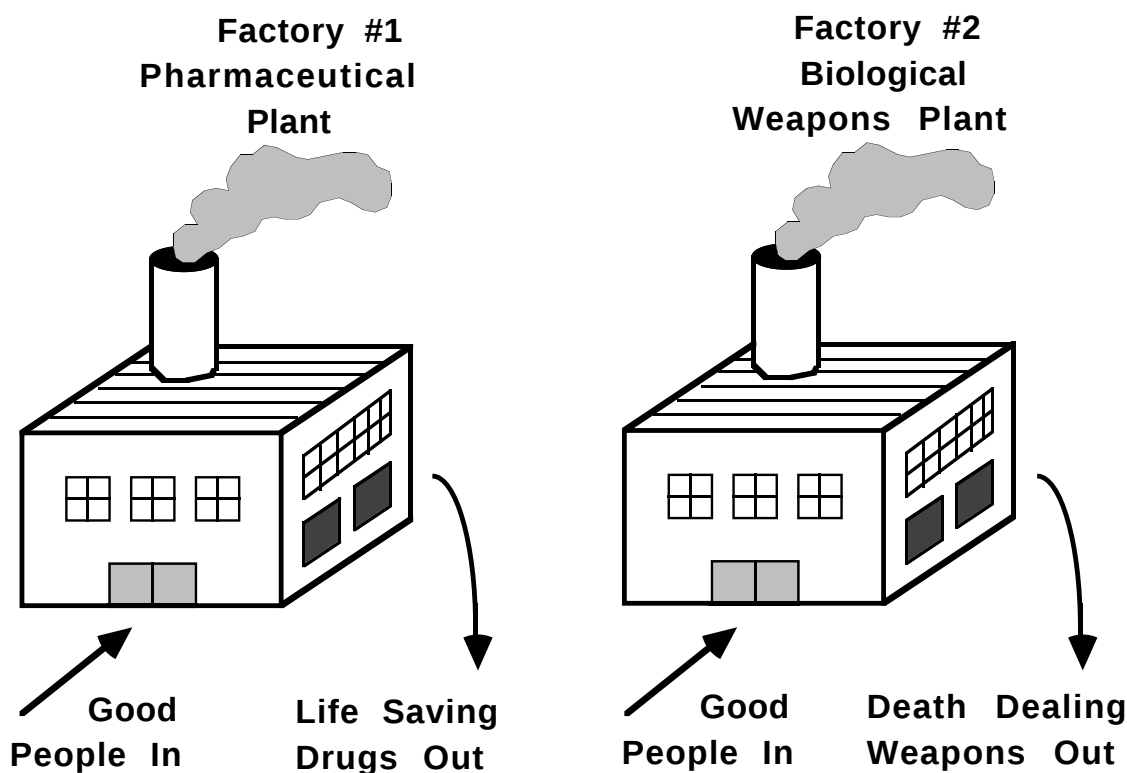
Figure 21

Forces of Evil and $p(\text{War})$

their talents, their hard, honest work, to murderous purposes about which the people themselves are often, but not always, deceived. Of course people are not uniformly good; the best are mixed and the worst become leaders of evil systems. But killing systems manage to magnify the evil of both better and worse people. The Holocaust, which employed the skills of thousands of good German doctors, engineers, professors, journalists and other professionals is the most extreme example. Preachers who speak out for war express a more mundane hypocrisy.

An abstract example would be the difference between two factories. One produces life saving drugs, the other produces biological weapons of fearsome deadliness.

Each factory employs skilled biologists of many kinds and able production workers who use very similar techniques to produce biologically active chemicals: on the one hand useful drugs, on the other deadly toxins. Each factory employs the standard support personnel,



Systems Matter -- Nazi Germany proved that
 excellent people can be turned to evil ends, if the
 system which organizes their work goes bad.

Figure 22: An Example of Organizational Evil

secretaries, managers, janitors, accountants, mechanics and so forth, without which no factory runs for long. The product of one is life, the other death, and the only essential difference between the factories is the organizational system within which production takes place.

The factory which produces death is an example of organizational evil. The evil of the system is defined by its functional product, not by its public relations or advertising claims. One may confidently predict that the evil factory will employ more professional liars to reassure its workers and to deceive the public and the world about its real purpose. They will call the lies “public relations” or “public affairs.” The need for propaganda is a diagnostic trait of organizational evil.

The people who work in factories which produce weapons of indiscriminate, mass destruction (like the nuclear weapons labs) very seldom feel badly about their

work. Indeed, they typically feel exceptionally patriotic, and are told constantly that the work they do is noble. Propaganda is essential for this. The makers of things which could kill children by the millions have always found it necessary to clothe their work in professional propaganda and to insulate their workers from exposure to contrary views.

Propaganda is another system of organizational evil. It is also very expensive. Propaganda costs a lot of money to produce, plus it works much better if the workers propagandized make more money than their peers in life affirming factories. So another diagnostic trait of organized evils is that they are quite expensive. This is true whether the weapons lab is Chinese or American, Russian or Israeli.

Another form of organizational evil is the systems of taxation which fund the real laboratories of biological weapons which actually exist in the world. All this work

— the building of the weapons factories, the salaries of the workers in production, support, management or propaganda, and every other cost is paid by governments which extort the funds from publics by threat and sometimes use of violent force. This extortion is itself covered by propaganda, so that most pay their taxes “voluntarily” most of the time, without thinking about what would happen to them if they did not volunteer to pay for every item the government desires. Without conscious thought, every adult just “knows” that an audit is most unpleasant, and that tax collectors can simply take your money or your property if they wish. If you resist, you can be beaten severely even in America, like Byron Dale was, or be shot dead, like Gordon Kahl was (two tax protesters known in those circles, but unknown among the larger group which simply obeys without conscious thought about why they fear the tax collectors so).

The public relations people for the tax collecting organizations will point out all the good things they do with public funds. And they will be partly correct. Large organizations must do some good to survive; they are not entirely parasitic. Those functions do not lead to war; the ability to coerce funds in order to build weapons and pay people to kill other people does contribute to war.

When unleashed on a large scale, these evils produce phenomena like World War II, where millions of good people were put to killing each other in a battle between a handful of national leaders over issues of ideology and of who would rule whom.*

By the end, between 30 and 55 million people had been killed, depending on who is counting and whether they count civilians killed or innocents starved to death half a world away from major battles. For example, five million mainly children died from famine in India in 1943, when the British colonial government took much of the food to feed the Indian Army supporting British forces in the “great” war.

This is not to diminish the exceptional evils of the Holocaust and blitzkrieg which Hitler has come to personify, nor the exceptional evil which Japanese forces displayed as they raped Nanking, and many thousands of

innocent girls in Korea, China, the Philippines and Southeast Asia. There was a vast evil loose upon the world and if it had not been stopped the world probably would have emerged a much more brutal place than it is today. This is a paradox which great evils present: choose the greater, or the lesser evil to support — but support one, or else. Good people all around the world were called to chose evil one way or another.

The process changed them. Before the war, men who would not have harmed their neighbor under extreme circumstances, would calmly order the carpet bombing of cities like Dresden, killing at least 70,000 people mostly by fire deliberately created to allow no escape. Kids, cats, rats and all, burned up systematically along with “the bad guys” in calculated firestorms. And, of course, good people invented, paid for, built and delivered the nuclear bombs to Japan, which accomplished with one device what it took thousands to do previously.

So without debating the merits and demerits of World War II, I call you to observe that the process of war both relies upon evil, and cultivates evil more thoroughly than any other phenomenon I know. The only greater evil I can imagine might be genocide, where the victims do not even fight their destruction, and omnicide, where the most advanced planners of future wars have actually contemplated the destruction of everyone. There are weapons worse than you probably know, and they were all thought up, and some built, by people very well paid by you and me to do it.

All that evil relies utterly on good people being convinced to do evil and to contribute to incredibly evil things. The warmongers do this by playing on individual evils which we all express — greed, hatred, revenge, racism, hubris, hypocrisy, etc. — then plugging people into systems of organizational evil as quickly as they will fit. Another critical step is dehumanizing their victims (Keen, 1986; Lifton and Markusen, 1990; Markusen and Kopf, 1995).

Now we must consider supernatural evil for a moment, although there is an enormous temptation to dismiss it, or to concentrate on those easier problems which we can see and touch, like hatred or weapons or factories which produce chemical or biological or nuclear weapons. Who wants to be laughed at, talking about supernatural evil? Which journalist or scientist will risk her career, discussing ridiculous concepts like a “devil” from medieval times? Not many. One of the greatest accomplishments of supernatural evil, if it exists, is convincing humanity to conclude without study that it cannot exist.

Forget “The Devil.” Forget the debate over whether supernatural evil is real or not. This debate is not

* The ultimate causes of World War II include deep roots in World War I, and other factors appropriate to this chapter and the next. Secret power inputs to Hitler’s rise to power included several banks and weapons companies, like Krupp works (Manchester, 1968). Other authors focus on the role of U.S. and German financial interests (Mullens, 1985) which contributed millions of dollars to Hitler’s rise to power. These included men like Henry Ford and Allen Dulles, who will turn up again as a director of the Council on Foreign Relations, and of the CIA.

necessary for us at this time. It is much more practical to accept the fact that skeptical people cannot determine with certainty the answer to questions like these at this time. Do not assume any answer, but instead look carefully at both options to compare them. In statistics, this procedure is called Boolean.

On the one hand, simply assume that there is no supernatural anything in the universe. Identify the relevant consequences. On the other hand, assume that some form of supernatural evil exists. Identify possible consequences, and compare them to the first option.

If there is no force of evil outside of individual and organizational evils which we can see so clearly in war, then all the phenomena which mystics ascribe to supernatural evils are simply manifestations of the individual and organizational evils which we do see. If so, solutions can only be found in reducing the scope and action of the tangible evils. So one is called to work at reducing the individual weaknesses we recognize which contribute to war (if, of course, one wishes to end war which by no means all people do). And one must neutralize the organizational evils which are so essential to war. One must reform the systems of government which make waging war so easy, perhaps inevitable, and which propagandize people so thoroughly to embrace this deadly custom from ancient times. And one must answer some very hard questions, like, "If we are reforming the Army, what do we do when another Hitler comes around who is not persuaded by gentle logic and neat morality?" What do we do with Saddam Hussein, for example? Or George Bush?

On the other hand, assume there is a force of evil external to mere individual or organizational evils which we can see fairly clearly. What if there is a force of evil which we do not understand at all? Which operates independently from human actions? What then may we imply about war, its causes or its cures? And how does that differ from the other assumption, where nothing unknown or external is operating?

If there is a force of evil it might act in strange and inscrutable ways. It might influence how people think, for example, especially how key leaders think, when they are infected with hubris and animated by hatred of their neighbors or paranoia about their foes. If there is a force of evil, it might arrange key assassinations, by prying into the minds of highly disturbed individuals. It might tell them it is GOD, and wants them to act on GOD'S behalf by murdering some hated foe. If the average general and politician is firmly rooted in the material world where evil is laughed at and God is paid lipservice, then the average general and statesman is likely to conclude that the nut who killed their prince was an agent of some organized

foreign power. Politicians and generals always have lists of enemies whom they are certain are out to get their power.

Assassinations have certainly started many wars, however the killers were motivated. It would be simpler to assume they are just nuts, or spies, than to deal with some supernatural Beelzebub behind the scenes. But all of these are possibilities to the careful thinker. Even without mysterious forces, it has been a classic technique of intelligence agencies to start wars between two adversaries by sponsoring or conducting terrorist acts dressed up as one of the targets, in order to stimulate attack by the other. These are called "false flag" operations. Those who would end war must at least attend to the clever and evil techniques of spies, a major focus of the next chapter.

This is only a bare beginning of how supernatural evil might work, if such a force of evil existed. There is no space to be comprehensive and the possibilities of the unknown always outnumber the possibilities of the known. Consider just one other example of ways a force of evil might work. Imagine that people are ever so mildly psychic at an unconscious level and that our positive thoughts and negative thoughts radiate into the void of a noosphere, or thought world, as described by Teilhard de Chardin (1959). Imagine that each of us, all the time, is exposed to murmurs from this great mass of good and evil thoughts. Maybe some of those hearing voices are not just nuts. Or to be simpler, just imagine that a God and a corollary negative Force of Evil exist which might affect our thinking in subtle, unconscious ways.

Traditional words describing this concept say that people have a conscience which speaks quietly from the heart, but that one ear is also filled with advice from some darker side of the human personality. The Muslims say that Allah gets one ear and Shatan the other, leaving us to decide which ear to attend. If there was an actual force of evil external to ordinary individual and collective evils, then it might exert an effect on the thinking of all the parties involved in war. It might murmur to the greedy industrialist thoughts which reinforce his desire to see honor in making a fortune producing excellent weapons, and marketing those weapons aggressively in areas of conflict. It might murmur to the vainglorious political leader, eager for an adventure which would prove his exceptional merit to adoring throngs. It might murmur to the frustrated racist, bitter about his lot in life and eager to find enemies to blame that on. It might murmur to the soldier, who knows his exceptional skill is the courage required to face death in defense of family and nation, but who lacks an appropriate enemy to display his courage against. It might murmur to the propagandist, a master of words highly paid by his leaders; it might tell the

propagandist that it really is fine to lie for a living. After all, so many others do it.

One of the enduring elements of human nature is our desire to explain misfortune by reference to the evil in some other human or group of humans. We carry around a profound double standard of justice, one for our family, community or other “In” group, a much more judgmental standard of justice for strangers or members of “Out” groups.

A force of evil could play on all those aspects of human nature. A force of evil could inflame racism, rationalize greed, scapegoat constantly, enrage its victims, and urge them to vent frustration on those they dislike. But no supernatural force of evil is necessary to recognize the human evils I have described. Individual hatred, racism, hypocrisy and greed undoubtedly exist. There is also no controversy over the wisdom of trying to reduce those where we can.

Compare this scenario with the first on supernatural evil. Once again, we are left to work on those evils we can identify and influence. Perhaps we could add prayer to our inventory of actions, and perhaps we could be more diligent in rejecting evil thoughts, mindful that they might come from evil spirits rather than just from dark recesses in our own heads. We could be slower to retaliate. But for the most part there is no practical difference between whether supernatural evil exists or not — we still must decide for ourselves what we will do in this world.

The net effect of considering the possibility of a force of evil is three simple points. 1) For most purposes, it does not matter. But, 2) if a supernatural force of evil is a real force in human affairs, this suggests that those who would contemplate waging war should be very reserved and prudent in their interpretations of provocative events like assassinations or acts of terrorism where the actors and their purposes are less than crystal clear. And perhaps, 3) that those who would end war should attend to the power of prayer, and to other tools which religious traditions offer as their method for confronting evil.

Professional peacemakers and professionals of war should both pay much more attention to the clearer evils of intelligence agencies, cults and secret power systems which I address in the next chapter. They are critical to war, and are exceptional examples of the organizational evils most directly related to war. All rely on and begin with individual evil.

M. Scott Peck is a psychiatrist who devoted great professional effort toward understanding evil as a strictly personal disorder which could be characterized in clinical terms. He did by far the best job I have seen. So I will excerpt here his clinical diagnostic criteria, and will follow with several shorter quotes which I found helpful.

Clinical diagnostic criteria for “evil” personalities from Peck (1983, pg. 129)

“In addition to the abrogation of responsibility that characterizes all personality disorders, this one would specifically be distinguished by:

- a. consistent, destructive scapegoating behavior, which may often be quite subtle.
- b. excessive, albeit usually covert, intolerance to criticism and other forms of narcissistic injury.
- c. pronounced concern with a public image and self-image of respectability contributing to a stability of lifestyle but also to pretentiousness and denial of hateful feelings or vengeful motives.
- d. intellectual deviousness, with an increased likelihood of a mild schizophreniclike disturbance of thinking at times of stress.”

Elsewhere (page numbers at left) Peck notes these interesting properties of evil and “evil” people:

42. . . . evil is ‘live’ spelled backwards.
65. The feeling of revulsion [toward the evil] can be . . . a diagnostic tool par excellence.
66. Evil frequently engenders confusion . . . “as if I’d suddenly lost my ability to think.”
179. . . . one of the characteristics of evil is its desire to confuse.
68. I have learned nothing in 20 years that would suggest that evil people can be rapidly influenced by any means other than raw power. They do not respond, at least in the short run, to either gentle kindness or any form of spiritual persuasion with which I am familiar.
69. . . . the central defect of the evil is not the sin, but the refusal to acknowledge it. . . . (Themes of hiding and covertness will occur again and again in his book).
72. They are . . . remarkably greedy people.
73. Scapegoating . . . [is a predominant characteristic of evil].
75. Utterly dedicated to preserving their self-image of perfection, they are unceasingly engaged in the effort to maintain the appearance of moral purity.
76. Since the primary motive of the evil is disguise, one of the places evil people are most likely to be found is within the church.
77. The evil hate the light [of goodness, scrutiny, truth]
78. Unsubmitted will . . . strong will (Peck notes this in both “good” and “evil” leaders)
177. Because their willfulness is so extraordinary — and always accompanied by a lust for power — I suspect that the evil are more likely than most to politically aggrandize themselves.
79. Pride . . . “malignant narcissism” [is probably the best single diagnostic term].

106. Naturally, since it is designed to hide its opposite, the pretense chosen by the evil is most commonly the pretense of love.
117. Thralldom [is common in myth, and also commonly associated with evil people]
124. The evil live their lives in fear.
129. [They are] often diagnosed as ambulatory schizophrenics.
135. Evil always has something to do with lies.
136. They seem to lack, in whole or in part, this capacity for empathy.
180. . . . evil — whether it be demonic or human — is surprisingly obedient to authority. Why this is so, I do not know.
183. Satan is real. [Peck refers to Malachi Martin's Hostage to the Devil, cited below]
204. Quote from an exorcism: "I want people to work in business so that there will be a war."

Peck focuses almost exclusively on clinical aspects of non-controversial individual evils. But, like me, he felt it necessary to look at the question of supernatural evil, so he also relates two exorcisms that he witnessed personally, which convinced him that there is some objective reality behind tales of demonic possession or supernatural evil. A Jesuit priest, Malachi Martin (1977) provides 5 more detailed case studies of exorcisms which he claims to have personally witnessed. These cases are very interesting and should engage professionals, but need not concern us here because both Peck and I discern a less ambiguous domain of individual evil which merits careful consideration without being sidetracked. Many of the qualities Peck relates above are familiar to us all, and have special relevance to the problem of war. The lack of empathy for others, intense secrecy, pervasive lies, excessive fear, scapegoating, hubris (malignant narcissism in Peck's psychiatric lexicon) have all been commented on before, and will recur in the section on Spies and Cults to follow. The pretense of love, a lust for politics, and a habit of clothing hatred in the language of churches — all these figure prominently in the wars of militant religion so common today.

I want to comment briefly on five other works which tie individual and organizational evils tightly together. Three were books heavily influenced by the Nazi Holocaust. One was written between the World Wars, and specifically addresses group versus individual morality, concluding that nations are inexorably and inevitably immoral (Reinhold Niebuhr, 1932). And the fifth records a series of experiments by psychologist Stanley Milgram, widely recognized as classic in their clear revelation that most people, not only evil or demented people, most

people will do evil if instructed to by an appropriate authority figure.

Milgram developed a simple but profoundly revealing research technique. He took subjects who had volunteered for psychological experimentation but who did not know otherwise what was to happen, and put them before a control panel with instructions to shock another volunteer whenever that person failed the simple test they were conducting jointly. This was done under the supervision of a person in a white lab coat, who was the "authority figure." Unknown to the main subject, the person being "shocked" was an actor, and the authority figure was also playing a role, to see how far the main subject would go and how much if any pressure would be required from the bogus "doctor" to get the subject to shock the victim, sometimes unto apparent death.

This basic paradigm was run with many variations in detail, the results summarized in a now-classic work called Obedience to Authority in 1974. The basic observation was that a very large percentage of quite ordinary people are able to torture other people, many even to apparent death, if they volunteered for the (unspecified) task and are encouraged by an authority figure. They were never forced; no force was ever employed in these experiments. Evil people are not necessary, just obedient people. And "Good Nazis" are everywhere, who would kill their neighbor on command from an appropriate "authority figure."

Hannah Arendt's book, Eichmann in Jerusalem, is another classic whose essential theme is that bureaucrats were the worker bees in Hitler's genocidal machine. She examined in great detail Otto Adolph Eichmann, from his days as a key administrator for Hitler to his end as a convicted war criminal, hung by Israel on May 31, 1962. Throughout her work she struggles to comprehend and explain how basically dull the perpetrators of the Nazi holocaust were, rather than evil in more stereotypical ways. Her main choice of words was "banal" and I am sure she thought very hard about this word. Random House defines banal as: "insipid and pointless."

Like Milgram, Arendt looked evil in the eye and failed to find the demonic monsters which many expect. Instead, she found ordinary people, even dull, banal people, following orders and working in systems constructed by a society. When asked to further organize the Nazi killing machine, Eichmann did his duty so well it could be said he was one of the architects. But it was not his vision he animated; he merely developed bureaucratic structures which would accomplish efficiently the vision of a more starkly evil man, Adolph Hitler. And Hitler, we should recall, was not evil in his eyes or in the eyes of the majority of Germans who elevated him to power. He was a

savior for the nation, with a vision for a more glorious future, until the actual consequences came to pass. If Hitler had won World War II, he would probably be recorded today as a hero for the world, since conquerors always hire adoring historians to write the subsequent histories.

There are some indications that Hitler's inner circle were involved in Satanic practice (Anderson, 1995, Sklar, 1990). I lack the data necessary to evaluate this thesis, but will say that it recurs often enough in cases of exceptional killers that I recommend serious professionals not to dismiss out of hand the possibility of supernatural evil. Another window on that world is provided by serial murderers, or bizarre murders of some individuals. One of the better studies of that kind is Maury Terry's "Ultimate Evil," which relates one psychotic killer (Son of Sam) to a satanic cult called the "Process."

Ervin Staub (1989, The Roots of Evil) reviews the origins of the Holocaust, and compares what he finds with similar experiences in Cambodia, Armenia and Argentina during this exceptional century of genocides. His cases are sufficiently diverse in geography, time and circumstances to make a good sample. He finds many more important things than I can relate here. But the most important to me were his observations about "Just-World thinking," about bystanders, and about the connections between genocide and war.

Staub sees people faced with "difficult life circumstances" as vulnerable to a gradual progression along a continuum of destruction whose most extreme outcome is genocidal killing of innocent and non-resisting victims as in the Holocaust and the other cases he examines. At every step along the path, a government is encouraging those people to see killing as service to the community, and to see their victims as somehow deserving of their fate, even if utterly innocent and defenseless. That view is much enabled by what Staub describes as "Just-world thinking" or the common belief that something cosmic, like God or karma, ensures that all victims really deserve their fate.

He describes the continuum thus (pg. 18, [my **emphases**]): "Deeply ingrained, socially developed feelings of responsibility for others' welfare and inhibitions against killing are gradually lost. Often the leaders assume responsibility, and accountability is further diminished by **compartmentalization** of functions and the **denial** of reality. The most terrible human capacity is that of **profoundly devaluing others who are merely different**. Often, there is a **reversal of morality**, and killing them comes to be seen as good, right, and desirable. In the course of all this, new group norms evolve, and institutions are established in the service of genocide or

mass killing. The progression may occur in a short time, although often intense devaluation has already developed by the time those who become the perpetrators of genocide appear on the scene."

I emphasize above the matter of "devaluing others who are merely different" because the most basic and important reform necessary to reduce the probability of war due to this human trait is confining criminal law to behaviors which are **dangerous** and prohibiting the use of government force against people who are merely **different**. See the chapters on Authoritarian Law and Legalism for more detail on this central concept.

The other concepts I emphasized in Staub's paragraph, compartmentalization, denial, and reversal of morality are prominent features of the spy world and of cults which we will examine in the next chapter.

Staub later cites the probability that the ubiquitous "Us-Them" dichotomy is related to genetic roots. "Us - Them differentiation is a basic human potential for which we even carry genetic building blocks" (see Chapter 4). This view is shared by Vanhanen, of political science, Shaw and Wong, both geneticists, and many others including myself. But I agree with social scientists that genetic predilections almost never mean rigid determination of behaviors. Predilections predispose, training and individual will ultimately determine what people choose to do, or not do. Whatever its origins, in-group/out-group double standards are common among men and essential to war.

Throughout Staub's continuum of destruction are bystanders. According to Staub, whether bystanders applaud, stand silent, or reject the morality of the events they witness has a major role in subsequent outcomes. Here is a clue to solutions for the problems of war and genocide. When people speak out against murder, its likelihood decreases. When people are silent, evil can inculcate its followers into greater callousness. When people applaud, the dumb brutes of any society think they are doing good as they do evil. Why shouldn't they, when people hold parades for them?

Finally, Staub observes that all his genocides occurred in the context of war or near proximity to war. This was also observed by Robert Lifton and Eric Markusen in their seminal study of The Genocidal Mentality (1990).

Lifton studied leading weapons scientists and strategists who participated in the Nazi Holocaust, and presents psychological concepts like "psychic numbing" and "doubling" to represent the dissociative processes which enable otherwise sane human beings to participate in great evil daily, without becoming obviously insane themselves. He also observes the importance of

euphemistic language and the isolation of perpetrators (including the most erudite of professors) from critics who might puncture those euphemistic bubbles with blunt language which accurately describes killing, whether by genocidal gas chambers or nuclear immolation.

Markusen brings a sociological perspective to bear, and 12 years of work observing the genesis of a nuclear priesthood remarkably parallel in psychology and sociological support structures to the Nazi doctors who determined how best to kill Jews efficiently 50 years ago. He describes the evolution of nuclear capability, and legal and strategic rationalizations for nuclear omnicide. Together, they detail the bureaucratic structures and social organization which enable otherwise “good” men to prepare to slaughter innocents on a global scale, then to go home every day to pet their dogs and love the same children who would most likely be killed by the system created by their parents, should it ever be used.

Like Staub, Lifton and Markusen see genocide as closely related to wars which enable the processes of brutalization, the development of the bureaucracies of killing, and the long term propagandization of whole populations to see large groups of human beings as deserving of violent death. Like Staub and all the others, there is much more wisdom for the serious student in Lifton and Markusen’s work than I can relay here.

I will cite just one more classic before wrapping up this review of evil and war. Reinhold Niebuhr wrote Moral Man and Immoral Society in 1932. Two concepts merit repetition here. First, he claims that while individuals can be moral, the leaders of nation states simply cannot be (in his view, not mine). In his view, nations live in a jungle and must be ruthless. He agrees with Machiavelli and other “realists.” I think they are all wrong. They repeat the rationalizations of leaders who justified their evils by referring to their desire to serve the needs of their organizations, regardless of moral thought. The jungle is real, and many dangers are real, which statesmen must attend. Even “national interests” are real. But it is no wiser for modern nations to live in a jungle, than it would be for urbane citizens to abandon all progress to go live deep within the Amazon and die young. Nations must be prudent, must be alert to danger, may have to fight for life. But they do not have to be ruthless.

Niebuhr presents a more eloquent defense of his view than I will. He correctly perceives that large organizations are like organisms, competing for resources in a relatively lawless world. He incorrectly concludes that all leaders must then be brutes, or at best immoral, which is no more true for nations than for individuals. Some people conclude we must all be ruthless, predatory criminals just because others choose to be. I disagree.

Second, a point on which we do agree, Niebuhr chides the peace activists of his day, for doing well with the “children of light” but failing utterly to understand the “children of darkness.” On this, we agree completely. The formulae of peace work well for those who are intrinsically peaceful, or ready for compromises or cooperative resolution of conflicts. Such formulae for peace do not appear to influence evil people very much. Like Peck, I am forced at this time to conclude that the remarkably evil people who account for so much of the crime, war and genocidal violence I have observed for 20 years, do not care very much for words of any kind. Truly evil people may be stoppable only by superior force.

For that reason, some of my most important suggestions for solving the problem of war and genocide come in chapter 32 for soldiers and police.

Solutions

1. Love your neighbor as yourself. When I derived this I nearly cried, because it is so universally known, and so commonly disregarded. It occurs in every great religion, but it need not be a religious concept. In secular philosophy, it goes by “the categorical imperative” and other names. In my case, this conclusion was the result of trying to integrate everything I knew about war and genocide many years ago, with an eye to solutions. The golden rule — it is a real answer, in many more ways than some appreciate.

2. Do no harm. This is a shorter, and less demanding version of the above.

3. Do not cooperate with evil systems. This can be very demanding, as Gandhi observed, but can also be highly rewarding in unexpected ways as he and many others have described.

4. Object when they kill or prepare to kill. Object when “they” demonize present or future targets. Object effectively, do not pretend that symbolic gestures equal concrete acts. Do not obey every rule which guides our sheepish people to object only symbolically while actually and practically supporting evil systems. For example, do not think that saying a prayer for peace on Sabbath, while paying for war every day of the week is actually working for peace. Nice thoughts and good words are better than nothing, but they are no substitute for actual acts which have practical consequences.

5. Exposing evil is often easier and much safer than confronting it directly. But exposure of organizational evils can also be surprisingly effective if persistent and irrefutable. Even evil systems have some conscience in them, and many are actually quite concerned about public relations imagery. We have had great success shutting down some egregious spy operations just by public exposure, where walking in with guns a'blazin' would have been far more dangerous and probably much less successful.

That said, there remains a serious need for decent people in law enforcement at all levels to deal with those violently evil people who are not deterred by mere exposure of their crimes. All too often such people are drawn to politics and law, due to the power which they crave. This makes the art of effective enforcement much more delicate and difficult.

6. **Take evil seriously.** It is a force in human affairs, and regarding war and genocide, it is a force to be reckoned with. The price of ignoring evil is very great indeed. But never despair about evil, because it can be defeated. It is inherently self-destructive, and ruinous to communities, so it always collapses in the end. The evil we understand is at most one-third as powerful as the evil that we fail to understand, or ignore entirely.

Evils you ignore will grow, like cancer. So it is most important to take evil seriously, whatever form it presents itself in.

“It is useless to deny, because it is impossible to conceal, that a great part of Europe — the whole of Italy and France and a great portion of Germany, to say nothing of other countries — is covered with a network of these secret societies, just as the superficies of the earth is now being covered with railways.”

— Benjamin Disraeli, advisor to Queen Victoria of Great Britain, 1850’s.

“Some of the biggest men in the United States, in the field of commerce and manufacture, are afraid of something. They know that there is a power somewhere so organized, so subtle, so watchful, so interlocked, so complete, so pervasive, that they had better not speak above their breath when they speak in condemnation of it.”

— U. S. President Woodrow Wilson, in The New Freedom, 1913.

“Power unknown is power unchecked, and power unchecked is power abused.”

— John Remington Graham, in a letter to the Chancellor of Grand Teton University, January 31, 1997.

Spies, Cults, and Secret Power Systems

I studied the causes of war for over 10 years before accepting reluctantly that I had to understand evil to get to my goal. Then, in 1989, I exposed a spy doing what they call “psychological operations” or “public diplomacy” at a local University, and my eyes were opened wider. Now I know there are very deep commonalties between spies, cults, and secret power systems which are intimately involved in the genesis of wars and genocides.

Almost every government maintains some spy agency, and the big ones all teach the arts of crime in service to the state. Most are involved in influencing their domestic political processes behind the scenes illegally (even Portugal’s tiny secret police agency was caught spying on opposition party leaders, journalists and other public figures, *World Press Review*, pg. 26, Sept. 1995). Other examples of Secret Power Systems include the many Mafias and numerous other large, organized crime entities like the Yakuza, the Asian Triads, the Columbian drug cartels, the Vory v Zakonye of Russia, etc. Secret power includes business cum academic groups when they are organized clandestinely, like the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), its British counterpart, the Royal Institute for International Affairs, and numerous analogous groups like the Trilateral Commission, the Bilderbergers, the Bohemian Club, the Committee of 300, etc. There are explicitly secret societies like the Masons, the Knights Templar, O.T.O., the Knights of Malta, the Prior de Scion,

and Skull and Bones (whose most famous member is George Bush), etc. Among several thousand cults operating worldwide, I will make special reference to the Moon group and occasionally to satanic cults, but it is very important to recognize that there are thousands of cults and secret power systems, not just one or two big ones. Spy groups come in many flavors also, but exhibit common operational and organizational qualities relevant to war. So many groups must, and do, contain a wide range of humankind, so I risk offending the good people who join such groups by comment on their dark side.

But I must comment on their dark side, so apologies in advance to those I offend. All these groups must constantly recruit, so they present a benign facade to the world, where good people enter who are then slowly transformed or consumed.

The most central commonality of all these groups is a way of thinking, a way which is elitist, exclusive, secretive, power oriented, paranoid, criminal and ultimately predatory toward the outside world. They train for and wage war against the outside world. Some by economic means, some by common crime, and some by war itself. They use methods from a secret world which most people simply do not comprehend. To devotees of secret power, self-serving ends (which they almost always see as noble) justify any means necessary for their accomplishment. Experts at deceiving a world they see as

inferior “sheep” or “cattle,” or some other subhuman and often agricultural term, they deceive first themselves, confusing hubris with wisdom, and blind greed with enlightened (or “illuminated”) morality.

It is vital to recognize that all of these groups actively recruit people from the outside world, and that most of these groups maintain a public image of benign activity and even eminent respectability (excepting some organized crime entities, and the most severe cults like the satanic organizations). I will refer here to the CIA more than to its many counterparts around the world (e.g. KGB, MOSSAD, MI6, SAVAK, etc.), to the Moon group (among several thousand active cults) and to the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). This simply reflects my opportunities to observe CIA, Moonies and CFR members more closely and personally than their many counterparts around the world. Personal observation is quite important as an adjunct to literature, for reasons I will elaborate soon.

It is important to remember that, excepting perhaps the most severely destructive organizations, many good people enter such groups and some remain there. It is important because we need their help. They become tools and facade for leaders who are insulated by many layers of secrecy and deception. These leaders are insulated from front-line troops, or members, as well as from the world. Some of my most important sources are good people within the CIA, for example, whose consciences have been disturbed by what they have learned, but who cannot get out or especially reveal secrets without suffering severe consequences, sometimes very severe. Some are trying to get disturbing truths out through people like me.

Spies, cults and Secret Power Systems (referred to hereafter as SPS's) share many properties both individual and organizational which are of great importance in war. The most universal is organization within hierarchical, compartmented, secretive, controlling groups hostile to the outside world toward which they are frequently both predatory and paranoid. This organizational structure is extremely efficient at gathering information and preying on the surrounding social milieu. Its great weakness is its vulnerability to insanity or moral decay at the top which is regrettably common. Some of its methods, exemplified especially by spy organizations and satanic groups, actually induce mental illness among members by excessive control of information and behavior. The satanic cults make induction of mental illness a primary objective — in particular Multiple Personality Disorder, or MPD, achieved by systematic physical, sexual and mental torture of children. The spies have sponsored decades of research on mind control technologies, which they have used to greatest effect against their own members. Cults also are typically fierce in controlling those within, to keep

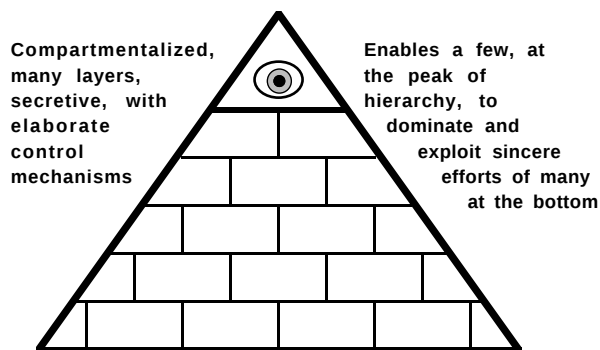


Figure 23

Organizational Structure of Cults Secret Societies, and Spy Agencies

members in line and to keep the secrets sacred.

Figure 23 shows this organizational structure. You will recognize it. It is common to military organizations, to intelligence agencies, to most cults and to many of the organized crime entities and elite business or political clubs which constitute the SPS's. The eye at the top is derived from a common Masonic symbol, found on all U.S. one-dollar bills. This is the “all seeing eye” from which centers of power gather information and issue orders to a far larger domain of worker bees who make up the organizational body. The base of the pyramid represents entry level members. I will focus for a moment on the extreme forms of these common structures, which typify the more predatory secret organizations.

Hierarchy is represented by the many layers of the pyramid, between which there are strict limits on information exchange. Secrecy is sacred, and to rise requires passing numerous tests of loyalty, sometimes severe. In the most dangerous organizations one or more of those transitions requires murder in the service of the group (like some Mafia families, where you must “get your bones,” or kill someone, to become a full “made” member of the Mob). True Satanic cults (which are rare, but real) murder as a regular feature of ritual, and to produce the “snuff” films by which they generate considerable income. Needless to say, dominance or lines of command go from the top, down.

Compartmentalization is represented by the many divisions, or cells, within each level. In extreme organizations, like intelligence agencies, it is strictly taboo to inquire about activities outside your compartment. The doctrine is “need to know.” The reason given for this structure is to limit the damage which other intelligence groups can do should they penetrate yours, or capture one

of your spies. That reason reflects a real, but partial truth, with profound and often unintended consequences. One consequence of extreme compartmentalization is that by breaking grotesque operations into many small parts, even genocide can be developed and executed with only a very small number knowing what the actual purpose and goals of the program are. Those at the top have demonstrated many times an absolute commitment to the organization, which requires indifference to common morality when the organization is routinely engaged in criminal activity, as so many secret power systems are.

An often unintended but very important consequence of compartmentalization, is the organizational equivalent of schizophrenia and paranoid psychosis. When the left hand truly does not know what the right hand is doing, they can work in complete opposition. They can spook each other, even kill each other, or the left hand can be made to control the right, and vice versa. When combined with the other cultural characteristics of spy organizations — constant lying, immunity from prosecution for crimes, Byzantine ethics which justify any means to achieve authorized ends, and constant operations against others who are perceived to be inevitably hostile, immoral and dangerous — these traits can lead to severe and complex organizational dysfunctions similar to severe mental illness in individuals. It is no accident that spy agencies suffer the highest rates of divorce and suicide of all government bureaus.

Internal and External Controls, and Hostility to the Outside World

Extreme compartmentalization, hierarchy and secrecy lend themselves to another feature common to cults, spy agencies and SPS's, which is severe internal control mechanisms to enforce conformity to the organizational worldview. The more dangerous cults, agencies and criminal organizations kill members who try to leave, or who reveal secrets; all punish defectors in various ways. This is a diagnostic feature of what police agencies call Destructive Religious Cults. More refined power clubs like the Council on Foreign Relations would be shocked to associate with such methods (although they have often initiated and executed national policies which have killed millions by the application of military power and covert destabilization campaigns which they control). Exclusive, elite clubs like the CFR prefer to banish you if you break their rules on secrecy, which are interesting — no notes may be taken, nor is discussion in the press about its meetings and activities generally allowed. They own most of the major media in America anyway, which

provides an additional layer of insulation. For those who are addicted to power, banishment from power clubs or access to the press is very near to death as a sanction.

An important derivative consequence of banishing those who question, or those who raise moral concern, is that those who are left are increasingly surrounded by people without genuine moral foundation — yet they see each other as moral leaders, sometimes even spiritual leaders, partly because they have been well insulated from independent thought. Cults, spies and SPS's also appear almost inevitably to become paranoid, and therefore hostile to the surrounding world. This is self-reinforcing, since their predatory behavior generates plenty of genuine hostility against them.

Whether destructive religious cults, organized criminal enterprises, official intelligence agencies, or private power clubs, all develop internal controls designed to maintain membership, and encourage an attitude of hostility or intense superiority toward the outside world. That hostility and elitism is one of the important control features, because it binds the vain and those whose lust for power or wealth is great, although it serves other purposes as well. Members are encouraged, or forced, to cut off contact with external sources of information, in the extreme even family, friends, and institutions from the former life, like church and social groups. The Moon organization (a very successful international cult) rationalizes this by considering the external world to be ruled by "Satan" and by teaching its members that anyone who criticizes the Moon group, especially family members, is being motivated by Satanic force. Spy groups use the concept of calculated "disinformation" put out by competing spy groups, which are "everywhere," to accomplish the same goal. Such organizations regularly spook each other, because they are drawn to each other by their competitions for secret power, of which much of polite society is blissfully unaware.

A training manual on "Sects, Cults and Deviant Social Movements" by the Institute of Police Technology and Management, University of North Florida, 1990, provides this set of characteristics for "Socio-Religious Deviance."

1. Voluntary/Achieved membership
2. Elitism - Secret
3. Exclusivism
4. Hostility
5. Priesthood of all Believers
6. Asceticism/Harsh lifestyle
7. Control Mechanisms

Anyone familiar with the spy world will recognize

the similarity to conditions of membership in spy organizations, excepting perhaps the religious dimension implied by “priesthood” and “asceticism” which is rare in well endowed spy groups like the CIA or MOSSAD. Organized criminal groups and elite SPS’s also tend to omit the “Asceticism” component, as they are in business to attract those who desire great wealth and power (or at least wealth and power without work) but otherwise they fit as well.

The most pervasive and important control mechanism of all is not harsh sanctions, although these certainly exist in the more dangerous cults, agencies and SPS’s, it is a system to control information. The police training manual adds this list of “Cult Techniques of Psychological Manipulation.” Brackets [] frame my additional comments.

1. Isolation — loss of reality induced by physical separation from society and rational references.
2. Hypnosis — state of high suggestibility induced by hypnosis, often thinly disguised as meditation. [used extensively by CIA on the covert operations side, and by some cults, often with certain drugs]
3. Peer group pressure — suppression of doubt and resistance to new ideas, achieved by exploiting the natural need to belong.
4. Love Bombing — sense of family and belonging contrived through hugging, kissing, touching, and flattery. [Spy groups often provide sex to discourage unauthorized liaisons. Elitism is also drilled in among intelligence organizations, and a surrogate family is sometimes “required” since one must hide one’s real identity, work, etc. from an outside world which is perceived as unremittingly hostile.]
5. Removal of Privacy — loss of ability to evaluate, logically achieved by preventing private contemplation.
6. Sleep Deprivation and Fatigue — disorientation and vulnerability created by prolonged mental and physical activity and withholding adequate rest and sleep. [For which the Moon organizations are especially notorious, see Hassan, 1988]
7. Games — need for direction when playing games with obscure rules increases dependence on the group.
8. Meta Communication — subliminal messages implanted by stressing certain key words or phrases in long confusing lectures. [A technique mastered by modern propagandists.]
9. No Questions — automatic acceptance of beliefs accomplished by discouraging questions.
10. Confusing Doctrine — complex lectures on incomprehensible doctrine, encourage rejection of logic and blind acceptance.
11. Rejection of Old Values — acceptance of new life

style accelerated by constantly denouncing former values and beliefs.

12. Confession — destruction of personal egos, increased vulnerability to new teachings and recruit’s weaknesses revealed, through sharing innermost secrets. [An interesting aspect of CIA recruitment is two solid days of extensive and highly intrusive psychological testing, including polygraph, which provides among other information a full set of keys to the subject’s mind. Another interesting aspect of CIA recruitment, revealed to me by an ex-case officer and now Ph.D. psychologist for them, is that they select psychopathic personalities for field agents “because they make better spies.” This informant believes that the “sane” people at CIA always maintain control of the “insane” people, and that these psychological keys are one reason why. I doubt this latter conclusion because of other data which suggests the nuts really are in charge of the covert operations side of the CIA, which undoubtedly dominates the analytic, historical, and technical support divisions.]

13. Guilt — teachings of eternal salvation reinforced by exaggerating sins of the former lifestyle.

14. Fear — loyalty and obedience to group maintained by threatening soul, life or limb for the slightest “negative” thought, word or deed. [The “Office of Security” serves this function for the CIA. My informant above also stated that when field agents get out of control, a security team is sent to “reprogram” them with hypnosis and drugs. Should that fail, they are to “deactivate” the wayward agent. “Deactivate” is one of many spyspeak words for kill, “Silence” is another. Euphemisms are abundant, and insider language is common to all cults and SPS’s that I have observed.]

15. Chanting and Singing — non-cult input is screened out by demanding repetition of mind narrowing chants or phrases, when faced with non-cult ideas. [This is a rare example of a cult control mechanism which I have not seen among agents of spy organizations. Spies do use analogous methods, like the concept of “disinformation.” Disinformation is false propaganda emanating from hostile spy agencies to confuse the loyal. Since many spy groups certainly do practice this “black” propaganda, it is plausible. But many spies quickly learn to reject all information except that coming from their agency, which is quite parallel to the Moon group’s contention that “Satan” controls all information outside of the Moon group’s books, lectures, etc.]

16. Disinhibition — abdication of adult responsibility encouraged by orchestrating child-like behavior [among spy groups, all responsibility is given to higher-up’s in the hierarchy, and agents are only allowed to know what they “need to know.”]

17. Change of Diet — disorientation and increased susceptibility to emotional arousal achieved by depriving the nervous system of necessary nutrients, through the use of low-protein, child-like food. [The Moonies exemplify this, but spies are generally exposed to a more wealthy lifestyle than in their previous existence. The only parallel to the cult trait identified above which I have seen among spies is unrestricted access to exotic drugs.]

18. Controlled Approval — vulnerability and confusion maintained by alternately rewarding and punishing similar actions. [Organized crime uses this often].

19. Dress — individuality removed by demanding conformity to the group dress code.

20. Flaunting Hierarchy — acceptance of cult authority produced by promising advancement, power and salvation.

21. Finger Pointing — false sense of righteousness created by pointing to the shortcomings of the outside world and other cults.

22. Replacement of Relationships — pre-cult families destroyed by arranging cult marriages and “families.” [Again, well exemplified by both the Moon group and to a lesser degree by the CIA. Moon marriages are arranged by the Rev. Sun Myung Moon, sometimes in ceremonies involving tens of thousands of couples, and all such relationships are considered subservient to each member’s symbolic marriage to “The Father” (or “God’s third expression of Adam,” Rev. Moon). For many reasons the CIA has the highest divorce rate of any U.S. government agency. Both groups have difficulty raising healthy children, and in the Moon group’s case, even conceiving them due to exhaustion among members and bizarre rules regarding every aspect of sexual relations. Among spies the biggest problem is being required to lie constantly, even to your own family, being away from home a lot, and having little or no opportunity for open discussion about why you are going insane.]

23. Financial Commitment — increased dependence on the group achieved by “burning bridges” to the past, through the donation of all assets.

[This ends the police academy’s list of cult techniques of psychological manipulation, my additional comments in brackets.]

Parallels between the cults, spy agencies and secret power systems are indeed remarkable, and are directly related to these groups’ parasitic relationship to larger societies. That parasitism is directly related to war.

As noted before, my conclusions are a result of direct, personal observation of the groups I name, and from many informants, as well as from literature. Literature alone can be very misleading. In particular, it can miss the human side of spies and cultists, just as I am

now concentrating on their dark and peculiar sides, rather than on their residual humanity. But literature also greatly expands the database available, especially when written by former insiders.

For a start on that literature, I recommend four books and two journals. The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence by former Deputy Director at CIA, Victor Marchetti and former State Department Official, John Marks, 1974; Cults in our Midst: The Hidden Menace in our Everyday Lives by Margaret Thaler Singer, an emeritus psychologist from UC Berkeley, 1995; Combating Cult Mind Control by Steven Hassan, ex-high level Moonie, 1988; and The CIA: a Hidden History by William Blum, 1986. The journals are Covert Action Quarterly and Unclassified, the former written by academic and journalist critics of intelligence organizations generally and the CIA in particular, the latter published by an association of former members of the CIA, DIA, NSA and other intelligence agencies who object to the covert actions, or criminal side, of our intelligence community.

The credo of the Association of National Security Alumni is worth restating here: **“Covert actions are counter-productive and damaging to the national interest of the United States. They are inimical to the operation of an effective national intelligence system, corruptive of civil liberties, including the functioning of the judiciary and a free press. Most importantly, they contradict the principles of democracy, national self-determination and international law to which the United States is publicly committed.”**

What does all this have to do with war? Simply put, the organizational structure and methods outlined above result in large scale organizations configured to wage war against a hostile world, and they do. They develop large numbers of “troops” who will do what (almost anything) they are told, reliably and without requiring contextual information, and who will equally reliably disguise their internal command structure from outside observers who are almost always viewed as extremely hostile and dangerous. Like the individual paranoid schizophrenic, the organization projects its paranoia outward, conducts operations or acts in ways which injure or frighten the outside world — which then responds in ways which reinforce the organization’s image that outside entities are hostile and suspicious. This results in what psychiatrists refer to as “encapsulization” rendering the insane worldview nearly impervious to correction by outside information. SPS’s also develop vast appetites for money, but produce nothing or very little of tangible value themselves. The ultimate result is predatory, elitist, paranoid organizations with a propensity for hostile or

even violent action against competitors.

Blum's book alone records the role of American covert operations in scores of Third World nations which resulted in many coups d'état, dozens of civil wars and all manner of lesser tragedies resulting from destabilization campaigns in over 50 nations worldwide.

It bears restatement that Americans are not alone in conducting secret operations designed to destroy or parasitize vulnerable nations. Britain invented the modern methods, maintaining control over its vast colonial empire, and the Russians and Israelis are also acknowledged masters of the craft with worldwide reach today. Other players of regional importance include the French and Chinese, but (as best I can tell) almost every national intelligence agency studies this "tradecraft" and applies some of it in the regions of greatest interest to them.

Let us be more specific about war, before returning to more parallels between cults, spies, and secret power systems. Intelligence agencies and Secret Power Systems are intimately involved in the genesis of many wars by the following methods, among others.

- a. Political assassinations [e.g. John F. Kennedy, Pope John Paul I, the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi, etc. (see Table 3, in Appendix B).]
 - b. Destabilization campaigns
 - c. Production of pre-war propaganda
 - d. Production of suitable "triggering events."
- Examples may include the second Tonkin Gulf incident (Vietnam, August 4, 1964), and Hitler's Polish incident. Hitler had SS special forces dress up as Polish troops and attack a German border post to provide a pretext for the blitzkrieg starting World War II. Covert operations are greatly facilitated by incestuous relationships between secret power systems, the cults and the spies. William Manchester in The Arms of Krupp (1968) details substantial support for Hitler's early rise to power from weapons companies like the Krupp Works, and by financiers on both sides of the Atlantic, including over a million dollars donated secretly by top-tier American industrialists, like Henry Ford. The American OSS (Office of Strategic Services) developed a relationship with organized crime even before its reorganization in 1947 as the CIA, arranging favors for the Sicilian Mafia in return for intelligence and sabotage prior to the invasion of Italy. It also facilitated traffic in opium from Burma to China's Kuomintang forces, to assist their two-front war against Mao Tse Tung and Japan (McCoy, 1972). These relationships, and many others with many other organized crime entities, continue to this day as the CIA manages much of the international trade in illegal narcotics, which once inside America are distributed by partners in organized crime. Banks must also be involved at the top

end of a \$500 billion per year business, and sources allege to me that the standard cuts are 2% for the money laundering and 5% to the agency for protection when narcotics cross the border. Thus private industry and public law enforcement collude with organized crime to keep a huge cash cow yielding green milk.

The most shocking example of incestuous relations among these secret power systems is systematic child abuse. Brutally summarized, some groups, including but not exclusively satanic cults, procure young children by kidnapping or bribery who are then trained in prostitution and sold to leaders of very big business, to foreigners for sex slaves, or to intelligence linked groups for use in corruption of sitting politicians in order to "compromise" and control them. The FBI's J. Edgar Hoover was not the only closet homosexual who got in bed with the Mob (Summers, 1993). The pederasts are not all gay, and the abuse is not all sexual. But it is all so gross and repulsive that very few people dare to confront it. More on this soon.

More Parallels Between Cults and Spy Entities

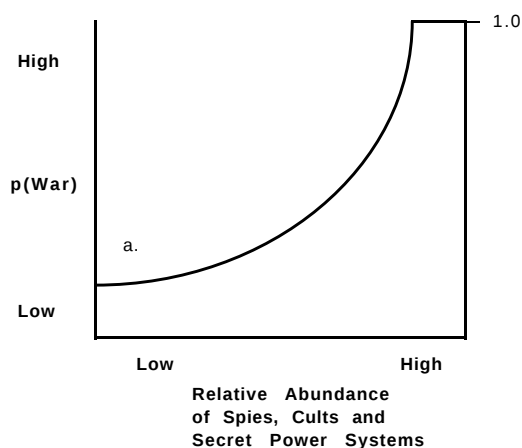
Margaret Thaler Singer's excellent book on Cults in our Midst provides some other characteristics of cults which find close parallels in the spy world. They include:

1. Cults of personality
2. Deceptive recruitment
3. Severe sanctions and internal control systems
4. Cut off existing emotional and financial support systems
5. Increased dependence on the organization

[Self-sufficiency is an enemy of all secret power systems. Self-sufficient people may "defect," or leave, in ordinary English. There is nothing so useless in practical, productive terms, as an ex-spy, ex-organized criminal, or ex-child of extreme wealth accustomed to support from SPS's, most of whom have been severely deprived of the general experience of personal responsibility for individual decisions and of productive work which builds skills as well as character. Such individuals have, however, often learned a great deal about how to hurt other people for money, how to extort politicians, or at least how to beg with great industry and no shame.]

6. Creation of a special cult language [Scientologists provide an interesting example from the cults — they publish whole dictionaries of Scientology-talk. I also have two dictionaries of spookspeak (intelligence agency lingo) which is an equally inscrutable language designed partly to insulate spies from healthy people, partly to disguise the bizarre acts which they call "tradecraft," like "psychological operations," "the fine art of human compromise" and "wetwork," and partly to insulate them

from the real meaning of words like “destabilize,” “silence” and “deactivate” by “executive action,” or in normal English — to murder. Ex-spies have told me that the vast majority of “tradecraft” simply amounts to variations on bribery, blackmail, and assassination or threats of assassination.]



a. Monotonic, low endpoint at $p(\text{attack from outside})$. High endpoint at 1.0, as a superabundance of spies and secret power systems guarantees war among them, since they cannot produce any of the goods necessary to sustain society and are necessarily competitive over the productive elements of societies which they parasitize.

Figure 24

Spies, Cults, Secret Power Systems and $p(\text{War})$

Spies, Cults, SPS's and $p(\text{War})$

I discern a simple monotonic relationship between the frequency or power of spies, cults and secret power systems and the probability of war, as shown in Figure 24. Whether the actual relationship is linear or curved as shown in the figure is quite impossible to tell with such a motley assortment of groups on the horizontal axis, few of which have ever been measured in any meaningful way and most of which avoid scrutiny like cockroaches anyway. But I think I can justify two endpoints, a minimum $p(\text{war})$ no matter how rare are spies, cults and SPS's based on the probability of attack from outside, and a maximum of 1 at high levels of these groups since they are fundamentally predatory and wage forms of secret war in their normal operations. Dedicated spies would certainly disagree with this characterization, arguing at least that some minimum presence of them is necessary to

deter war. If so, that would produce a U shaped curve. I will leave figuring out which is more correct to brighter minds than mine.

The CFR and Satanic Cults as examples of differing styles leading to similar results

At one level, no one could be more different than the urbane financial, industrial and intellectual elites who become members of the Council on Foreign Relations (or other SPS clubs), and the sadistic fiends who form satanic cults. But in important ways, they are remarkably similar. And it bears deep reflection that, while satanic cults are responsible for the most shockingly perverted crimes which one can imagine, power clubs like the CFR are responsible for far more deaths and much more suffering around the world than any explicitly satanic organization.

And, they interact, with intelligence agencies and with organized criminal groups. I already mentioned the bizarre, but all too real, connections between these types of people in the organized business of pedophilia. The criminals are interested in commercial aspects (money), the agencies in the ability to “compromise” politicians or other influential people for future use. * The cults are into mind control.

As far as I can see into secret power systems which deal in children, organization is not hierarchical but fluid, more like a network than a pyramid, people and groups cooperating toward common objectives which center on money and power. These networks shift and change, more

* See John DeCamp, 1992, for a detailed description of an organized pedophile ring, linked with intelligence operations based in Lincoln, Nebraska, which provided children for sexual purposes throughout America. Another confirmed case involving the intelligence community (CIA) is the “Finders” group based outside of Washington D.C. I have examined the Customs investigation (Martinez, 1987) which details substantial physical evidence obtained by police in Washington and in Florida, but also records that the investigation was ordered shut down by the CIA which called it an “internal matter.” All evidence was “turned over to other Federal authorities” and the investigation was classified secret. The only public announcement I am aware of is an article in US News and World Report of Dec. 27, 1993. The Finders are still operating in the D.C. area in 1996, although it appears unlikely that pedophilia remains in their portfolio. A third case developed by New York homicide detectives involved CIA agent Tippy Richardson, who was providing children for political compromise operations in the D.C. area, and killed three of them.

like a social movement than a hierarchy of integrated organizations.

Let us consider some quotes from the opening chapters of one of the best (among very few) books written about the Council on Foreign Relations for a few more clues to how that works, Imperial Brain Trust by Laurence H. Shoup and William Minter, 1977.

The origins of the Council on Foreign Relations lie in the reactions of a small number of American “men of affairs” to the First World War. At the Versailles Conference a group of American and British participants began discussing the need for an organization which could engage in the continuous study of international relations. . . .

Thus on May 30, 1919, at the Majestic Hotel in Paris, a group of Americans and British agreed to form an Anglo-American organization. . . . While the idea for such an organization seems to have been ‘in the air’ in Paris, the conception of the scheme was primarily that of British historian Lionel Curtis, formerly a colonial official in South Africa. For the previous nine years Curtis had been in charge of setting up a network of semi-secret organizations in the British Dominions and the United States. These bodies, called the Round Table Groups, were established by Lord Milner, a former British secretary of state for war, and his associates in 1908-1911. . . .

The Round Table Groups kept in touch by visits and correspondence, and published, beginning in 1910, the magazine The Round Table, with anonymous contributors and even an anonymous editorial board.

. . . The British branch of the institute moved rapidly to establish itself, becoming known as the Royal Institute of International Affairs, . . . [The American side was slower, but then merged with a New York group called the Council on Foreign Relations, described by Shoup and Minter:] The organization [CFR] was composed almost entirely of high ranking officers of banking, manufacturing, trading and finance companies, together with many lawyers . . . concerned primarily with the effect that the war and the treaty of peace might have on post-war business.

Many of their quotes come from a privately published account of the early history of the CFR by Whitney H. Shepardson, one of its founders.

From that point on, the CFR grew fast, with almost instant financing from America’s largest banks and response to a letter sent to “the thousand richest Americans.” It began publishing what would soon become the leading journal in international relations,

called Foreign Affairs, and extended its contacts to business, academe and government in many ways, but always including the largest banks in America as its founding and many believe, controlling constituency. The current prima donna is David Rockefeller, and one of its most famous graduates was his protege Henry Kissinger.

Urbane power clubs just laugh at “right wing conspiracy nuts” and “left wing dissidents” who criticize the CFR. But they also never actually respond to questions about how a club of less than 3,000 members can staff half of the important positions in defense and foreign policy since Harry Truman, including as members most of the Presidents and virtually all of the Secretaries of State and Defense.

My next set of quotes from this seminal work involve the intimate relationship between the CFR and the CIA. From pages 61 and 62:

In the case of the CIA, the impression of close Council-government ties is further confirmed. Since its founding in 1947, the directorship of the CIA has been in the hands of a Council leader or member more often than not. CIA director Allen W. Dulles was also a CFR director, and John A. McCone, Richard Helms, William Colby, and George Bush were all Council members. * ...

The “investigations” of the CIA have also been dominated by Council members. Five of the eight members of the Rockefeller Commission, established early in 1975 to probe the illegal domestic activities of the CIA, were Council members. Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller, a Council member and brother of CFR Chairman David Rockefeller, headed the commission, with a Council director, Douglas Dillon, serving as vice-chairman. Senator Frank Church, head of the Senate investigation of the agency, was a Council member for a number of years during the late 1960’s and early 1970’s. It is clear that a close relationship between the CFR and the CIA has existed in the past and still exists today [1977].

It still exists in 1996. As the authors of The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence (Marchetti and Marks) put it: “The influential but private Council, composed of several hundred of the country’s top political, military, business, and academic leaders has long been the CIA’s principle “constituency” in the American public. When the agency

* The current author adds that all of these men except William Colby have also been implicated in the murder of President John F. Kennedy, or its coverup. Ex-DCI Colby vanished while canoeing in 1996, presumed dead under quite peculiar circumstances.

has needed prominent citizens to front for its proprietary (cover) companies or for other special assistance, it has often turned to Council members.” [See the next section on the “privatization” of American covert operations.]

In 1996, the CFR numbers only about 2,500 members, almost all extremely wealthy males, but it has added ownership and staffing of the major media to its traditional business and government inventory, including owners and directors of all three national networks among its current membership, and noteworthy journalists or commentators like Fouad Ajami, Tom Bradley, David Brinkley, Tom Brokaw, William F. Buckley Jr., Leslie Gelb, David Gergen, Meg Greenfield, Charlayne Hunter-Gault, Marvin Kalb, Charles Krauthammer, Jim Lehrer, Irvine R. Levine, Bill Moyers, Robert McNeil, Dan Rather, Barbara Walters, George Will and Mortimer Zuckerman, among many others.

Shoup and Minter continue, in 1977:

“Under Truman, Council members filled 42 percent of the top foreign policy posts. For his successor, President Eisenhower, the figure was slightly lower — 40 percent — but the relationship of the Council to the government was probably even closer. . . . Altogether, 51 percent of the top foreign policy officials under Kennedy were members of the Council on Foreign Relations. . . . 57 percent of the Johnson officials being Council members.”

I update that similar lists of prominent officials in subsequent administrations, the foreign policy parts of Congress, and major media, are astounding.

It is safe to say that if, for example, most of our foreign policy establishment were staffed by Jews, or Mormons, or Moslems, there would be a vast outcry from the grassroots of our sort-of democracy. Something would be thought wrong if these groups of only a few million each in America dominated our foreign policy. But despite the enormous influence of this very exclusive and much smaller club, almost nothing is heard of it. It is very seldom mentioned in any of the major papers or television networks. Members appear constantly on television and in print, but they are always identified as Professor so-and-so, Secretary of State so-and-so (like Warren Christopher, a past CFR President) or simply “Henry Kissinger” or “Dan Rather” (who needs them introduced?) Books about the CFR are scarce, disappear rapidly when published, and are usually not reprinted. My version of Shoup and Minter’s book had to be hand copied by a colleague in Boston. This silence is a measure of its secret power. Only one other institution rivals that — the quiet around international banking, which is more powerful than any single secret power club like the CFR.

A window on this world was obtained when I had

the opportunity to work very closely, on the steering committee, for three years with a half million dollar public “education” project called “Prospects for Peacemaking” run by our most prestigious public affairs institute in Minnesota. We knew the major funder was our state’s largest weapons company. But we had to discover after the fact that almost all of the “experts” invited to present their views, were not just Professor so-and-so, but were quietly members of the Council on Foreign Relations, as was the Dean of the Institute in question, who also had a security clearance and a long career with the CIA. Part of their method was simply never to announce these secret connections.

Another part of their method was maintaining a private, but far more important, “executive steering committee” composed of the Dean, a public affairs officer of the weapons company, an Institute executive who (we found out later) had recently left the public relations unit of the weapons company, and an academic expert from Harvard. They had an elegant way of bringing minor decisions to our “steering committee” for discussion, after all the significant items had been decided by them. They were also most professional in deciding who were experts from the peace community, often bringing forth as local experts people we had never met, and disguising when, for example, a board director of the funding weapons company and a CIA veteran of the Phoenix program in Vietnam were chosen to be the moderators of public programs. The first was labeled a diplomat, the second, ex-Dean of a local law school. Those labels were true, just half-truths. Their darker affiliations were never presented to the audiences, nor to us, despite numerous assurances to the “steering committee” that affiliations with the war business would be disclosed, given that this was nominally a “public education” project on “Peacemaking.” They were relatively open in discussions among small groups of people, and tightly controlling of anything on electronic media. They lied a lot when audiences were large, much less when groups were small.

The Dean was a highly educated product of a banking family from the eastern “Establishment,” a man who had never even lived “where people mowed their own lawns” (his words) until he moved to our richest suburb. In his declining years, he has commented privately on the drawbacks to “government by secrecy” and how “co-opting social movements has become a science.” The results may not be so good for democracy, he eventually allowed. I could not agree more.

But he remained loyal to the end to a concept of peace which is more aptly described as the “global plantation.” To them, peace means the peace of an artfully managed corporation, where dissent is massaged by public

relations whenever possible, and critics are just dismissed if they do not conform. Fortunately, I was a volunteer and a very productive one; it is harder to dismiss volunteers from nominally public programs. But ultimately, in the bigger game of hard power politics, effective dissent is often met by covert operations, by police actions, by PsyOps, or in really troubling cases if objections from the servants are too strenuous, by “wet operations” by secret police. They were called death squads in Central America. In North America they are called “SOGs” for Special Operations Groups, or “SATs” for Special Action Teams, or other acronyms.

The Dean’s first work for the State Department, during World War II, was as a junior officer in the Office of Economic Warfare. His highest post was Ambassador to NATO. As big power people go, he is not so bad. He has written wistfully, for example, about how social systems pump money from rural areas into cities all around the world, and from the poor countries to the rich. He comments on the virtues of a “fairness revolution” in the Third World which might stop institutionalized debt from draining capital from their impoverished nations to the rich ones. But he has also supported all the killing by government from then until now. And when called upon, he supported the covert destruction of democracy at home as loyally as covert operations in Third World countries (and in some western alliance countries, like Italy and Greece) in the service of American business and foreign policy interests over 50 plus years. His brother remains an eastern banker.

The satanic cults are more brutal and obviously cruel by far; we have a (very) few of those in Minnesota as well. I have spoken personally with some of their victims, and local police retain a ritual altar under lock and key. But the impact of satanic cults, terrible though that is, is nothing compared to the bankers, businessmen and spies who inhabit the big secret power systems.

We will compare now very briefly the careers of a practicing satanist, and of a prominent member of the CFR. The satanist is Col. Michael Aquino, retired from U.S. Army psychological operations after too many scandals forced the PR people to insist that he leave despite his unusual and highly valued contributions to that branch of war making. The CFR noteworthy is Robert McNamara, Secretary of Defense during the Vietnam War, then President of the World Bank, and one of our invited experts at “Prospects for Peacemaking.” Aquino was responsible for sexual and physical abuse of at least dozens and possibly hundreds of children during his tenure as pathbreaker for the psychological operations gang. He joined PsyOps as an officer in Vietnam where he earned the Bronze Star, Air Medal and Army Commendation

Medal. Later, he became high priest of the “Temple of Set” which he founded in San Francisco in 1975, after a split from the Church of Satan run by Anton LaVey in the same city. [San Francisco Examiner, Nov. 2, 1987, pg. B-1]. In 1981, he was a reserve attache to the Defense Intelligence Agency, and a year later he was a student at the Foreign Service Institute, an elite academy sponsored by the Department of State.

By all accounts, Aquino is a brilliant man who had an exemplary career in military intelligence, where he consistently held very high security clearances, and wrote an essay titled “MindWar” which was widely cited, until his involvement with child abuse at the Presidio diminished his luster even among the very strange community of men who spend their lives exploring how to screw up other people’s minds. In “MindWar,” Col. Aquino urged the Pentagon to overwhelm enemies by mobilizing every means of domestic and foreign propaganda, including brainwashing the U.S. public. This is a recurring theme in other works of the modern PsyOps crowd, targeting the American public as a primary focus for propaganda, as part of the strategy of “Low Intensity Conflict” where keeping the home folks sedated is an important goal — no more “Vietnam syndrome” where democratic citizens object in public to national policies, no matter how lethal or misguided.

An article in the San Jose Mercury News, November 8, 1987, pg. 1A, provides this additional insight: “In 1982, Aquino performed a satanic ritual in the Westphalian castle used as an occult sanctuary by Heinrich Himmler’s S.S. elite in Nazi Germany. Aquino, in a Temple of Set newsletter, told of performing the ritual in the castle’s Hall of the Dead while on a tour of NATO military installations in Europe. But he said his interest in Nazism is academic, not adulatory. ‘I’m fascinated by the lessons to be learned from the Nazi experience, but not blinded by their excesses,’ Aquino said. ‘You had a small group of brutal and desperate men who ran a country by despotism and tyranny. They were quite bright in some ways, quite savage in others.’”

The involvement of high German Nazis in occult practices has been documented (Sklar, The Nazi’s and the Occult, 1990, and Anderson, Hitler and the Occult, 1995). How important that was remains unclear. But there certainly is a recurring fascination among the more sadistic power people with occult practices as a means to acquire special powers. Personal conversations in Minnesota with survivors of satanic cults (rare, but real) confirm that the rituals involved create a severe training ground, and testing arena, which sorts out the most ruthless and unfeeling perpetrators from those who are just dabbling in practices which would gag a maggot. Here are the words of one:

“Victims experience an extraordinary array of abuses including repeated vaginal, anal and oral rape. They may be tied down or tied to a tree. They may be cut to bleed and then have their blood smeared on them, or are forced to drink out of chalices full of blood mixed with urine. They may be forced to have sex with other children, forced to have sex with animals, forced to witness and be a part of killings of animals and/or humans, or are tortured in other ways. These tortures are aimed at control of the bodies, minds and spirits of the victims. Victims may be buried alive, or put in containers such as a box with snakes, vermin and bugs. They may have to watch others being killed by a means with which the victim’s own death is threatened. They may have to put babies in vats of boiling water or endure burns and not be allowed to make any outcry of pain.”

This person tells me that she saw one baby and one older child killed each year during the eight years she was forced to participate with this particular satanic cult, and that she herself murdered an 11-year-old boy under penalty of death if she refused. Her parents were paid by the perpetrators to allow them to take her to “special school” periodically from about age 6 to age 14. Her physician was a cult member, which provided access to drugs and the means to cover up the cause of injuries while healing.

A different informant reports (allegedly by reading internal CIA files, to which he undoubtedly has access) that the CIA sent a number of agents to infiltrate satanic cults in America at one time, but stopped because too many were joining the cults. This is very interesting, and chilling if true. With spies, you never know for sure. But consider how few CIA agents defected to the Russians and vice versa. It takes something really attractive, or powerful, to lure professional, programmed intelligence personnel into joining the other side.

Remember also that this item comes to us courtesy of a spy with a conscience. Sharing secrets with civilians is strictly taboo, but our spies are not all irredeemably evil. Rather, like most of us, they are mixed people trying to do some good, but caught up in systems whose full dimensions few comprehend.

There are recurring indications that the fundamental interest from an operational perspective in this whole area stems from the possibility that systematic torture of children can enhance development of limited, but real, psychic abilities. However useful those might be, we should all consider how demented devotion to any cause must be, including national security, if it allows experiments in sadistic abuse of children on the grounds that they might develop useful mental illnesses.

Ex?-Col. Aquino is alleged to be far down that road. The allegations which sidetracked his career involved charges that up to 60 children were abused at a day care center run by the Army at its Presidio base in San Francisco. Several children identified Col. Aquino, his wife, and a Southern Baptist minister and former civilian worker at the day care center, Gary Hambricht. At least one child also identified the Aquinos’ home, and described details of the interior including a black walled room where she alleged that she was sexually abused. Doctors confirmed that five young children at the day care center somehow contracted chlamydia, a sexually transmitted disease. Police confirmed the ritual room.

Charges were filed and dropped twice by U.S. Attorney Joseph Russoniello, and 22 families filed \$66 million in personal injury claims against the Army in connection with the case. Yet in the end, after 18 months of investigation by the FBI and the Army, nothing happened. Col. Aquino was, in fact, promoted and transferred to St. Louis where he worked as a program analyst at the Army Reserve Personnel Center, handling all personnel matters for the reserve there in 1987. When the scandal would not go away, he was eventually eased out of formal military service. But at age 50 (1995) Aquino is just entering the peak years for practicing satanists. His daughter maintains the Temple of Set in San Francisco, but his location and current activities are no longer publicly known.

Now, to Robert McNamara. In 1995 he published a book called In Retrospect: the Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam whose most quoted phrase was that: “We were wrong, terribly wrong” to continue the Vietnam war past 1966, when he now claims he knew America could not win due to the deep corruption of the regime we were supporting. Less than 7,000 Americans had died, 51,000 more would die thereafter. Only hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese had died by then, three million would be dead by war’s end, including legions uncounted in Laos and Cambodia before the killing stopped. But CFR member McNamara kept on with his clinical body counts, supported by CFR members McGeorge Bundy, Dean Rusk, Walter Rostow, George Ball and a host of other rich kids turned national security officers who managed their dreams of global power into nightmares for millions of “lesser” men and women. He has gotten a lot of press on his book, quite understandably, none of which I have seen has mentioned his CFR connection.

One can say many other very bad things about Mr. McNamara and his friends, but I want to applaud him for finally telling the truth, even if 30 years late. So many people could not believe the truth for all those years, as long as the political elite kept saying it was a just war for a

good cause. Many people continue to this day to blame those in America who objected to the war's immoral basis, or who recognized its ultimate futility. So I appreciate Mr. McNamara's candor, even so late after so many people died from the hubris of him and his preppy colleagues in power.

A different seminal point is this: Abstraction itself can be evil in affairs like this.

The secrecy of his rich men's club is a serious problem too, but abstraction of human beings is the core evil. The secrecy and the hypocrisy simply provide a medium for evil to grow in.

Brilliance is no defense, when brilliant people reduce other people to numbers on a balance sheet. When people are reduced to numbers, or mere management objectives, many, many people suffer unspeakable results. It was just the same to Adolph Eichmann (see Arendt, 1977 for details on that).

Intellect without morality characterized the scientists who developed every weapon of mass, indiscriminate destruction, from the Nazi doctors to the nuclear physicists to the architects of modern "biotechnicals," directed energy weapons, and modern mind control technologies. They were all brilliant, and they all "meant well." But they also let high salaries and first class lab facilities blind them to the moral consequences of their work. Oh sure, many "agonized" over their moral dilemmas, but they did not agonize too much or they would not have done their evil deeds. And for every "agonizer" there was an Edward Teller ("father" of the H-bomb, and Star Wars fantasies) who reveled in the joy of creating weapons capable of killing nearly everyone.

Instead, the weapons scientists perfected a kind of moral escapism exemplified by the "think tank mentality" where nothing is "rigorous science" unless it is reduced only to numbers, and reviewed only in secret meetings where only those with "security clearances" attend. Abstraction and exclusion of critics: these are evils with especially interesting consequences for scientific minds.

All these scientists work for managers from business or the military. Each field has its way to abstract away the human meaning of their work. The managers are brilliant at managing this madness. And they are equally bankrupt of the traits, like empathy and conscience, which should protect people from our darker side.

Mr. McNamara went on to lead the World Bank, which was formed after World War II to help the prostrate Third World to develop its economies so that starvation might end and prosperity become a realizable dream for all. This is a good management objective. But the Bank, like many banks, has been dominated by men who care

mainly about balances of trade, returns on investment, and similar bankers' abstractions. These are all meaningful terms, with real utility in the world. But they also reflect a sterile, abstract, system level view of economics which cannot apparently comprehend the difference between a high GNP, and a just society where people do not starve.

The result, in a hundred cases, has been huge loans to corrupt governments for massive projects: a port, a dam, an industrial complex with billions invested, development of whole industries for cash export — ignoring concomitant environmental devastation, the destruction of indigenous agriculture, or the impoverishment of entire peoples left holding that massive debt, after despots run off to exile resorts with the billions of dollars, and the port does not work or the dam is not finished. Or, they work for the industrialists, but the people can no longer feed themselves because their land has been taken for industry or buried in vast new lakes.

Of course, the World Bank has done some good, and I stress again that the greatest evils of the world are often done by people who are trying to do good. They just do not listen very carefully (if at all) to those they are maiming in the process. The Bank has a huge public relations staff which can tell you all about their successes. Some of their projects have certainly worked, and many do not actually intend to increase the gap between rich and poor. But it is the failures of banks that contribute to desperate poverty and war which occupy me now.

The difference I refer to is the difference between growing an abstract GNP which benefits a small and often corrupt elite, and growing food for starving bellies. In countless cases, World Bank loans have enabled a prosperous few to prosper more in the international cash economy (growing GNP) at the expense of an impoverished many forced off their land to provide resources for the industrialists, into cities teeming with poverty and violence.

The worst damage often comes from "structural adjustment programs" insisted on by the World Bank's sister institution, the International Monetary Fund, on the grounds that once a poor country has been buried in debt by the Bank or other creditors, it must repay. Not the despot who signed the notes, the people the despot robbed must pay. He is sitting at some resort, investing his money in banks and bonds. And the people can only repay if the new government stops feeding its hungry and converts agriculture for domestic food into agriculture for export in order to generate foreign exchange so the endless interest on vast debts can be paid. Repayment of principal is extremely rare, but that is all right with many investors since this means a permanent money pump sucking cash out of the indebted to enrich their well heeled creditors.

Now, it would be easy to conclude that I am just prejudiced against rich bankers, and perhaps that is true, but this would miss the really important point. My primary point is that I do not believe that Mr. McNamara assumed his post planning to pillage the poor of the world. I think he was most sincerely trying to do good in the world. But he comes from a way of thinking which is abstract, committed to corporate objectives (he ran Ford Motor Company before joining Kennedy's team as Secretary of Defense) and divorced from common compassion by an abstract, management view of the world which accepts suffering among the workers as a necessary price for progress. Most evil in this world comes from people trying to do good who do not listen to the cries of those they injure. Because McNamara came from that elite, rich kid, upper crust background, and because he belonged to a secret power system of other rich kids which requires keeping the secrets of their social bond, and requires praising the other kids' projects no matter how obviously disastrous (or you will be kicked out of the secret power club, which is a fate worse than death for these clowns) — because of this background and these ways of thinking, Mr. McNamara has seen his fondest dreams dashed. He drove our Army into the ground in Vietnam, and he drove the Third World into even more desperate poverty flying the World Bank. But he is a member of the elite CFR, so other people paid the price of these management mistakes.

Men like him kill millions while the petty satanists kill dozens. Men like him order whole villages, or nations bombed, while the satanists torture and murder individual children. It is likely that as many die from lightning strikes each year as are killed by ritual satanic abuse, while over a thousand die each day because of the men who start wars. Those who would end war must attend to both kinds of men, and in fact women, because they both play important roles in the genesis of war. The spies pass back and forth between them; the spies are also important. But never doubt who wields the biggest clubs, and it is not the psychopathic spooks or the sadistic perverts, disgusting though those are. It is brilliant, highly educated men, with all the advantages the best of backgrounds can buy.

It bears restating that there are many more secret power systems than I have discussed here, thousands more. And none of the truly powerful can be completely secret. For example, a private lobbying group called AIPAC (American Israel Political Action Committee) wields almost dictatorial control over U.S. foreign policy regarding Israel, using massive campaign contributions and political pressure as its primary tools abetted, you can be certain, by Israel's main intelligence agency, MOSSAD. By this means it has ensured that Israel, and to

a lesser extent Egypt, consume over one-third of America's entire foreign aid budget, preserving informal agreements originally reached during the Camp David meetings which sealed a peace between Egypt and Israel.

Another Jewish group, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), was exposed in 1993 for keeping intelligence files on over 10,000 American citizens and over 500 groups with some political activity of interest to the ADL. This is not illegal, and you can be sure that hundreds of politically active groups keep files on their perceived enemies. It is simply offered as another example of organized, but secret power. ADL was quite distressed when the news broke, as its nominal function is promoting human rights. An ADL spokesman [Melvin Salberg, national ADL chairman, in the Chicago Tribune, April 18, 1993] stressed that they did not keep files at all, they just paid their agent \$550 a week to do so, illustrating the denial of responsibility we see so often in secret systems. The CIA contracts out a lot of its dirty work, too. As is so often the case, the most zealous protectors of one group's human rights are at risk of crossing a vague line into the secret police tactics which infringe on the rights of other groups or individuals.

Organized crime is not notoriously interested in human rights. The United Nations hosted an International Conference on Organized Transnational Crime in Naples, November 21-23, 1994, and provided these estimates of global scale. Total annual profits, about \$1 trillion, about half from drug trafficking and \$500 billion from alien smuggling, arms trading and other activities. This is a vast resource, of course, which then must be laundered, which requires a lot of participation from international banks. That money is then available to purchase legitimate businesses and to corrupt politicians and political processes. One trillion dollars a year is a mighty force for corrupting politics and undercutting legitimate business. One reason you hear so little about this is because the businessmen who run organized crime learned long ago that buying media assets (or at least, getting a seat on their boards) was a valuable part of their protective cover of secrecy. Only crime, espionage, and military operations truly require secrecy. The essential milieu of these activities emerges once again. Only they truly require secrecy, and they meet secretly to make their deals.

The “Privatization” of Covert Operations by Contracting to Companies

The CIA has taken a lot of heat for murders, drug running and illegal political operations over the years, following revelations by the Church committee report, the Iran-Contra hearings, movies like “JFK” and literally hundreds of books exposing criminal aspects of CIA-run

covert operations. It may seem odd but I actually have some sympathy for them now, because dirty as their work is and guilty as they are of serious crimes, they have often been set up like a patsy to take the blame for things of similar nature which are now done outside of “the agency.”

Indeed, the darkest forces in the modern world view the CIA as little more than an academy, where people learn “tradecraft” and can be observed on assignments that test their skills, and where “boy scouts” who retain some moral boundaries can be weeded out from the deeply evil people who will do anything to satisfy appetites for money, power, or for even uglier reasons. The darkest forces use the CIA as a tool, like they use so many others.

Several years ago, under Bush and William Casey, the old guard of spooks saw the writing on the wall and began moving the dirtiest work outside of CIA. Iran-Contra was one expression of this decision. While using lots of CIA assets and connections, it was actually run by Lt. Col. Oliver North out of the White House National Security Council. He established “The Enterprise,” a network of private companies with associates like Maj. Gen. Richard Secord and foreign nationals like Albert Hakim with help from other nations like Israel in delivering U.S. weapons to an enemy nation, Iran, and running drugs from other countries into America, and soliciting donations from yet other countries, and from other interesting groups like the Medellin drug cartel, all to support a secret war in Nicaragua run by the CIA. It gets so complicated that almost no one can sort out the actors, which is precisely the purpose in covert operations.

Today, major defense companies like Rand corporation, E Systems, Wackenhut and TRW are known for various specialties in the covert world, which can be purchased any day by the CIA, or by others, so that the original sponsors can avoid that pesky oversight which so annoyed Directors Bush, and Casey *et al.* TRW maintains the largest private database on American citizens I am aware of, through their subsidiary credit reference “service,” an activity which would be quite illegal for CIA, but is simply business to TRW which is immune from Congressional oversight, weak though that always has been. The CIA then turns around and buys access to TRW’s and many other databases, thereby having functional access to files on virtually every American citizen while maintaining the pretense that they do not.

Wackenhut is a private “security” firm, which employs more people (30,000) than the CIA (25,000), and which has contracts to guard all the nation’s nuclear power plants, many prisons, and a whole lot more. They also have secret files on several million Americans, but more, they are known in the trade as a place to go for “wetwork” or other dirty operations which the CIA no longer wants to

conduct personally. Wetwork involves spilling blood. There is this view, pervasive in the secret world, that if you pay someone to kill someone else, you are not really responsible for the murder. Reciprocally, the actual murderers conclude that they are not responsible either, because the action has been initiated, funded and “authorized” by someone else. So lethal mechanisms can be created where no one in the loop actually feels responsible for the results. It is weird, but I guarantee that these things happen often in the spyworld.

Rand is among our country’s largest private think tanks, gaining billions in contracts to study all sorts of things the government would be embarrassed to disclose. So secret agencies contract the work out to equally secretive companies, and you get secrecy squared. A covert operator I know personally was once offered a job managing one of Rand’s more luxurious foreign safe houses which also plays a significant role in the Latin drug traffic. He declined, observing that everyone in the trade knows you can only leave that part of Rand “feet first” (e.g. dead) and that he wanted to really retire, thank you.

E Systems is another data collector and advanced electronics firm which has been accused by its own employees in Texas of murdering some of them to keep secret some of the ways by which the firm maintained funding (drug running, illegal weapons sales) for black projects when the marginal “peace dividend” crimped budgets following the demise of the Soviet Union. Now, I emphasize that I have just left the realm of that which I know for sure, and am passing on rumors I hear from disgruntled people in Texas who used to work for E Systems. The rumor mill makes many errors, and corporations change. Raytheon recently bought E Systems, after disclosure of some of E System’s scandals by “60 Minutes” on CBS (including the death of an innocent woman by gunfire), which will add yet another layer of corporate secrecy to the ever shifting PR game.

My point is illustrating the network side of the secret power business, the privatization of covert operations and its inexorable descent into criminal activity. Many rumors are false, but some of these rumors are undoubtedly true; I have heard hundreds from past and present military personnel, past and current covert operators, as well as from the literature which is ever more extensive. And while every weapons company mentioned is organized along the secretive, highly controlled, hierarchical lines discussed earlier, all the action is not. Much of the lethal action takes place in a nether world of shifting alliances, secret agreements, cults within clubs within agencies or corporations, and personal vendettas which I have been trying to describe.

My enemy is not a man, nor a company, nor any government agency, nor any religion!

My enemy is a **way of thinking** which leads to war. The solution is not to attack the men, companies, agencies or churches infected with this lethal way of thinking. The solution involves exposure and neutralization of evil. It involves exposure, not destruction, of the malignant thoughts which turn good men, decent companies, and honorable agencies and churches into doing evil things.

Solutions

1. Increased Transparency.

Transparency is a term which bureaucracies dislike. It means the public gets to see how decisions are made, rather than keeping decisions and the discussions which lead to them shrouded in official secrecy. Oversight is the version known to spies, and they hate oversight more than bubonic plague (in fact, they may use bubonic plague for certain dirty work, while oversight is a bane on all their schemes). At the level of organizations, nothing would help more than genuine transparency, because most of the problems of secret power systems are the criminal behaviors which require secrecy. Crimes require secrecy to succeed, legitimate operations of democratic government generally do not. In fact, this is the central difference between tyranny and democracy, as important as the use of force. Yes, war requires secrets, and classical espionage too. But more and more, spying can be better done through “open sources,” and I am trying to put a muzzle on war.

Now transparency in the extreme presents some problems familiar to governments everywhere. First, there is privacy. Perfect transparency means no privacy, at least in public processes. That is not always good, especially in sensitive matters of personnel hiring, firing or discipline where baseless allegations are common. Second, true transparency costs money, because no one can get the data in files without some active help from the bureaucrats. Or letting citizens thumb through the files themselves, which is even scarier to seasoned bureaucrats. So balance is necessary as in every area of life.

Good-government types in Minnesota have insisted upon “open meeting laws” to accomplish this goal of transparency with substantial success, so there are workable examples at the local level. Actual campaign finance reform would be another breakthrough, but that is routinely suppressed by the national Congress and the financial powers behind those thrones, and will not likely change soon short of a revolution. A half-step is more thorough enforcement of campaign reporting laws, and

more diligent attention to the millions of dollars spent outside of the reported process to promote or retard political candidates. These solutions focus on general government decision-making, but they have parallels in every area directly related to war, most of which are far more secretive (e.g., non-transparent) than the process of election to office.

No single organizational reform would have more general healing effect on the crimes of secret power systems than demanding more transparency. For a full-dress review on how hard it will be to get them to stop stealing from the general public, try asking the Federal Reserve Banks to allow an independent audit of their operations which control America’s money supply.* Secret power systems love their secrecy, because it is essential to their wealth or power or both, and all too often to the commission of outright crimes. Do not buy their excuses for it.

2. Exposure of the dark side of secret organizations, so that both outsiders and insiders can see the deliberately hidden totality.

How many Americans know how the nation’s money supply is managed? Very few. The private financial interests who do the managing, at enormous profit to themselves, want it to stay that way forever. Yet those who manage the money supply can arrange economic prosperity or great depressions, can start or end wars, can invest in reconstruction or deconstruction, can make or break presidents, and have more power over the economy than any public official.

Why doesn’t the New York Times, the Washington Post, CBS, NBC, ABC etc. run educational exposes on this amazing financial scandal? Every year, billions of dollars go to private bankers, for managing the money which our Constitution clearly demands be managed by the Congress only! Why don’t they expose this scandal? Because the

* The Federal Reserve Bank System is not run by the Congress, which critics claim is required by the Constitution, but by private bankers empowered by legislative skull-duggery done mostly in secret near midnight on Dec. 23rd, 1913. For 82 years they refused all Congressional attempts at an independent audit. In 1996 they finally allowed the General Accounting Office to conduct a partial audit of their operations. It makes very interesting reading. The perks alone are worth a long look. Taxpayers pay every cent of these extravagant salaries and benefits, plus a 6% dividend to every member bank through interest on the public debts and currency, in a process kept invisible by the Fed’s control of the books and the cash.

major media are owned by the same interests which own the Federal Reserve Banks, which populate clubs like the Council on Foreign Relations, which staff the highest levels of our government, and which fund both Republicans and Democrats and anyone else who might establish enough independent political base to actually run for the highest offices in our semi-pseudo-sort-of-damn-sick-democracy.

What is true for the financial management of our nation is also true in degrees for agencies like the CIA, FBI and other critical intelligence and law enforcement functions. The Department of Justice (DoJ) supposed to oversee most of these, is fatally compromised (if, indeed, justice is considered a real purpose of this department anymore -- increasingly doubted by serious people). William Safire, conservative columnist for the New York Times calls it the Department of Injustice due to its habit of suppressing evidence of government crimes. As noted earlier, I personally watched DoJ lawyers tell a judge to excuse a tort which the CIA admitted committing, because talking about illegal CIA operations against US citizens might damage "national security." Judges are no more immune to the thrills of climbing the power ladder than other lawyers, so he agreed. Justice has nothing to do with decisions like these.

Then there is the Pentagon, which runs so many black programs and black budgets (\$36 billion in 1989), immune from Congressional oversight, that it acts like a nation unto itself. It certainly manages resources greater than many nations on earth today, not one penny of which it produces itself unless one counts the secret drug running and illegal weapons sales as production of wealth.

Now, I have been very hard on my own country for several reasons. But it should be recognized that the covert and often illegal flows of weapons, cash and sometimes drugs, which enable the 45 wars listed in Table 1 flow through secret power systems in nearly every rich country on Earth. One of the "cleanest" is Switzerland, whose bankers are renowned for their "discretion." Intelligence agencies worldwide use Swiss banks for stashing drug money and funding secret weapons flows; it is as conveniently discrete for them as for deposed dictators.

* At least 1,600, according to Linda Hunt, 1991, and the U.S. government (Advisory Committee on Human Radiation Experiments, 1995). It turns out that some of the Nazi doctors got involved in highly classified and illegal research on people as part of the CIA's MKULTRA mind control research programs. The advisory committee managed to pry some details out of the CIA about Operation "Paperclip," the largest Nazi transfer program.

Another secret power network is clandestine fascism. Did you know that after World War II the CIA brought over large numbers of Nazi scientists for their technical knowledge?* We gave them security clearances, big salaries and generous pensions, and some worked at our proudest Universities. Did you know we preserved the entire spy network of S.S. General Richard Gehlen, in order to use it against the Russians, and made him a four star American General to boot? Did you know we imported large parts of the Japanese biological weapons program (transferred records, pathogens and some of the personnel to Fort Detrick, Maryland), Unit 731 referred to in the last chapter? Do you have a clue how making all these dedicated fascists secret members of our national security core has perverted the fundamental national values of freedom, democracy, and general integrity of open government, which America stood for for so long? Which a million Americans died for?

The vast majority of Americans do not know about any of these critical things, because they have been kept secret by the fascists so empowered, and by their friends in high places. Some of those powerful friends helped Herr Hitler rise to power 60 years ago. Clandestine fascism is a powerful secret power system, and it is extremely dangerous to notions like democracy and rule by citizens.

But I digress again into description of problems which feed into the vortex of war. The solution is exposure of transgressions like those I describe above. Some people have no conscience, and they must be dealt with individually as they are important to war, just as they make the most intractable criminals. But many people involved in these crimes are not heartless murderers. Some even feel guilty about it already, others are numbed by their information control systems. They are constrained by the systems of secrecy which train, maintain and ultimately restrain them if they object to the dark side of their work. Others are on the fast track to money and power, and know that rocking the boat is not how one gets ahead. They have been fed every rationalization creative minds can conceive, to believe that some bogus "national interest" really requires the illegal and immoral acts which inject fascism into our national security heart, or which pump more money than Congress appropriates to the Pentagon and CIA, or more money than anyone knows into the pockets of the private bankers who manage our money supply, etc.

Many people involved in these crimes know they are doing wrong. But they feel trapped. And for every one who knows and feels guilty now, but does not act, there are several others who just are not smart enough to know who is actually managing the gang they work for, or what goals it actually serves. They just do what they are told and let others worry about what it all means. Yet they are not

intrinsically evil people, and they will respond in positive ways if you can help them see the light.

The solution is exposure, because decent people have a difficult time supporting such practices when they are exposed, a very difficult time. The decent people always outnumber the psychopathic criminals and the folks so addicted to money or power they will do anything to acquire it. Exposure — but also, remember, whistle blowers can die young. Techniques to suppress them without bloodshed are also well developed. Primary exposure of serious criminality may be dangerous, so effective exposure requires retransmission, amplification, followup. Effective exposure requires support crews on the outside who will pass the message on. A major headache for the secret keepers in our culture has been the technologies which enable retransmission of information, like photocopy machines and personal computers. So now, it is less effective or even counterproductive to kill primary sources once the secret is out to a certain degree.

What I am saying in simple English is, pass this and other secret information on if you really want our problems solved. Help us expose the dark side of secret power organizations. And keep an eye with some compassion out for whistle blowers, because they are doing a vital service to the world, but their work has certain difficult, and sometimes dangerous consequences.

3. Direct assault on the false notion that good ends can be accomplished by evil means.

The means chosen determine the ends achieved.

The spy world teaches the opposite: “Do whatever it takes to get the job done.” “The end justifies the means,” they say, but they are tragically wrong. No,

The means chosen determine the ends achieved.

The common belief that one can serve national interest by murdering people in covert wars far away — or here at home — is an illusion. Every death generates a dozen new enemies, and every coup creates a nation which will blame every problem for 50 years on the hated colonial power. The spy world is populated by people who not only believe that the ends justify the means, they believe it religiously, and they teach each other and indoctrinate the young into this upside-down, malignant belief system. They say “we must fight fire with fire.” What non-sense. Lies are better fought with truth, hatred with love, and fires are better fought with water far more often than the rare exception.

There are rare exceptions. Some forest fires can be fought by firebreaks and backfires, and some murderers

can only be stopped by killing them. Some warmongers will not yield until they, and many of their followers, are slaughtered. I am keenly aware of these exceptions. But they are very, very rare, far rarer than the proponents of war and the lovers of deception, and those who need enemies, maintain. Most of the time, you are far better off fighting fire with water, than running around starting more fires. You are always better off fighting lies with truth.

Violence is the last resort of the incompetent. Evil means almost always lead to ugly results. This, among other reasons, is why most revolutions against unspeakable corruption end up changing the political faces but doing little to change the immoral system. When you fight fire with fire, you necessarily become more like the evil you claim to oppose. When you fight lies with more clever lies, you necessarily damage the truth which you claim to serve. Do not buy this bullshit! There are better ways to peace and genuine national security than preparing for war eternally and waging it whenever some politician loses popularity.

4. A comprehensive campaign to promote mental health.

Mental illness is rampant in the secret world, and much of its dysfunction is directly related to the illnesses among its practitioners and practices. The practice of covert methods actually induces mental illness. There are significant differences between spies, the cults, and secret power systems in this respect.

I will focus on spies and cults now, because the secret power systems include such a very wide range of groups, from erudite elites like the CFR to organized thugs like the Mafia, to bankers in Zurich. To that whole melange, I will just observe that people who are addicted to money and power are far more damaging to the world than people addicted to any drug.

Each group includes a wide range of people, of course, and they do not all fit the stereotypes which I will present here. But the stereotypes capture real differences of degree. For example, among the spies one finds the greatest concentration of people who need enemies. They need enemies, not merely to justify their salaries, but to maintain their mental image of heroic warriors doing the dirty work they feel is necessary to maintain civilization, or at least to serve some icon like “national interests.” Since the CIA actively recruits psychopathic personalities, and since methods of constant deception and betrayal which they teach induce further mental illness, and since personnel forever after are surrounded by similar thinking and discouraged from honest discourse with normal people, a seriously, severely dysfunctional culture results.

In cults one finds two very different stereotypes. Followers are unusually vulnerable to manipulation, and are most often recruited during vulnerable moments in life. The leaders, by contrast, are unusually adept at manipulation, bright and highly skilled at a trade which some study and others learn by simple trial and error. “True Believers” and charismatic leaders are a potent combination which can either build great churches or equally great disasters depending on how sane the leadership is (Hoffer, 1951).

It is important to remember that cults may recruit highly professional and accomplished followers, not just losers. The Aum Shinri Kyo cult in Japan, notorious for distributing sarin nerve gas among the subways (and stockpiling all sorts of other armaments, both exotic and conventional) provides a timely example, but there are many others from America which could be cited, like the Scientologists, the Lyndon LaRouche group, and the ever interesting Moonies who recently purchased an entire University and created Washington’s second newspaper, the Times, to serve their propaganda goals.

Those who develop exotic weapons — chemical, biological, nuclear and the mind control techniques which cults and spies specialize in — are deeply disturbed people, but they do not always feel disturbed. I have known some personally for many years, and have observed many more. They will deny the psychological or spiritual defects which enable them to work on weapons of mass destruction. They will deflect all responsibility to the institutions which hire them, and they are proud of the first class laboratories in which they work. They feel they earn the large salaries they enjoy when doing this in government “service.” They do not feel responsible for the consequences of their work, and with rare exception they will not care for any victims which result. That is all for others to worry about. To them, it is pure science which they serve, or “the welfare of the nation.” It just happens that the only people with enough money to pay them for it are the people who want exotic weapons.

They seldom have to exercise their prodigious capacity for denial, because they work in fenced enclosures with security all about. People with significant moral concerns are not allowed in, and discussion outside the fence — even among family — is strictly forbidden. I have often been told of the mental transformation which occurs when they pass the security gate. In fact, I understand this intimately, for such mental transformations are necessary in the work which I do too. Such stories were told by the Nazi doctors at Nuremberg. In clinical psychiatry it is called schizophrenia, but in service to the state it is called patriotism, and the split personality is

induced by the rules of the systems which employ men to do evil. Do not hit your wife or child, that would be a crime, but planning the violent death of millions is your job.

Moral education may help, but education certainly provides no immunity to rationalizations or to cult recruitment. One observer (Sheryl WuDunn, NY Times, May 22, 1995) suggested that Japanese culture today is especially vulnerable to cults precisely because of their much-applauded educational system, which emphasizes rote memorization and exhaustive commitment to such an extent that many graduates emerge with great technical skills, but stunted personalities and starved emotional lives. All cults recognize the lonely as easy prey. Cults recognize the power of love, and of substitute families, over people who have none, or are extremely alienated.

Whether excessively technical education promotes the kinds of emotional and personal dysfunction which generates spies and cultists may be debated. One can be absolutely certain that dysfunctional families tend to yield injured children, most of whom grow up. The loving family, or true love in other contexts, is the most powerful antidote I know for the bitter, deprived kinds of thinking which yield people who need enemies, and people who live by parasitizing others, and people whose lives are devoted to studying how to kill and destroy.

We must deal with all our children, whole or harmed, as we encounter them, as educators, counselors or citizens of a democracy. Society could do far more, should it choose to, to elevate mental health as a goal with pervasive and positive consequences. Since mental illness is such a large part of secret power systems, and since they play such an important role in generating war, I encourage more attention to this area as a serious part of the whole work of ending war before it ends the current civilization.

5. **Recognize that Excessive Abstraction is Evil in Secret or Public Power Systems, as exemplified by men like Robert McNamara, and**

6. **Learn how to Spot the Spies and Neutralize Them Gently.**

This means, among other things, recognizing that most spies are basically mentally ill, incapable of productive work at this time, and often were leading a life of lies long before they found a bureaucracy which would pay them to commit crimes. Trying to kill this beast merely makes things worse, because it validates the sick, paranoid worldview within. Believe me, they already

know that polite society does not like their sick, sadistic ways. So learn to spot and neutralize this madness, by healing measures, do not try to be even more effectively evil by wiping it out using its methods.

7. Promote self sufficiency as an adjunct to encouraging mental health, and as a vaccine against the recruiting methods of cults and Secret Power Systems.

Self sufficiency is anathema to parasitic systems. Encourage self sufficiency, and you will deprive them of the vulnerable people whom they try to use and abuse.

8. Take satanic cults seriously. But do not focus on them so much that you forget the really big and far more important secret power clubs.

And neutralize them (satanic cults) ever so carefully, without killing whenever possible, but also with a keen appreciation of their exotic capabilities and their many dangerous connections to the highest levels of political and economic power.

The secret power clubs are better reformed than neutralized, because of the many talents and constructive capabilities which they attract. Never forget that all these groups attract decent individuals who do not become profoundly evil overnight. But those groups which become mere predatory clubs should be disbanded in some way, because predators and parasites are a danger to all.

The Masons disbanded P2, the Mafia affiliated assassination cell which afflicted Italy for so many years, and there are other examples through history of polite society disbanding groups it had allowed to grow in secret, or even established out of excess fear and misplaced trust.

Of course, “disbanding” evil groups is only a partial measure, but believe me, trying to exterminate them tends to lead to police-states empowered for the project. No matter how good you are at detecting and neutralizing evil, never doubt that it will rise again. Like the sun and the rain and the weeds on a farm, evil is part of the human condition. It can only be managed, never banished.

Good Luck!!

“If you desire peace, prepare for war.” — Vegetius, a Roman General

“You cannot simultaneously prevent war, and prepare for war.”

— Albert Einstein

Weapons Companies, Military Bureaucracy, Propaganda and Warmongers

Greed, Careerism and Organized Lying play important roles in building or sustaining public support for war. Greed affects companies, careerism the soldiers, and propaganda affects all. The role of warmongers is harder to state simply. There are professional warmongers, and mindless warmongers, each significant in different ways.

The last 10 chapters of Part II will be shorter than the first 10, because there is so much overlap among the many causes of war. This partly reflects mere interests of the author, and the degree to which I have accessed academic literature which can be cited versus the simple observations of 20 years' study of how wars start. Many of these last 10 chapters will deal with psychological factors bearing on why people choose to support war, as opposed to physical or political reasons which are discussed in literature more. Whether the factors which occupy conventional scholars are more important, or the forces which animate individual people to wage and support the waging of war, is a question I cannot answer. They are both important, but I will spend less time on psychology.

There are such things as warmongers who love and promote war. Those who would end war must understand, confront, and defeat them in some way, or we will see war until our skill at creating weapons ends human civilization. Wars are not mistakes, usually; they are not accidents. Wars are caused by people who want the wars to occur. Propaganda is a basic tool for the warmongers who promote war, for the careerists who depend on war, and for businesses which profit from war, almost all of whom will deny financial or personal interest in perpetuating the war system, but almost all of whom act otherwise.

The companies that thrive on war clothe their business in benign, patriotic rhetoric developed by their public relations divisions. They claim that they are not responsible for national policies, but merely service the contract needs of governments, ignoring always the powerful role which large firms play in governments,

whether democratic or totalitarian. Such companies lie adroitly, and routinely.

Recognizing a need for organized force until reason prevails in human affairs, I too desire well equipped national armed forces. I want our soldiers well armed, and as a fighting man committed to protecting the people and my community in time of peril, I want good equipment for myself. So I cannot hypocritically condemn the entire institution of armaments companies. Nor do I condemn fighting men categorically, or institutions like the Army as a whole. What I can and must do is lay out the principal differences between responsible preparations for war, and the irresponsible kind to which I object.

First, the role of weapons companies in distorting national policies to favor their business is insidious, strong, and will ultimately result in the destruction of the nation if not brought back into proper balance. President Eisenhower warned of the unwarranted aggregation of power by a “military industrial complex” which emerged after World War II. His warnings were not heeded, and the nation is thereby in danger.

Second, there is a fundamental difference between defense of the nation against outside attack, and adventuring around the world to control the resources or politics of other countries. There are less clear, but equally important differences between weapons which are essentially defensive, and those which are offensive. In each case, actual national defense poses little provocation to the outside world, which responds to the same forces of human nature that affect us all. “Peace through strength” is an easily misused simplification. Peace through defensive strength can endure; it does not create its own enemies. Peace through terrorizing other nations by a capability to destroy them from afar, generates and empowers its analog elsewhere. We call peace through strength advocates elsewhere, “terrorists,” but in their hearts they are just like the Pentagon.

In "The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War," Stephen Van Evera (1984) maintains that a general preference for offensive weapons and tactics was instrumental to the genesis of that war, and has dangerous parallels with conditions today. There is little doubt that American culture prefers offensive operations to defense. But peace through offensive strength really means peace only for the strong, and peace for them only so long as they can outrun the inevitable response among terrorized peoples to protect their own national "interests."

Third, national survival at the close of the twentieth century is threatened as much by disintegration of the living systems of the earth, as by national armies or by the cloud of disorganized terrorists lashing out lethally from their own desperation. It is true that it would be challenging for companies made soft by decades of cost-plus contracts (leading to front-line B2 bombers which cost \$2.2 billion per copy) to convert their expertise to solving other threats to national and international security. But it is not true that this could not be done, if governments were as generous in funding life-sustaining activities as they have been for life-destroying activities. Inertia created by heavy influence of the weapons companies on the political process is a serious problem. It deserves as little respect as the buggy-whip makers' attempts to stop the automobile when its time came.

When people recognize the genuine and terrible threats to the living system of the earth, upon which all depend from the richest banker or weapons maker to the poorest peasant, they will see that there is abundant work to be done which presents as many technical challenges as guiding missiles to within yards of their targets thousands of miles away.

Business is business, and since its primary motivation is money, it will respond if and when the money tree rewards different products.

Much of the money made from war is not made by the armorers, but by the banks which finance war and are deeply involved in the clandestine international weapons trade as well. Some critics have overdone their condemnation of international bankers. But far more people have simply ignored the bankers, which is extremely fine with the financial warmongers who prefer to be ignored as they go about their lethal work.

The weapons trade is so vast it has generated libraries of literature, both critical and favorable, although the 100-to-1000 fold difference in money available to each view ensures that over 90% of the literature is favorable to the weapons makers. Rather than review this vast literature I will simply cite and very briefly characterize six good sources which span a political spectrum from roughly far-right to center-left. National Defense is the

journal of the American Defense Preparedness Association, presenting the views of weapons companies, which is roughly "more weapons are better under all circumstances." Jane's Defense Weekly, published in Britain, is a journal of great reputation, the reference of record for international armaments, which presents a similar view but from a broader editorial perspective. Armed Forces Journal International is published by former American soldiers for a mostly professional military readership, but it recognizes that what is good for business is not always good for the soldier in the field, and that defense of America does not always mean attacking others elsewhere. The Defense Monitor is published by the "Center for Defense Information" which was founded and largely staffed by retired Admirals and other senior officers of the U.S. military who recognized the overwhelming propaganda effect of the American weapons industry on national policy, and resolved to present a more balanced view, but who also use their experience to lend credibility to more moderate estimates of appropriate military expenditures and doctrine. The Arms Sales Monitor is published by the "Federation of American Scientists" who are also quite concerned about "credibility" and "patriotism" but are yet more diverse in their experience and more critical of excess military spending. Their board includes many Nobel laureates, and they watch weapons sales and research around the world in as many countries as they can. Finally, one of the very best of the lot is World Military and Social Expenditures, edited by Ruth Leger Sivard who worked as chief of the economics division of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and as an executive for Dunn and Bradstreet. She specifically contrasts these two categories of spending in every country of the world where data is available. None of these six references could reasonably be characterized as a really leftist, scathing critique of American defense spending, but those are published mostly by very small groups, while these can be found in good libraries or by using the contact information in my bibliography.

To summarize the obvious point; weapons companies and the journals they produce generally support war, which increases the probability of war by some increment even though they always say this is to prevent war. Propaganda may be used by anyone, but since resources available to publish propaganda are so overwhelmingly in favor of arms merchants over peace activists, the bulk of propaganda available to the general public also increases $p(\text{War})$.

Then there are the people who fear that the only career in which they can succeed is the career of professional arms. Warriors are not my problem, soldier-

bureaucrats are. I have great respect for people who will risk their lives in defense of their community. I have very little respect for those who endanger the innocent trying to make a career of preparing for war. There is a big difference between general officers and lowly troops in this regard, which I will get to after an historical note.

America's founding fathers wrote into the Constitution a clause forbidding appropriations for an Army exceeding two years (Article 1, Section 8: "The congress shall have power, . . . To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years:"). The fundamental reason for this was their study of how previous empires had fallen, especially that of Rome. They concluded, I think rightly, that the establishment of a permanent, professional and highly resourced military was central to this decline. A Praetorian Guard developed, which surrounded and insulated the Roman Senate from other sources of information and power. It was all done in the name of the empire, of course. But it led to a political leadership denied free access to the people who ultimately form the strength of any nation. One thing led to another, until the empire rotted from within and eventually was destroyed by forces from without. America is all too close to that condition today.

Now, everyone who has served with armies knows that few people are so powerless as the troops who serve on the front lines. Yes, they may vote, and yes, every person matters some. But the peace community makes a big mistake if it blames the ordinary soldier for war. Once soldiers are in their units, they are but tools whose fate is determined by others. Once there, their only choice is either to support the team they have joined and depend on, or to refuse to fight and face jail in peacetime, or death at the hands of their own country during time of war.

Generals are different. They have extraordinary power. Thousands of highly trained troops will leap to obey their slightest whim, with millions of dollars in physical and cash resources at their disposal. Generals have lots of power. But the only battle the vast majority of modern Generals fight is the battle of budgets, which they wage daily. And win they must to secure any further career advancement.

Selection up the ranks of officers is severe at every level, from lieutenant to captain to major to colonel; at almost every step more people are denied advancement than granted promotion. Many operational, technical and leadership skills are assessed, but at every level the property assessed every time is loyalty to the institution. Just like the organized crime cartels, the secret power clubs, the cults satanic or otherwise, loyalty to the firm is the most important criterion of all.

The people of America have, in theory, ultimate control over military budgets, policy and so forth. But, just as in any corporation where stockholders are distant but management is close, an individual officer's career is almost completely dependent on the opinions of that officer's superiors. So any officer who wishes to rise within the ranks must be more concerned with the attitudes and culture of his individual service, rather than with the Constitution or the people he or she is sworn to protect and defend.

In America's military, the step to general officer is the most severe step of all. No one makes it who is not "political" as well as highly skilled in staff and operational matters, and totally devoted to the organization. Many times I have heard it said that General so-and-so is more loyal to Strategic Air Command than to the U.S. government, or that Col. so-and-so would do anything for the Marine Corps, but only some things for the nation which built and empowers the Marines.

So general officers in America's modern, professional military are extremely devoted to their services for which their main job is securing money from the Congress. This requires regular public relations, and occasional illegal operations which have been sanctioned far too long by the other arm of America's defense, the intelligence services. Like running drugs, or selling weapons to our enemies, or "silencing" officers and men who discover the illegal deeds and object, or bribing political figures, or compromising them in more grotesque ways, and other activities which would gag a maggot. But maggots do not become general officers, only men and a very few women who have been sifted finely for a unique degree of devotion to a tightly bound community, all of whom are quite dependent on the system which they serve.

The Center for Defense Information was founded by retired admirals and senior officers from other services who decided enough was enough and formed the best independent source of military information available in America today. They can tell you a lot about the response from their peers, which is summarized by the word "traitor." Not, traitors to America, traitors to the budget objectives of a modern Praetorian guard.

This is a difficult rat's nest to untangle. I have no doubt offended legions of officers who believe the noble, and true, commitments to duty, honor and country to which they are all exposed in the early years, but who are not so "political" that the darker secrets of budget battling have been shared with them. Being an officer in an empire in decay is a very demanding and difficult job. The best I can do is to say to them all:

"You are right, the nation is in danger, and your loyal services are desperately needed today. But the nature

of the enemy has been confused, and he is not exclusively foreign terrorists or domestic peace activists or other 'dissidents.' We are entering a period of general war, or at least, of dozens of dangerous external wars with internal consequences. Be advised that the center of our political process has been deeply compromised. The murder of President and Commander in Chief John Kennedy was an important but by no means isolated event. Corruption is endemic, and national interest is sold every day in the Congress and elsewhere. So you must be prepared, as always, but you must also be wiser and more independent of thought than in the past. Always remember the Constitution you are sworn to protect, and the people at home you are supposed to be defending, when you make important decisions in this domain. And remember there are forces at work in Washington which are utterly indifferent or even hostile to the principles of freedom and justice on which America was founded."

Regarding the larger arena of world politics, democracies should never forget the terrible price paid by installing military dictatorships as an answer to world communism. People who love freedom should recognize that freedom is inevitably endangered by secret police and military governments, the principles are strictly incompatible. Those who love freedom should learn more about the virtues of military service, without forgetting that those who serve for life in a military system are among the least free people anywhere. It is not easy to be an officer, and to simultaneously embrace the principles of open discourse and dissent which are essential to actual democratic process.

Now to warmongers, my least favorite group of people. A word has been said already about the bankers who play such a prominent role in international violence. Let that word be enough; they are notoriously impatient with exposure and have long used evil means to silence critics. Just do not forget them, because they are very powerful indeed, and peace is not their profession. Do not forget that exposure is the main defense for polite society also, because bankers have an extraordinary need to retain a public image of eminent respectability.

There are other species of professional warmongers: in the weapons companies, in senior ranks of the militaries, in the intelligence "services," in the media, in academe and in every area of life which lives on and depends upon the institution of war. The academic warmongers irritate me most, because they violate our canon of ethics so egregiously. They hide in "think tanks" doing secret studies, immune from informed review, which pretend that sterile "objectivity" (value free) is actual quality thought. Some among them decided that 60 million American casualties was an acceptable loss,

should the Reagan Administration decide on a limited nuclear war with the Soviet Union. The ultimate source of this advice was probably the infamous Rand corporation, but even university presidents with security clearances were not allowed to know the actual authors.

One cannot question the accuracy of anonymous calculations, all tip-top secret of course, so Rand can make the most amazing errors without fear of contradiction by real scientists who compare results. One does not have to be a scientist to recognize that something is grossly twisted in calculations which reduce 60 million Americans to an abstraction called "acceptable casualties" (not counting casualties elsewhere, of course, which are seldom counted in studies conducted by Rand and their kind).

One can speculate on the masculinity of armchair academic warriors who study war so secretly. They seem always to urge more of it, like vultures picking over a skinny carcass. Speculation is not scientific, of course, but the ones we can see, the Henry Kissingers and Edward Tellers of the weapons and think tank world, have never seemed very masculine to me. Rather they are stunted types, technonerd, little men whose need to prove their manhood was extreme. I indulge in this rudeness because stunted personalities have a lot to do with war. More on that in the chapters on Dominance (25), Adventure, Honor (26), Paranoia, and other mental problems pertaining to war (27).

There are professional warmongers in many areas of life, in every institution which depends for its financial support on the institution of war. But there is another species of warmonger which is also important, and quite different. These are the mindless warmongers who are manipulated daily by those who at least know what they are doing.

Bubba sits on his couch, watching the aptly named boob tube, and curses some foreign country just like he curses the designated bad guy on professional wrestling. It is all entertainment to Bubba. But Bubba is important because Bubba's vote counts as much as anyone's, and the professional propagandists are adept at bending Bubba's mind. Bubba's money matters too, as much as dollars from scholars, and the professionals want both minds and money. In fact, they want Bubba's male children if possible (if they score a bit higher on tests than Bubba does). They will take the female children if they volunteer, but the pros know that Bubba's boys are easier to turn into killers without remorse than the girl kids.

Then there are the innocent investors. My dear Mother, herself retired from government service and who would not hurt a fly, needs to manage her money carefully as do millions of retired Moms and Dads today. She asks her broker to get the best return on investment (ROI) he

can for her life's savings, and not to bother her with details she is ill equipped to understand. Well, that is his business! So he scours the charts of abstractions, and finds the best returns on investment among weapons companies and other companies whose business is harder to discern from their cryptic names. As long as his corporate headquarters rates the firm as low risk, there is where the money will go. There is a lot of profit for those who manufacture death for a living. So life-enhancing companies are starved in favor of firms which put high quarterly profits at the center of their universe.

The weapons companies invest a "prudent" amount of their capital in public relations and private bribes to appropriate political entities, and the circle is complete. It is not necessary for most of the actors in this scenario to know what their money is being used for. ROI's, bond ratings, and similar abstractions are quite sufficient (along with division of labor: the moms provide the money, the brokers analysis, the companies profits and warmongers weapons, with just enough secrecy to keep the system flowing without disturbing the home folks) to guarantee death and destruction somewhere else in the world.

The honored Veteran of previous wars whose defining moments in life were in service to one "just cause" or another, curses the critics of the next war from his post at a veterans bar. Then he passes the hat to some other vets who are organizing support for those soon to be maimed by the latest adventure. He can be another warmonger, if he chooses. Or he may work for peace, if he cares about the fate of soldiers. Some do both, torn by ancient dilemmas.

I have met many of both kinds. I urge veterans who read this to skip to the chapter on "Being a Warrior" if they doubt that I understand the sacrifices made by soldiers, or if they doubt that I agree that some things are worth dying for, like freedom or national integrity when the nation is in danger. When the nation is in genuine danger.

That is no excuse for aging veterans inflicting new wounds on the young. Some wars may be necessary, but at least half of wars should never have been fought. The innocents sacrificed include our own young who may die in combat, and the faceless children of far off lands who are killed in modern war while a lapdog press shows stirring footage of weapons displays, but avoids disturbing images of the people whom the weapons hit.

Bubba may also be a kindly "Christian Patriot" reading a Bible provided free of charge by another species of warmonger who interprets it for our wizard, proclaiming that God himself has chosen to end the human experiment in a war called Armageddon, pretty soon. Some of these "Bibles" include passages which say the blacks were chosen to be slaves for whites (I read this, to

be very specific, in a Bible provided by a KKK spokesman at a Christian Patriot's Defense League Freedom Festival, in 1979) or that Jews are the spawn of Satan (my benefactor apparently forgot that Jesus was himself a Jew).

There is an impressive industry these days in bogus religious artifacts which urge Christians to overlook the central message of Jesus, and of every other spiritual leader whose own words I have been able to find and contemplate. How these folks can turn the Prince of Peace into Chief Architect of Mass Death is beyond me, but they do it by the millions during the close of our twentieth century.

It should be obvious that there are counterparts to Bubba and my Mom, and to honored veterans, in every nation on earth today, including the 30 - 35 at war at this time. There are zealots almost everywhere, as well, among all Christian, Jewish and Muslim sects, who find ways to turn words of love and wisdom into formulae for mass murder — not to forget Hindu enthusiasts urging death among minorities in India today. There are weapons companies, professional military men, bureaucracies, propagandists and banks around the world as well. All must chose whether to support war or peace, death or life, now and tomorrow.

As long as I have studied war, still I am amazed by how much of the support for war comes from good people who simply do not find out, or do not have the capacity to understand the full implications of what they do (e.g. Bubba). Hannah Arendt got it right: an enormous amount of the evil in the world is "banal." It is not calculated evil, it is bureaucracy and people simply doing what they are told to do, during difficult times. It is habits, overdone.

Well, you get what you pay for, and we are going to get that Third World War, if we do not wise up a little and set things right.

Solutions

1. Provide public funds for life-sustaining commercial activities.

Where the money grows, companies go. To change this costs money. Where to find that is covered in item 3 since many solutions to this problem cost money. For now, just remember that nothing is more expensive than the Third World War. It would help to find better things for weapons companies to manufacture.

2. Provide decent career options for the dedicated people who currently serve in our nation's and other nations' armed forces — to do something else.

Do not get me wrong, I think we need a professional military. A very professional military. We just need a smaller one than America has today. Remember, until they achieve high rank (a tiny fraction of those who serve in armed forces) soldiers have nearly zero influence on national policies, but can very easily be excluded from advancement if they utter a peep of concern over the wisdom of Pentagon policies. It is not fair to blame folks so powerless for the crimes, or misguided actions, of those who do have power. At the same time, it is a mistake to cultivate millions of people who feel they have no viable career options other than serving military objectives. In aggregate, they provide a powerful momentum for the war system, which requires periodic wars to maintain its budgets and to blood its armies (without which no one would really know who is good in combat versus who just marches pretty or shoots straight).

3. Provide decent career options for the much larger class of people who are unemployed.

Some people join military service simply because it is the best job option available. Providing better alternatives for all would reduce those parts of p(War) attributable to military careerism and propaganda, but now we are talking really significant sums of money. So where to find it and how to spend it requires some numerical examples.

The official unemployment rate in America as I write is about 6 percent, on a labor pool of about 110 million people, yielding an official estimate of 6.6 million unemployed. This is a gross undercount, since it does not include millions more that labor statisticians call “discouraged” and “underemployed,” so I will expand that number to 10 million who would choose decent work if that were available.

10 million folks at 2,000 hours per year at \$10 per hour is \$200 billion. \$10 per hour is twice the current minimum wage, but I would advocate something like that in real costs per employee, because I would encourage including health care for these people, and discourage wages too low to raise healthy families. So, with deductions for health care, social security, etc., a net wage of \$7-8.00 per hour plus benefits would still require \$200 billion per year to finance hiring 10 million now semi-desperate people. If you wanted to be more frugal, 5 million jobs at \$5 per hour equals \$50 billion start up costs.

Unless we decided to pay them to nap or pick their noses, these people will require some other funds to find something to work on, or work with, or at least for places to work in. This is the traditional chore for management.

So I will arbitrarily offer \$50 billion, per year, additionally required for contracts with American businesses to find something useful for these people to do. Almost anything would be better than the nothing they have to do now, but get into trouble or populate our jails.

Where does one find funds like \$250 billion per year, during such times of national angst as today? Three pots of gold come immediately to mind: 1) the existing national security pot, 2) the interest payments pot, and 3) the taxes pot.

We find more than that every year to fund the existing national security system which only employs a fraction as many people since the average pay is greater, and the profits going to weapons businesses are quite substantial. We cannot eliminate the existing system quickly because the world is truly dangerous and we would just unemploy many soldiers and far more expensive think tank types, research engineers, businessmen, lawyers, propagandists, spies and other denizens of the national security state. We can not do that rashly because the latter are dangerous people who get really upset when their funds contract. But it is worth remembering that our political wizards have no problem finding more than \$250 billion, each year, to feed them now.

We also find more than that amount every year to pay interest on the national debt. Taxes into the Treasury, mostly from the middle class, go out the door instantly in interest payments, mostly to wealthy folks who can afford T-bills at \$10,000 minimum. That is another interesting money pile, lovingly arranged by some of the same secret power systems which contribute so much to war.

The traditional way to fund government expenditures is to tax the public; \$250 billion works out to under \$980 per person in America today. That is a lot of money, but consider some other ways of looking at it. First, we support a national budget today of about \$1,600 billion per year. $250/1600$ is 15.6 percent of the total budget. Not so large that way. Another aspect worth reflecting on is that current expenditures for welfare and unemployment would be almost wholly eliminated, if those institutions were replaced by jobs, so that money could fund employment instead of mere maintenance. Also, all those newly employed people would be paying taxes rather than just using taxes, making them fuller and more dignified participants in every aspect of our democracy.

I can hear Bubba now, screaming “communism” and other obscenities. I can hear Bubba’s banker, rising from a plusher couch on the other side of town, to denounce the sins of caring for the whole community. Just recall that the method I describe is used today by wealthy countries like Germany, Japan, Sweden, Switzerland,

Austria and Norway, all of which have decided that it is better in the long run to employ most of your folks than to develop a permanently embittered and dependent class of unemployed people. They do not like the Third World model we are racing toward, where a tiny rich elite rules a huge and desperate sea of poor with very little middle class in between. The rest of the developed world does not use the Stalinist model either; they understand the difference between work and make-work. Socialist economies are not all bankrupt or sinful, despite the programming Bubba has been sold for so long.

Those countries cited have also seen the long term consequences of letting the super-rich run roughshod over the rest, so they tax the very rich more than we do in America in order to prevent future World Wars on their territory which so devastated everyone in the past, or civil wars between rich and poor which devastate the Third World now.

Any good banker schooled in public finance could pick among the three separate money pots identified, and solve this problem in an afternoon if she could ignore some of the embedded assumptions of the national security state, such as that military budgets and interest payments are sacred cows immune to reduction, or that God forbids increasing taxes on the rich, and that Jesus himself would object to employing the poor.

4. Armed militias, and armed responsible citizens generally.

This concept is covered more thoroughly in the chapters on Justice and Being a Warrior, but its main point deserves stating here. If protecting America, or any other country is a primary goal, the Swiss or the Spartan model will serve the future better than existing national security states. This means reliance on small arms and home guards, of both “well regulated militias” and relatively unregulated ownership of the means for personal defense against not just invaders, but against any government which grows beyond its proper boundaries to endanger people’s freedom. The Swiss rely on ordinary citizens with machine guns in their closets for their army, and Sparta relied on the strength of individual citizens for defense as well, which worked very well until the Greeks decided to self destruct by civil war against themselves.

George Washington said it best: “Government is force, not reason; like fire, it is a dangerous servant and a cruel master.” Ben Franklin, observed that where people fear government, you have tyranny, but where government fears the people, you have at least a chance for freedom.

My goal is ending war by governments, including wars against the peoples whom they claim to own. That

goal is better served by small arms widely distributed among free, and responsible people (e.g. lunatics and felons need not be included) than by nuclear bombs, billion dollar bombers, “biotechnicals” or other weapons of mass destruction so favored by some in the weapons industry. America is big enough to keep some submarines and aircraft carriers, Marine MAU’s, Army divisions, air wings, and other professional forces configured for the big threats of a dangerous age, without spending twice what all our enemies combined spend today on national military forces.

5. Require those who vote for war, to enlist in a combat arms branch of the military forces.

This is an ancient idea which would require substantial changes of existing law to operationalize. However, it would also greatly reduce p(War) by reducing the great temptation among the powerful to initiate wars which others must pay for in both coin and blood. The many alternatives to war in most circumstances would be instantly more obvious, and the difference between luxuries and necessities would be reinforced. Creative politicians would find artful ways around this, so I would reinforce the basic idea above with the specific provision that the political commander in chief must, if war does come, relinquish his office to join the front line troops personally until the campaign is won or lost. Thus may hubris be reduced, and tranquility restored.

6. Provide some public funding for independent peace research.

This is a really small change item compared to the rest, and could be considered a subset of Item 1. But two points are worth emphasis. First, governments sometimes do fund “peace research” or “disarmament studies” which are instantly co-opted by their professional militaries or spies. The best American example is the U.S. Institute of Peace, funded at about \$10 million per year, whose original board included a majority of members with decades of service in the CIA, and the rest from the far-right academic cheerleading squad. We should not be surprised when it describes “peace” as total American dominance of the world.

Second, the Pentagon recognizes that to build a new bomber requires 10,000 or more very highly trained engineers working in well organized teams with first class labs on the common endeavor. The quest for peace is as demanding as designing a new bomber, yet no major nation on earth treats peace as seriously as building better weapons. To leave understanding the causes of war and

conditions for peace to volunteers is just absurd. Our only advantage (volunteers) is independence of thought from stifling groupthink and bureaucracy.

That is nice for eccentrics, like me, but will not work for ordinary society. In the long run, you will get what you pay for. And if we, humanity, pay almost exclusively for war, that is exactly what we will get. Presidents cannot reach for tools they do not have.

“Any city however small, is in fact divided into two, one city of the poor the other of the rich; they are at war with one another; and in either there are many smaller divisions, and you would be altogether beside the mark if you treat them as a single state.” — Plato, in The Republic, book 4, para. 423, ca. 380 B.C.E.

“Everyone knows there are two standards of justice in this country, one for the rich, another for the poor; one for whites, another for blacks. The only thing different about the O.J. trial, was that in this case the rich man was black, and the poor victims were white.”

— an observer of the latest trial of the century, seen on network television, 1996.

“What’s the difference between terrorists and freedom fighters?
Terrorists are their guys, freedom fighters are our guys.”

— from a friend in US Army Special Forces.

In-Groups vs. Out-Groups: The Universal Double Standard of Justice

People tend to excuse their own sins easily, and to condemn others with equal ease for similar flaws. This double standard of judgement runs throughout the hierarchies of social affairs. It facilitates war between groups which are always mixed in motivation and virtue, but which almost always see themselves on the side of good and others as more evil. When tensions are great, the adversary is demonized, and war becomes more likely.

“Our groups wage war for honorable, understandable and just reasons. Their groups have evil intentions, and commit terrible war crimes.”

“Our people should be forgiven their excesses, because our cause was pure. Their agents should be punished (even executed) because their goals were bad.”

“We seek only protection of our people and prosperity. Their goals may seem the same to them, but to us they are evil because their security and prosperity must come at our expense. What is good for them is bad for us. And we are good, so they are evil.”

These are all expressions of a universal double standard of justice and ethical behavior which has a lot to do with how wars start.

It has deep natural roots, and deep cultural roots. Deep indeed: even a body recognizes that which belongs from that which is foreign; tissues have ethnicity in their antigens. Distinction between “In” and “Out” groups is a fundamental dynamic of human social organization, and of

most other social animals. Sociologists have studied this at length (Simmel, 1955). So have psychologists (Fisher, 1990; Granberg and Farup, 1992), political scientists (Rapoport, 1994), anthropologists (Spradley and McCurdy, 1971) and biologists (Shaw and Wong, 1989; Lorenz, 1966; Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1970). Recognizing “in” versus “out” groups is the difference between life and death for baboons on the savannah, where they depend utterly on the group for survival, and must defend their territories regularly from other baboons, not from lions and hyenas (Kummer, 1971; DeVore, 1965).

Humans are not baboons, and culture is extremely important to how humans behave. But we undoubtedly have deep roots in the natural world, and trying to sort out the relative weights of cultural and biological factors is not productive (Chapter 7). It is enough to recognize that both nature and nurture are very important to human affairs, and that free will can transcend both within very broad limits.

It would help to simply accept the conclusions of many scientists and the observations of common sense: that people in general apply different standards of justice to their families and communities than they do to outsiders. We teach our children, all around the world, to be good, kind, generous, and especially forgiving to our family and clans, but to be more reserved, suspicious, hostile, and in extreme circumstances, cruel toward outsiders.

Having observed that commonality, the central

questions are how does this universal predilection contribute to war, and, how can we reduce that factor?

Consider former Yugoslavia, where all parties cite the barbarism of their ethnic neighbors, while justifying their own brutal responses. Remembering how Yugoslavia tore itself to shreds might help, just as remembering Hiroshima puts some restraint on those who would use nuclear weapons in war. A relatively prosperous eastern European country simply dismembered itself, destroyed most of its major cities, killed two or three hundred thousand of its own people and maimed hundreds of thousands more, in a mad spasm of this double standard gone wild. Remembering such madness may help restrain it in the future.

Recall the self-righteousness by which two American Presidents justified killing several million Southeast Asians in the name of “freedom.” The Vietnamese were fighting for “freedom” too. Both sides were fighting for freedom, but Vietnamese freedom (from Western domination) was somehow seen as a threat to ours. Remembering how elite, self-righteous bigotry can cause the “good” to commit great evils, might help also.

This moral myopia is hardly confined to American leaders. Mao Tse Tung undoubtedly felt the same moral certitude as he unleashed forces which killed scores of millions of his own people (Li, 1994). Stalin felt the same moral rectitude, as he murdered tens of millions of his ethnic neighbors, forcing them into the Soviet mold.

The hubris of leaders is important, but it is also important to recognize that they could accomplish little by themselves without appealing to the selfish belief among billions of ordinary people that “our” group is absolutely better than other, “out” groups. This ubiquitous belief, so deeply embedded in both human nature and tradition, is a source of endless suffering. That is why every great religion tries to correct this sin with appeals to brotherhood, as do also the humanists and other compassionate philosophers.

All around the world political elites feel especially that their use of violent force is justified, while they condemn the use of violence by those who rebel as criminal behavior. Of course, they are wrong. But this wrong serves their selfish interests and their egos, so it is deeply held and they persist. By repressing legitimate grievances, they turn protest into violent civil wars.

Peace talks in Northern Ireland were hung up half a year due to British demands that the IRA disarm unilaterally before formal peace talks could begin. That impasse was finessed near the end of 1995 so Natalie and Alison have a chance for a decent future again. But there are dozens of other examples of heavily armed governments around the world who refuse to talk with

political opponents because they too have weapons. Governments are “in,” rebels are “out” and double standards of justice regarding them are profoundly related to war.

American and Russian leaders say that other countries should not have nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, biological weapons or other “special” weapons (because, in muted murmurs, “they” are irresponsible). But “we” should (they say) and do (in fact) have all of these exotic weapons of indiscriminate destruction. This attitude is assumed more often than spoken out loud, but it is everywhere among the powerful. It underlies and energizes the willingness to wage war for national or tribal interests.

We are good. They are bad. By definition, by instinct. By the training of our mothers not to trust strangers. And by the laws of our governments, which define who has “rights” (our in-group) and who does not (the others). Recall that it is legal under American law for the CIA to wage covert war against outsiders, but in theory and nominal law, it is a felony crime for them to do this to Americans. It undoubtedly is a crime, legally, they just never get prosecuted. And this double standard is repeated among intelligence agencies around the world.

A hundred ethnic conflicts around the world are energized by this unspoken understanding and the dynamics it generates. When the killing becomes well organized and numerous, we counters call it a war. But it is going on at lower levels almost everywhere almost all the time. Its opposite is “brotherhood,” widely ridiculed as a quaint concept.

So what do we do to reduce the effect of this force on p(War)?

Consider this item from an article by Martin Woker of Zurich in “Neue Zurcher Zeitung”, April 15, 1995. He quotes an unnamed Saudi social scientist: “In our thinking, we are still Bedouins. A Bedouin is concerned with two things: the sky and the neighboring tribe. If there is no sign of rain, tents have to be folded, and the Bedouin and his people must move on to search for water. Since the neighboring tribe acts in accordance with the same rules, and grazing grounds are limited, the neighbors must be fought. Only the stronger survive.”

Lesson #1: Resource stress has a lot to do with whether in-group/out-group double standards lead to war instead of to mere rivalry. This is a vital interaction which we have discussed much already.

Lesson #2: The automatic assumption that others must be fought and are probably evil blocks constructive solutions to common dilemmas which could free people

from the war trap. For example, just because tribes fought over water and land for centuries does not mean this is the only conceivable way they could manage this problem. They might cooperate, pool their resources to dig wells and irrigate and increase the wealth available to all by working together. Or they might dig for oil instead of water, as the Saudi's now do, and trade with a global economy which can bring them all the food and water they need. Only, I add, so long as they do not destroy their economy and their resources by using the ancient methods of trial by combat.

Solutions

1. The spiritual solution has generally been, a) **to love your neighbor** (a concept expressed by all the great religions), b) **to care for the stranger** despite our natural tendency to fear and mistrust him, and c) **to recognize our own sins** (in Christian metaphor, to remove the beam in our own eye before condemning the mote in others').
2. The philosophical solution has been to **teach civil behavior** and a code of ethics which explicitly recognizes rights intrinsic to human beings as individuals, rather than judging them on the basis of race or family, religion or membership in any other group.
3. In secular terms, the solution is **laws which encourage pluralistic society**, tolerant of differences and respectful of basic human rights which obtain regardless of wealth, or of racial, national or religious origin.

Encouraging pluralistic society through civil law is a delicate task. Overdone, or forced too hard, too fast, it can generate resistance and inflame the very hatreds we seek to subdue. Human rights should not be confused with special rights for some groups only. But in the world of humankind, we are all minorities. So devotion to the rights of minorities is an essential key to peace on Earth. The ultimate minority is the individual, so it is there where fundamental rights and responsibilities should be vested.

The next two chapters on Ethnicity, Historical Grievances, etc. are closely related to this universal double standard of justice. So we will move to them now, having noted the importance of this ubiquitous underlying dynamic in human affairs.

Ethnicity, Nepotism and Racism

36 of the 45 wars listed in Table 2 cite “Tribal or Ethnic” reasons for those wars (80 percent). Vanhanen’s Table 8.1 (1992, 114-121) lists 87 significant ethnic conflicts among 170 countries surveyed, with the frequency much higher among countries with more ethnically heterogeneous populations. Conversely, countries where 90 percent or more of citizens belong to one ethnic group tend not to have severe ethnic conflicts, he concludes because the minorities are too small to seriously dispute for power. Donald Horowitz (1985) concludes in *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, that ethnic conflict will be a dominant theme of the close the twentieth century, a view shared by many observers.

Well, that is a safe bet. Vanhanen’s book was written before the 85 percent Hutu’s in Rwanda slaughtered about 800,000 of the 15 percent Tutsi there. Being a very small minority may protect majorities from rebellion, but it is no guarantee of safety for the tiny minority. The planet is filling up fast, and people are getting edgy all over as crowding increases strain on our inevitably limited resource base.

My purpose here is to focus more on how ethnicity feeds into war, and how to interrupt that process, rather than on further documentation of what is patently obvious to all with eyes to see.

The first step to understanding this process is recognition that the virulent extreme of militant racism is but one expression of feelings which begin with the love of mothers and fathers for their children. This is the essential paradox of ethnicity and downstream social consequences of our natural affection for our kin. Its worst expression is genocide.

Under the patina of political rationalizations, those who commit genocide do so to make more room for the ones they love, for their kin and for the extended kin groups known as clan, or tribe, race or nation. Those groups can be as tiny as one family, or as big as the Han Chinese, who know exactly what they are doing in Tibet. This objective need not be spoken aloud to be understood. Today, the Han are quietly wiping out ethnic Tibetans as they have done before to dozens of other minorities on their periphery through the ages.

The Han are by no means unique. Whites of European origin did nearly the same with Native Americans until very recent times. Hatred of the beleaguered minority is not necessary, love of one’s own kind is adequate, and sympathy for the suffering of one’s kin who could use more room. The language of cultural genocide in America was seldom angry, it was cast in terms of “concern for the native’s welfare.” So Indian children were taken from their homes to boarding schools far away, where their native language was forbidden and customs not taught, in the name of helping the tribes to “assimilate” into the dominant culture. Meanwhile, much of their ancestral land was taken by various means.

One does not need to be a Nazi to understand the value of “Lebensraum” for one’s own.

There is nothing wrong with mothers and fathers loving their children. It is as natural as nature that healthy parents provide the best opportunities they can for their own kids. When the owner of a bank makes her daughter a vice-president, we begin to notice something sinister, but almost no one objects because the same preference occurs among the smallest businessmen. The family business is a backbone of healthy economies, and only severe social engineers and philosophers would argue it is wrong.

But when all the business opportunities, political power, the productive land and so forth, are locked up for one ethnic group or family due to the aggregate effects of history and nepotism, the groups who are locked out have a legitimate complaint. Benign neglect turns to active repression if they are prosecuted severely when they try to feed their own families by illegal means, in a land where opportunity is by no measure equal.

Nepotism is as natural as the love of parents for their children. But humane societies have noticed that some constraints on this are necessary, at least in the sphere of public works and public opportunities, or the children of the currently wealthy and powerful will crowd out the multitude who arrived later, or who were discriminated against in the past, or who are simply poor for whatever reason. Only the naive think that opportunities for children of the poor are anywhere near equal to opportunities for children of the rich.

These natural forces which begin with love of family but can end in militant racism or ethnic slaughter, often overlap with other social cleavage lines. Financial class has already been mentioned. Religious differences are also common, and in many countries linguistic differences or other cultural attributes go along with ethnic differences, which can have a large effect on the employability or “merit” of those who compete for jobs in the private or public sectors. Thus when war comes, it is often impossible or arbitrary to dissect the degree to which Bosnian Serbs, for example, are fighting Bosnian Muslims over ethnic differences, or religion, or how much these terms are merely moral cover for more basic attempts by some to simply grab the land and wealth from others. Finally, all these factors may overlap with historic grievances, which will be covered in the next chapter but need to be acknowledged here.

So again, as always, the causes even of ethnic conflict are complex, and commingled. As always, they may be greatly exacerbated by resource stress. Vanhanen explains it all by reference to inexorable competition for scarce resources, the classic Darwinian view applied to politics, and this is an important partial truth. But I do not share his sense of inevitability, because I know as a behavior geneticist that people can do far more than merely echo genetic predispositions. Free will transcends, especially when empowered by a humane culture. We cannot stop urinating, but we can certainly pee into toilets instead of on each other. Nothing in our genes suggests that we can fly, and no one in history could fly, until some contrary human being figured out how to do it mechanically so now anyone with the price of a ticket can fly further and faster than any bird on earth.

Still, getting people to treat each other decently has been a stubborn problem. And when ethnicity, with or without nepotism, degrades into militant racism, the odds of war go up.

Solutions

As I write, America is going through a deep reevaluation of the mechanisms of welfare, and of a concept called “affirmative action” which is an attempt to correct historic wrongs through race-based opportunities. Both bear on what to do about ethnicity and racism. Since I am limited by the experience of my culture, and since my culture is very unsettled about these issues, I suggest especial caution with the first two conclusions below. In a year, or ten, I might have very different ideas about how to promote the humane, pluralistic society which could enjoy peace and prosperity rather than suffer war and poverty. The goal would endure, however. So I invite all to

improve upon my feeble efforts to reduce that part of war which stems from ethnic tensions and racial bigotry.

1. **Merit as the principal standard in public opportunities. Equality as a principal standard of public goals, and concepts of justice.**

Notwithstanding many serious and valid concerns over what constitutes merit or how to measure merit, this principle could help protect public opportunities from corruption by the normal functioning of family privilege, ethnic bias, or nepotism. By public opportunities, I mean access to state funded education, service in the military forces or in government bureaucracy, access to the courts and to contracts for public business, and all such endeavors which depend ultimately on taxes which will be paid by all of the constituents in a government. Since all pay, all should benefit. In any event, if any significant sector of a pluralistic community is left out of opportunity, thereby to suffer, the probability of civil war will rise by that increment.

Now, as anyone familiar with the debate over measuring intelligence can tell you, just what passes for merit is often more subjective than some people think. Or IQ, or wisdom. But, while perfect objectivity is as impossible as perfect anything, I contend that there are such things as merit, intelligence, and tests more objective than others. A wise society should strive for objectivity in the measurement of merit, and for the purest possible standard of application in allocating its opportunities among the people.

One reason often cited for the stability of ancient Chinese regimes was the Confucian habit of forbidding nepotism in the bureaucracy. Of course, there were dynastic empires and there were exceptions. But even as empires came and went, the Confucian ideal of government service regulated by strict tests based on objective measures of skills with a functional relationship to the jobs to be done was generally maintained. This had two outstanding virtues. First, it preserved a sense of basic fairness among the population without which empires fall. Second, it preserved a modicum of competence in the bureaucracy, which can be dashed either by excessive nepotism by corrupt elites or by reliance on theories of social justice which may be ephemeral as the wind. What is justice; who can say? What is arithmetic, proper sums; what are the written rules, and standard grammar — there is much more agreement on questions like that. Governments need people who can do mathematics properly, can communicate well, and can accurately cite the rules and regulations they are supposed to administer, whether they are black, white, Tibetan or Han Chinese.

2. **Proportional Representation in Democratic Politics.**

The political scientists tell me that comparative research shows that “proportional representation” in politics provides more voice (or power sharing) to minorities than “winner-take-all” elections. In the former, found in Israel and Britain among other countries, political parties present a slate of candidates for high offices, and are awarded those offices in proportion to a total vote. In the latter, found in America and elsewhere, all candidates compete as individuals and are elected in simple majority contests. Where minorities are 30 percent or less of an electorate, the latter method can easily result in no minorities in office, which compounds the alienation of significant sectors of society.

There are problems with proportional representation systems also. Whatever the mechanism employed, those who would end war should recognize that excluding any significant sector from sharing in political power will raise the probability of war somewhat.

3. **Productivity as the principal standard in economic opportunities, coupled with a serious, deep, real commitment to taking care of everyone as productively as possible.**

This is another attempt to blend the yin and yang of justice; the need for merit to bring out the best, and equality to bring out the maximum and harmony. Ethnic bigotry is annoying when it involves insults; it can be deadly when it involves either attack on persons or denial of access to the means required for survival. People can live with a substantial amount of insult and annoyance. But some will kill when attacked, or when their family’s lives are at risk because the means to survive is denied them.

The problem of allocating resources and caring for the poor without bankrupting the rich keeps recurring in my quest for peace, and it is extraordinarily difficult. My answers are inadequate, or mere easy generalizations. So I invite all to create better answers. The only point of which I am certain is that increasing human knowledge makes the decision to accept gross privation among large numbers of people increasingly suicidal for the larger society. The police are always ready to crush some vagrant who violates property rights. Done too often, too broadly, and the poor rise up to slit the throats of the rich. It has happened a thousand times in human history. But today, our weapons are stronger so the potential carnage is much greater.

The rich need the poor, and the poor need the rich. If only they could see this.

So to forestall the force of nepotism and unconscious ethnic preference in hiring, firing and economic opportunity generally, I would encourage a strong preference for merit in economic affairs. This means making productivity on the job the principal standard by which people get jobs, keep jobs, or advance in their jobs. But I would never simply abandon those who cannot compete. This is the cardinal sin of unregulated capitalism. There will always be some people who simply can not compete well, but they must be able to pay their bills anyway or chaos will result. And if they work at something, the whole society will be richer.

This may not be the best place for the details, but let me observe that I worked for a year in a home for retarded men, about half of whom could not even talk. Even economists who deify capitalist theory must admit that such people simply can not, and will never be able to compete with people of normal intelligence for most, if any, jobs. So you have three choices as a social engineer. You can feed and clothe and care for them to some standard of human compassion (and you must tax each other or otherwise pay for that, of course). You can reserve some jobs especially for them, and live with the fact that this will cost more than it would if you were hiring more able others. Or you can let them die. The second response has worked quite well in many communities, and I encourage it strongly as the principal guide to caring for the least able among us. Provide them work within their abilities, and subsidize their care.

Quite aside from the economies of work, there is the matter of dignity for persons, a concept one never finds in theoretical economics. Almost any job is better than no job, for the dignity which people require, as much as for the total wealth and health of a society.

Ethnic divisions are never so severe as those between the retarded and brainy elites. But in broad abstraction, the problem is the same. We must care for everyone in plural society, including those who are not very able, or energetic, and we must attend to ethnic dignity and opportunity regardless of the distributions of talent which are seldom, in fact, identical (Dobzhansky, 1973).

Provide some useful work for everyone, and society will be much healthier. Fail to do this, and enfeebled homeless people will litter the streets, and the slightly more able will survive by lives of crime or bondage. Whether the private sector or the public sector provides the useful work is a secondary issue, but experience would indicate that the public sector would be less cruel while the private sector would be more efficient.

Consider another real world example. In Sri Lanka, the Hindu Tamil (linguistically and genetically related to the Tamil of southern India) were historically, and are today, discriminated against by the more numerous, Buddhist Sinhalese who also had lived on the island since more ancient times. This eventually took the form of numerous laws which benefited the majority. Real opportunities for Tamil became less and less. Eventually, civil war broke out which continues to this day having killed at least 35,000 through 1995. What makes this case especially pertinent is that the island was known for centuries as an especially gentle place, and Buddhism is known as an especially compassionate and gentle religion.

Setting aside the ubiquitous crush of ever more people on a finite resource base (but we should never set it aside for too long), my point is again, that laws which discriminate against any ethnic group prove counterproductive in the long run. The wise society must make a place for everyone, and must recognize that everyone has a responsibility to contribute through work if they possibly can. The rest is details, details where the devil lives. Setting a limit on inequalities of wealth would help, setting better standards of justice, and more objective gateways to the opportunities of society would help also.

Before we move on, it must be noted that an alternative to the pluralistic society has been tried, and might be a better solution in some cases where ethnic hatred has become severe. That is ethnic partition, as occurred between India and Pakistan in 1947 separating for the most part Hindu and Moslem, excepting in Kashmir where many wars have started and one arguably goes on today. Another example was apartheid in South Africa, and there are lesser examples like Cyprus or Lebanon where political power was explicitly divided along ethnic or religious lines. My reading of stability in South Asia, South Africa and Lebanon suggests that ethnic partition may not have worked so well. But it is better than genocide. The former Yugoslavia is also trying ethnic partition today; not a pretty sight. But there may be cases where partition can bring a peace, while forced coexistence will not. We shall see.

4. The teaching of pluralism in history, public affairs, and religion.

In American education, teaching different ethnic histories is often called “multiculturalism.” Some people hate this, because it has sometimes been overdone. Any virtue overdone can become a harmful vice. I observe that teaching the students in public schools at least a bit about the heroes and backgrounds of all the races in our society has many good effects which relate directly to the problem

of reducing racism and its consequences. A great deal of racist behavior is truly unconscious or easily rationalized, because even very good people will generally feel more comfortable among “their own kind.” This translates into all kinds of differentials in communication, and what folks find attractive or irritating, all of which affect management decisions in many ways.

It is good for the white children to learn about black heroes like Martin Luther King, and of native heroes like Chief Seattle for many reasons, not least of which is that the wisest things these leaders said are extremely wise indeed, just as are the wisest things which American founding fathers said, or dead white European philosophers. No doubt wise things were said by women in history too, but we didn’t learn much about them when I was going to school. My loss.

A modicum of ethnic education helps to bridge the chasms of ethnic differences among us, which is my principal objective in trying to reduce the ethnic tension factor in war. Excess annoys everyone, but a moderate amount of pluralistic education helps the culturally challenged to rise above their roots.

Now, every working teacher knows that there are only so many minutes in every day, and one cannot teach more of anything without teaching less of something else. We are already at risk in America of undercutting arithmetic and basic language skills by teaching too much political this or that. So I am not urging the further sacrifice of basic skills. I am urging that some of the time already devoted to civics, history and so forth be devoted to understanding the other cultures of the world with whom we will either coexist or die.

Regarding religion, it would be very helpful if children around the world were exposed to comparative religion. Bigotry thrives on ignorance and isolation. This is a touchy subject in America, and would be even more touchy in, say, Saudi Arabia where anything non-Islamic is strictly forbidden. I will leave Saudi education to the Saudi people, but I can be much more clear about what would be good for America.

The idea that religion should have no place in public education is exceptionally short sighted. The only other place I know where this occurs are the severely communist countries. Police states do not like religion either, an interesting correlation.

It is wise for the pluralistic state to not establish a state religion, nor to encourage one church over others. And it is wise for any teacher and every principal to comprehend the social pressures on members of minority faiths, including agnostics or atheists, and to ensure dignity and freedom of religious thought to all. Those are wise constraints on religion in public education. But to prohibit

any discussion of religion in public education is an overreaction with damaging consequences.

So I would encourage comparative religion at appropriate ages, to promote understanding among the humans who must live together on this crowded world, to reduce religious bigotry specifically, and to promote wisdom generally. There are two aspects of this which are particularly important to the issue of war and peace.

First, narrow, self-centered churches which teach that their faith is the only correct path to religious insight, or that their people are God's favorites on earth, are a force encouraging war. War between each other, since there are so many competing churches of this type, and against the "heathen" — or whatever they call the great outside, whom they almost invariably believe are in need of salvation. There is no "other" like the out-groups defined by narrow-minded religious bigots. As a previous chapter detailed, when they become militant they are a powerful force for war. When they reduce the "other" to subhuman status, they are on the brink of genocide.

The state has an interest in reducing the drift toward war and genocide.

Second, the quest for actual religious truth in all its complexity is almost always enhanced by comparative study of other spiritual views. Contrary to the views of some dullards, religion, like philosophy, actually has some things of value to offer public minds. I am rude, because I need to penetrate the armor-plated denial of some friends.

While the state may not be interested in the broader peace which spiritual growth and enlightenment can bring, humanity should be.

These may sound like two same reasons for letting students learn about religious insights from around the world. But reducing religious bigotry which fuels religious wars is one thing, reducing a negative. Enhancing wisdoms which can lead to inner and global peace is a different, more positive thing. The advantages for any student from any faith, of learning how the spiritual mountain looks from other angles, has so many aspects I could hardly address them here.

5. Theodosius Dobzhansky's concept of genetic diversity and human equality.

The wisest geneticist I got to know well, often put his big brain to the problem of what genetics meant for human society. One of his many books on that subject, a real gem of clear thinking, was called Genetic Diversity and Human Equality (Dobzhansky, 1973). Its central theme is that while people are not born equal genetically, and groups cannot be exactly equal in just about anything biological, none of this matters for questions of social

justice because: a) individual people are not groups, and b) what society decides should be considered just or not, wise or not, is a social decision independent of biological measurements.

In court, do we judge the individual, or a group from whence he comes? One of the cruelest abuses of justice is to condemn people for what others have done. Judging a person for race or religion or any other group membership rather than for his or her own deeds is manifestly unjust.

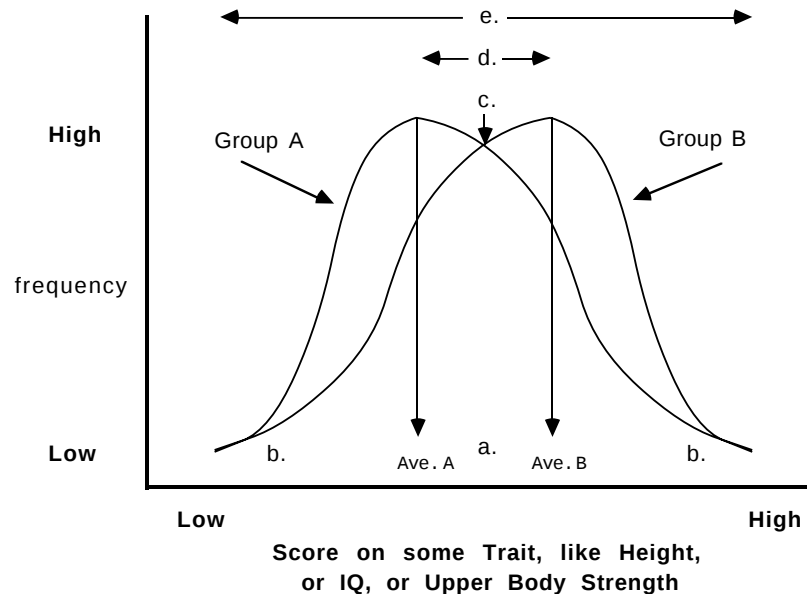
In sport, does a coach rely on average statistics of racial groups to evaluate individual players? Of course not, not if he or she wants to win. Average statistics say nothing about the capabilities of individuals. And does the distribution of athletic talent correspond with the frequencies of men and women, blacks, whites, Asians and Indians? No. Does that mean individuals should be measured by group statistics? No again, because every group contains far more variation than the relatively small differences between groups.

This point and its derivatives can get very statistical, but the bottom line of justice is not complicated: it is simply to judge people on their own merits, not by group statistics. Dobzhansky states this more clearly than I can and he did not use the figure which I offer next. But it may help some who rely on numbers to verify common sense.

The point of figure 25 is to illustrate a few things in the abstract about groups and differences. These are two so called "normal" curves, for two unnamed groups whose averages differ but whose ranges (lowest to highest) overlap completely. Most human groups measured on most traits will exhibit curves like this — averages differ, but ranges overlap. For purposes of illustration, you could consider this a graph of upper body strength, and the curves to be men versus women. Or you could consider it a graph of IQ scores, and the curves to be American blacks versus whites, or you could start with less controversial labels. It does not matter for the statistics of this exercise, although it has great bearing on the attendant politics.

What matters most is recognizing the difference between individuals and groups. Except for the most artificial or extreme comparisons — like short Asian soccer players versus tall NBA basketball all-stars — both groups will typically span the entire range of human variation. That is, no matter how much men differ from women on average in upper body strength, some men are as weak as anyone, and some women are stronger than 99 percent of men.

The averages will differ, and the frequencies at any point may differ, often most at the extremes. But if one desires to be fair to an individual applying for a job as a



- a. Averages differ between two groups on the trait measured.
- b. Ranges, low to high, overlap completely between the two groups
- c. Frequencies of A and B will differ at nearly every point except where the two curves intersect.
- d. For the great majority of traits and groups, the difference between group averages will be very much smaller than the differences between individuals within each group (e), therefore,
- f. Group Averages are Lousy Predictors of Individual Performance

Figure 25

Comparison Between Two Groups whose averages differ, but ranges overlap

firefighter where upper body strength really matters, then one must measure the individual's merit (in this case, strength) rather than assuming something based upon an average for some group.

The same applies for distributions of genius in engineering. Some groups are clearly better at the skills which make for good engineers, like Asians. But all ethnic groups have some geniuses among them, and their share of anti-geniuses as well. Social fairness is better met by measuring the individual than by either racial apartheid based on exclusion of opportunities, or by quotas based on

the false presumption that all talents are distributed equally among all groups.

Recognizing the fundamental differences between individuals and groups, and vesting rights in individuals as a matter of human rights rather than group rights, like "Serb" rights or "Croat" rights, or "black rights and white rights," or rights pertaining to Jews and Muslims and Catholics, etc., could help reduce the nationalistic, racial, and religious forces which so often contribute to wars.

Consider the role of historic grievances in war. When rights are a matter of individuals there is much less

reason to fight wars today over which tribe slaughtered who 500 years ago. When rights are a function of membership in groups, the groups have a lot more at stake in historic arguments. Dobzhansky was more eloquent:

Widespread in the modern world, though by no means universally accepted and practiced, is the doctrine that all men are or should be equals. Forcefully stated in the ringing sentences of the Declaration of Independence, it is familiar to every American. The idea of equality is an integral part of the American tradition, and also the source of what Myrdal (1962) called the American Dilemma. The idea frequently bogs down in confusion and apparent contradictions. Equality is confused with identity, and diversity with inequality. This confusion can be found even in the writings of some outstanding scientists who could have been expected to know better. Political propagandists of both the extreme right and left, spread the confusion deliberately.

It would seem that the easiest way to discredit the idea of equality is to show that people are innately, genetically, and therefore irremediably diverse and unlike. The snare is, of course, that human equality pertains to the rights and to the sacredness of life of every human being, not to bodily or even mental characteristics.

Defenders of equality become entangled in the same snare when they attempt to minimize or deny human genetic diversity. They overlook, or fail to understand, that diversity is an observable fact of nature, while equality is an ethical commandment. At least in principle, equality can be withheld from, or bestowed upon, members of a society or citizens of a state regardless of how similar or diverse they are. Inequality is also not biologically given but is rather a socially imposed prescription.

If vested in individuals, reverence for rights of human beings can bring an end to wars over historical grievances to which we now turn. If vested in groups which endure longer than individuals, blood feuds can develop which prompt killing over centuries. Sometimes many centuries, as Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims kill each other today in echoes of a single dynastic murder over 1,300 years ago. And some "Christian" supremacists still kill Jews today, echoing hatred over the death of the Jew Jesus Christ almost 2000 years ago.

Focus rights on human beings as individuals rather than on groups, and you will reduce $p(\text{War})$.

Historical Grievances, Scapegoating, Demagoguery and “Parallel Realities”

There are enough historical grievances in the world to “justify” a million wars, all in the name of correcting a past which no one can change.

North and South Yemen have fought several wars this century, each feeding off the bitterness left from the last. So have Pakistan and India, Israel and many neighbors. Germany fought two this century — very big ones. The first killed one-tenth of European men; the second was fought to avenge the first, and 50 million more people died.

For a long period of European history, it was the English and the French about once a generation, or the English and the Spanish, or the Irish, or the Germans and the French, or the Swedes and the Norwegians, or the Poles and their neighbors, the Austrians against Hungarians and other wars between the princes of Europe, most of whom were related to varying degrees. Lots of nutty wars, half of which were vengeance for the last one.

Sunni and Shi’ite Muslims have fought innumerable battles over the centuries, all of which have a taproot in a single historic event in the 7th century A.D., the murder of Ali’s son, cousin of Muhammad the Prophet. In-laws have been killing each other ever since in what amounted to a series of struggles over succession to the mantle of Islam. Noss (1974) records this detail: “The younger son of Ali, al-Husayn, the third Imam according to this reading of history, fell a martyr (680 A.D.) together with his little son, in a night battle at Karbala during a futile attempt to establish himself as the rightful caliph over the Ummayyad incumbent, Yazid.” Obviously, there were different interpretations of history operating at that very moment, and the argument has endured now over 1300 years.

It seems like a lousy reason for Sunni and Shi’ite battles in the Persian Gulf today, but they occur. More than a million young died there during the 1980’s.

In America, the concept of the blood feud is best known by a long running fight between two families in Kentucky called the Hatfields and the McCoy’s. By the time they were done exacting vengeance for historic wrongs, dozens of family members were dead. The most pertinent thing to remember about this conflict is that

many members of both families were widely regarded to be mentally retarded. In English lore, the destructive tragedy of blood feuds over historic wrongs is captured best by Shakespeare in his tale of the Montagues and Capulets, which led to the death of two lovers, Romeo and Juliet.

The bottom line on historic grievances echoes my first. There are enough historic grievances in the world to “justify” a million wars, if you are retarded. But, history cannot be changed, no matter what we do. And in a world of nuclear, biological and other exotic weapons, nutty wars are less and less excusable.

Scapegoating has been observed for millennia (Thucydides refers to it in Greece around 400 B.C.E.). It was characterized most thoroughly in this century by Georg Simmel (1955, 1904). Scapegoating involves blaming someone else for one’s own problems. Politicians absolutely love this.

In politics, the term is more specific. It refers to when a politician who is losing domestic support starts or encourages a foreign war in order to distract the public. An external enemy almost always unifies the tribe. This is a basic expression of the In-Group/Out-Group dynamic referred to earlier. Others call this the “rally round the flag” effect. By any term it is a common tactic, which in extreme cases results in wars whose truest purpose is to serve the ego of the guilty politician.

A classic example of scapegoating was Bismarck’s unification of Prussian states by wars against common enemies (Planze, 1971). One of the clearest contemporary cases was the Falklands war of 1982 between Argentina and Britain. The Argentine generals were not very popular after conducting what is generally called the “dirty war” against their own people from 1976-82, when they kidnapped, tortured and killed at least 10,000 and possibly 30,000 suspected “leftists.” No doubt some actual leftist agitators were killed, but so were innumerable students, teachers, journalists, human rights activists, union organizers and others who made the mistake of thinking democracy meant you could express your views, and got on deadly lists. They are uncountable, because many were disposed of by unconventional means, like the “about

2,000 kids” whom one aging officer admitted they threw out of helicopters over the Atlantic ocean, some drugged, others fully aware of their fate.* But that was the earlier war, a dirty prelude to the Falklands debacle which exemplifies scapegoating.

From this base of distaste the economy also declined, which is never good for political popularity. So supreme commander, Air Force General and President Leopoldo Fortunato Galtieri decided to make a current issue out of a century old dispute over ownership of the Falkland Islands, 300 miles off the coast of Argentina.

The Falklands (or Malvinas as the Argentines call them) were then populated by about 1,200 people and 25,000 sheep which formed the only significant economic base for the island. The English speaking people were British descendants, having lived there for generations after Britain claimed the island in 1833 over Argentine objections. The Argentine government had, however, maintained the disputed claim at the UN, which established some minimal legal basis for rekindling the argument (Hastings and Jenkins, 1983).

Galtieri and his fellow generals needed a rousing, nationalistic victory to distract domestic discontent over the sour economy and all those missing young people. So, they cranked up the propaganda apparatus, reminded everyone of historic insults by Britain over the last century and grief over loss of the beloved Malvinas which no Argentine had actually lived on for 150 years, and launched a modern armada to recapture them. The sheep surrendered immediately, the people almost as quickly, being utterly undefended. But they also called London to complain.

* Another officer, Navy Captain Adolpho Scilingo said: “... he had been unable to sleep without alcohol or sleeping pills since 1977, when he threw 30 people into the sea, alive but drugged by navy doctors. The order to use aircraft for killing prisoners had come through official channels, he said, and was addressed to all the officers assigned to his base. The order also had been signed by the commander of naval operations, he said, and was approved by ecclesiastical authorities.” From an article by Horacio Verbitsky, in “Pagina 12,” Buenos Aires, April 30, 1995, reprinted in World Press Review, July 1995, pg. 47, with my emphasis, which I included to ask the reader: What kind of ecclesiastical authorities can approve the murder of students this way? That is real hubris. Such priests should fear the day they may actually talk with God. One might also ask what kind of doctors could participate in the murder of children this way. Nazi doctors no doubt, but we should remember that there is a tiny fascist in us all, which may come out in times of stress.

Galtieri forgot that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in England had her own political problems at the time, and that she had acquired the nickname “Iron Lady” by never yielding to political men who wanted to fight. She was not about to erase the Great in Great Britain. It was as splendid an excuse for her to scapegoat British problems as for him, only Britain still had aircraft carriers and submarines, the residue of a truly global military capability which had maintained a worldwide empire not so long ago.

So she sent the royal soldiers and seamen on what may have been the last overseas British campaign. They won. And she won the next election, while Galtieri lost his decisively. Which demonstrates the political utility of scapegoating for ambitious politicians. Aside from a few billions squandered treasury, the cost was just over 1,000 dead people, three-fourths Argentines, sacrificed on the altar of the General’s ambitions.

Scapegoating is another reason for war which sometimes looks good to top political leaders, but makes very little sense for the people who must pay the bills and lose their lives in the grand campaign.

American Heritage defines “demagogue” as: “A leader who obtains power by means of appeals to the emotions and prejudices of the populace.” Demagogue comes shortly before “demonize” which means to describe enemies as irredeemably evil, inspired by Satan or infected by some other demonic spiritual force. Demagogues demonize their selected targets, and whip up their followers into extreme, emotional hatred of some target of their bigotry, usually a racial or religious group, but sometimes a competing national entity or ideology, like demonic “socialists” and “capitalists” whom some regard as less than human. Communists used to lead in this role, of course, but they are almost gone.

Slobodan Milosevich, Supreme Serbian leader of former Yugoslavia, is the current world’s champion demagogue. He has much competition in the Balkans, including Franjo Tudjman, of Croatia, who got lots of practice when he served the German Nazis as a member of the Croatian Ustashe during World War II, hunting Jews and Serbs. It bears reflection that nearly a million people died in former Yugoslavia during World War II, almost all at the hands of their neighbors. The Ustashe, the Chetniks (Serb) and Tito’s communist partisans killed each other far more than the Germans, who never actually conquered Yugoslavia. These historic slaughters fertilized the fields for modern demagogues.

The Balkans illustrate many of war’s extremes today, but we must recognize that these political forces exist everywhere and may rise up to result in war almost anywhere, especially when people are afraid or

economically stressed. At such times, they are looking for scapegoats to demonize, and demagogic politicians are happy to provide targets in return for the power they seek so desperately.

The neo-Nazi movement in Germany today exemplifies this. The anti-immigrant politics of Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front Party in France exploits this force. The fundamentalist Hindu Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in India relies on this, as do the Muslim separatist groups who demonize the BJP and the Indian military which persecutes them. Sikh and Tamil independence movements in India have their own demagogic politicians, who brand political opponents as from one hell or another.

I cannot say from personal observation that this same process applies to the complex tribal wars in Africa today, except in Rwanda where the role of orchestrated hate campaigns has been well documented by Amnesty International (Austin, 1997). But the force of bigotry is so ubiquitous, and the skill of demagogic leaders in exploiting historic grievances is so common, that I assume that it applies in Africa as well.

The struggle to find ways to deal with this common antecedent to war may be helped by a concept I ascribe to Eric Black, who wrote an excellent review of Israeli-Arab conflicts called Parallel Realities (1992). His central observation is that protagonists in and around Israel are often blinded by the almost totally different views their cultures carry of essentially the same history.

Both peoples can cite endless examples of persecution and abuse by the other, down the ages and in particular since 1947 when Israel was founded by the great powers over Arab objections. Since then there have been several wars and endless incidents, but the views of these events, even the events recorded in textbooks and taught in public schools, are remarkably different. Each side can cite at great length atrocities committed by the other, but is dimly aware if at all of atrocities committed by themselves (which are virtually never called "atrocities," but rather are described as necessary actions of war or proper responses to "criminal" behavior by the other side).

Parallel Realities — what a concept. And a key to ending war if properly used, because I am certain the process occurs ubiquitously in war.

When each side is certain of its virtue and is well informed of the other side's sins, arguments over the meaning of historic events can quickly degenerate into ferocious attacks on the integrity of those who remember the "same" history quite differently.

The Indian parable of the five blind men and the elephant is relevant here. The blind men represent parallel realities too. All feel real parts of the elephant they touch, and all report faithfully and accurately what they feel. One

says "like a rope," another, "like a tree," a third, "like a fan," the fourth, "like a snake," and the fifth who is holding a tusk says that the elephant feels hard and smooth like a water-worn rock. In the heat of argument about what an elephant "really" is, they begin to doubt the basic honesty of the others. When trust is gone, negotiations become vastly more difficult.

Parallel realities are usually partial recordings of real history. When demagogues demonize their opponents, a lethal chemistry occurs. Because all sides to the argument know for sure that they speak truth, each is inclined to interpret the contradictions with opponents' versions of truth to be evidence of the evil intent of the other, and especially of the propensity of the other side to lie about seemingly obvious realities.

But there are parallel realities in all human affairs where events are relative. Winners do not see things the same as losers in conflict. One of the best examples in America is the differing perception of Christopher Columbus. To many, he was an intrepid explorer, the brave discoverer of America. To the Native Americans who naturally think that they found "turtle island" first (North America) Columbus was the father of genocide.

Solutions

1. **Neutralize bigotry and historic hatreds with spiritual wisdom.**

As with so many motivators to war, I discover I am driven to spiritual answers rather than to structural adjustments of political institutions. This was by no means my desire when I began this effort. It emerged, because so many of the emotional forces toward war stem from defects of character, limitations of intelligence, and rationalizations masquerading as rational calculation. I will not call again for "brotherhood" now, since I do so often elsewhere. I will try to focus on institutions, education and so forth as I originally intended. But, you see my dilemma. Changing structures is inadequate if people still want to fight, because they can kill each other regardless of institutions if they choose to.

For those who are offended by the notion of spiritual wisdom, by all means, use secular wisdom. Any kind of wisdom is superior to the ignorance of hatred, and any kind of wisdom can help defuse the arguments of demagogic leaders urging war over historical grievances. I fully share the dismay many feel about the clowns who are loudest today about their views on religion. I have written often here about the role of this kind of militant religion in war. So if spiritual wisdom worries you, by all means seek other kinds. I have just found it necessary to look beyond

fiddling with international structures or political customs to get to the roots of war, and spiritual wisdom helps with some of the more intractable kinds of hatred, prejudice and other wounds of the soul which lead to war.

2. History should be taught more, and differently.

Historical grievances are fueled in part by how history is taught, and therefore among the first and last lessons of every history course should be: a) history is usually written by the victors, even paid for by the kings or generals who won. So never forget that there is another, equally valid history — the view of events from the losing side. This view is much harder to acquire, but the whole truth of history requires considering both sides and synthesizing them. One superb example of this is Howard Zinn's [A People's History of the United States](#), 1980. b) The parable of the blind men with the elephant should be repeated often, and explained thoroughly. It is a key to integrating many other bits of wisdom, but it is especially valuable for calming arguments over different perceptions of history. c) The wisdom of the sages who know how to break the cycles of violence should have time in class comparable to the memoirs of the demagogues and generals who have done so much to glorify war through time. This is another reason why a categorical prohibition on religion in American schools is a tragic overreaction to the real sins of excess evangelism. d) Scapegoating and demagoguery should be exposed whenever they emerge, which is often.

This task goes beyond teaching of history; it should be a part of the daily mission of journalists everywhere. Terms like demagoguery and scapegoating should be well known to students from at least high school onward, also the concept of Parallel Realities, at least as well known as the rules of sport or the names of popular presidents. To the teacher or cynic who laughs, I remind you that repetition instills that which teachers find important enough to drill through the urchins' armor plated little skulls. These concepts are basic to ending war, and those who do not end war in the modern age can count on war coming to their door in due time.

“An eye for an eye, carried on long enough, and eventually a whole nation is blinded.”

— Mahatma Gandhi

Revenge

A classical response to historic or personal grievances has been revenge.

Historical grievances are cultural things, involving ancestors and clans or tribes or nation states. Revenge is a personal motive which drives individuals to act, and often to act rashly. These are closely related in war. Demagogic politicians use historic grievances to stir their audiences to desire revenge. The consequence can be catastrophic, but the demagogues seldom care because they were nothing before they started their careers, and even in disaster they are somebody when the killing ends.

Revenge is among the dumbest reasons for people to have a war. But those who would end war should remember what politicians never forget: people often are dumb, and are easily aroused by demagogic rhetoric. Losers in particular love a scapegoat they can blame for their failures. Furthermore, it is a political truism that angry people tend to give more to a cause than contented people, which is another reason so many politicians appeal to the dark side of humanity instead of to its higher virtues. Other times, more principled politicians are swept away by calls for revenge from their constituents.

The War of Jenkins Ear between England and Spain, from 1739-1743, began when political opponents of then British Prime Minister Robert Walpole exploited “the sensational 1738 claims of Captain Robert Jenkins that he had lost both his ship and his ear to Spanish coast guards in 1731. Walpole reluctantly declared war in October, 1739.” (Kohn, 1987). Four years of war over an ear.

There is a single principled reason for revenge — to stop the unprincipled bully, or bully nation, from victimizing others. But there are many times when revenge is the path to ruin. Unchecked by prudence, it perpetuates cycles of violence which often get worse before they burn out (if ever). As noted in the previous chapter, some historic feuds have run on for centuries, even millennia. Because this danger of endless blood

feuds is so great, the only principled reason for revenge can be when it is quite necessary to stop the bully from injuring more people. The pacifist should also recognize, painful though that is, that such times sometimes occur, and that force can be necessary for the maintenance of peace.

Discerning the difference between necessary use of force and pointless and dangerous vengeance is a challenge to the wisest leadership.

Robert Axelrod (1984) conducted a series of experiments to model the nuclear arms race, or arms races generally, called “Prisoner’s Dilemma Exercises.” These are derived from game theory, and they yielded some powerful teaching tools and insights into the psychology of arms racing and much else. In fact, a version which I developed for use with students was among the best teaching tools I ever found, suitable for a very wide range of ages and entertaining as well as highly instructive, so it is included as Appendix A.

These exercises involve two small groups, working together over a series of moves, each trying to achieve a goal of “maximizing their teams score” according to a payoff table which encourages what game theorists call “mixed motives.” Their only choice each turn is “X” or “Y,” deliberately abstract. But participants quickly interpret X to be aggressive moves and Y to be cooperative moves, based on the reward table. There are incentives for cooperating, and incentives for competing, opportunities for negotiation and betrayal, all of which are possible under the more detailed rules found in Appendix A. Properly run, this game triggers something deep in human nature such that people from a wide range of educational or political backgrounds experience something very similar to what happens during arms races between nations.

One of the more interesting things that Axelrod discovered during his years of research using many variations of these games, is that both an aggressive

strategy and an appeasement strategy generally led to poor results for those who employed them. The best general strategy, under the terms of the form of Prisoner's Dilemma which he studied most, was something they called Tit-for-Tat. This strategy was actually submitted by the dean of game theory, Anatol Rapoport (1960) during a competition among game theorists sponsored by Axelrod. This strategy was basically to start cooperatively (Y) then to repeat whatever move the other side did last turn. It is mixed revenge and conciliation, or more clearly labeled, reciprocity.

Reciprocity — what a concept. Even computer modelers discover this is a key to solving human problems. This is quite important.

What goes around, comes around. Do unto others as you would have them treat you, and the world will treat you better (but if they mistreat you, the tit-for-tat strategy would advise you to retaliate, prudently, ready to switch back, as much of the Old Testament and Qur'an advise). These are ancient ideas, and the Prisoner's Dilemma merely puts them into an abstract form, and shows with numbers how people may validate the basic propositions involved. Numbers and abstraction help scientists and those who follow them to believe that something is true.

Few things contradict themselves more than scriptures. So we should remember that even though the Jewish Torah offers the commandment that men should "Love thy neighbor as thyself" (Leviticus, 19:18), it also advises us to judge people with "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" (Exodus 21:24), the ancient code of proportional revenge for crimes against oneself or one's tribe. With such contradictions, which rule to follow is never clear. Mahatma Gandhi offered his perspective on this dilemma, the simple observation that if two sides continue taking revenge an endless cycle can result, "An eye for an eye, carried on long enough, and eventually a whole nation is blinded." (Kripalani, 1958). That is the dark side of revenge untempered by prudence.

Breaking cycles of violence and historically based revenge is a paramount task for peacemakers.

"Honor" should never be a good enough reason to risk the destructive cycle of revenge. But I say again, that single, absolute rules are not adequate. For there are many historic examples of bullies or conquerors who simply would not be appeased (like Hitler) but would advance until they were stopped by military force. Peace people will never persuade our military partners of their wisdom, if they categorically deny the other parts of history which soldiers know very well are true.

So, the wise leader must remember that force is sometimes necessary, but not forget that most of the time, vengeance is a very unproductive and dangerous activity.

Look at Albania, the poorest country in Europe, for an example of a society based on revenge, and trapped in poverty.

Consider the Arabs and the Jews in Israel. Arabs rain rockets on kibbutz, seeking revenge for the loss of their homeland. So Jews occupy southern Lebanon, rain bombs on selected targets, some of which hit warriors and some innocents (an inevitable result with bombs) and persecute Arabs in Jerusalem, seeking revenge for the rockets. Both sides mourn the innocents killed or maimed, lionize the warriors killed, and plot revenge. Arabs explode bombs in buses, some of which carry soldiers and some innocents, seeking vengeance for their persecution. So Jews break bones in their jails and shoot teenagers on the street seeking revenge for the bombs. This particular program proved such a public relations disaster that it was eventually dropped — even hard-liners had a hard time with calculated bone-breaking among teenagers on the street or prisoners in jail. But even well run, the principle of revenge exacts some terrible costs.

And the practice of clandestine murder of particularly dangerous or hated Arabs and Jews in Israel or around the world was not stopped. Arabs killed Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics, and MOSSAD tracked them down over several years, killing them all in various European and mid-East settings, along with at least two completely innocent bystanders. Hamas riots in the Gaza strip, and kills as it should not, so MOSSAD uses a biological weapon against a Hamas leader visiting Jordan.

A Jewish doctor named Baruch Goldstein goes into a holy place common to both Jews and Arabs on February 25, 1994, and guns down 29 Muslims at prayer before he is beaten to death. Various bombs going off for two years after are cited as proper revenge (by Arabs). The Arab bombs killed innocents too, mostly. One year after the massacre, Goldstein is memorialized as a saint by members of his Jewish settlement, who pray at his grave over marble inscribed with the words: "Clean of hands, clean of heart, he died as a martyr." (AP, February 14, 1995, from Kiryat Arba, West Bank, Israel). Parallel realities like these provide fuel for endless revenge. There is nothing wise about it.

Jews build nuclear weapons at Dimona. Arab nations invest billions for their own "Islamic bomb," along with Persian and Pakistani Islamists, with other axes to grind. The whole world is at risk to this escalating madness.

An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and lives for lives. Except that most of the lives lost were not perpetrators of any crime, they were innocent victims of cold-blooded murders justified in the name of revenge. And being innocent, they served as justification for

reciprocal murders by extremists on the other side. One might justify revenge against perpetrators of blood crimes, but revenge against innocents always backfires.

One side effect is creation of a bone-deep hatred among many otherwise decent people for everyone on the “other” side. The humanity of innocents is forgotten. Another side effect is creation of legions of mentally ill people who are warped by the constant fear and recurring tragedies which scar their souls. It takes a lot of pain to turn a doctor into a cold-blooded murderer of 29 men at prayer. It takes a lot of hatred to kill athletes at Olympic Games. It takes enormous hatred to raise and train a suicide bomber. But for every one who snaps and does his deed in the name of righteous revenge, there are a hundred in incubation, listening to the teachers of righteous revenge, waiting to go off without warning when their turn comes to fuel the destructive cycle which traps whole peoples in poverty and pain.

The Serbian snipers in Sarajevo were instructed to target the children in families, to destroy the psychic fabric among Muslims there. Systematic rape pursuant to ethnic cleansing had a similar, calculated objective. Bosnian Serb “President” Radovan Karadzic was a psychiatrist, and he took “psychological operations” to new depths of barbarism. Revenge of this sort will only lower everyone into a pit of hell.

The residue of these tragedies is a bane to the peacemakers, who are trying hard just to get “good” people to stop killing each other. The task is harder yet when the participants are mentally ill, wounded by such horrors as I describe. Most of those people are, or were, perfectly good parents, members of communities, decent people, before. Before they were told by leaders to become killers of children in revenge for some awful act. Before they lost their own children to some other’s “righteous” vengeance. When they cannot take the pain of the cycle of revenge any more, they become agents of the enemy they hate so much, agents of evil, killers of innocents, seeking revenge for the killing of innocents.

One important step in that process is the step which considers the “other” side to be all the same, the innocents to be necessarily supporters of the killers on the other side, or perhaps, mere soldiers-to-be. That was part of the theory of “total war” which justified carpet bombing whole cities at the close of World War II. They said “civilians support the army” and “children grow up to be soldiers.” This is why the ancient distinction between combatants and non-combatants is so crucial in war. When it breaks down, everyone is debased, indeed civilization itself is at risk. This presents one detail in the matrix of solutions to war, which is resurrection of a

fundamental distinction between declared combatants and innocent bystanders.

In the Balkans, seeking revenge is a tradition of centuries duration, and innocence has long since been lost. But innocents are born every day. We cited barbarous acts of Karadzic and his followers, but he can cite others by the other sides. Serbs and Croats can both cite atrocities committed by Nazi backed Croat Ustashe and ruthless Serb Chetnicks during World War II, and similar atrocities from the 1700’s and 1800’s, and similar atrocities when the Ottoman Turks captured half the area forcing their victims to adopt Islam or die, sowing seeds for the three-way slaughter in Bosnia today. They have long memories in the Balkans, and considerable practice in enduring and inflicting atrocities on each other. But where has this cycle of revenge gotten them? Not to the peaceful, prosperous society all aspire to. Not at all.

Still, someone has to stop the bully, or change him (Bly, 1996); there is always this dilemma. Some people are so cruel, or so incapable of empathy for the pain they cause others, that they truly will not stop until someone stops them. As poor as the record of revenge is for restraining chaos, I must agree that there are times when it appears necessary. **But revenge against innocents is never the answer. If revenge is ever an answer, it must be sharply focused upon perpetrators with blood upon their own hands.**

Even careful application of revenge can yield gruesome consequences. This is more true the less the revenge is focused on perpetrators, and the more it injures innocents. Killing innocents always makes things worse.

For another example, when relations between America and Iran were very poor, and war was still on between Iran and Iraq in the late 1980’s, American forces (especially naval forces) were on alert after Iranian threats to block oil traffic in the Persian Gulf. During these tense moments, when skirmishes of small scale were occurring around oil platforms and islands, the American cruiser Vincennes spotted an alarming radar signal. They thought it might be a fighter plane out to get them, some chaos ensued, and moments later the Vincennes used its state of the art weaponry to shoot down an Iranian Airbus carrying 290 pilgrims to Saudi Arabia on hadj.

A long story of espionage intervenes, which can be found in detail in the book Trail of the Octopus: From Beirut to Lockerbie - Inside the DIA by Donald Goddard and Lester K. Coleman (1993). In the end, the Iranians helped to exact revenge on America by arranging the bombing of another civilian airliner, Pan Am 103, which exploded over Lockerbie, Scotland on December 21, 1988, killing all 259 on board, plus 11 more innocents on the ground struck by debris. The official U.S. view is that

Libyan intelligence officers were behind the bombing, a theory I will return to in two paragraphs.

Coauthor Coleman, a career DEA officer who now resides in exile in Sweden because of things he reveals about U.S. government drug running (another story), had this to say about revenge in the journal of the Association of National Security Alumni, #33, summer 1995, pg. 14. "The bombing of Pan Am 103 six months later [than the Vincennes incident] follows the letter of Islamic law regarding the use of Intekam (equal and just revenge). 290 died on the Iran Airbus on a religious pilgrimage to Mecca, 270 were killed in the Pan Am 103 disaster, four days before Christmas."

Well, isn't that symmetrical! But what bizarre code of justice allows the deliberate murder of innocent children? Apparently, this code is not confined to Muslims, because similar calculations were done before the long slide into carpet bombing of Germany, firebombing of Tokyo, and nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These all involved the deliberate murders of tens of thousands of children, and all followed similar atrocities by Germany and Japan.

Another theory has the Libyans exacting revenge for Reagan's killing of Khadafi's daughter which undoubtedly occurred when Reagan bombed Khadafi's desert camp. Which theory is correct about who bombed Pan Am 103 is far less significant than observing the chaos and carnage which results when leaders adopt the view that killing innocents is appropriate and just revenge for the murder of innocents elsewhere. None of these killings could have occurred without orders from leaders and the resources of nation states required to carry them out.

It is amazing after reflection on tragedies like these, how many people love war so. But they do, by the millions, many men love war, and not a few women. It is glorified in literature, art and popular culture (like Rambo, and Schwarzenegger movies, which sell well all around the world). I will defer more comment on this to the chapter (26) on why so many men love war.

Reflect for a moment on the two civilian airliners mentioned, or on the hundreds of thousands of civilians under the bombs in Germany and Japan. Sure, there were guilty parties among the dead, workers in weapons factories, agents of evil empires on board, but there were children there also. My main point is emphasizing how many innocents were killed by these attacks on civilians which are so common in modern war. Yet more innocents are killed in the grotesquely immoral world of espionage and terrorism, whether state sponsored or "freelance." Far, far more innocents die in war today, than combatants.

Innocents fuel the cycle of revenge far more vigorously than dead soldiers, policemen or terrorists.

Somehow, those who think in terms of revenge and holy war often fail to notice that by attacking innocents instead of the perpetrators of the crimes they wish to avenge, they become agents of the evil they claim to oppose. They become ruthless murderers. They become terrorists. They become the evil. They become barbarians butchering innocent children, and the fact that they have moral, financial and political support from some government or religious "leader" does nothing to diminish their guilt in the eyes of the onlooking world and its Creator.

In almost all cases, you can be sure that they have thought about this at length; it does not happen quickly. Creating a suicide bomber who will sacrifice himself to mow down people at a shopping mall takes Hamas (a Palestinian group) about 20 years. But somehow, after all that thought and even prayer, extremists still find it morally right to go kill someone else's children as cruelly as the enemies they oppose injured innocents they intend to avenge. It is not that different for an Air Force pilot, who will trust his superiors not to select innocent targets.

Well, at the end of that road are cities like Beirut, Lebanon, or Sarajevo, Yugoslavia. At the end of that road are devastated cities with shattered economies where mental illness is endemic, especially among the young who grow up in the midst of this random carnage. An eye for an eye carried on long enough, and eventually whole nations are blinded.

Solutions

1. **Resurrect the prohibition on killing innocents, and the distinction between combatants and non-combatants in war.**

This can be done in a thousand ways both symbolic and practical, from sermons in churches to training for soldiers, to proclamations at the UN or treaties signed by governments, to prosecution of some of the many war criminals who walk the earth, from Radovan Karadzic and his senior officers, to men like Idi Amin who lounge today in friendly exile, protected by governments who like the billions of dollars in loot the bastards bring.

2. **Reconsider the concepts of "Just War" from Catholic doctrine and related notions like Intekam, just revenge in Islam, and "an eye for an eye" in Judaism, to restore the balance without which "justice" becomes a fig leaf for gross immorality.**

This is stuff for a thousand courses in a thousand seminaries and religiously supported colleges, where today “justifications for war” is taught more often than moral criticism of war. This is curriculum for war colleges all around the world. Whoever is in charge of the “ecclesiastical authorities” who approved dropping “leftist kids” from aircraft in Argentina (presumably the Pope since Argentines are 92 percent Catholic) should walk his talk of peace, and call some Bishops to account publicly for things like this. Similar comments could be made regarding a thousand Imams, Ayatollahs, Rabbis, and Christian clergy who talk peace out of one side of their mouths, while supporting war in other, and often in more practical ways.

3. Contemplate the Golden Rule which occurs in all great religions —

Hindu: The true rule is to guard the possessions of others as you do your own.

Jewish: Whatsoever you do not wish your neighbor to do to you, do not unto him. And: Love your neighbor as yourself.

Zoroastrian: Do as you would be done by.

Buddhist: One should seek for others the happiness one desires for oneself.

Christian: Do unto others as you would have done to you. And: Love God, and love your neighbor as yourself; this is the whole law of Moses.

Islam: Let none of you treat your brother in a way he himself would dislike to be treated. Or: No man is a true believer unless he desires for his brother that which he desires for himself.

Baha’i: Blessed is he who prefers his brother before himself.

Confucius: What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others.

These quotes come mainly from Divine Symphony, by Gayle Woolson, 1977.

Do not bother memorizing rituals, or the thousand details of doctrine, until you truly understand the basics, as stated above.

For those who have become expert in scriptural details while failing to understand, or live up to, basic principles, I say: Pious words will get you nowhere (good) when the judgment comes, compared with what you actually do when faced with moral dilemmas in this life.

4. For Soldiers and Police, I have more detailed comments, which are found in the section on Being a Warrior (Ch. 32).

For the ordinary citizen faced with rare, but real threats to family or community, I say: First, be damn sure the threat is real. There are too many nuts in the world who pop off at shadows in the dark, and they are dangerous to everyone. Second, try hard not to overlook options like third party mediation or 911 (calling for professional police help). The professionals are better equipped than you and far better trained. Do everything you can to solve the problem non-violently, or by involving appropriate professionals who range from priests to police to psychiatrists. But third, if unambiguously dangerous barbarians are at the gate, or breaking down your door, and you alone must decide -- well, be damn sure you shoot the dangerous one and not some innocent on the side. Save revenge for the rarest cases, not one person in a thousand sees one fitting in a lifetime -- remember that revenge almost always backfires on innocents somewhere. One act of revenge, the murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo by Serbian nationalists, set off a World War which killed at least 15 million people. And they are still killing each other today in or near Sarajevo, in vengeance for crimes long past. Please remember these things, and avoid revenge at all costs.

In ancient times they said, “Vengeance is the Lord’s.” Let the Lord do some things unassisted. You can not improve on this ancient wisdom.

“Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall.”

The Bible, Proverbs, 16:18.

The Desire to Dominate, and Hubris

There is a tiny tyrant in every human heart, waiting for power to exert its will on humankind. Not all wait in vain. Those with the deepest affliction are driven to seek power with single-minded, ruthless ambition. They, and those who support them, are a very potent cause of war.

The desire to dominate is nearly universal. The extreme form of this affliction is called hubris. Derived from the Greek word for violence, hubris is defined as: “Excessive, overweening pride; extreme arrogance.” Anyone may fall prey to hubris, but it is an occupational hazard for politicians. Surrounded by sycophants who echo the vast ambition of big bananas, urged on by clapping hoards of acolytes with ambitions of their own, the charismatic ones have little to restrain their natural tendency to believe that they alone have the brilliance to solve the pressing problems of the day.

Every government could nominate some of its preening parliamentarians for the world Olympics of hubris. But standout candidates from history would surely include Julius Caesar, Alexander the Great, Gengis Khan, Chandragupta and Kautila of India, Ivan the Terrible, Napoleon, Adolph Hitler, Pol Pot, Mao Tse Tung, Idi Amin, Mobutu Sese Seko, Saddam Hussein with his 29 palaces, and Newt Gingrich with his overwhelming ambition to “reshape the entire world.” All would agree that it takes ambition to accomplish very large goals. But the pathological ambition which victims of hubris display is a danger to the world, since they are notorious for using violent means to achieve their ambitious ends.

Those who would end war must be ever vigilant of hubris, both obvious and invisible, because the tiny tyrant in us all waits eternally for opportunities to rise again.

The tyrant in everyone may be seen in the behavior of small children before they have been taught that the world does not truly revolve around them alone. They want attention, they want it now, and they mirror in many ways the behavior of the grown men and women who seek

political power. The tiny tyrant may be seen in the behavior of small men, who suddenly acquire some measure of power over others, by rank in military service or bureaucracy or in a corporation. One of the truest measures of a man or a woman is how they treat those over whom they have power. A lot of people flunk this test, but they rise based more on how they appear to superiors, than to those below them.

The ubiquitous power of tyranny is also displayed by those unfortunate people who survive repression, only to repress when their turn at power comes. The Balkans provide examples as usual, as war ebbs and flows, changing victors to vanquished there. One of the saddest examples of transformation from oppressed to oppressor was displayed by those Israelis who turned against Palestinians when given a homeland by Western powers after the genocide in Europe called the Holocaust. Of course, they were attacked by Arab neighbors, and of course, there are many complications to the whole story of sadness in the Middle East. Still, the world had hoped the Jews would exemplify enlightened leadership, given their history of extreme suffering. But like others before them, they developed a two-class system of power and citizenship which reduced most Arabs to servants for the ruling elite.

There may be a statistical difference between women and men on this dimension. We must hope so, since the power of women can only rise as civilization matures, but the early returns on women in power are ambiguous.

It is important to remember that hubris is just the extreme expression of a trait which almost everyone carries within. Everyone also has an anus, but it is a mistake to condemn others when they act like one, forgetting that every human being has acted like an anus sometimes in our lives. It is easy to condemn the extremely vain and ruthless leader who slaughters

multitudes in his efforts to control the world. It is harder to identify and control the tyrant in us all, which strives in subtler ways to make the world over into our image. Many wars have been supported by masses of relatively normal, benign people, who simply, truly thought that the victims of their aggression would prefer the “superior administration” which the “enlightened” empire offered.

How many crusades have been offered in the name of “religion”? How many millions slaughtered there? Militant religionists should fear the coming of Messiah. She or he might not be so pleased with them as they suppose. The word hubris could have been invented to describe clerics who call for war in the names of a God who invariably counseled compassion and some large amount of brotherhood toward all.

The desire to dominate is intimately related to several causes of war cited earlier, especially: “Legalism,” “Authoritarian Law” and “Militant Religion.” In all these cases I struggled to convey the critical difference between rules essential to the public health, versus thousands of other rules which serve popular prejudice, rulers’ convenience, or merely the economic interests of powerful people.

In all cases, the solution is reducing the legitimate scope of criminal law to behaviors which present danger, and to protect everyone from being declared criminals just because they differ from some majority’s ideal. At the international level of competing nations, this principle would restrain acts of aggression far more than today, and would condemn the act of aggression itself as the one act which most threatens every citizen of the earth.

The critical link between simple dominance and war is the casual use of violent means to enforce compliance with laws regardless of their centrality to necessary order. The near universal desire to dominate others, to demand and ultimately to compel conformity for its own sake, leads to laws of diet, for example, or dress, and often over speech. Virtually every society has these, but they vary widely, since they are only matters of custom, not truly necessary for essential order.

Such laws lead to a casual use of force by governments to compel conformity for its own sake. And casual use of force by politicians is an ubiquitous but silent force for war. Self-serving use of force by corrupt governments is the primary catalyst for most civil wars, setting afire fields of discontent made flammable by endemic economic injustice. The injustice is inevitable because of the monopolies on trade the corrupt governments provide their friends. On the international scene, those who are accustomed to imposing their will on their “own” people are seldom more reserved in imposing their will on other people by force, if the requisite force is

available. A world run by people accustomed to using force casually is a world at risk of war for any whim of those politicians.

There is a fundamental difference between rules which are truly necessary to public health and safety, versus rules which merely serve common prejudices and private economic interests. Examples of the former include: requirements to use the public sewers, to report accurately the contents of foods sold at market, no nukes in the home arsenal, and traffic laws which insist that everyone drive by the common rulebook. Examples of the latter include: dietary laws, laws on required clothing which vary so widely across the globe, the rules on public speech which typify police states, and innumerable economic monopolies provided to private commercial interests by political processes almost everywhere.

Communism presents the ultimate monopoly, where the state claims ownership of everything. But economic monopolies are pervasive even in theoretically capitalist societies. An example is compulsory insurance laws combined with liberal tort laws in America which serve primarily the interests of insurance companies and trial lawyers. For the lawyers quite often unwanted help, every person in America must pay in innumerable ways every day. One derivative consequence is a health care system that costs twice what any other on earth does, yet which artfully excludes many of the people who need health care most. All in the name of public safety, of course.

The main point is that the desire to dominate feeds into war whenever this desire is backed by resort to force. To enforce compliance to whatever the local powers think is the right way to speak, look, eat or act, conditions both rulers and ruled to an acceptance of force as a common and legitimate tool of government. This belief is not sustainable in a world where weapons have become so powerful, and widely held. It fuels innumerable arguments over what the rules shall be and who shall make them. It represses minorities, who when severely oppressed, inevitably think of rebellion. It is also fundamentally contrary to the desire for freedom which emerges all around the world, and which my country once exemplified.

Resulting fights over who gets to force whom to obey may be tiny neighborhood disputes, or great big global wars. But one issue always at stake is which person or persons will be allowed to force others to bend to his will. It is a bad precedent.

The common desire to dominate reaches its apex in the mental disorder which some call hubris. Some of the world’s worst wars have been fought to enforce compliance to the grand ambitions of local wizards grown big, who simply thought they knew best how the world should be run. Napoleon is one of the best examples of

this, but he is hardly alone. He was just fond of portraits which illuminated his ego. When men like that are given the swords of powerful nation states, the whole world is at risk to their delusions of grandeur.

Solutions

I have no all-purpose solution to the common desire to dominate others which afflicts men and women so. I hope you all will provide a better answer to this problem. What I can do here is share four ideas; one from Lao Tzu, one on reducing the political power of politicians, and two which could reduce their practical power.

1. **Lao Tzu had this to say to the rulers of his time (in ≈ paraphrase ≈):**

≈ Stop thinking you know better how the world should be run, than the Creator who created it. It is running just fine without your help, please desist! The people know what they need, and will create it, if you let them. Confine yourselves to running just your own communities, because every time you try running the world you create an unholy mess. Study nature, all essential lessons are there. Learn from it how to maintain your own house, and leave the rest to others. Control your ambitions, because ambition comes before disaster. ≈

If only rulers listened when philosophers counsel restraint! But they seldom have. So engagement of the people, from whom all earthly power flows, becomes necessary. Revolution follows, and the ruthless rulers die.

2. **We depend on restraint among the people, who would be far better off if they would stop giving inordinate power to the ever eager politicians.**

People may be getting fed up with the messes which national leaders have left, but one never knows. People still flock to charismatic politicians who promise to solve their problems painlessly. And TV preachers have more power than most real religious leaders.

But at least in theory, if people withheld support from leaders infected with hubris, less damage would be done. If people chose to withhold financial support for militaristic adventures, and physical support by volunteer service in armies aimed at unwise foreign use, they could play a larger role in moderating the more demented ambitions of public politicians. How effective this support or denial of support can be depends on how authoritarian the local tax and conscription codes are, which prompts my final recommendations here.

3. **Reform of the basic principles of taxation and national service.**

If I were running things (ha!), I would submit two big reforms for instant action:

A) I would urge a two tier tax system where people could designate by major categories what their taxes supported by paying a significant surcharge, like about 15 percent. Legislators could make merry with the undesignated amount, submitted by people less committed to wise public administration. But this two tier tax system could return control over spending to those willing to pay the surcharge. Control by people of their taxes would impose much more restraint on governments, when they got so bad that they offended the people unbearably. Most people would not pay the surcharge unless they were extremely displeased with the government in power. The many people who prefer others to run their lives, could continue supporting the politicians by paying the minimum, like they do today. But those who care the most about what their taxes support, could designate their use.

B) I would also urge a social service program whose centerpiece would be unpaid membership in home-guard-like militia forces of strictly local control and mission. It would include a non-militaristic set of community service options, and would be a key to a higher status of citizenship than is open to those who do not wish to contribute to the burdens of social life. Not a higher status under law, in the courts, nor in any legal way: a higher status in the currency of social standing which has always been prestige. It would not be compulsory, and it would not be subject to oversight by federal or global forces, since one of its main functions would be to preserve some organized power for communities to guard against the corruption and hubris which comes so often to those in far off governments. This idea will be further developed in Chapter 32.

! Notice how this last advice began, “If I were running things.” Do not worry, I am not! Who has not imagined how they would improve the world, if only they were in charge? It is the first baby step on the road to hubris! There is a little tyrant in the heart of every human being. Keep an eye on yours. And be triply warned about hubris, the overweening pride which comes to politicians. It comes before the fall of even the most powerful empires on earth.

“You’ve never lived until you’ve almost died.”

— from a friend in U.S. Army Special Operations

The Desire for Adventure, Honor and Enemies, or Why Many Men Love War

What drives the multi-billion dollar entertainment industry to provide such a rich and steady diet of violence and mayhem to our youth? This cannot be just a result of power brokers prepping cannon fodder. It is too universal for that.

Big-name actors in the “action-adventure” genre are popular around the world. Arnold Schwarzenegger has fans in every country, lots of them, and “Rambo” sold almost as well in Southeast Asia as in America where Stallone’s character was created. Bruce Lee, an actual martial artist as opposed to a muscle man who acts, outsold them both in Asia, and captured his fair market share in America before he died.

The movies have played a significant propaganda role since at least World War II when governments on all sides commissioned films to support the war effort. But the bigger factor, I conclude, for the abundance of surrogate gore we observe in America today is an appetite of prodigious proportions for fantasy violence. Of course, this appetite may be made bigger by advertising or smaller by parental guidance or restraint, but it is real and enduring. Fantasy differs from reality in that art and literature can capture most of the fun, beauty, glory, adventure, special camaraderie, courage, etc. of war. But it filters out or softens the pain, horror, tears, loneliness, bloodshed, screams and general tragedy of war. Art which does not soften the pain enough, does not compete well in the marketplace, so the fantasy which spreads farthest most distorts the actual balance of fascination and terror of real wars.

Many perceptive authors have struggled to describe this fascination with war. Most were reflective veterans who hated war’s reality, but were honest enough to comment also on what fascinated them about combat. J. Glenn Gray (1959) notes three main factors in his book, The Warriors: lust of destruction, lust of the eye (for visual beauty) and lust for the unusual. A World War II

veteran, he notes that: “Thousands of youths who never suspected the presence of such an impulse in themselves have learned in the military life the mad excitement of destroying.” Many conversations with other veterans, and the common experience of life, confirm that there is something to his observations. Many young men have discovered the special joy in tearing something to shreds, or for visual excitement, burning or blowing it up. Fewer notice how much harder it is to build a shed than to reduce it to rubble. Recruiters around the world scout the smaller rural towns for bored youth who can be tempted by a chance to “see the world.” Destruction, the eye, and the unusual.

Every observer notices a special bond among men in combat together, a brotherhood quite different from the ordinary. There is a special bond of combat, and there is a special feeling in communities which are facing deadly threats. Both of these special feelings are remembered for life, and some of the young who hear them described with such nostalgia wonder what they are missing. The intensity of emotions in and around war simply surpasses those when death is not so near, and life’s fragility so apparent.

Look at the generation of men and women who survived the world wars together, especially the Great War against fascism, that most extreme of evils. For many, this was the defining moment of their lives. Some proved their manhood then, others lost their best friends, or husbands or wives. Some will comment on the unusual adventures the war brought them, some on the unusual opportunities it afforded, but all remember the special feeling of communities banding together against a common and undeniably dangerous foe. They sacrificed enormously, enormously indeed. They also experienced something precious, and it is something which many people find lacking today.

Those who would end war must confront the useful

functions which war serves, because failure to replace these functions with more benign solutions may result in failure to eliminate war. The function described above is social bonding. Another function of war is ultimate dispute resolution. Better institutions for resolving international disputes might serve that goal. But this alone could never serve the appetite for adventure, or the desire among many men for publicly acknowledged “honor.” It appears that these appetites are large.

The need for enemies is more dangerous. George Kennan, one of the most famous architects of the theory of “containment” which dominated Cold War strategy in America, offered another pregnant thought in a television interview near his 85th birthday. He observed that the end of the Cold War presented many opportunities for improving the earth, if, he said: “If the people who need enemies will let us.”

Some people need enemies. Spies are one example discussed at length earlier. Warrior “want-to-be’s” are another. Aging wimps are yet a third. And if enemies are not readily available, they can be created by those who need them badly.

Who needs enemies? Three kinds of people. Those who would be heroes, those who need scapegoats to blame their problems on, and careerists who depend on enemies for their budgets or their jobs. Alternatives to war can be easily arranged for the want-to-be heroes; the scapegoaters and careerists are more problematic.

William Broyles (1986) presents another perspective in an essay called “Why Men Love War.” He attempts to explain, “Why thoughtful, loving men can love war even while knowing and hating it.” He says that: “War is, for men, at some terrible level the closest thing to what childbirth is for women: the initiation into the power of life and death.” On the masculine dimension to war, another author long forgotten, said: “The feminine principle affirms that some things are worth living for, but the masculine principle reminds us that some things are worth dying for, too.” However you phrase it, very large numbers of men consider the ability to face death without flinching to be a fundamental distinction between the heroes that we honor, and the cowards we despise.

However well or poorly we try to explain masculinity and war, there is little doubt that they are linked at some very deep, perhaps terrible level. But linked they surely are, at least in many men. And those who would end war must accommodate that linkage in ways which enable men to be masculine without requiring them to kill a lot of “enemies.”

Armies understand this linkage extremely well. They use common traits to mold teenage boys into fighting men, and it takes them mere weeks to do it. The best

description I have seen on how they exploit the deep and nearly universal link between adolescent masculinity and war, is the fifth chapter in Gwynne Dyer’s book on War (1985) called: “Anybody’s Son Will Do.” Among many sharp perceptions, he notes the almost overwhelming desire to fit in to a group, which adolescent men display. Combining this with patriotic rhetoric, lots of vigorous exercise, eating, sleeping, shooting and peeing together with the same small group for months, and plenty of opportunities to face simulated danger which is really scary but which most young men can readily endure — and professional militaries round the world can turn about 75 percent of them into fairly reliable soldiers. If and when real combat, real danger and real terrors come, many of these men will face death not for high reasons, but because a special bond has been formed which makes them a small family. When terror comes, many men will face the enemy only because they know their own personal team needs them to survive, and they have become like family, sometimes even closer to each other than to their actual families.

These are perceptions of other authors about why men love war that I have cited because they correlate with what I also have observed. There are some other aspects which seem important to me, which apply only to some men rather than to most men. These include an intense desire for public notice of courage, love of weapons, and most rarely (less than one in a thousand I suspect, though Broyles would disagree in favor of a higher number) an actual love of killing.

At one end are genuine heroes, who just want to be acknowledged for their bravery and skill. At the other end are sadistic murderers who seek an opportunity to exercise this trait without being put in jail. In the middle is whatever causes some men to treat their guns better than they treat their wives. Moral judgement is not my purpose here, in fact, it is probably counterproductive here. Why? Because a wise society must find a place even for its sadistic killers. They do occur, and if we do not find a proper place for them, they will find a way to do their thing in the dark of night.

Let us deal with heroes first; they are easier in many ways. The great majority of men, and I am sure many women, have a little hero in them waiting to get out. But not all. Not everyone has what it takes if the bell rings for them, but none of us knows for sure, unless and until we are tested by really scary and genuinely dangerous events. So the test is important, because no one truly knows if he will face the deadly threat or run, until the moment of truth comes. * (footnote next page)

Now the storybook hero needs no applause; he does his heroic acts out of some mystic inner need for self

respect, or because of vows before some god of heroes long ago. This is OK for Japanese Samurai, but is not enough for a great many men. The majority of men have a little hero in them, and wait in some way through their life for an opportunity to display it. For this larger group of men, an audience is necessary. These are the guys who need medals for their valor, to commemorate their heroism, and to affirm for friends and family who are almost never there when combat calls, that Joe really was the hero he knew inside all along.

I mean no disrespect to them. The world needs heroes, sometimes desperately, and it is far better to be a hero with an ego than a coward on the run. But the matter of public approval has important practical implications. A wise society would put serious effort into arranging events such that most of the want-to-be-heroes in every generation of young men get their chance to be tested, and get their public affirmation and approval, in some manner less dangerous than periodic wars. Want-to-be-hero women are welcome too, there's no need for exclusion here. But I think there may be more than mere statistical differences between the sexes on this item.

The good side-effects, should modern civilization adopt this, are beyond calculation. There were extremely practical reasons for the rites of passage which nearly every "primitive" society afforded both its young men and young women.

First, there are few things so dangerous as adolescent males out looking for their chance to face death. Better to defuse them than to starve them of the opportunity they seek, and need. Second, self esteem is much enhanced when young men know what they can do, and self esteem is closely related to later successes in life. You can watch movies until the sun grows cold, read books until you're blue, and you will not know if you can face death proudly until death itself is in your face. Third, courage itself is partly inborn, but partly learned, and it is

better cultivated by carefully constructed opportunities to be scared spitless yet still survive, than by relying on the random acts of the world. You could send all your young men into high mountains for a month or two, to seek adventure and mystic vision, but they would not all come back. More would be damaged than necessary, and some would return, but never have really learned what you sent them into the wilderness for.

Many men who never get the opportunities I struggle to describe, are more dangerous than necessary. Some are more dangerous personally, as they vent their rage on innocent victims in the street or in the home. Others merely age in bitter discontent, knowing they have waited in vain, and missed something vaguely understood but deeply important. Both of these types of men can be a dangerous force for war, even 50 years later, when democratic nations are making life and death decisions. The men who never, ever get a chance to prove themselves appropriately are often the first to bang the war drums and to bray about how national pride demands the sacrifice of some of the young.

So cultivating heroes properly, to mature and careful adults cleansed of juvenile needs to beat the chest publicly, could help to end war. By reducing the danger of rash decisions by frustrated men; that is one way. By increasing the maturity of critical decisions; that is another. But also, it bears mention that a nation of genuine, tested heroes, is a very difficult nation to conquer. The risk of war by outside forces would also go down if this were done.

What about the gun enthusiasts, and the sadistic killers (quite separate groups)?

America, of course, has a relationship with weapons more akin to tribal Afghanistan than to cosmopolitan Europe or urbane Japan. Indeed, few peoples on earth can match the extremes to which gun lovers go in America, if for no other reason than the astronomic expense. We also pay a heavy price for that, as everyone knows, in murders.

Whether we love guns because we identify with war, or whether we love war because we want to use the guns, or whether men love weapons for some mystic reason related to shiny steel or tiny penises are all engaging questions which someone else must answer. What I know for certain is that so long as guns are about, a lot of men are going to love them intensely. And the world is a safer place if the men who love guns so, are able to get out and shoot them in some safe setting, and are trained in the safer ways to store, maintain and use guns without blowing away their neighbor, their family or themselves.

Another view on that, of course, is to simply "take away" all the guns, which is the preferred approach of police-states everywhere, and of well meaning do-gooders in other places. This may indeed be the soundest answer

* Barbara Ehrenreich has presented the best new idea in a generation on possible biological roots for this set of behaviors (*Blood Rites*, 1997). Simply put, she observes the ubiquitous presence of large predators during human prehistory, and posits that ginning up courage to defend against the big cats and bears may have had more to do with developing macho male attitudes than contests against other human beings over territory or whatever. No matter how right or wrong Ehrenreich's guess on the origins of aggression is compared with Konrad Lorenz's or any others, have no doubt that biological roots to aggression do exist and should not be disregarded, nor cut off rashly. Channeling nature works better than prohibition.

somewhere. Europeans seem to like it, and they get along fine until war breaks out in their neighborhood. Japan does very well without guns in private homes. But recall, twice this century Americans had to go and die in Europe because Europeans were not strong enough to stop those who would end freedom. More recently they begged the Balkan bullies to stop slaughtering the innocents there, for years, but the killing did not stop until American airpower and the First Armored Division blew up a few hillsides, and promised worse to anyone else who fired a weapon.

I really worry about the fact that police-states invariably confiscate the peoples' guns. Police-states always outlaw private weapons, and tyranny is not an acceptable price for peace to me. But that is not going to happen anytime soon in America, so I leave it to the theoreticians to ponder.

So, focused sharply on what reduces causes of war, I say let the people have small arms, and let them organize into local militias for defense only. This strengthens the defense capability of the nation, and reduces incentives for government to become more corrupt than it must be. I emphasize that these conclusions were not reached out of a personal love of guns. Almost my entire professional life has been devoted to ending war. Right or wrong, this conclusion is based on observations animated by that goal.

But what about the sadistic killers? Then they will have guns too!

Sadistic killers: a) will have guns if anyone in society has guns, and, b) don't need guns. Sadistic killers know a hundred ways to kill, with or without guns. It is in their nature, and they will pick up by osmosis whatever society knows about the arts of death, which is plenty. There are certainly many people who should not be allowed guns due to mental illness or felony crime, but disarming ordinary people will not stop sadistic killers. It will, however, certainly leave the weaker law-abiding folk more vulnerable to the outlaws and the predators.

Left untended, some sadistic killers will gravitate to jobs as prison guards, or other areas of law enforcement which provide the possibility of legal application of their special skills. Every police training institution is aware of this danger, and good policemen try very hard to weed out the sadists.

The Army is a better place for such extremists, even though the Army also recognizes that some people are too pathological to make good team members in combat where discipline is exceptionally necessary. If not the Army, the Marines may do — there are many niches in the world of combat arms [I do not recommend the secret services — psychopaths and official secrecy are too dangerous a combination]. But my point here is not to convenience the Army nor to burden the police. It is to emphasize as

strongly as I can that psychopathic, or sadistic killers are a reality of the human condition just as saints and singers are, and a wise society will face this harsh fact and find a safer place to put these people than the prisons and mental institutions which now serve that role — after they have killed someone (or 20 or 30).

Not only is this safer for society, it is more dignified for the killer whether he is "natural born" or created by a sadistic family situation as so many are. Either way, it is unwise and may be actually immoral for society to condemn without hope those people who can be no other way. I am not urging the world to let them run amok; I am urging the world to do a better job to find a safe place for all the people, even the very difficult people. Even sadistic killers, who suddenly become indispensable if the nation is being overrun by barbarians, which is why we have some killers in our midst in the first place.

Human history is long. So is the list of peoples who are not with us now, because their warriors were not strong, or ruthless enough, when barbarians arrived. Sadistic killers are one result, and they can be a force for war if they are not properly identified and given a role in life which allows the minimal dignity and chance to support one's family that every man requires. It is your choice. You can put them into a relatively disciplined, controlled environment, like the Marines, where they can do something useful (unless you would rather try to turn sadistic killers into schoolteachers). Or, you can wait until they explode in a world which has no place for them, and then jail them for life or kill them, both of which are quite expensive in both treasure and moral fiber.

There are other reasons men love war, of course, there are always other reasons. Broyles considers the reasons irrelevant, because: "War is the enduring condition of man, period. Men have gone to war for everything from Helen of Troy to Jenkin's ear. Two million Frenchmen and Englishmen died in muddy trenches in World War I because a student shot an archduke. The truth is, the reasons don't matter." Broyles says.

He has a point. But the reasons matter to me, because I am not content with the cost in blown up babies, or children crying because they lost their families or their homes. War is in part a masculine fantasy, much embellished and encouraged by an entertainment industry that makes high art of accenting the fun parts and brushing over the brutality. There are a hundred other things which one might do to change that culture, from rating movies better to encouraging non-violent toys, to actually buying the products which people produce to encourage a more humane crop of children. There is much to be done there! I have seen many attempts to make "cooperative" games as fun as combat on a board, or toy guns in the neighborhood,

and this is much, much more difficult than some suspect.

These are all tiny steps on the difficult path to ending war. Sesame Street is an excellent antidote to Rambo culture, if parents will ensure that this is available for kids to see, and also exert some effort to make sure their little urchins see other kids solving problems constructively, more often than they watch Rambo slaughtering the multitude.

So press on, and someone will do better than before to tame the love of war. Until that day, I encourage all sorts of intermediate answers, which can harness this powerful force to something more useful than actual combat. Or random violence in the streets.

Solutions

1. Proper Training of Young Men in Manhood, would or could include:

- a) Near-absolute prohibitions on striking women and children,
- b) Basic Martial Arts Instruction with a strong philosophical emphasis,
- c) Rites of Passage to adult responsibilities and rights;
- d) All with goals of cultivating a sense of honor in defense, condemnation of offense, and enough practical experience to know the difference.

In America today, most commercial martial arts courses are mainly physical technique and almost no philosophy, because that is what Americans will pay for. This is exactly the opposite of how it should be. The ultimate purpose of martial art is to cultivate safe men, who can be dangerous if and only if that is truly required by circumstances. Self defense for women is fine too, properly mastered it gives them a fighting chance, but this is quite a different goal from the masculine objective which is cultivating men who choose not to fight unless it is truly necessary. As a group, black belts are extremely gentle people, because properly taught, the art has done its job. They know the realities of fighting, and have vented their aggressions, so they need not fight, and choose not to, except in the most extreme circumstances.

One of the small ways this is accomplished is by properly monitored contact sparring which gives young men plenty of opportunities to hit and be hit in relative safety. This conveys as movies never do a basic fact of combat which is that fighting hurts, regardless of who

wins. Finally, the close observation by elders which all this requires would allow a wise society to detect those rare but real individuals who really like hurting others. It is better to detect those at risk of becoming serial killers or rapists or other dangerous maniacs, who might then be referred to professional help before they slaughter innocents or harm them otherwise.

A growing body of evidence and research confirms that very large fractions of our prison population were abused as children, sexually, physically and otherwise, and suggests that corporal punishment overdone increases subsequent violence in society (Greven, 1992). There are always exceptions to generalizations of course, but it is also clear that children tend to mimic parents, and that violent parents tend to have violent children.

This evidence supports concluding that a very broad social prohibition on men striking women or children (except under the most extreme circumstances) would assist my goal of ending war. A lot of women and children have their own reasons to approve of a ban on men hitting them, regardless of implications for war. The prohibition I encourage here goes beyond the more general prohibitions on hitting which I am assuming the reader already supports. Women beating children hurts the children just as much as men, and women hitting men is an invitation to abuse by them, for which the men may now be jailed but the women generally not. My point is stressing an even greater emphasis on the notion that genuine men never hit women or children, unless life itself is at stake in exceptional circumstances.

Another small advertisement for more focused education in masculinity, is the observation that black belts almost never hit their wives (at least, I have never known of it, and I have known a lot of them). Now, anyone can be pathological, can be a hopeless drunk, can be bad in other ways. But men who acquire high rank in martial arts have usually disciplined themselves a lot to get there. Usually, they cannot afford to be drunks. In responsible schools of martial art they would not be allowed to advance, and it would be too dangerous in other ways. Usually, they are sufficiently disciplined to fight by rules which keep them from killing each other, which they know very well how to do. Most men like this simply have no need, but would feel intense dishonor, to strike a woman or a child in anger. I am not calling them saints. I am saying that their need to lash out at the world has been much reduced, and the discipline with which they approach fighting has been much enhanced, because they could not even train safely if this were not so.

2. Provision of alternatives for adventure, honor, maybe even enemies, of sufficient real danger and importance to satisfy those for whom these are really quite essential.

There is a program called “Outward Bound” which takes young city kids aged about 12-20 years into wilderness adventures to teach them character and self-esteem, teamwork and a modicum of self-sufficiency in the woods. This is a highly successful commercial venture which draws on the same set of principles I am espousing, except that it lacks the martial arts component, which is fine for those without that need. It has many positive effects on troubled teens in America today. Similar courses have been designed for executives and others who can afford a week or more in nature resorts, doing rope courses and playing adult games in the woods.

These are all examples of what society can do to provide structured adventure with nearly zero risk. If the lawyers would let America be free again, actual risks could be included for those willing with full informed consent to take them. All the risk in the world is still available, of course, to the solo mountain climber, scuba diver or alligator wrestler, you just cannot make a business of putting people’s lives in danger at this time. Unless you are the Army, of course. In ancient times, this kind of training led to serious rites of passage between youth, and socially recognized man or womanhood. Those were days when almost every man was a warrior, but there were almost no wars. Those who would end war should contemplate how rigorous training, with provisions for adventure and maybe even rites of passage, can help us end it.

3. If you will provide productive employment for sadistic killers, in the interests of public health, why not go whole hog and provide employment for everyone who wants work?

This notion is only radical in ruthlessly capitalist societies, where unemployment is used to discipline workers so they will not ask too much in wages from their employers, nor complain too much. I discuss it elsewhere (Chapter 20), the moderate costs involved and the manifold benefits which might come if society decided that creating employment was better than tolerating high rates of crime and homeless people. So I will not repeat that here, except to emphasize the main point.

If it makes sense to employ sadistic killers, as a public safety measure, which I do encourage, would it not make sense as well to employ the underclass in general? Certainly it could have a positive effect on the probability of civil war, which I remind all is the dominant form of

war today. P(War) is rising now as gaps between rich and poor become deeper around the world.

4. Encouragement of art which honors the better qualities in men.

One reason Rambo is so popular is because he appeals to the lowest common denominator in men, which is lots of bangs and blowings up, with attractive women at risk for eye candy. A mano-a-mano confrontation between the hero and his personal enemy at the end, preferably without weapons, is traditional. Eye candy thanks the hero. It is a plot as ancient as humankind, and we love it so. But conscientious people male or female, could occasionally go out of their way to support some higher art, so that gradually the little ones might learn there is more to human culture than mayhem.

5. The complications which women represent.

My feminist friends, any who remain readers, will have noted a hundred times by now that almost every word in this chapter is oriented toward males. Yep, yep, love of war is a particularly male-type problem, although I will agree instantly if pressed that some women are as dangerous warmongers as the worst of men. Some women kill, less than men. Some women make good soldiers, less than men, many less than men. Some women are sadistic killers, but they are far less frequent statistically than male sadistic killers. Some women are politically ambitious, and wage wars.

For that matter, some women act for all practical purposes like men trapped in women’s bodies, and some men act the reverse. I am not trying to put any of them into a box, or to narrow the possibilities of life for any among them, or for you. The subject is sufficiently important that I will devote a chapter to it in Part III which attempts to deal directly with solutions (The Feminist Revolt, and Masculinity).

In the same spirit, however, I have addressed this chapter in particular to why many men love war, which is a masculine thing, which matters a lot to anyone with a serious interest in actually ending war. Neutering the language here would destroy or at least corrode its power; let us not be compulsive. A core part of the task of ending war, is helping ordinary men to find ways to prove their manhood which are less destructive than the crucible of war which has served that purpose in the past.

“Those whom the Gods would destroy, they first render mad.” — Euripides

“War begins in the minds of men, so it is in the minds of men that peacemakers must begin their work.”

— source unknown

Greed, Hatred, Repression, Compulsion, Paranoia, Authoritarianism, and Lesser Psychological Factors

The roles of Greed and Hatred in causing war seem so obvious they need no explication. When ordinary people are asked what is the most important cause of war, “greed” is by far the most common answer. Second to this comes “power.” I have also heard of greed for power. All other causes, simple or complex, trail far behind in the minds of ordinary people with whom I have talked about these things. Most have thought deeply about it, one time or another, because war touches everyone in many ways. We will discuss classical “balance of power” theories in the next chapter. My best solution to greed is at the end of this chapter. It will not satisfy the pathological greed of rulers, but that would not result in war if more people refused to follow leaders onto death for petty material gains.

Hatred animates almost every lethal conflict, and may play an especially important role in the ethnic conflicts which prevail today. But it has always been there, in “religious” wars, in wars of ideology like the Cold War and its dozens of offspring proxy wars around the world. Hatred is important because people will not support sustained war unless they are driven to hating the enemy, often by calculated propaganda. And it is important because a fundamental change takes place in leaders when hatred comes. Before that, calculations are more rational; after, any barbarity can be rationalized.

Critical moments of decision often come, not when external conditions have changed so much as when fatigue or personal insult cause a leader on one side to become enraged (Stoessinger, 1985). So much for rational calculations by “rational actors.”

A number of authors (like Broyles and Gray cited previously) have commented that the only authentic antidote to hatred is love. This may be; certainly an excess

of love has never been one of my problems while confronting war. The reader may ponder solutions to hatred. All I know is that it is clearly one of the important psychological causes of war.

Most of this chapter will deal with a cluster of other psychological terms which have been identified by those who study “authoritarian personalities.” These include repression, compulsion, and paranoia, among others. The principal idea, first cited by a team that was commissioned by the American Jewish Committee shortly after World War II to try to figure out how the Nazis became demented (Adorno et al., 1950, 482), is essentially this:

“Fascist attitudes are characterized by inner conflicts resolved by denial, projection onto others, and subsequent justification of repressive behavior toward those target groups.” Eckhardt elaborates (1972, 159): “The authoritarian personality, with his prejudiced ideologies, egoistic affects, cognitive rigidity, and conventional morality, seems to be a function of punitive and restrictive childhood training as reported by both the subjects and their parents, while more democratic personalities received more love and freedom in their childhood.”

By any measure, this would be a very large consequence of child abuse. But it correlates well both with experience in prisons, and with advice on rearing children loudly given by authoritarian personalities themselves, which is unambiguously non-permissive and often starkly punitive.

M. Brewster Smith (1950, 776) extracted the essence of Adorno et al.’s findings about authoritarian personalities in the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*:

"Such a person, estranged from inner values, lacks self-awareness and shuns introspection. His judgments are governed by a punitive conventional moralism, reflecting external standards in which he remains insecure since he has failed to make them really his own. His relations with others depend on considerations of power, success, and adjustment, in which people figure as means rather than as ends, and achievement is not valued for its own sake. In his world, the good, the powerful, and the in-group stand in fundamental opposition to the immoral, the weak, the out-group. For all that he seeks to align himself with the former, his underlying feelings of weakness and self-contempt commit him to a constant and embittered struggle to prove to himself and others that he really belongs to the strong and good. Prejudice against out-groups of all kinds and colors is a direct corollary of this personality structure.

Their initial studies (Adorno) indicated that anti-Semitism, far from being an isolated though unrespectable psychological phenomenon, is an integral component of a general "ethnocentric ideology." Ethnocentrism, pursued in turn, is revealed as the expression of a distinctive "authoritarian personality structure" whose unadmitted needs and defenses it serves."

It is all about the unconscious mind, what that does when one denies the beast within us all. When we drive our less pleasant aspects underground, we lose control of them. It is the same with societies.

Having repressed the greedy, aggressive, fearful and weak elements of personality into the unconscious, the classic authoritarian personality projects these traits onto other groups, whom he needs to see as inferior. Having done this, the paradox of "righteous aggression" follows. The authoritarian exploits and oppresses his chosen underclass (which can be Jews, or blacks, or Bosnians, or homosexuals, or any vulnerable group). But needing to retain a self-image of righteousness, the authoritarian believes that his sins against them are committed "for their own good," or at least, for the good of society.

His (or her — women are not immune to bigotry or lust for power) aggression against his chosen "other" inevitably generates some hostile responses. These fuel a form of self-fulfilling paranoia which can be quite difficult to stop, because the actual aggressor often feels persecuted, and thinks he is really helping the "other" (inferior) group, "for their own good," by ruling over them with his "superior" wisdom, or at least that he is defending his own clan by attacking others. Persico (1995) points out that psychiatric examination of the Nazis tried at

Nuremberg revealed a group of very intelligent, but very psychopathic sadists. Gilbert (1950, 109) found that Goering had an IQ of 138, but noted: "The clinical picture presented by the tests is certainly that of the intelligent but sadistic egotist with little real ego strength." The Nazis were "true believers" to the bone, and they believed that rule by them was for the good of all.

Do-gooders try to reason with this process with little success, partly because they are often unaware that the process itself is non-rational and almost impervious to ordinary appeals to reason or consistency. The authoritarian "rationality" has been turned inside-out, the real motivations for their behaviors have been driven into the unconscious, and they very quickly acquire lots of practice explaining the inevitable contradictions. They also surround themselves with fellow believers, except when "evangelizing" in religion, or recruiting power and money in politics.

These basic findings are confirmed by substantial and quite independent work on the same topic by clinical psychologist William Eckhardt (1972) and Canadian social psychologist Bob Altemeyer (1988) who won the 1986 American Association for the Advancement of Science Prize for Behavioral Science Research for his work in this area.

Eckhardt approaches the problem of compulsive behavior with a wide ranging review of religious and scientific philosophies relevant to the whole inquiry, followed by a thorough review of pertinent research available at that time and a great deal of his own work based partly on his experience as a clinical psychologist dealing with the more severe nut-cases who spin off the authoritarian whirlpool [he would never describe them as unkindly as I do]. Citing theories of consciousness, he concludes:

"According to these theories of consciousness, whenever any human activity has been put out of the conscious mind, it is put out of conscious control and acquires a quasi-life of its own. Having become autonomous of their creator, who has denied them a part in his conscious human activity, these unconscious emotional forces retaliate by turning themselves against their creator-rejecter, trying to hurt him in return for his rejection of them. Freud (1959) has called this self-destructive process "neurotic" and Kierkegaard (1954) has called it a "sickness unto death." Far from being an original sin or a death instinct, this analysis would suggest that this process has been set in motion by particular personal choices made in certain social situations."

Eckhardt's most penetrating conclusion was that the most important dimension of personal psychology is a spectrum running from compassion to compulsion. Authoritarian personalities cluster far to the compulsive side, because they cannot create their own ethos due to inner weaknesses. So they adopt instead whatever the prevailing conventional ethos is, condemn anyone who deviates from this ordained norm including significant parts of themselves which have been repressed (often since a highly punitive childhood), and rationalize the glaring inconsistencies which result (for example, "I am a righteous Christian, but I am also all for capital punishment and war against the poor").

Why does this matter? In Eckhardt's own words, in 1972:

"The world is dying from lack of compassion. Men are killing one another, sometimes swiftly, sometimes more slowly. We are killing one another by pollution; by making some of us affluent at the expense of others living in poverty; by unjust discriminations on the basis of race, sex, etc.; by crowding ourselves with overpopulation; and by outright slaughter in revolutions and wars. We seem to be more or less unconsciously compelled to engage in those activities and relations which produce overpopulation, pollution, and poverty; which promote prejudice; and which make wars inevitable. For the most part, these effects do not seem to be consciously desired by most human beings. Most people and governments consider them to be undesirable as ends, but seem virtually compelled to act in ways that lead to these ends, almost as if they had no choice in the matter at all.

From this line of reasoning, it would seem that some sort of compulsion (which may be largely, or at least partly, unconscious) is responsible for the lack of compassion from which the world is dying. It would seem that any increase in compulsion necessarily reduces the power of compassion in human affairs and, conversely, any increase in compassion necessarily reduces the power of compulsion in human affairs."

Jesus was compassionate, Buddha was compassionate, Muhammad and Moses were compassionate; authoritarian personalities generally are not. But they make excellent "True Believers" who build excellent institutions, so they often dominate the churches of many religions which result.

In religion, which enters every study of this problem whether invited or not, the spectrum is from militant exclusive (or fundamental) to tolerant ecumenical. Eckhardt identifies a desire for inequality in human power

and economic relations, as one of the basic factors which divides authoritarian personalities from the rest. Authoritarians need to feel superior, and they do so with a vengeance (Eckhardt's Table 9, pg. 216 - 218, provides many interesting correlates with this trait).

Altemeyer discerns few differences between "right wing" and "left wing" authoritarianism, or more accurately, he questions whether true authoritarians ever gravitate toward the permissive "left" of Canada's political spectrum. I want to dispense with that side issue with the simple observation that totalitarian governments, whether of the communist "left" or the fascist "right," appeal to the same brute prejudices in people, and use the same police-state methods to enforce their rule. They are merely the red and the blue teams of thugs to me. (Altemeyer is well aware of this perspective, has reasons for sticking with his chosen labels, and would consider a militant communist to be a "right wing authoritarian" not significantly different from fascists, pg. 262-263).

A more authentic political spectrum to me than left to right is from authoritarians who enjoy forceful methods and the inequalities these bring them, to egalitarian democratic types who want power shared more broadly. The latter are in very general ways less inclined to adopt force in social affairs. And are "meat for the table," in the words of one ruthlessly authoritarian author (whoever wrote the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion — a matter of some dispute).* Therefore those who would end war must push society in democratic directions, and toward egalitarian social conditions, recognizing clearly that they will be opposed every step of the way by authoritarian personalities who depend ultimately on force to preserve their self image and the inequalities of wealth and power which they feel is their natural right.

Religious authoritarians tend to believe themselves to be God's chosen people, non-theistic ones that they are Nature's "most fit." Neither group is as generous nor as compassionate as others by objective measures. Psychologically, they transform ordinary human greed into evidence that they are just remarkably better than most people.

* Jewish scholarship claims that this was written by the Czarist secret police in Russia near the beginning of the twentieth century, to discredit Judaism. Some scholars think that text may have been based on prior writing by a French author, or have even earlier origins. In any event, it is an extremely artful example of propaganda because it presents its authors as demonically evil people. Whoever wrote this was exceedingly intelligent, malevolent and predatory in their attitude toward society, even if they were writing raw fiction.

Robert Altemeyer has written the definitive work on “right-wing authoritarianism” (which includes communism, as noted earlier). Before summarizing his findings here, some comment on the unique quality of his work is called for. First, he clearly identifies the limitations of his study. Most of his data is drawn from 18 years of detailed surveys of his student population, so it really speaks to “right-wing authoritarianism” among college students in Manitoba, not exactly a sample which could be generalized across all the world’s peoples. Second, his basic method is correlations of attitudes across differing subsets of these groups. So his generalizations are about distributions of attitudes in groups, which provides only indirect evidence of how those attitudes form in individuals. Third, as with anyone who deals in real data rather than simple theory or intuition, he finds exceptions to his generalizations.

All of these points should be kept in mind, which can be difficult to do when one is forced by space limitations to pass on the generalizations. Unlike many social scientists who pay homage to scientific method, Altemeyer actually used it. He formulates real hypotheses, gathers data which might disconfirm them, and discards hypotheses which are not supported. He measures everything he can, and uses statistics appropriately. He experiments, controlling extraneous variables wherever he can. This is good science, and a luxury not available to me, because to experiment with war is something only heads of state and warmongers can do.

Altemeyer defines “right-wing authoritarianism” as the combination of three attitudinal clusters in a person: 1) Authoritarian submission (to established authorities,) 2) Authoritarian aggression (toward various groups of people, perceived to be sanctioned by the established authorities) and 3) Conventionalism (high degree of adherence to social conventions perceived to be endorsed by the authorities). His most interesting conclusions, based on 18 years of empirical research of remarkable quality, fill most of the next three pages.

In Preface: “20,000 - plus people have filled out this 30 item questionnaire [his right-wing authoritarianism, or RWA scale], during which time the level of authoritarianism in our society [Canada] has been found to be slowly but surely rising.”

“Authoritarians have ‘enemies-lists’ of despised targets. Do nonauthoritarians also have groups they are ready to punish as soon as they get the chance? It appears governments would have little trouble persuading authoritarians to help hunt down and persecute

communists and homosexuals. Would nonauthoritarians respond as quickly to a call to persecute the Ku Klux Klan?” He concludes “no.”

Altemeyer probes one of the enduring mysteries which has puzzled many observers, how the authoritarian maintains a righteous self-image while being prejudiced and aggressive. He explores connections between religion and right-wing authoritarianism, then authoritarians’ religious beliefs in depth, and describes three experiments bearing on the “compartmentalized” minds of religious authoritarians. This was of particular interest to me, because of the important role which compartmentalization of information plays in the dysfunctions of national intelligence agencies (see “Spies, Cults and Secret Power Systems”). Finally he finds that “personal authoritarianism probably differentiates politicians more highly than any other ideological factor.”

Altemeyer’s basic method is to first survey his students according to a measurement of “right-wing authoritarianism,” then to compare in various ways the groups which scored highest on his measure with those which scored lowest. So when he refers to “Highs” in the quotes to follow, this means the group which formed the highest quarter of his total sample, on his measure of authoritarianism. From pages 4 and 5:

“The authoritarian believes that authorities should be trusted to a relatively great extent and that they are owed obedience and respect. He believes that these are important virtues which children should be taught and that if children stray from these principles, it is the parent’s duty to get them back in line. Authoritarians would ordinarily place very narrow limits on people’s right to criticize authorities. They tend to believe that officials know what is best and that critics do not know what they are talking about. Criticism of authority is viewed as divisive and destructive, motivated by sinister goals and a desire to cause trouble. Authoritarians believe, to a considerable extent, that established authorities have an inherent right to decide for themselves what they may do, including breaking the laws they make for the rest of us.

Right-wing authoritarians are predisposed to control the behavior of others through punishment. They advocate physical punishment in childhood and beyond. They deplore leniency in the courts and believe penal reform just encourages criminals to continue being lawless. They are strong advocates of capital punishment. All in all, there is an Old Testament harshness in their approach to human conduct.”

The present author interjects the observation that

everything above applies very closely to the Islamic enthusiasts who installed the Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran, who with his followers ordained the killings of roughly 10,000 to 700,000 of his own people, the former by capital “punishments” and the latter in war with Iraq. As noted elsewhere, this spectrum from ecumenical acceptance of differing religious insights to militant intolerance of any views which differ from orthodoxy, occurs in all the great religions. I am convinced this has nothing truly to do with religion *per se*, but rather reflects a spectrum of human personalities who may and do use, or abuse, the teachings of prophets as they choose. From Altemeyer, page 89:

“So a large part of the reason Highs remain Highs is that, through self-selection, self-denial, and self-exclusion, they do not have the range of experiences that could have lowered their authoritarianism. Highs may have a stronger dislike for diversity and controversy than most of us do. They tend to think there is only one right way to interpret the Bible, and they immerse themselves in that particular system, shunning all others, sticking to the “straight and narrow.” Schoolbooks should present a one-sided, “patriotic” view of history. The “CBS Evening News” should be like Paul Harvey’s. And so on. Authoritarians do not appear to shop much in the marketplace of ideas. Indeed, many of them would like to close it down.

[Page 90:] We shall see that authoritarians seem to have rather “compartmentalized” minds, with notable inconsistency between their ideas and notable contradictions between what they believe and what they do.

[Page 165:] There is much less of a case for the frustration-aggression hypothesis than I [Altemeyer] expected, and the cultural socialization theory seems rather weakly implicated. But there remain five prime suspects. Authoritarians appear fearful of a dangerous world. They apparently have as much to feel guilty about as the rest of us. Many of them are living with deep-seated, unexpressible doubts about their fundamental religious beliefs. And they do seem to envy, in a vindictive way, the fun that they believe “sinners” are having. All these aversive stimuli might, according to social learning theory, instigate aggressive responses. And on the disinhibitory side, Highs appear to be quite self-righteous.

Altemeyer probes the interesting question of why right-wing authoritarians are so ferociously homophobic. The quotes chosen will start with statistics, but bear with, and this will make sense quickly.

[Page 177:] Merely partialing out simultaneously (1) Self-Righteousness and (2) fear of a dangerous world reduces the RWA-ATH coefficient to .35 (or 12 percent of shared variance instead of 29 percent). [RWA-ATH = Right Wing Authoritarian - Attitudes Toward Homosexuals scale, a measuring instrument he details on page 167.]

This is quite an interesting finding, given the competition, for neither of these measures mentions homosexuals. The first is based on the authoritarian’s feelings of moral superiority to someone quite unauthoritarian; the second, on his or her fear of a disintegrating world and sense of personal vulnerability. We may, therefore, be onto something general here.

[From page 180, after 3 more tests of detailed sub-hypotheses:] The results can be stated succinctly: in every case, most of the variance under consideration was accounted for by just these two measures.” [self-righteousness, and fear of a dangerous world]

[Page 189:] But to a considerable extent, they may not realize how relatively aggressive they are. After all, we make those judgments largely by comparing ourselves with others we know. And as we saw in Chapter Three, Highs travel in tighter circles than most people, limiting their contacts with persons very different from themselves.

[Page 190:] It appears, in summary, that right-wing authoritarians openly admit their hostility when they perceive strong social supports for being aggressive — for example, against homosexuals. They also admit to a bit more hostility when they feel safe doing so, as when they are anonymous. But their normal social comparison processes may prevent them from learning how relatively aggressive they really are. And if they do admit to themselves that they have seriously wronged another, some of them have effective ways of disposing of the guilt, ways that could even foster the self-righteousness that will allow them to aggress again: “Yes, I am a sinner. But I am a repentant sinner, while the rest are unrepentant.”

[Page 200-201:] On the one hand, High RWA subjects usually embrace the religious teachings of their youth more tightly than others do, regardless of what the particular teachings were ($r=.45$). High RWAs tend to be the “true believers” in all the religions I have sampled and to practice their faith more “religiously” (in terms of church attendance, private prayer, and scriptural readings) than do less authoritarian members of the faith. So authoritarianism apparently fosters religiosity. On the other hand, subjects raised in any religion generally score higher on the RWA Scale than those raised in none. But to varying degrees.

Page 216: "What can these results tell us about the relationship between religion and authoritarianism? First, as has been found many times before, the 'true believers' within any religion tended to be authoritarians. ... So no matter what faith one was raised in, the more authoritarian one is, the more likely one is to embrace its teachings. This can be viewed simply as an example of High's submission to the established authorities in their lives."

[Page 222, and 224, on Contradictions with Jesus' Teachings:] I commented at the beginning of this chapter that the authoritarian aggression of Christian Highs is particularly ironic, given the main themes of Jesus' life. How do authoritarians reconcile their attitudes with Christ's example? Or do they see the contradiction? ...

Some authoritarian Christians said we should heed Jesus' words, and others quietly stole past a "hard teaching." But it really made no difference what they said. Their behavior in other situations made it clear their hearts were with the scribes and Pharisees. ... They know all the passages by heart. They have filled boxes in their [compartmented] minds with them. But tragically, the meanings do not seem to be connected with the rest of their lives."

Altemeyer follows this with a really ingenious experiment involving evaluation of new evidence, leading to my last long quote here. From Page 226:

"But there may be no conceivable evidence that will change the mind of the religious authoritarian about his religion. If he is wrong, he appears to have been inoculated against catching the truth. Unfortunately, though, his religious beliefs appear to contribute to his submission, aggression and conventionalism."

At this point I will stop plagiarizing Altemeyer's magnificent work, to try compressing its essential findings along with Eckhardt's, Adorno's, Peck's, and my own observations of those who promote war into a clear picture (necessarily simplistic, as theories always are).

Many children are reared harshly, and beaten if they do not submit to the views of their authoritarian parents. One of the false things such parents teach is that parents are never wrong. In extremes, this is extended to all authority figures. A common correlate is that whatever religion the parent adopted is the "only true religion." That is also false, profoundly false, but it is widely taught by churches which compete with each other for members using this false doctrine. It is contradicted by the fundamental teachings of every single one of the major

prophets. But this contradiction is not appreciated by children of authoritarian parents, because of the harsh consequences for questioning "authority" and because thereafter they avoid contrary views having been taught that people who are different are inferior, and probably dangerous. Certainly considering the views of others in severely authoritarian families leads to punishment.

An analogous view is available to the non-theistic, in the form of Social Darwinism which holds (again falsely) that those who currently have power and wealth do so because they are "the best" — as opposed to the "luckiest" or the "children of privilege" or merely the "most ruthless and greedy." Of course, some wealthy and powerful are so because of special talent and extra efforts; they are not all venal any more than any group of people is all venal. These are important exceptions to more general rules. Some wealth is very justly earned, but there are reasons other than merit for class differences.

Whether based on church teaching, parental abuse, or based on vanity alone, the authoritarian worldview becomes "encapsulated" and thereby nearly impervious to change by outside information. This is a decisive step. It is encapsulated by its contempt for, and its fear of, contrary views. The hope of humankind lies in the word "nearly," because authoritarians are doomed to war with each other eternally if their blindness cannot be relieved.

That is the final reason why good, and peace, and some greater measure of justice will eventually prevail. Self-righteous, myopic authoritarianism enjoys great advantages in the competition with other belief systems, because of the fanaticism it breeds and lack of restraint on aggression it engenders, and because of its deep entrapment of minds by rejecting all contrary information including fundamental contradictions with the message of compassion found in all genuine scripture. But it also self-destructs.

Much of what "established authorities" have taught is a product of just these kinds of minds. Authoritarian personalities, like the "evil" M. Scott Peck studied (1983), have an exceptional lust for power, and are quite unusually ready to force others to their ways of thinking if they get a chance. When wealthy or powerful, they are eager to commission works of "science" which support their views. They see no harm in altering the meanings of scripture to build their "one true" churches, because of their belief in their personal superiority in the eyes of "God." They are drawn to work in prosecution, law enforcement, and politics, where they may exercise their desire for domination with the blessings of polite society which undoubtedly needs those functions. Therefore, much support for the authoritarian worldview can be found in the teachings of "established authorities."

But there are a thousand different sects of the authoritarian worldview, and they can never agree which one is the “true” one because this would require 999 leaders to abandon their “inerrant” doctrines, their power and their wealth, which they will not easily do. So they are doomed to war forever, unless and until the compassionate people of the world can break them out of their compulsive, and ultimately self-destructive trap.

Solutions

1. **The best solution to greed is realizing how incredibly wealthy you are.**

I am daily amazed by the whining of Americans who are all (except the very poorest) much richer than Kings and bankers were just 50 or 100 years ago. Of course, the whole world is not so rich as most Americans today; there is real suffering elsewhere, and some privation here. But in every nation there are those whose desire for wealth exceeds all rational bounds. The solution to this destructive greed is realizing how wealthy you are before the Earth is destroyed by the scramble for its last resources.

2. **The solution to hatred must be love.**

Everywhere the true religion teaches this, if you can find it behind the clutter of words by salaried preachers, eager editors, and the doctrines of exclusive churches.

3. **The solution to harsh child rearing is loving parents who use physical discipline only in extreme circumstances.**

Of course, some parents truly believe that love is shown by punishment. “Spare the rod and spoil the child” was crafted just for them. To them I say, it is true that some discipline is necessary. Without some discipline, bad things do happen. Self-discipline can be a precious gift to your child. But no animal on earth beats its young like some people do, and I guarantee that this is not the natural way, nor is it God’s way. To those who would end war I emphasize, abuse of children is a real root of the larger problem.

4. **The solution to compulsive personalities is careful, tender exposure to the world of differences which they have shunned, persistent exposure of the errors they repeat so dogmatically, and a firm denial of their attempts to injure others which will occur.**

Lest the latter point be misunderstood, when compulsive people, whether citizens or high national leaders, injure others in their sickness, they should be restrained like ordinary criminals who injure people are

restrained. Leaders in particular should not be applauded when they kill wholesale, on the grounds that even in affairs of state, violence is the last resort of the incompetent. Leaders who kill wholesale should be subject to war crimes trials by international jurists, as we are just beginning to see in proceedings against a few people in former Yugoslavia and Rwanda.

5. **The solution to false doctrine in religion is persistent, informed, loving, but firm exposure of its contradictions with the original teachings of prophets who tried to tell humanity what they learned about the universal intelligence which underlies the world.**

In their zeal to be fair to everyone, to tolerate everything, the “liberal” churches have wimped out tragically in the face of militant fundamentalist enthusiasm. Any virtue can become a vice if carried to extremes. When are the Christian churches going to say out loud what nonsense so-called Christian warmongers utter? And when will the righteous of Islam restrain their militant brethren? When will the Jewish lovers of peace restrain the warmongers among them? Perhaps it is happening today in Tel Aviv, as peace progresses despite fervent opposition from both hard-line Jews and Muslims.

One way to deal with zealots is by informed reference to the same books the militant brothers wave so enthusiastically, and quote so erroneously. You would think that God loves slavery, and death, listening to the warmongers, but not a peep is heard from many of the timid. I know there are many peaceful people in each of these faiths who are dismayed by their militant, intolerant brethren. They must do more than merely mutter.

6. **The solution to actual, organized fascism, once it emerges, is force. Or perhaps, containment, but that requires some force too and is expensive.**

Force is a very painful and expensive way to solve a deadly problem, as recent World Wars should have illustrated enough. Containment is certainly an option to consider, although the Cold War also killed millions, and squandered trillions of dollars during almost 50 years of struggle. Love may very well be an answer to the individual dysfunctions that drive people like Hitler and their followers. But once fascism is entrenched, and empowered by the laws and instruments of nation states, those that try to win by love are often simply executed.

Humankind is on that road again; be warned. And remember that if we do not find better ways to restrain pathological authoritarianism, we will be left to choose between the evils of containment or destruction by force, both of which are painful, expensive, and dangerous to all.

“Empires have no interest in operating within an international system; they aspire to be the international system. Empires have no need for a balance of power. That is how the United States has conducted its foreign policy in the Americas, and China through most of its history in Asia.”

-- Henry A. Kissinger, 1994

Balances of Power, and Equilibria

Much of what was said about self-labeled “realism” in chapter 11 could have gone here, since the “Balance of Power” is a principal concept of that school of thought.

The core ideas are that states are intrinsically immoral, ruthlessly pursuing national interests and little else, and that peace can be maintained only when there is a “balance of powers” among those competing in the international system. If any one power becomes too great, it will impose empire on the rest. Conversely, smaller nations may start wars or form alliances in order to maintain or adjust whatever balance currently exists.

The concept of polarity is important to this school of thought. Empires have one “pole,” the dominant power. During the Cold War, we saw a bipolar world, where two great powers (U.S. and S.U.) dominated world events, each with many allies in array around it. In 1995, we observe a multi-polar world with a hegemon, that is, many major and minor powers, with one really big power clearly supreme, but not capable of fully dominating all the rest.

Balance of power theorists often conclude that in multi-polar systems, alliances will form among the secondary powers, to balance the hegemon and keep it from dominating the rest. So far this has not happened, but the Cold War has only recently ended. Whatever happens here and now, or in the future, “realists” will consider only power, and mainly military aspects of power, observing that philosophers without guns have a long record of being shot by the tyrants who actually rule the world. There is considerable truth in that observation.

Whole libraries have been written around this idea. Any American political science department can bury you in books about it. Hans Morgenthau (1949) is often cited as a principal exponent during the post-World War II period, Henry Kissinger as its intellectual leader after him. They inherited the worldview of statesmen like Bismarck in the nineteenth century (who unified Germany, to the great dismay of twentieth century Europe), and of

characters like Machiavelli (The Prince, 1513) who urged sixteenth century European royalty to seek power ruthlessly, using any deception, ploy or weapon at their disposal. Bertrand Russell (1945) contends that Machiavelli was not really such a bad guy, merely a product of his exceptionally corrupt times and an unusually honest one at that!

Balance of power implies equilibria among forces, which if disturbed lead to war. This was central to Quincy Wright’s synthesis of many years work by dozens of scholars in 1942. It is undoubtedly one of the real partial truths about how wars start and what motivates behavior of nation states. But like all partial truths, even big ones, it remains incomplete. It has tended to dominate discussion of international affairs because of the dark reason which runs through this inquiry like a thread. It has dominated not merely because it captures something real, but also because those who start wars like theories which justify war. Governments sponsor most social science “research.”

This is more than mere affection. Heads of state do use balance of power language when contemplating war. And their military advisors, more than anyone else, **MUST** make calculations of power in the coldest, most clinically accurate terms, because the lives of their troops and the fate of nations is in their hands. Theorists invited to the table do not, however, generally include serious critics of war. When war is contemplated, selling war to the public which must support it is always a large concern. Theories which justify war are essential to the business of engaging in war. This affects the theologians who develop “just war” theories and the scholars who support war. Each will get support, in turn, from the nation states which engage in war. Governments sponsor directly and indirectly far more than half of what is written about the whole subject, which grossly distorts public discussion of it.

“Balance of power” assumes from the start that nations are inevitably ruthless and predatory. This view is

supported enthusiastically by people who are ruthless and predatory. Its lovers assemble vast arrays of evidence, much real, from the complex history of humankind to support that view, ignore evidence which points in other directions, and then reach conclusions which ultimately support waging continuous arms races and nearly continuous war. They gather in semi-public institutions (where security clearances are, however, generally required, which keeps the critics out and the secrets in) and in private secret societies of like-minded people who validate their worldview. They are rewarded by their sponsors. All to preserve the mystic “Balances” (and the practical national “interests”) which warmongers desire.

Now, there is a dark side to anything, and there are more positive ways of looking at the same thing. I am attempting here the difficult task of addressing both dark and light sides simultaneously, because those who can comprehend both the light and dark of war, the yin and yang of nation states, simultaneously, are in a better position to understand what those states do. The light interpretation of any war is typically broadcast free of charge from the propaganda organs of states engaging in or contemplating war, and is echoed by their many toadies in the private media. The light side of war is “defense.”

No one alive today exemplifies this duality better than Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State under President Nixon, ex-Harvard professor of diplomacy, Jewish refugee from Hitler’s Germany, intellectual guru and errand boy for the Rockefeller banking empire. Henry Kissinger is a man of many dimensions, only a few of which I can present here. David Landau has these insights to share on Kissinger, in an early biography of the man (Kissinger: The Uses of Power, pg. 15-16) written in 1972.

“There is one strain in Kissinger’s writing that appears again and again, no matter what the subject under discussion. It is a gruesome, intractable fear of revolution, a deep horror of internal upheavals which cause social order and international stability to collapse around them. It is a fear that likely originated in the personal victimization he suffered during the death of the Weimar Republic, a fear he would carry with him throughout the rest of his life. And there is an ingrained fatalism in all of his thinking and writing, a deep apprehension of tragic possibilities and an all-pervasive recognition that failure is as likely as any other outcome. The imperfections of a stable order can be tragic, yes, but they are still more tolerable [to him] than the risks of revolutionary transformation. In the Vietnamese who are fighting for their freedom, and in the American antiwar demonstrators who may bring on the stronger and more fearsome legions of the extreme right,

Kissinger sees the shades of Weimar, of political chaos and human destruction. The vision is imperfect and irrational; the Vietnamese are not Nazis, and America does not look at all like Weimar. But it is a vision that is firmly rooted in the irrational, chaotic experience of Kissinger’s early life.”

Well, how do those words look as America approaches a new millennium?

The first chapter of Kissinger’s latest book, is: “The New World Order.” (in Diplomacy, Simon and Schuster, Rockefeller Center, New York, 1994). “The New World Order” is a phrase widely recognized today as the plan of semi-secret elites to rule the world by modern management techniques which exemplify Machiavelli’s view of world affairs. Critics call it the “global plantation” where billions of servants will support a tiny elite of incredibly wealthy men, like Kissinger’s masters at the Rockefeller Center.

On the positive Henry Kissinger, Landau offers (page 23):

“But Kissinger is not a man who blindly seeks power. For us to see him that way would be as fruitless and wrongheaded as it would be unjustified, because to approach the man so simplistically does not permit us to understand his relentless self-confidence or enable us to grasp his remarkable inner fortitude. An obsessively power-hungry Kissinger would be as difficult to imagine as a modest and reclusive one. It is true that he has an unusual impulse toward power and authority, but it is an impulse that springs from a strong sense of personal mission and intellectual self-duty. It is an impulse that will not stop, that will not be deterred by physical or material obstacles; it operates on a higher plane of thought and action than that of power for its own sake. And it demands an activism that is total and constant.”

He certainly was active. On the positive side, Kissinger was and arguably remains one of the premier intellectual architects of modern diplomacy, responsible for such things as SALT I, the first Treaty which set some limits on superpower nuclear arms, and opening China to the West (he represents Chinese interests in America today through his powerful commercial firm “Kissinger Associates”). He shuttled between Mideast capitals stumping for peace, which may have had some bearing on Carter’s later breakthrough called the Camp David Accords. On the darker side, Kissinger may have more blood on his hands than any other man alive today, because of the Vietnam War which he extended at least four years after he knew it was unwinnable, and because of dozens of

other wars and coups he encouraged during his public career as Secretary of State, and his rather more extensive private career in service to international banking, oil and weapons interests.

The only rival to him, for blood on living hands, are some of the elderly Chinese leaders who played roles in the millions who died during Mao's "Cultural Revolution." But Mao Tse Tung is gone, and some of the current leaders were imprisoned during that chaotic time, rather than being prison wardens. So Kissinger remains the most likely candidate for the "bloodiest hands in the world today" award.

This is a difficult position for a Harvard man who in his heart of hearts, I am sure, has been truly trying to do his best to make a stable peace in the world. A New World Order is his goal. Preferably one under his and his sponsors' control. This is a taproot of the world's problem; Mr. Kissinger may be an authoritarian control freak who fears anything he cannot control. But he "means well." He has won a Nobel Peace Prize; how many warmongers can say that? (For finally agreeing to stop killing Southeast Asians by the millions, and accepting the fact that they intended to govern themselves.)

Kissinger is a complicated man, and my purpose is not to pillory him even though I must comment bluntly on his dark side. He has endured plenty of that. His powerful friends are legion, he can talk on national television any day he wants to comment on foreign affairs, and his fortune is impressive. Yet he cannot walk the streets of any city in the world unguarded, due to fear that relatives of the millions he has murdered may find him. He has paid a heavy price for his Machiavellian view of power. But it has certainly been well informed, and well rewarded. Let us learn from Henry Kissinger himself about balances of power in the modern world (1994, *Diplomacy*, page 21).

"Theorists of the balance of power often leave the impression that it is the natural form of international relations. In fact, balance-of-power systems have existed only rarely in human history. The Western Hemisphere has never known one, nor has the territory of contemporary China since the end of the period of warring states over 2,000 years ago. For the greatest part of humanity and the longest periods of history, empire has been the typical mode of government. Empires have no interest in operating within an international system; they aspire to be the international system. Empires have no need for a balance of power. That is how the United States has conducted its foreign policy in the Americas, and China through most of its history in Asia."

There displayed is Kissinger at his best, clinically realistic about the actual affairs of nation states. This is accurate analysis, undistorted by mushy sentiments, petty moral crusades or vague theory. No myths for Dr. Kissinger. No sentiment or compassion here. Most states desire empire, and America is as imperial in its main sphere of influence (the Western Hemisphere) as China has been in its. This is all true, tragically true, although most Americans and certainly most American politicians prefer the pleasant myth of a beneficent Uncle Sugar (U.S.) bestowing gifts upon the world.

Kissinger follows this particular pearl with 912 pages of history, analysis and detailed notes from his truly extensive experience with world affairs. He has written nine other books and hundreds of monographs, so he is a busy little beaver as Landau noted, no slouch there. If only he truly worked for peace instead of for national and personal power.

At his worst, he urged Kurds to rebel in Iraq in 1974, then cut off promised support and abandoned them to slaughter when "larger geopolitical interests" shifted. When asked about this perfidy by a reporter, he remarked that "statecraft is not missionary work." Later, he played Iraq and Iran against each other in a war which killed over a million people, serving Israeli strategic interests and the ambitions of Ronald Reagan and George Bush via the "October Surprise." * (See below and the next page footnote on the Surprise! It is quite amazing.)

At his worst, Mr. Kissinger sponsored the assassination in 1973 of democratically elected Salvador Allende in Chile, with help from a private corporation, ITT, and a very private gang of thugs, the CIA, in the name of "democracy." They installed a butcher named General Augusto Pinochet who killed about three thousand more Chileans, including one in Washington D.C. (human rights advocate Orlando Letelier, who was murdered on Sept. 21, 1976 with an American assistant, Ronni Moffitt, by agents of DINA, Chile's secret police which was founded and trained by CIA) with help from CIA assets. Two Chilean Generals were later convicted in court for ordering this crime, but remained unpunished due to continuing secret police power in Chile which endures to this day (A.P., June 1, 1995). Gen. Manuel Contreras later relented, and accepted his prison sentence on Oct. 11, 1995. The rape of Chile was but one of dozens of covert operations against Third World nations, communist, socialist and democratic,

* Those unfamiliar with this particular treason should read either Reagan Staff lawyer Barbara Honegger's book, 1989, or Carter Middle East Staff Officer Gary Sick's book, 1992, both titled October Surprise for a lurid introduction to "realpolitik." (continue next page)

conducted under Kissinger's tenure as Secretary of State, or managed later by the "pragmatists" at Kissinger Associates.

Like Democrat Robert McNamara, original architect of the Vietnam war which Republican Kissinger would extend four more years seeking an "honorable" way to withdraw, Henry Kissinger is a scion of the Council on Foreign Relations which prides itself on the best, the very best quality scholarship on earth in international affairs. Or six more years of extra killing, since the CIA stayed on long after the regular Army bugged out of Vietnam.

I hope you can appreciate the perils of such stunning hubris, especially when such really very bright minds are divorced from moral foundation.

I guarantee that in their minds, all of these men were just doing the best they could during difficult circumstances. That, too, is a genuine partial truth. Much of the bloodshed in the world is managed by men who feel wounded by the label warmonger. But they start wars anyway. They love their children, pet their dogs, and go to church or synagogue or mosque. Sometimes they even pray for wisdom as they wrestle with their demons, and prey upon the vulnerable peoples of the world. Saddam Hussein prays, before he starts a war. The Ayatollahs of Iran pray constantly, as they export revolution to many places. Henry Kissinger prayed with Richard Nixon, as public power slipped away from them. In their minds, they are truly trying to do good for the peoples they rain bombs and poison gas ** and covert actions on.

* ----- footnote continued from last page ----- *

The October Surprise: Shortly before the 1980 elections, while Iran had been holding 52 American embassy personnel hostage for over a year, CIA director-to-be William Casey and ex-CIA Director and Vice President-to-be George Bush met with Iranian officials in Paris, where they agreed to provide billions of dollars in arms and spare parts for U.S. manufactured weapons in the Iranian arsenal, if the Ayatollah's regime would continue embarrassing then President Jimmy Carter by continuing to hold the hostages. The agreement was consummated, Reagan and Bush won, the hostages were released fifteen minutes after Reagan's official swearing in, and Iran received the promised weapons, plus thousands more TOW missiles in what would later become known as the Iran-Contra scandal. Iran-Contra involved major violations of law. The October Surprise involved treasonous acts which endangered American citizens held by an angry enemy. And all for mere election politics! It was first exposed by a principled attorney from Reagan's own staff, then confirmed by many others. Yet nothing was done to correct the damage to democracy which resulted.

Balance of power and similar theories through time tell men like this that war is OK, because that is just what nation states do. And namby-pamby peaceful states which try to get off the war machine, they say, will just get gobbled up by the ruthless ones who remain "players" in "the game."

In their memoirs, men like this always point out how despicably evil their foes in geopolitics were — evil because the foes displayed the same kinds of duplicity and ruthless disregard for life that the memoir writers resorted to. The foes indeed are evil, often, and innocents do need defense from evil. That is the positive aspect of such diplomacy. Being as evil as the evil one opposes is the negative aspect of the same endeavor.

Now, the paradox of moral architects of arms races and war, of elite, semi-secret power clubs like the Council on Foreign Relations, and the special importance of nuclear weapons all require a bit more explication. I will start with Kissinger's rise to power aided by and in service to the CFR, and then move to Herman Kahn who wrote 3 seminal, and controversial books (On Thermonuclear War, 1962; Thinking the Unthinkable, 1968; and Thinking the Unthinkable in the 1980's, 1984).

In 1957, the Council on Foreign Relations commissioned a book by then 34-year-old Henry Kissinger called Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy which would be a major step on his path to power. His conclusions there are secondary to the secret society from which they sprang. The CFR described itself in that book thus:

"The Council on Foreign Relations is a nonprofit institution devoted to study of the international aspects of American political, economic and strategic problems. It takes no stand, expressed or implied, on American policy.

The authors of books published under the auspices of the Council are responsible for their statements of fact and expressions of opinion. The Council is responsible only for determining that they should be presented to the public."

This is artful baloney; artistic partial truth.

On the very next page of Kissinger's masterpiece, are listed the officers and directors of the CFR at that time. The Chairman of the Board was John J. McCloy, also Chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank, and past President of the World Bank. The CFR President was Henry M. Wriston, then also President of Brown University, whose son, Walter, would soon become the most powerful banker in New York, as Chairman of Citibank. One of the two

** Saddam Hussein used internationally banned poison gases on Kurdish civilians in the late 1980's, killing at least 5,000 of his own people in 1 village, Halabja. The US has also used gas and germs but this does not excuse others.

Vice Presidents was David Rockefeller, head of the Rockefeller banking interests, the second biggest New York bank cluster. And among the 15 Directors was Allen W. Dulles, head of the CIA. At least two of these people (Dulles and McCloy) would play key roles in covering up the real forces behind the murder of President John F. Kennedy six years later as members of the Warren Commission.

I mentioned the Kennedy assassination in chapter 11 on Competitions for Power, and provided some references which expose the real murderers of that American President: Fonzi (1993), Garrison (1988), Groden (1993), Lane (1966, 1991), Lifton (1988), Marrs (1989), Newman (1992), Posner (1993), Prouty (1973, 1993), Russell (1993), Scott (1976, 1993), Sloan and Hill (1992), Summers (1981), Weisberg (1967), and several hundred other books they cite. Among these only Wall Street attorney Posner takes a contrary view, and his work is a study in lawyerly disinformation. Kennedy was undoubtedly murdered by agents of the CIA in league with a number of other bad actors, including the American Mafia, with financial support from certain oil and banking interests who were angered by his attempts at winding down the nuclear arms race, withdrawal from Vietnam, rapprochement with the Soviet Union, and looking into the unconstitutional practices of the Federal Reserve Bank. The Mob was mad at brother Bobby's campaign against the Mafia, which was seen as treason since they had helped to get brother John elected. But the point to emphasize here is that the Council on Foreign Relations was sponsoring Kissinger long before it did its part in covering up the embarrassing murder of a sitting President. Yet it continues to staff almost every Secretary of Defense and State to the present day, along with about half of all other key officials in administrations since Henry Truman, maintaining all the while that it is just a simple "non-profit study" group.

It is, in fact, a semi-secret power club of truly impressive dimensions. There are many others. And you do not have true democracy when the powers behind the throne are so secret, and so powerful, that they can murder Presidents with impunity. You do not get very wise decision making either, because the eggheads they invite to their table are distinctly twisted, no matter how brilliant, which Kissinger definitely was.

Not one woman among them either, when Kissinger wrote his nuclear review, nor among the 34 members of the study group which pondered nuclear weapons and American foreign policy with him for three years, providing reams of public and secret data and essentially unlimited logistic support so that young Kissinger could write a really good book. They did, however, include other

intelligence personnel like former CIA director Walter Bedell Smith, three other senior generals, and the usual gang of bankers, senior officers of weapons companies and intellectuals in the defense analysis business. But not one woman, probably no minorities, nor anyone discernably "left of center," much less any advocates for world peace, accomplished or otherwise.

Kissinger's thanks to his mentors in his foreword contains the slavish devotion familiar to junior faculty everywhere on earth. Their endorsements of him were equally loving.

Herman Kahn was a physicist, not a diplomat, but he was also one of the best apologists for war which Rand Corporation ever developed. Kahn wrote a daring book during 1959 called On Thermonuclear War, which lit quite a fire of commentary after it was made available to the public three years later, due to its clinical consideration of ways to wage and win the ultimate war. Many were aghast at his prescriptions, and said so loudly, but I want you to consider the true paradox revealed by deeper reflection. Mr. Kahn was actually among the most moral men at Rand who thought about megadeath for a living. Most of them would no more go public with their thoughts and policy prescriptions than they would walk the city streets nude. They plotted theoretical Armageddon, and came quite close to actualizing it at least twice, but they did so within another secret society, the Rand gang, itself enmeshed within the larger secret society which some call the national security state, and which Walter Bowart (1978) has labeled the "cryptocracy."

Let us consider some of the more positive responses from allegedly liberal critics, offered in the third edition of Kahn's next book, called Thinking the Unthinkable first published in 1962, revised and expanded by 1968. From Stuart Hughes' comments on, On Thermonuclear War:

"I think one can say without qualification that Kahn has written one of the great works of our time. ... It would be easy — all too easy — to dismiss the Kissingers and the Kahns and the Schellings as blood-thirsty men who have computing machines where their hearts should be. I know that this is not so; I am personally acquainted with all but one of the writers I am discussing, and I know that they are both intellectually honest and morally responsible. In terms of intellectual rigor, the only fault I find in them is a tendency to slant their interpretations in favor of the United States. In terms of moral choices, I need say no more than that they have made the opposite choice from mine. But this does not mean that I think them immoral — far from it. Faced with the frightful dilemmas of peace and war today, the best any man can do is to make his personal choice in the

agony of his own conscience, convinced that whatever he does will be in some sense wrong, that like Pascal, he is making a desperate wager in the dark, and that no one will forgive him if he proves to have been in error.”

Pascal never rolled the dice on the lives of hundreds of millions of children in the world. And cynics would certainly ask how this “liberal critic” of Kahn came to know such secret people so well. Consider the next commentator, from page 288, a John Strachey, again reviewing *On Thernonuclear War*:

Mr. James R. Newman, one of the editors of “*The Scientific American*,” begins his review of this book as follows:

“Is there really a Herman Kahn? It is hard to believe. Doubts cross one’s mind, almost from the first page of this deplorable book. No one could write like this ... This is a moral tract of mass murder: how to plan it, how to commit it, how to get away with it, how to justify it.”

It may be well, therefore, to answer Mr. Newman’s initial question, especially for English readers. For it seems that Mr. Kahn is now cast for the role of “Chief Fascist Hyena” in the demonology of those who, for one reason or another, oppose the possession of nuclear power on the part of the West. Yes, there is a Herman Kahn and this is what he is like.

Kahn was, I suppose, originally a “wiz-kid” (*anglice*, child wonder). He was trained as a physicist, but, he tells one, whether rightly or wrongly [that he] would never have come to the top of that discipline and turned his mind, as a member of the Rand Corporation, to defence planning. He has one of those fantastically effervescent, fertile, ingenious — perhaps overingenious — minds which, rightly or wrongly, we stolid Anglo Saxons often associate for good or ill with the Jewish race. Like many of his colleagues amongst American defence planners, he has a passion for “following the argument wherever it leads him” — and indeed it leads him to strange places.

But for anyone who knows Kahn, an accusation such as Mr. Newman’s that his book is a tract on how to plan, commit, get away with, and justify mass murder, is sickening. Kahn may be right or wrong: his book may be good or bad, but I, for one, am ready to testify on any witness stand in the world that he is a deeply humane man, permeated by humanist values. Indeed, it is not too much to say that Kahn’s unique purpose in life has come to be to discover how to avoid a general all-out thernonuclear war without surrender to the Communist powers.

How then can the hysteria of Mr. Newman, et al., arise? It does so mainly, I think, because *On Thernonuclear War* describes and analyzes the probable consequences of various levels of thernonuclear attack on the United States in various conditions, in far greater detail, far more concretely, and therefore far more horribly than any of the advocates (conscious or unconscious) of surrender have done themselves.”

We have come full circle. You see, the secretive defense analysts who plot nuclear arms races and limited nuclear wars think that liberal critics are (consciously or unconsciously) abominable in their own way. Anxious to surrender to hated foes, no less. Then again, I also write clinical scenarios of vast destruction (Ch. 9) perhaps I should be kinder to Mr. Kahn.

One more quote from Kahn’s admirers, this one Brent Scowcroft (Air Force General, CFR member [of course] and Ronald Reagan’s National Security Advisor) in the foreword to *Thinking About the Unthinkable in the 1980’s* (1984):

“Herman was one of the remarkable group of defense analysts who came out of the Rand Corporation in the latter part of the ‘50’s and who were among the earliest definitive thinkers on nuclear warfare — the source of creative theories as well as practical applications of nuclear concepts. Herman was, in a way, the philosopher of the Rand group; while he was as concerned and knowledgeable as any systems analyst with the technical aspects of the nuclear threat and potential, his scope was always much bolder, encompassing a humanitarian and ethical perspective. Are there moral and/or immoral implications of nuclear weapons? Can a nuclear war ever be justified? If so, how does it fit into the overall defense strategy of the United States? How does our defense strategy fit into our overall national objectives? ...

The courage to confront the most horrifying aspects of these difficult issues has not always served Herman well. Some critics have accused him of being the original Dr. Strangelove. But while he does take on the moral simplicity of some of the ideas of anti-nuclear groups, anyone who knew Herman knows that his compassion and humanity, his deep morality and his patriotism, were as much a part of his nature as his toughness in addressing issues and his extraordinary and original intellectual scope. He really defied categorization — for example, he espoused a doctrine of “no first use” of nuclear weapons years before the “Gang of Four” made it fashionable.”

Anyone can be humane to one's friends, General Scowcroft. It is how one treats one's neighbors, and one's enemies, that is the measure of a man. I will grant that peace activists and defense planners tend to annoy each other intensely for many reasons. Some peace people are certainly simplistic, like some weapons nuts I know. But I also affirm that many have never advocated surrender to anyone. You will also find more defense for individual liberty here on these pages than in any policy designed by any secret society or weapons corporation, far more.

Finally, from the man himself, from Kahn's last book, on the subject of morals and war, and I will get to my main point on the imbalances which balance of power calculations can lead one to. From Thinking the Unthinkable in the 1980's, Kahn himself says:

"Judaism and Christianity have never required their adherents to be saints or pacifists, but merely to pursue the ends of peace and justice. The traditional Church criteria for the justification of violence are set forth in the doctrine of the just war. This precludes war except in the pursuit of "peace and reconciliation" and justifies war only if it is waged to secure "basic rights," to promote a "decent human existence" or to protect the innocent and righteous. The benefits of violence must be "proportionate" to the human and other costs, and one must be able to discriminate between actions against an aggressor (which are justified) and those that hurt noncombatants (which are not).

The National Conference of Catholic Bishops concluded that nuclear war is beyond any useful application of the just-war theory, primarily because the principles of proportionality and discrimination would be virtually impossible to observe. According to the bishops, a nuclear attack that wipes out a city is automatically disproportionate to any provocation, and an attack restricted to military targets that nonetheless harms millions of civilians is indiscriminate.

While antinuclear arguments based on moral interpretations are becoming more widely held and are playing an increasing role in the nuclear debate (in some cases dominating it), I will argue that many of these ideas are incorrect, misperceived, misleading, or incomplete, and will become even more so in the future. The main reason for public acceptance of flawed moral arguments (e.g., some of the reasoning in the Pastoral Letter) and unwise policy prescriptions (e.g., the nuclear freeze proposal) seems to be a general lack of compelling alternative concepts and proposals put forth by the government."

So Kahn pursued peace and justice by working his

entire life to enable a nuclear arsenal which could kill anything, anywhere, dozens of times over. And when faced with moral approbation, he called for compelling alternative concepts and proposals put forth by the government, to continue the arms race. Gems like SDI (Star Wars) were one result. Put even more weapons into space, at enormous expense (\$100 billion by 1999 with zero operational capability) and without discussing that they would be more capable of bombarding targets below than of intercepting nuclear warheads (that is classified!) and see how much more secure the people feel!

These guys are nuts, nuts, nuts. But they love each other! And they love weapons. They must keep their strategic conversations private, because they cause such fuss among the unwashed if aired in public. And costs are a problem. "Defense" is expensive. So it is all hidden behind the curtains of national security and secret power clubs. And the foes they oppose are so terribly evil! The foes of men like them . . . are men exactly like them. They are just on another team. But nuclear weapons designers are so warm hearted, Scowcroft says, if you could only get to know them — which you cannot unless you are a sworn member of the nuclear priesthood, willing to kill tens of millions, or billions of human beings depending on the scenario, for reasons called "balance of power," "realism" and "national interests."

Remember, Herman Kahn was one of Rand's most moral, most philosophical and bravest creatures. He went public. Behind him was a secret corporation, and a cryptocracy of men who were, and remain today, more evil and more secretive by far than Mr. Kahn.

There are other perils of power besides getting unbalanced, or becoming corrupt as Lord Acton stated so eloquently. Norman Cousins explored the pathologies of power in more detail in 1987 (pg. 23):

"Connected to the tendency of power to corrupt are yet other tendencies that emerge from the pages of the historians:

- * The tendency of power to drive intelligence underground;
- * The tendency of power to become a theology, admitting no other gods before it;
- * The tendency of power to distort and damage the traditions and institutions it was designed to protect;
- * The tendency of power to create a language of its own, making other forms of communication incoherent and irrelevant;
- * The tendency of power to spawn imitators, leading to volatile competition;
- * The tendency of power to set the stage for its own use.

All these tendencies, in varying degrees, are observable in almost every breakdown in history. Thucydides' history of the wars that drained the lifeblood of ancient Greece; Polybius' account of Macedonian errors; Gibbon's study of Rome's ascendancy and its slide from the center of the historical stage; the scores of books on Hitlerian might and disaster — all these works bear witness to the inability of highly organized societies to understand the complexities and perils of their power."

In the forward to this book, George Kennan, the principal author of the concept of "containment" which brought down the Soviet Union without triggering the nuclear war so many feared (although the Cold War did kill many millions in its proxy wars,) had these comments on the special folly of the nuclear age:

"All of these men [Albert Einstein, Bertrand Russell, General Douglas MacArthur and President Dwight Eisenhower] perceived the suicidal quality of the nuclear weapon and the danger in allowing it to become the basis of defense postures and the object of international competition. All of them spoke with a great sense of urgency. All went to their deaths hoping, surely, that their warnings would not fall on deaf ears and that a new generation of leaders would recognize that we were all living in a world of new political-strategic realities and would draw the necessary conclusions.

Unfortunately, this has not happened. For thirty years past these warning voices have been disregarded in every conceivable respect. There has been no new mindset. There has been no recognition of the revolutionary uniqueness of the weapons of mass destruction, no recognition of their sterility as weapons, no recognition of the dangers of their unlimited development. On the contrary, the nuclear explosive has come to be treated as just another weapon, vastly superior to others, of course, in the capacity for indiscriminate destruction, but subject to the same rules and conventions that had governed conventional weaponry and its uses in past ages. The suicidal quality of these devices has been ignored. They have been made subject to the primitive assumption that the value of a weapon is simply proportional to its destructiveness, and that the more you have of any weapon, in relation to the similar holdings of your adversary, the more secure you are. Coherent political purpose has been lost sight of behind the calculations of sheer destructibility and the fascination with numbers."

Kennan was brilliant before I was born, and the

nuclear arms race has abated a bit since he wrote this (although proliferation continues and will do so unless and until the big powers change their ways). He was too old when writing this to fully appreciate how clever we have gotten with biological weapons and other exotics, mentioned elsewhere. Or perhaps he just didn't want to mention even darker secrets, less familiar to the public. He was tired, I am certain, having seen his grandest plan turned sour by excessive reliance on secrecy and military means.

Yes, the Russians had been contained. But at what a cost! Yes, we bankrupted them. But we gave our own children a five trillion dollar debt, and a national security state which murdered its own president and hundreds of other citizens less well known, and which rolls on to this day according to secret dynamics and hidden powers which are not accountable to any democratic public.

Republican Senator David Durenberger, six years Chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, tried to capture the schizophrenia of national security in a world of ruthless thugs and brilliant intellectuals in the service of ruthless thugs, in his book called Neither Madmen nor Messiahs (1984). They put him in the care of a psychiatrist. You can grapple with national security schizophrenia for a lifetime; many have. But this has a cost. In the ironic words of another Congressman, Durenberger thought "oversight" (a Senate responsibility) meant "to oversee." He tried to get CIA Director Casey to talk. So they got rid of him, quietly, carefully, in the sophisticated way, not by murder so foul and so obvious.

Durenberger's own ascent to power had been greased by \$2 million in illegal, under the table money and political support animated by a desire among the spies and the Moon organization, a spy-friendly cult discussed in Chapter 19, to replace a Democrat, Don Fraser who had become a nag for human rights in Congress (Andregg, 1992). An Air Force intelligence officer, Durenberger was no foe of national security. But when he bucked the power of William Casey and the agency the Senate was supposed to oversee (CIA), Durenberger was doomed. When he failed to follow every party line on the secret war in Central America, he was quietly driven from office by the same covert powers which helped him get there.

He was seduced into a petty financial crime (under \$4,000 in improper billings for housing expenses) and then was water tortured to political death by CIA personnel in the Justice Department, who strung out indictments over six years with help from a CFR-owned newspaper and other covert allies. They ignored no end of billion dollar crimes by others during this time, and papered over little treasons like the October Surprise, Inslaw, Iran Contra, the CIA running drugs for 10 years into Mena, Arkansas

(President Clinton's state, when he was Governor there) and murders of numerous Americans including many military personnel to keep this kind of government drug running top secret (Reed and Cummings, 1991, 95; Andregg, 1994). But they did not ignore some petty theft (at the worst) by Mr. Durenberger, no sir, they made him the second Senator in American history to be convicted of a crime!

A Republican, Air Force grad, he was still doomed by insufficient loyalty. A few days before I was going to expose a relatively tiny spy thing at the University of Minnesota, Durenberger called me at home to tell me: "If you've gotten this far, you know these guys can be dangerous. Be careful." (I do not get calls from Senators often, but I had asked for his advice and we did know each other because of my research and his position on the Intelligence Committee). Later, in another context in his office, he added: "You know there are real consequences when these guys get angry, real serious consequences."

You do not have a functional democracy when the conservative chairman of your main spy oversight committee, a senior Republican Senator, is afraid of the men he is supposed to oversee.

But I digress into other dysfunctions which occur when secret power systems become completely corrupt. Pursuit of the balance of power and ephemeral equilibria of forces is indeed one cause of war. It is important enough to include in this review of dozens of war causes. But the essential problem with balances of power is that they are pursued by men who are both relatively immoral, and often insane. Secrecy compounds this by isolating them, enabling the encapsulation of their dysfunctional worldviews. As noted long ago in the interviews with people who have studied war and peace, they also tend to love weapons. Which makes their pursuit of balance extremely one-sided, since they never have enough of either weapons or power.

From these secretive liars in their secret lairs, criminal dysfunctions prosper, until the Praetorian Guard becomes more dangerous to the Republic than the enemies it was empowered to deter (Stockwell, 1991).

So if you are interested in ending war, I recommend that you spend only enough time with "balances of power," "equilibria," "realism," "game theories," and counting exotic weapons or other technical details, to comprehend the partial truths these hold. Then move quickly on to more productive areas for ending war. Because there is no end to war in the balance of power game, there are only winners and losers. When the "game" escalates to nuclear, biological and other exotic weapons, there are only losers and big time losers, which reveals it to be not a very fun game after all.

Solutions

1. **The only solution to the balance of power "game" is to stop playing. At least, you must stop playing by rules created by murderous and often insane men.**

This includes a corollary. You should not shrink from calling insanity by its proper name. Or murder. There are deep psychological and bureaucratic reasons why these men invent sanitized vocabularies, like "collateral damage" to substitute for "women and children burned to cinders, or millions merely blinded and maimed, because they are too near a nuclear detonation." Stop letting **them** get away with avoiding the real consequences of their murderous insanity.

2. **Having done that, ONLY after doing that, recognize that tomorrow there will be violent dangers in the world, and there will be a military, which we will need.**

Then, create a better synthesis between philosophical moralities, and practical constraints than exists today. Good luck! My effort is scattered throughout this work, but especially in Chapter 32.

3. **Do not forget that weapons scientists, spies, defense planners, Chief Fascist Hyenas, etc., started life as loving human beings, and retain some humane qualities. Connect with those, and elevate the positive in them as you restrain their dangerous aspects.**

This may be the most important solution of all. While American defense people were scaring the hell out of the Russians, and bankrupting them besides, the peace community was reminding the Russians that there were some loving, decent people in America as well, who really did not want to burn them all to cinders. And decent people in Russia, partly inspired by the west, had a lot to do with why the Soviet Union unraveled without firing off its more than adequate nuclear arsenal. In the same vein, crazy though the Kissingers and Kahns of the world may be, they have humane aspects and do think they are just doing the world a favor under difficult circumstances. Connect with their positive, and make it stronger as best you can, help it grow, and you may find some hope for a future for humankind.

“Bad laws are the worst sort of tyranny.” — Edmund Burke, 1729-1797

“Our Government is the potent, the omnipotent teacher. For good or ill, it teaches the whole people by its example. Crime is contagious. If the Government becomes a law-breaker, it breeds contempt for law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy. To declare that in the administration of the criminal law the end justifies the means — to declare that the Government may commit crimes in order to secure the conviction of a private criminal — would bring terrible retribution.”

— Brandeis, J., dissenting: Supreme Court of the United States, in *Olmstead vs. United States*

The War on “Drugs” as a Model of Police-State Wars

The War on “Drugs” is actually a war on civil liberties, applied primarily against the poor. The War on “Drugs” is actually a police-state war by governments against their own peoples (or as I prefer to say, by governments against the people they claim to own). In America today, the War on “Drugs” is always a pretext for something else. This war is unusual among wars, in that it could be ended by relatively simple legislative action.

Drugs undoubtedly cause great suffering in the world. Paradoxically, drugs are used largely to reduce the pains which suffering people feel. Like the war in Vietnam, the War on “Drugs” has been a tragic and enormously costly mistake. Many more than a thousand people die in it each year and it involves many governments, so this war actually satisfies the minimal conditions of our definition of war. It clearly is not a classical international war, nor an organized civil war. The War on “Drugs” is a “police-state war,” where governments attack their own people.

Former executive editor of the New York Times, Max Frankel (NY Times Magazine, Dec. 18, 1994) estimates that “About 40,000 Americans die each year of the direct and indirect effects of drugs” and that “the direct, recognizable cost of this [drug] war is probably running in excess of \$100 billion a year.” He cites Falco (1994) and the Bar of the City of New York as sources for most of his statistics. Frankel goes on to list the obvious and tragic social costs of both drugs and the war on the people who use them:

- “* Urban blight, fear and destruction.
- * Neighborhood turf wars and shootouts.
- * Family ruin, school failure and wreckage.
- * Lost productivity in the economy.
- * Crack babies, kids dealing drugs, addicts felled by AIDS.
- * Cops corrupted. Courts and prisons overwhelmed.
- * Murder and mayhem clear to the top in Mexico, Colombia and other countries that cannot resist supplying the rich American market. And in America, contempt for government — and despair.” Then he adds: “If the prohibition of drugs is a lost cause then ‘legalization’ — in some form — is inevitable. But the word ‘legalization’ has been demonized, like ‘negotiation’ before Henry Kissinger sat down with the Vietcong in Paris.”

The unspeakable secret is that every drug for which the poor are jailed today is available to high government officials and powerful others, like especially the CIA.

The American government responds ferociously to criticism of this behavior, and conducts many operations behind a screen of secrecy which enables interesting anomalies like one arm of the government importing drugs (the CIA: see McCoy, 1991, 1972; Scott and Marshall, 1991; Moyers, 1987; Reed, 1995; Covert Action Information Bulletin, 1987) which another arm of the government seeks to interdict (Customs). The official “drug warring” agency, DEA (Drug Enforcement Agency), works both sides of this arena, as amply documented by Michael Levine (1993) and Celerino Castillo (1994), both

career DEA agents who got fed up with government sponsored and protected drug routes.

Americans are quick to note the profound corruption of governance in Mexico, where everyone recognizes the government's role in the drug trade. Yet we are blind to the same process here at home.

Of course, the drug trade and the so-called war on "drugs" are international phenomena and many other governments are involved. To the extent that one can see into this murky world, those other governments are also quite often involved in managing the trade through covert agencies. For example, Britain's MI6 appears to be heavily involved along with several large companies owned by the royal family (Dope Inc., by EIR, 1992). Certainly Britain has had a long interest in trade in controlled substances — they fought at least two major wars in the Orient (the Opium wars with China, 1839-42, and 1856-60) to force peoples there to accept British control of the Burmese opium crop and of marketing in China. Israel's MOSSAD has often been linked to drug transactions as part of their role in the clandestine trade in international weapons (Ben Menashe, 1992) which serves direct foreign policy goals and generates income as well.

The Mexican federal police (DFS - Direccion Federal de Seguridad) manage the drug trade there, mostly cocaine transiting to the much larger markets in the North, although a significant crop of marijuana grows in Mexico, which is miraculously overlooked by the "drug warring" DFS each year (unless the U.S. pays them extra, in which case a few fields are burned with much show and fanfare). Nigeria's military government of General Abacha takes its cut from the export of narcotics there, and Burma's * grotesque police-state government (SLORC) fights periodic wars with the Shan peoples of the north over

* Since a coup in 1962, Burma has been ruled by military dictators. On September 8, 1988, they staged a fake coup and shuffled Generals to establish "SLORC" the State Law and Order Restoration Council, which then killed between 3,000 and 10,000 protesters there. In June, 1989, the junta changed Burma's name to "Myanmar," and placed popular human rights leader Aung San Suu Kyi under house arrest a month later. The butchers of Burma have instituted slave labor for those who resist their rule, and defied a popular election in 1990 which they lost. Suu Kyi won the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize for her courage in opposing them. Unlike the UN and most nation states, I do not cooperate with murderous butchers just because they seize governments, or imprison Nobel laureates, so I still call it Burma. The drug "War" is phony there too -- it is used as an excuse for the government to repress minority peoples and to raise unaccountable revenues.

control of the opium crop. The Shan leader, General Khun Sa, maintains a 20,000-man armed force to protect his people and the crop they depend on, but knowing what damage it does to the outside world, he has also tried several times to sell the entire crop to the U.S. government. Our State Department has refused his offers, but CIA allegedly gets its five percent when the crop or its refined product, heroin, crosses U.S. borders.

There was much discussion during 1995 of the perfusion of cocaine money throughout Colombian politics including the President's office, and you can be confident that any poor country which serves as a major source for drugs will be heavily influenced if not dominated by the extremely wealthy interests behind the drug trade. This does not mean that control is complete. The schizophrenia of wars against "drugs" occurs everywhere, because there is sincere opposition to the drug trade everywhere. Where it is legal, as where alcohol production and consumption is legal, there are still people who oppose the trade, but there is not the fierce opposition that comes when governments sanction punishing users (as in Saudi Arabia, for example, with alcohol, or America with many other drugs).

The typical pattern is government repression against users and independent drug dealers who do not pay off the relevant authorities, but protection of the connected cartels. The drug underworld depends utterly upon the overworld of "legitimate" government for its power, for to legalize their trade would subject them to normal market forces, and God forbid, taxation. You could never charge the price of gold for a weed anyone can grow in their back yard (marijuana) under those conditions!

The inconsistency of drug and dietary laws is especially evident in Morocco (at least in 1973 when I studied macaque monkeys there), where it was legal for foreigners to drink alcohol (but illegal for Moroccans) while it was legal for Moroccans to use marijuana products (but illegal for foreigners).

More details about how the drug trade actually works will follow, but it is important to keep our focus on the principal objective — which is seeing how the War on "Drugs" illustrates causes of war. It is an especially useful example of police-state wars. It is also important to contemporary war in general, because it provides so much money to clandestine services, and because it is so intimately linked with the trade in weapons around the world, both legal and illegal. But it can be very difficult to talk about, because people have such deep misconceptions about how the drug trade actually operates, starting with the central and deceptive role of governments in it.

First, some history. Early in this century America went through a great experiment called "Prohibition"

which involved an amendment to the U.S. Constitution making all production and trade in alcohol illegal. This resulted in a substantial fraction of all adult Americans becoming criminals (by definition of law) and gave rise to the first really large scale organized crime syndicates. So much chaos followed, including rampant corruption of police and political institutions, that Prohibition was repealed in 1933. This presented a uniquely bureaucratic problem — what to do with all those government employees hired and trained to fight the war on “alcohol.” The solution chosen was to criminalize other drugs, specifically marijuana, cocaine and opium, then used by tiny numbers of people compared with today, and mainly minorities.

During World War II, the American government had more urgent priorities which helped this deadly mixture to ferment. We wanted to support the forces of nationalist China, so our military intelligence assisted the Kuomintang in acquiring Burmese opium as a funding source for their two-front war against the imperial Japanese and the communist forces of Mao Tse Tung. On the European front, we needed good intelligence and an active fifth column to prepare for the invasion of Italy, so a deal was struck with the Sicilian Mafia. Their heroin pipeline to America would be protected in return for intelligence information and sabotage on the Italian docks and elsewhere (McCoy, 1972).

Well, we won World War II, but started a war we’ve been losing ever since, the so-called War on “Drugs.” The government never felt it could admit these secret deals, and it was also already addicted to the unaccountable money which the trade offered and the covert power which that brings. So like ordinary alcoholics, it began to lie a lot. It began an ever escalating war of propaganda and enforcement against its own peoples. Like an alcoholic, it began to beat its own family, and blame them for its own problems. This War on “Drugs” is a kind of war which suits spies and criminals extremely well, because it involves the kind of schizophrenic thinking and arbitrary abuse of power at which they excel.

Liaison had already been established with both Sicilian and Corsican (French) Mafias, with the Oriental triads, and with the Bronfman alcohol empire (Canadian owner of Seagrams and a principal supplier to America during the Prohibition days). Cocaine had been the “Coke” in “Coca Cola” and the pure drug had enjoyed a limited market among intelligentsia for years. Marijuana was a minor drug associated mainly with jazz musicians and Mexican field hands who were nearly invisible minorities at that time. The stage was set for a massive fraud, which depended on the inability of people of limited intelligence (and many with authoritarian personalities

regardless of IQ) to cope with a government punishing with one hand what it sponsors with the other.

The prize was hundred billion dollar per year revenues, utterly untaxed and available to buy legitimate businesses and politicians wholesale.

Skipping to the present, a Minnesota judge named Pamela Alexander was nominated for a vacant federal judgeship in November, 1993. Her nomination was stalled for over a year and ultimately strangled by a Justice Department which objected to a very specific item: In a ruling involving a crack dealer, she had dared to note in writing that black users of crack were subject to penalties 100 times as severe (at the federal level) as mainly white users of cocaine. Yet crack and powder cocaine are the same drug in slightly different forms. The Minnesota Supreme Court upheld her reasoning, but her career with the Feds was dead. At about the same time the son of then Surgeon General of the United States (Joycelyn Elders) was busted for selling a teaspoon quantity of crack cocaine to a personal friend who was an addicted government informant. Kevin Elders, a young black man, was sentenced to 10 years in prison.

Obvious to all cynical onlookers was the fact that almost no attorneys, judges, politicians, doctors, bankers or other professionals are being busted for using cocaine, as a great many do. But several hundred thousand lower-income people sit in jail for the same crime. In fact, drug offenses are the leading cause of incarceration in Federal Prisons, and constitute the largest single burden on state judiciaries as well. But almost all the defendants are low income users and street level dealers. The bankers who launder the funds are almost never indicted, nor the other professionals involved in the high end drug trade, much less the chemist who figured out how to turn powder cocaine into crack, or the CIA personnel who bought up the world’s total LSD supply in 1953 from Sandoz Laboratories in Switzerland for use in mind control experiments (Bowart, 1978, 1995). Sandoz continued to fill many orders from the CIA and U.S. Department of Defense until the mid-1960’s.

The LSD experiments alone involved at least 7,000 American citizens, many unaware of their abuse, led to at least two deaths and many less grievous injuries (including a 17-year-old female psychiatric inpatient who was rendered catatonic for four days, by about 10 forced injections — i.e., against her strenuous objections — of massive doses of LSD at the University of Minnesota hospital). A partial record of this particular episode can be found in testimony before the U.S. Congress on Sept. 10, 1975, of Mary Ray, a psychometrist who worked on that research project. She was so concerned about the abuse of unwitting patients that she volunteered herself to be dosed

with the LSD to understand what they were going through (her experience was terrifying). Yet no one at the CIA has ever been prosecuted for these offenses, nor have any of these Nazi-like doctors ever been sanctioned, while hundreds of thousands of ordinary citizens have been put in jail for casual and consensual use of the same drugs.

It takes many such stories, from credible sources, to finally accept the disturbing truth that our government actually distributes many of the drugs it criminalizes so harshly. The ex-wife of a local Law School Professor told me that her husband had been regularly involved in the transport of large volumes of cocaine, and I have been given many dozens of similar stories, mostly from military veterans who ran drugs under CIA supervision in various parts of the world. After a while, the psychological dissonance between such stories and the pervasive TV presentation of the government's official line wears off, and one can finally see that these are not isolated incidents but part of a larger and ongoing pattern. Still, this mental transition is extremely hard.

I have also worked with a man who served as liaison between the CIA and a West Coast Mob operation, transferring drugs on a regular basis for years, and with another agency veteran who provided the DEA with substantial physical evidence of CIA narcotics runs into Miami airport. Without, of course, effect. He even identified by serial number five planes that tested positive for cocaine when he penetrated the CIA's secure hanger area. One of those planes was ultimately shot down over Nicaragua carrying Eugene Hassenfus who claimed he was hired as a cargo loader by CIA (it was guns down, drugs back, a common combination). They told my DEA friend to lay off about half the cases he developed for them while working in south Florida, including a case involving a U.S. President's son. The agent's conclusion was that they were forbidden from pursuing politically connected cases, but they could bust independents all they liked. I interviewed a neurologist whose brother (Col. Jim Sabow, U.S. Marine Corps) was murdered at El Toro Marine air base in California when he objected to CIA owned C-130 aircraft dropping narcotics in the desert, then parking at his base for servicing. They called it a suicide so the brother and Sabow's wife had to spend \$100,000 and three years on professional forensics proving otherwise. The point of this long digression is to convey just a few of the many such stories I have heard from credible sources, because I know the public service ads on TV, "DARE" programs in schools, and other propaganda is everywhere, which makes it very difficult to accept that the government actually does run drugs. Our government does this, not just the Mexican's, and not occasionally, every day. It has for decades.

There is obviously something going on here quite different from the official story. Let us focus sharply on the real causes of the war on drugs, without further discussion at this time of the phony propaganda which surrounds it. The War on "Drugs" serves these purposes of certain immensely powerful and wealthy people:

1. It provides a multi-billion dollar untaxed annual, and unaccountable revenue stream. This money can be used to undercut or buy legitimate businesses, including outlets of the media, or to corrupt political entities which might expose the overall scandal.
2. It provides a scapegoat for all manner of other social problems. "Drugs" or more accurately drug users are being used today, in propaganda terms, almost exactly the same way that Jews were used by Nazi Germany. Problems with crime in the streets? Do not write about unemployment, alienation or despair — write about crack houses and gangs, and make sure those parties are liberally supplied with cheap crack cocaine. Problems with public education? Do not blame public administration of education, blame drugs, and all those broken families. Say "money doesn't matter" when you cut public budgets, or call for vouchers to support private schools. Problems with civil liberties? Eliminate them, using the excuse of warring on "drugs." Problems with minorities? Incarcerate them, by selective enforcement of the drug laws. This incidentally provides a convenient way to silence anyone in the intelligence community who spills his guts about government involvement in the drug trade, because the easiest people in the world to set up on false charges are the people who have been trained to do whatever they are told to do, and have committed felony crimes on a regular basis while doing so. You can walk them right into a trap with the evidence in their hands. Once convicted, no one believes their stories, if they are lucky enough to get the stories out, which most are not.

I am all too aware that many tens of millions of completely sincere people support the war on "Drugs" for quite different reasons which these people think are humane and self-evident given the obvious damage that addiction can cause. The puritans truly do think they are doing people a favor by throwing them in jail. To them I can only say, you are misguided or confused. Remember that "good Christians" in Germany supported the war on Jews only a few decades ago, which was pushed by a government for similar reasons. If you truly desire to reduce the awful consequences of drug abuse, as I do too, then please, please consider the arguments in this chapter. The best book on parallels between the war on "drugs" and the persecution of Jews in Germany is by Miller (1996), Drug Warriors and their Prey.

3. The War on “Drugs” provides an excellent pretext for an assault on civil liberties and the essence of the U.S. Constitution, which many Americans still deeply love. But some are willing to sacrifice the Constitution anyway, when told over and over that this is necessary to fight the War on “Drugs” which are “destroying America.” Assaulting liberty serves the political purposes of the wealthy criminals who are behind both sides of the War on “Drugs.”

4. It yields a huge, unaccountable funding source for illegal covert operations at home, for secret wars abroad, and for research on weapons the public will not support. Iran-Contra provided one example where this was used to support a “secret” war which the Congress had even expressly forbidden funding for or participation in (several Boland Amendments to defense and intelligence appropriations, regarding the covert war by America against Nicaragua during the early and mid-1980’s). One operative, named Rodriguez, who testified to Congress and also to CBS’s “60 Minutes” said that he personally arranged a \$10 million contribution to that “cause” from the Medellin cocaine cartel. Just part of the business, he said, buying protection. One operator, one “contribution,” but deals like this occur on a regular basis.

Significant, credible sources advise me that the most grotesque weapons research in the world today has become increasingly dependent on drug income, and on other “black” income streams like illegal sales of “surplus” weapons abroad. “Black” income has always been used for some secret projects, but it is even more essential for projects of deeply questionable morality like biological weapons, mind control and other exotic research. Budgets are tight, and Congress is already having a hard time explaining the lack of a “peace dividend” eight years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, much less trying to explain the really advanced, and very expensive work on exotic weapons, many of which are quite illegal under international or even national law.

5. The War on “Drugs” helps some obedient and timid people to avoid temptation, by making the drug market illegal and considerably more dangerous. It also satisfies some people’s deep need to punish others for their “sins.” There are far less expensive ways to help obedient people avoid temptation. The timid can also be protected in better ways, and sins like this are self-punishing.

On the Growth of the Police-State

One reason for the New York Bar’s reexamination of drug laws has been the explosive and financially devastating growth in prison populations which has resulted. America now has the dubious distinction of

jailing a larger fraction of its population than any other developed country in the world. CNN reported on August 27, 1995, recent Department of Justice statistics showing that 5.1 million Americans were under legal sanction when probation and parole were added to the 1.3 million in prisons and 350,000 in jails then, and rising fast. This totals 2.7 percent of the entire population under formal legal sanction, with scores of millions more under jeopardy of arrest because they violate the drug laws (if you added jeopardy to the 100,000 other laws in America today, the fraction at risk would be quite astonishingly high). The Justice Department’s figures on those under formal sanction, is furthermore growing by 7.6 percent per year. Those actually in prison have increased an average of eight percent per year during the last five years, nine percent in 1995.

We in America criticize other police-states incessantly, and yet by this measure America is among the world’s worst police-states. But we are told every day how “free” our country is. One third of young, black males are now under police supervision of one kind or another, some for actual crimes (violent or property), but many more for violations of the “drug” laws which miraculously fail to touch most white users, and virtually all rich users. How large must this number get before someone besides the blacks and Latinos notice that something is terribly wrong?

America is also almost the only country left in the “civilized” world to retain the death penalty. It is the only country expanding it. Even South Africa, long a human rights pariah due to apartheid, has abolished this remnant of medieval times. China is the only other large nation which retains it, and often uses it against political prisoners (we should always recall the students they murdered in Tienanmen Square in 1989, as well). Iran, Iraq, and North Korea also execute political prisoners, and all are notorious enemies of free thinking. Saudi Arabia executes a few people each year, very publicly, mainly in service to fundamentalist concepts of Islamic law (Sharia) formulated over a thousand years ago. But unlike all of these regressive to barbaric governments, America is alone in expanding its use of death penalties. The latest vehicle was the Federal Crime Bill of 1994, which identified 54 new crimes they feel deserving of death, most involving drugs or assault on federal officers. What once was a land of free people has become a land where people can be put to death over differences of opinion about which vices are nice and which are nasty.

Another novel result of the War on “Drugs” has been a whole new category of laws regarding forfeiture of assets that have allowed and even encouraged local and federal police forces to seize boats, cars, aircraft, houses and the entire contents thereof, from alleged drug dealers

on the grounds these may be ill gotten gains. Maybe, but sometimes not. Either way, it was unwise to create a new name for the old game of robbery by agents of government. A new industry arose, with predictable consequences.

One of the more egregious examples was the case of Donald Scott, 61, who was murdered in his home by county sheriffs and federal agents on October 2, 1992, who had targeted his property because it was luxurious and they didn't know how he got his money. It appears that they were just "fishing" due to the lucrative search and seizure laws now in place. You can be certain they searched the house thoroughly after he died, but no drugs, nor other contraband were found. When they burst into his home at night unannounced, he tried to defend himself, and was shot dead before anyone figured out how bizarrely screwed up the War on "Drugs" had become.

In Minneapolis, an elderly black couple (Lloyd Smalley, 71, and Lilian Weiss, 65) were burned alive in their home on January 27th, 1989, in another case of law enforcement gone berserk. This time it was a SWAT team with a zealous attitude and a bad address. Cowering in a closet after the "flash-bang" grenades went off, the couple was trapped when their house caught fire, and they died while the police ran out to write their reports.

All of this, in the end, over differences of opinion about which vices are nice and which nasty. These are dietary laws, after all.

In Boston, 75-year-old Rev. Accelyne Williams died vomiting in the street, his hands bound, because another SWAT gang had a wrong address and caused his heart attack tearing up his apartment. In Minneapolis, these "dynamic, no-knock entries" began with 35 in 1987. By 1991 there were 391, with over 600 in 1996 (City Pages, February 26, 1997, 15). People do not die in all these midnight busts, of course, but people are always traumatized severely, and a spot check of 49 in 1996 "indicated that only half yielded any kind of arrest, and only one-fifth resulted in criminal charges."

When legalistic systems, authoritarian personalities or bigots of any color employ lethal means to settle differences of opinion on items like diet or personal morality, very destructive wars can result. The so-called War on "Drugs" is one.

Parallels With Addiction to Money, Power and Weapons

It bears emphasis that the people who are addicted to money, and the people who are addicted to power (not identical groups) are each responsible for far more suffering in the world every day than all the people who

are addicted to drugs, whether legal or illegal. Far, far more suffering every single day. But the powerful wage a war on "drugs" which could more accurately be named a war against the poor, or a war against civil liberties, because it serves their propaganda purposes and some psychological desires more widely held. It also creates a vast money pump, pumping billions of dollars every year out of the poor and middle economic classes, into the pockets of organized crime and those interests which support organized crime. The War on "Drugs" is one of the world's grandest illusions.

Another parallel is between the arms race and addiction. One of the most insightful lectures I ever heard was given by Jack Smith, Vice President of the Stanley Foundation of Muscatine, Iowa. Mr. Smith had studied U.S. foreign policy, U.S.-Soviet relations, the UN, and especially the nuclear arms race for nearly 20 years. Then he became an alcoholic, was pushed into treatment by family and friends, and in "recovery" began to notice remarkable parallels between his addiction to alcohol and the superpowers' addictions to nuclear arms. I will share here just one section of a really splendid lecture.

"To say that addiction causes people to be cunning is a colossal understatement. I (Jack Smith) mastered the art of half-truths, invincibility, and happy-go-lucky appearance. Soviet and American officials also manipulate truth. They offer opinion for fact, false impressions in place of evidence, and partial information when complete disclosure would injure their claims. There are countless examples to cite:

— Soviets told the world they invaded Afghanistan only after being invited in by the government. Actually, Soviet troops went in because the Soviet puppet regime was collapsing.

— In the early 1960's, the CIA announced that the Soviets had 1,054 nuclear missiles. Years later, it was discovered that they had two.

— Both sides claim they trail in the nuclear arms race. That is not true. Both are about equal.

Both governments tend to:

— Teach their citizens to think what they are told to think.

— Feel what they are told to feel.

— See what they are told to see.

— Believe what they are told to believe, about the arms race."

(Jack Smith, Stanley Foundation, 1988).

Mr. Smith adds many other comparisons of the denial, rationalizations, distorted judgment, and use and abuse of enabling family members, to this comparison

between addiction to alcohol and addiction to nuclear weapons. I will add just one observation to his. People who smoke marijuana are about as harmless as can be, because marijuana suppresses aggression, unlike alcohol or cocaine products. They may well be dumb or lazy, but potheads are not violent. Yet people who smoke pot in America can be thrown in jail for years, while people who design, build and operate nuclear weapons are given large salaries and pretty medals. This is very like the alcoholic Dad, beating Mom for being “unreasonable” or “insufficiently supportive.”

The Case for Legalizing “Illegal Drugs”

The case for legalizing or “decriminalizing” drugs is more thoroughly made in a 50-page brief prepared by the Bar of the City of New York in 1994, after several years of study starting in 1986, titled: “A Wiser Course: Ending Drug Prohibition.” The case is better made in a book of essays by conservatives Milton Friedman and Thomas Szasz, called Friedman and Szasz On Liberty and Drugs (1992). You can get information on these works and more from the Drug Policy Foundation in Washington D.C. and New York City. My main purpose cannot be that case, but the reader should know its basics if you are to appreciate the perfidy involved in the War on “Drugs,” its enormous and tragic costs, and the lessons it provides about how police-state wars start, and how they can be ended.

Remember, the War on “Drugs” is unusual among wars, because its end could be as simple as one act of legislation. Most wars will not yield so easily to legislative action, but the War on “Drugs” could be ended merely by calling it off.

Holland has, Britain has, Ireland has, even the Swiss have finally called off at least part of their war against their own citizens. I am not referring just to minor drugs; Britain and Switzerland have legalized access to heroin, among the most addictive and most widely feared drugs for good reason. Each has done so because they finally accepted the evidence that far less harm would come to far fewer people if they would stop the counterproductive war against people which the war on “drugs” really is.

No one is denying the manifold harms which drugs may cause. No one is lobbying for crack babies, or for introducing kids to cocaine or heroin. No one is urging students to take up drugs like marijuana which make them lazy and dumb. And no one (but the beer companies) is urging alcohol on the people; we have all seen what tragedies alcoholism can bring. No one (except the tobacco industry) is urging people to consume the drug

which kills far more people everywhere than all the other drugs combined. What we observe is that making illegal the drugs which people want, compounds the harm they cause in many ways. Let us consider the hardest example, heroin, as the Swiss and the British did.

Where heroin is illegal, its price becomes very high, and addicts must steal, deal, prostitute themselves, or commit other crimes to support their habit. Where the price is high, and the market is outside of legal oversight, great profits can be made by pushing drugs in schools. Where the market is illegal, violence rules, no one can call the cops, and participants must, in turn, become more violent to protect themselves and their stashes. Where addiction is illegal, rather than merely immoral or unwise, addicts can seldom hold down regular jobs, or may lose them when the vagaries of the illegal market make their job performance subject to the availability of their vice. You see, one of the important things many fail to appreciate is that heroin addicts (and most other drug users, including alcoholics) can successfully hold down many kinds of jobs, if they have reliable access to their drug off the job. Where heroin is illegal, there is no dosage or quality control, and many addicts die every year because of overdoses or poisons put into street supplies (like strychnine) to expand their volume or alter their effects.

With a legal, government regulated market in heroin, Britain, with its “Harm Reduction Program,” for example, finds these benefits:

1. You find almost no pushers in the schools, because there is almost no money to be made by dealing there, and penalties for exposing children to drugs remain extreme.
2. Most addicts maintain employment (even though Britain has very high unemployment, and some addicts are as lost as the underclass in general).
3. There is relatively little crime to fund drug habits, since the drugs can be had at a more rational cost from government-run clinics, with dosage and quality control, and with immediate access to drug rehabilitation programs for those ready to kick their habits, which most drug users do in due time.
4. For these or other mysterious reasons, addiction rates go down when drugs are legalized, rather than up. Numbers of users may go up, but addiction rates go down. The compulsive people still avoid drugs, for the most part, out of their perfectly understandable fear of the obvious ill effects of addiction. The people who rebel against authority, however, have less to rebel against. Teenagers are not enticed to experiment, by pervasive commands to “just say no” for obviously exaggerated reasons, given by widely hated authorities. Wiping out a multi-billion dollar untaxed market probably also affects underground advertising in whatever form that takes, which in heroin

has often been pushing enough “free” hits to addict the vulnerable victim.

5. The cost of prisons goes down, and the cost in victims of all sorts of the War on “Drugs” goes down too. These are all predictable and observed benefits of legalizing one of the most dangerous of drugs, heroin. What about marijuana, cocaine, methamphetamine, LSD, etc. ad nauseum? Writing generically, if I had god-like power to design the system, I would recommend this model for consideration:

a. Government run stores with clinics attached, providing controlled access to all such substances with the whole affair managed as a public health problem rather than a “war” or a moral crusade. Easy access to treatment programs would be part of the clinical side, and minimal necessary medical oversight of dosages and symptoms of deterioration among addicts who do not seek recovery. They would still pay the bill. Drug prices would be set to cover the costs of the whole operation, and costs would be kept down to keep a ceiling on secondary markets.

b. Retail personnel would preferably be recovered addicts of one drug or another to maximize their effectiveness in helping others to consider kicking their habits (always more effectively promoted by people who understand why people get addicted rather than by puritan nagging) or by compassionate puritans if necessary. But clinics would certainly be staffed by people who would not encourage drug use, and whose salaries or hourly wages would be completely independent of volume of sales. Clinics would be owned by governments compelled to cover expenses but make no profit in order to keep incentives for an illegal market as low as possible (and to forestall tax-hungry politicians making the business into another government cash cow).

c. Careful registries would be maintained to keep registered addicts from those few jobs like flying airplanes, securing nuclear bombs, or neurosurgery, where addiction to drugs is currently and reasonably forbidden. That list of jobs would be kept as small as practical and focused sharply on public safety, to forestall creation of yet another illegal market, such as exists today among those thousands of government workers who buy a product (Goldenseal) which enables them to pass most existing drug detection tests. *

* You have to admire the ingenuity of a government which, 1) provides drugs, and 2) punishes employees who use the drugs, who 3) create a market for a drug detection frustration drug. Only in America.

d. An absolute prohibition would be arranged on all forms of advertising for all forms of addictive drugs including alcohol and nicotine, except for package labels.

e. The Alaska model would be followed for marijuana, which means that growing for home use would be completely decriminalized. Alaska wiped out its illegal market in marijuana overnight, by adopting this measure. Very few people will pay \$400 an ounce for something they can grow for pennies. Alaska accomplished this massive defunding of organized crime, without a quiver of apparent collapse. As a bonus, people in Alaska who need medicinal marijuana, for glaucoma or nausea induced by cancer chemotherapy for which it is the best available medicine, need not become felons to relieve their pain.

Which opens another subject I will forego except to point it out explicitly. Most of the bigots who condemn drug use fail to ask an obvious question, which is, if drugs are so awfully bad, why do so many people crave them? The fundamental answer to this question is that many drugs, illegal and legal, ease the pains of life. Why life is so painful for so many is another, deeper question, which I will not pursue now either. Except to note that those who really wish to end the traumas behind drug use and abuse, need to comprehend why life is so painful to so many people in the “richest,” “freest” society ever known. And why so many people prefer self medication to accepting the judgements or prescriptions of a bigoted, authoritarian, and hypocritical police-state society.

Remember, this War on “Drugs” is a war which could simply be called “off” if the bigots who support it and the huge financial powers which manage it could be restrained. The last are utterly dependent on bad law. Relatively few other wars in the world could be ended by such simple legislative action.

Solutions

1. **Stop the war; it is utterly counterproductive, in fact, it helps to finance other wars which are clearly highly destructive.**

This means decriminalization of drugs, if not the wiser course of actual management by regulation as detailed above.

2. **Recognize the basic difference between dangerous behaviors, and differences of opinion.**

There is more in the chapters on Legalism, Dominance, and Authoritarian Law and Militant Religion pertinent to this basic point. But it bears restatement until people get it right. If the authoritarian urge to legislate life's details into legalistic codes is not constrained, wars of large or small scale between the thousand varieties of authoritarian codes are inevitable. Dietary preferences are simply not a good reason to wage wars against each other.

Do not let politicians scapegoat real and serious problems by blaming everything on those who are already poor and weak.

The Moslems don't eat pigs, the Hindus don't eat cows, and orthodox Jews don't eat a variety of things which Old Testament authors disliked. Christian bigots condemn people for many other dietary deviations, which happen also to enrich the secret powers of the world, which sponsor war. There are bigger problems in the world to attend to than fighting over dietary issues like these.

Part III

How To Overcome War, and Survive

During the review of selected causes of war in Part Two, I have been very judgmental and accusing, for which I will probably pay an appropriate price. It is very easy to condemn others for their errors. It is much harder to design a better system for actually resolving the complex conflicts which lead to real wars.

In this section I will try to be more humble, and will be humbled whether I want this or not, because the challenge of overcoming war is very great indeed. War is an institution with thousands of years of history, millions of enthusiastic adherents today, and almost a trillion dollars per year annual budget worldwide. Overcoming that momentum will require enormous effort.

I wish to begin by noting some of the contradictions I have glossed over in previous commentary due to lack of space or time or intelligence. Most of these reflect the complex balance of forces in the real world, the fact that there are two sides to every coin, and more than two sides to most mountains. For example:

It is very easy to observe the role of economics in war, and to condemn the wealthy for not sharing more with the poor. This is harder when one acknowledges that we are the wealthy, and confront a sea of desperate people which appears to have no end. In the same vein, it is easy to condemn the weapons companies and the various merchants of death. But it is not easy to consider going without weapons entirely in a world so filled with chaos. If we are going to have weapons we will want good ones. And if

you and I want good weapons, the most monstrous warmongers of the world will undoubtedly want them too.

It is easy to condemn the wretched men and women who lust for power; I would not join them in the political cesspool for a billion dollars. But someone must. So it is callow to criticize their many flaws; perhaps these are necessary to swim in excrement. Someone has to work at politics, or as Plato said: “good men will pay the price of being ruled by lesser men.” It is extremely easy to criticize men like Henry Kissinger, with the wisdom of hindsight and from the comfort of a chair where decisions have no tangible consequence. It is much harder to be certain that I would have done things differently, if I knew the things he knew when he made his decisions, and had real responsibility for them.

It is easy to condemn corruption in governance (very easy) but it is very hard indeed to imagine how anyone could get elected these days without kissing every corrupt *** who desires this service in the real world of actual politics. It is easy to condemn the authoritarians, the legalists, and the militant religious enthusiasts for their dogmatic errors, but I must admit that without some conservative stalwarts there would be no stability in the world. Compulsive people serve essential functions, just as compassionate people do: one provides, backbone, continuity, protection, order and punishment for the guilty; the other provides flexibility, sustenance, mercy, innovation and art — all necessary, in their proper balance, to the healthy function of whole societies.

It is very easy to condemn the Serbs for “ethnic cleansing” in Bosnia and Kosovo, and for other atrocities that wretched term has come to imply. It is harder to reconcile American moralism with the memory that we did something very similar to the Native Americans a century ago, with the “Trail of Tears,” the massacre at Wounded Knee, with blankets deliberately sowed with smallpox, and boarding schools designed to remove vestigial traces of Indian culture from their young. Before us came Genghis Khan, cleansing Han Chinese from pasture land for his horses, and Roman Generals sowing salt on the lands of Carthage so it could never rise again. It is easy to condemn the butchers of the world; it is harder to contain them when they are your closest neighbors.

It is extremely easy to condemn the evil in the world, and institutions in the service of evil. It is extremely difficult to figure out how to cure them without resort to force of arms. One drifts constantly to thoughts of extermination, but alas, there lies the transformation into evil which those who would end war must stringently avoid.

It is very easy to condemn spies; it is very difficult to imagine statesmen doing without them. I have been a spy* (* at least, I have observed spies very closely, which comes rather close to spying). Let me affirm from experience that anyone can be convinced it is necessary, if the cause is noble enough.

Spotting racism, scapegoating, hubris, greed and other nasty tendencies in others is quite easy; harnessing them in oneself is near to impossible. Et cetera, etc. I have done my best to identify honestly the actual causes of war. Therefore, I have been judgmental. Sometimes I was probably too blunt. I was blunt because the whole domain is filled with denial, rationalizations and other psychological defenses. It is also filled with calculated propaganda, which we must defeat some way, somehow. Being blunt is one of my ways.

Now, I will try to do better at a harder job, which is breaking through into solutions with an actual chance at ending war. Before the next really big one comes, which must come sooner or later if we do not prevent it by rational means.

You get what you pay for in the end.

And right now the world is paying for a really, really big war.

“Government is force, not reason, and like fire, it is a dangerous servant, and a fearful master.”

— George Washington

Governance Without Governments

The original sin of governments is their resort to deadly force to accomplish all sorts of goals less serious than national survival, or protection of the innocent. The trick here is figuring out how to preserve the thousands of useful things which governments can do, without using deadly violence, or threats thereof, which they so overdo.

Someone long forgotten defined the nation state as: “That organization which claims exclusive legitimate authority to use deadly violence within a geographic area.” One crude attempt made earlier to correct that arrogance of power so intimately related to war, was urging a reduction in the power of nation states, with simultaneous increases in the power of international institutions and of individuals.

The United Nations is one attempt in this direction, with a very mixed record (e.g., many failures, and some successes) in the realm of international peacekeeping and conflict resolution, its most important mission. We have discussed that in Chapter 16. But it bears emphasis here that the greatest success stories of the UN were in those functional areas where a classical government (using force) was not necessary. Better forms of governance were able to solve what governments could not solve.

Like eradicating smallpox, killer of millions. This required great effort across many nations; it required integration, coordination, and world class resources — but not one ounce of military ordinance, nor a single threat of violence to gain compliance. When the general value of an objective is clear and resources to pay for achieving it are available, force is usually unnecessary and may be quite counterproductive. Rationalizing the international mail system is another great example of effective governance without the need for a regime of force. Denial of service is enough: if you do not cooperate with the system, your international mail just will not get delivered. Sooner or later, everyone complies, because it is simply good business to do so.

The allocation of frequencies across the electromagnetic spectrum, with very limited slots for geosynchronous satellites, and across the boundaries of 184 nations, is another success story. Failure would make communications chaos. So rational allocations and standards are achieved without resort to force or threats of force, but rather by facilitating cooperation among users. You can pay for these things without taxation in the traditional government way, too, by user fees applied to those who voluntarily use the system. Those who might consider not paying user fees, or not cooperating with frequency allocations, would simply find they cannot use the satellites paid for by others or the frequencies cluttered by others in the system, which as a practical matter would mean they could not communicate internationally using those media. The value of voluntary cooperation so outweighs the utility of going it alone that everyone complies.

Another example was standardizing language and control systems for international aircraft flights, so that planes from anywhere could land anywhere else without crashing into each other. All paid by user fees, and if you break the rules or do not pay the fees, they can always refuse to refuel your multi-million dollar aircraft, so there really is no need to call on military forces to enforce compliance.

The Law of the Sea took 10 years to negotiate, but everyone’s shipping is safer now because of it. Fisheries stocks have a better chance at survival than before (even though overfishing remains a very serious global problem). Protocols are on the way for dealing more effectively with common environmental problems, like pollution of the common seas and air. While slow and clumsy like a baby learning to walk, these baby steps toward mature governance without violence have not been accomplished by military means. Nor by any authoritarian government commanding lessors to obey.

I will return to the hardest problem, international peacekeeping, in a moment.

James N. Rosenau and Ernst-Otto Czempiel collected several essays which address the concept of Governance without Government (1992) far more thoroughly than I can here. They recognize that whether we like it or not, governance is already beginning to change in very complex ways similar to my suggestions here. They discern a proliferation of both transnational and subnational governance mechanisms. That is, the United Nations and several other international governance systems are expanding their reach (if not their means) at the same time that thousands of NGO's (Non-Governmental Organizations) are growing to meet a host of human needs which traditional nation states are not serving well.

Some transnational governance mechanisms are not remotely governmental, like Moody's Investors Service, or Standard and Poor's Ratings Group, which may have as much (or more) to say about where capital flows as the World Bank and the IMF. The Internet is a phenomenon whose ultimate form no one can know, but everybody is guessing because it could bring information power beyond the dreams of governments a decade ago to millions of anonymous users. Amnesty International may have done as much to put human rights on the world agenda, as a hundred governments eager to hide their tortures. Amnesty was started by one idealist a few decades ago, who was joined by thousands of other individuals without any help from governments. And Amnesty has been joined by thousands of other do-gooder groups, some of whom we pray will succeed as well. These groups arise to solve problems which governments often will not touch.

Sometimes traditional governments are the problem, as in torture, genocide and war.

In a later essay (1995, 24) Rosenau notes that: "more than 17,000 international nongovernmental organizations in the non-profit sector were active in the mid-1980's and in excess of 35,000 transnational corporations with some 150,000 foreign subsidiaries were operating in 1990." The last four UN sponsored conferences on global issues (Women, 1995; Social Development, 1995; Population, 1994; and Environment, 1992) attracted far more NGO's than governments, with far more people and energy on the NGO side. But national governments still control the lion's share of the money and almost all of the power to mediate system changes.

Ex-German Chancellor Willie Brandt, started a process of looking at the future in a more integral way as the Berlin Wall was crumbling in 1989. This led to creation of a "Commission on Global Governance" sponsored by the United Nations in 1992. Twenty six

members from 24 countries joined conveners Ingvar Carlsson, Prime Minister of Sweden from 1986-1991, and Shridath Ramphal, Secretary General of the Commonwealth from 1975-1990, to rethink issues pertaining to global governance. The Report of this Commission, Our Global Neighborhood, was published in 1995 by Oxford University Press. Like the present author, they recognized that creating another government could not be an answer to the problems posed by governments run amok. From their foreword:

As this report makes clear, global governance is not global government. No misunderstanding should arise from the similarity of terms. We are not proposing movement towards world government, for were we to travel in that direction we could find ourselves in an even less democratic world than we have — one more accommodating to power, more hospitable to hegemonic ambition, and more reinforcing of the roles of states and governments rather than the rights of people.

They were animated by the same set of problems reviewed at the beginning of this book. From page 14, of Our Global Neighborhood:

By one estimate, between 1945 and 1989 there were 138 wars, resulting in some 23 million deaths. But military force was also used elsewhere, without an actual war breaking out, as in Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, and Grenada in 1983. The Korean War, which caused three million deaths, and the Vietnam War, which killed two million people, were the most deadly conflicts. All 138 wars were fought in the Third World, and many were fueled by weapons provided by the two major powers or their allies.

In each of the last few years, at least thirty major armed conflicts — defined as those causing more than 1,000 deaths annually — have been in progress. Many have gone on for several years. Each has its own historic origins and proximate causes. Structural factors at the regional or global level are significant in many conflicts. The wars of Afghanistan and Angola are direct legacies of cold war power politics. Other conflicts, including those in Azerbaijan, Bosnia, Georgia, and Somalia, were in different ways precipitated by the end of the cold war and the collapse of old regimes. In many cases, structural factors have combined with tension across social cleavages, whether ethnic, religious, economic, or political, to fuel antagonisms. Personal ambitions and missed opportunities have played some part.

The Commission also recognized many of the

deeper issues underlying the large scale, organized violence we call wars. They have chapters on population, persistent poverty, arms races, and corruption in governments, for example. And they cite the rise of a “culture of violence” worldwide; from page 16:

A disturbing feature of the contemporary world is the spread of a culture of violence. Civil wars brutalize thousands of young people who are drawn into them. The systematic use of rape as a weapon of war has been an especially pernicious feature of some conflicts. Civil wars leave countless weapons and a legacy of continuing violence. Several political movements ostensibly dedicated to the liberation of people have taken to terrorism, showing scant regard for the lives of innocent civilians, including those in whose name they are fighting. Violence is sometimes perceived as an end in itself.

The ascendancy of the military in many countries has contributed to an ethos inimical to human rights and democratic values.

It bears reflection that most of the 28 leaders who wrote this had been or remained senior officers of governments. This is not a critique by people who hate government reflexively, but rather a critique by people who have already tried their best from positions of power to make traditional governments work.

UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reflected on these trends in an essay on Democracy in a new journal, called Global Governance (1995). The emphases are mine.

The globalization of the economy and communication has produced high levels of economic expectation and political awareness around the world. People everywhere are now more conscious of the distribution of economic and political power than ever before. They are aware that their lives could be different. Many are aware that they have little or no say in changing the conditions affecting their lives.

With the end of the Cold War, it was recognized that many regimes misappropriated the name of democracy while acting in utterly undemocratic ways . . .

A newly elected government may have to contend with resistance from a corrupt bureaucracy, a police force lacking commitment to fundamental human rights, biased media, and profound distrust between groups. Help from the international community in reforming these key institutions can be of the greatest importance. Electoral assistance must be coordinated with technical and development assistance. . . .

No democracy can fulfill its promises instantly. Frustration may boil over into public anger if rightful claims are ignored. Failure to fulfill political promises weakens representative government and encourages political apathy, manifested, for example, by the people’s failure to vote. Cynicism can be the enemy of democracy. Support for positive change and patience are both needed. . . .

The emergence of these new forms of political expression [NGO’s] cannot be ignored by the international community. Their very existence shows that existing channels may not always be adequate for the expression and articulation of people’s needs and aspirations. They are the first signs of an emerging transnational democratic politics, active in spheres where governments formerly acted almost alone. . . .

The alternative [to authoritarian law] is democracy. To have a voice in the arrangements that control one’s daily life is to act and be recognized as a human being. To be denied that right is to be rejected, to be alienated, and eventually to turn against society and its institutions. . . .

But democracy has not featured in the history of the international system of states. Sovereignty, rather than democracy, has been its guiding principle. . . .

Through nongovernmental organizations, citizens act on their own. NGO’s provide a framework that enables citizens, amid the practical challenges of concrete situations, to mobilize themselves in favor of common purposes and common ideals. NGO’s help make it possible for these complex and diffuse aspirations to take form and to flourish. In this way, NGO’s increase popular participation and carry out an essential representational role; they are an indispensable part of the legitimacy without which no international activity can be meaningful. And NGO’s can be directly involved in the birth and development of democratic institutions within states. They can serve as vigilant monitors, helping to guarantee respect for democracy throughout the world.

So go join an NGO, or start one of your own, if you want to solve global problems or just acquire more say over the conditions which affect your life. The UN will not discourage you, it needs all the help it can get to deal with the messes left by rampaging nation states.

As I write this, NATO started bombing Serbian Bosnia, four years after the Serbs started killing people and at least two years after the UN started to look totally incompetent at its most important mission: stopping wars and protecting innocents from gross violations of human rights, like genocide, or “ethnic cleansing.” So all is not pretty in the world, and war has not ended yet.

In fact, it remains to be seen whether NATO's intervention will: a) end the grotesque civil war there, for which Serbs are not solely responsible, of course, or b) fuel the fires which could lead to a general, world war. It has happened there before. Such are the dilemmas of peace and war in the real world, which is always more complex than academic exercises, or war games on a Pentagon computer.

By the time you read this, that particular dilemma will probably be solved, or at least the outcome will be better known. */**/***
 Certainly the world will know whether NATO's first significant combat action stopped a war, or escalated one, or stalled. But the dilemma is eternal, as those who would end war and professionals of arms must each ponder deeply. When faced with deadly violence, somebody must do something or the barbarians will take over. Those who take the responsibility for facing down organized evil must be very careful lest they win a battle but lose the war, by becoming as evil as that which they oppose.

We need institutions to help solve our collective problems. Big ones, and little ones. We do not need gunslinging governments for many of those problems, for most of those problems. In fact, the gunslingers are the biggest part of the problem we confront today, never forgetting that once in a while, you are doomed without good warriors. If you cannot call on responsible forces, demagogues may arise and whip up real trouble, as they did in Serbia and in a thousand other places through human history.

* As of late 1997, former Yugoslavia is fairly stable in all sectors, praise be to God, and indeed to NATO as it turned out. But there has been little progress yet toward healing the wounds or long term stability.

** In July 1999 NATO recently prevailed in a 78 day bombing campaign against Serbia over issues in Kosovo province between ethnic Albanian and Serbian Kosovars. Ethnic cleansing has been averted for awhile, but almost a million Serbs are refugees from the loss of 4 wars in 10 yrs.

*** The essential dilemma remains. Will this use of military (ergo governmental) force lead to a lasting peace or to a larger war? That is the dilemma which every responsible President, soldier and peace activist must face. Wiser ones will know that there are no easy answers, nor certain guides to answer this eternal question.

NGO's and Inter-Governmental Organizations (IGO's, like the Organization of American States [OAS], the Organization for African Unity [OAU], the Association of South East Asian Nations [ASEAN], NATO, the UN, etc.) can do many useful things much better than national governments, whether funded by them as IGO's are, or independent (and underfunded) as NGO's tend to be. I will return again to the very hard problem of dealing with violent danger, two chapters from now. But first some attention to the other large institution of social control is required.

“This is what Yahweh asks of you; only this. To Act Justly, to Love Tenderly,
and to Walk Humbly with your God. — Micah 6:8

“Love God, and love your neighbor as yourself. That is the whole law of Moses.”

— Jesus Christ, in Matthew 22:37-40; Mark 12:20-24; Luke 10:27
derived from Deuteronomy 6:5 and Leviticus 19:18

Spirituality Without Churches

The original sin of churches * is exclusive dogma.

Their saving grace has been commitment to teaching people to look beyond themselves for guidance on life's problems and purposes. When they argue over which perception of the Creator is exclusively correct, they diminish themselves.

The profound blasphemy of churches is espousing the view that they alone know the (exclusive) truth about God. Or that they alone hold the keys to salvation.

Wiser preachers would not dare to make such petty statements in the name of the Ultimate. Every religious book warns about taking the name of the Creator in vain, or using it to line one's pockets. Thus it is amazing when people who claim religious insight try to reduce the God of a universe bigger than a billion, trillion Earths into the tiny confines of that which they can personally understand.

It certainly serves war when preachers claim exclusive religious truth, especially when they promote “holy” war. One can find clergy from every church who have done this. Christian preachers, Islamic mullahs, Jewish rabbis: all provide examples of people who claim that their interpretation of religious scripture is the only “correct” path to God. It is among them one finds enthusiasts for holy war. Even followers of Buddha sometimes carry weapons and engage in extremist politics, in the name of the One “Correct” Way. And even Hindu babas sometimes are dogmatic, albeit less so than those “chosen” others wedded to one book or another.

* Throughout this chapter “churches” specifically includes mosques, synagogues and temples of all sorts, and stands for organized religion generally.

Those who would end war must encourage a deeper spirituality, without promoting the blind dogmas and militant intolerance of some organized churches. One step on that road is calling false prophesy by its proper name. This is doubly difficult, because one of the core religious truths taught by all the prophets is respect for the religious views of others, and this remains true wisdom for today. One should respect the views of others, for practical as well as spiritual reasons. You might learn something from those who see things differently. But there is a difference between open-minded interest in differing views, and blanket acceptance of dangerous falsehoods by abandoning judgment altogether. The art of religion, as in life, is in the balance one maintains.

There are many cults these days. Cults depart from true religions when they manipulate information or coerce their flock, clinging to their members. Those who would end war must be more forward in their criticism lest the cults become so strong that war between them is inevitable. War between the cults over whose exclusive truth is exclusively truest. Or war between the cultists and free thinkers of the earth, who have always been at risk to dogmas which churches erect to serve their organizational goals.

From Crusades to the Spanish Inquisition to the bombs and bullets of Islamic fundamentalists aimed at journalists today, it has been a long war between those who would think freely, and those who desire to impose their dogmas by force of arms. From Hindu zealots who demolish mosques in India, to the Wahhabi in Saudi Arabia who outlaw any religious text or symbols other than their own, to the America “Christian” Coalition, which would impose Pat Robertson's views on all the rest by law, religious dogma is on the move today.

The antidote to fundamental fervor is enlightened ecumenism. But how does one promote ecumenical spirituality without churches? “Ecumenical” is a church term. And defending it is not easy when churches defend their claims to peoples’ minds and money with such ferocious energy. The churches are not the only passionate protectors of ignorance and privilege. People cling to their beliefs, all people, you and me too. You must expect the narrow minded to defend their worldviews passionately. We must expect the wealthy to protect that which brought them wealth. All of these are sins of churches which differ from the teachings of their founders.

Ascetic discipline may appeals to a very few, but it certainly is not going to compete well with glorious buildings filled with songs from lovely choirs. The crowds have always loved a show; they are not going to change overnight or radically. And you cannot have big buildings, huge organs and professional clergy without something like the church to support them. Can you?

Those who would end war must try to promote the spirituality which transcends every church, which goes beyond buildings and dogma to reveal the unity of all God’s children. Of course it is hard to counter dogma, but almost everything worth doing in life is hard. And think, one advantage you have is that even the imperfect scripture the dogmatists revere clearly states that they should love their neighbor, befriend the stranger, and respect the differing views of other religions. Every scripture says that killing is not the way of God. You just have to get behavior to conform to professed belief.

I devoted a chapter to Militant Religion (13) so I will not repeat that here. What I will do instead is briefly cite four other examples of dogmatic excess, then move to a more positive and, I pray, a more effective angle of attack on the main problem. Which for me is ending war, not competing with professional clergy for the attention of the multitude.

Common Themes Among the Aum Shinri Kyo, Moonies, Mormons, and Orthodox Catholicism, among many others.

At considerable risk of appearing intemperate, I want to discuss a common aspect of four current religions, without unduly offending the very devoted followers of each. I have not chosen an Islamic example, because I know it in less detail. The works of Salman Rushdie (under lethal fatwa by the Ayatollahs of Iran) and Taslima Nasrin (under death sentence from extremists in Bangladesh, for pointing out how unfair their brand of Islam is toward women) will have to do for discussing the dark side of Islam.

All of these churches do something useful for their members or they could not remain organized. All express many of the universal religious truths without which churches fail. All contain sincere devotees, who are very good to each other. Excepting Aum Shinri Kyo, the smallest, each supports universities and hospitals in service to their members and sometimes to the world at large. In short, all have some very good elements along with the bad, which I must focus on very briefly.

All of these groups are also led by men who claim an exclusive connection to God by which they validate their authority and check their doctrinal conclusions. In Aum Shinri Kyo it is Shoko Asahara. For the Moonies it is Sun Myung Moon. For the Mormons it is the President of the Church of Latter Day Saints (Gordon B. Hinkley), and for Catholics it is the Pope (John Paul II) chosen by a Curia of Cardinals. Each of these churches claims exclusive authority from God, which is a blasphemy to the Creator which talks with anyone, anytime It wishes.

For decades we did not challenge the wisdom of men like these who claimed exclusive hot-lines to God because we appreciate the importance of religious tolerance. We do not want to appear intemperate or unwise by denouncing people who hold ignorant views. And so it should be, except when those views threaten survival of the planet. In that case, we should still be tolerant and nice, but we should not be calling them spiritual leaders equal to those who strive to heal the planet and the wounds of people on it.

Those wounds cannot be healed by groups which:

- 1) Create stockpiles of nerve gas and test it on public transportation, like the Aum Shinri Kyo did in Japan during 1995. Wounds cannot be healed by groups which stockpile weapons in the name of religion, any religion. And leaders who believe they have an exclusive hot-line to God become unhinged with disturbing regularity.

- 2) Practice mind control techniques, liaison with military intelligence worldwide, and use psychological operations methods and illegal campaign activity to subvert domestic politics from Bolivia to America to the Philippines and Japan, like the Moon group does. “Unity among Christians” is Mr. Moon’s stated goal, but he also claims that “heavenly deception” is OK because God made him the “Third Adam” (next Messiah) and the unity he seeks is unity under his rule.

- 3) Teach their children that only they can enter the “Celestial Kingdom” and that everyone else is doomed (to lower kingdoms of lesser glory, if not to hell itself) unless

they are converted to Mormonism by almost any means required. Let me hasten to add that the Mormons, like the Catholics and to a degree the Moonies, have adjusted their doctrines sufficiently to avoid wars between them and their neighbors. They can all talk tolerance better now, and thank God for that, even though genuine respect for other faiths remains contrary to their inner, exclusive dogmas.

4) Finally, the wounds of religious friction cannot be healed while the largest church on earth tells the world in unending torrents of words that God abhors birth control despite abundant signs of critical distress among earth's peoples, plants and animals. Forty thousand children die every day from malnutrition, yet the largest church on Earth claims that "God will provide" that which clearly is not provided now. Like the Mormons, Aum, and the Moonies, the Catholics have a leader who proclaims an "infallible" connection to God Itself, which he hauls out whenever doctrine is seriously challenged.

To those who must be offended by my observations, I can only say that I mean them for the benefit of all. My wife is Catholic, most of my family, Mormon. Truly, I mean them no insult whatever. I cannot be either, nor any other named religion, because I cannot promote the false doctrine of exclusive truth, but rather see some virtues in them all. Getting to the core of war requires clinical comment on critical causes of war. The untrue notion of exclusive religious truth is a critical cause of many wars. And I have studied the Moon group and Aum enough to know that their dysfunctions serve as warnings to far larger churches, which are also animated by a false belief that their leaders are infallible.

These dogmas must be dealt with sternly, not by bullets and bombs, but rather on the grounds of religion by religious people from each faith. The only force for war on earth today which rivals the dogmatic Christian church, named after the prince of peace himself, is the militant Islamic church gnawing furiously at constraints imposed by the West. In between them both sits Jerusalem; and interspersed around the world, the diaspora of Jews who embody the concept of a chosen people, another flawed dogma.

If anyone should recognize the importance of religious tolerance, it is certainly the Jews. No one has suffered more (except perhaps the indigenous peoples of the world, many of which have become extinct). Yet Jews too have their own hands full with zealots who seek a holy war against the Arabs over land which both have owned.

The God of all humankind and the Universe, does **not** want you to kill each others' children. Period. Paragraph. End of that story.

Any exceptions are minuscule, to be contemplated carefully by professionals like police and soldiers who sometimes simply must deal with the lethally deranged or dangerous. Those who claim that God desires a war among men for spiritual reasons are not speaking for religion, but in the name of something darker by far.

The Unity of True Religion, as Opposed to the Divisions of Exclusive Churches

God can talk to anyone, even you, even me. The difficult part is telling others what you have heard, no matter how sublime. God loves everyone, period. But what God is and what God wants, are matters on which people will and must have very different views. Why? Because God is more complicated than human minds can handle; truly It is. So the people who see a bit of the Creator, see different things, and return with different visions.

Over time, something like God has talked to many people, some of whom had profound insights, most of whom spoke to others. Many spoke quietly, unusually aware of how difficult it is to describe the Ultimate. Some founded churches, and tried as hard as they could to pass on their insights. Some focused on the written word. But words are highly imperfect, change quickly, and cultures vary enormously, so that even simple parables spoken in one time mean different things in different times and places. The very best words are easily corrupted or confused. Some who are easily confused by words try to stabilize this fluidity by claiming that some words are infallible, and fixed. This is literal non-sense. One can claim the moon is made of cheese, but no amount of diligent prayer, no matter how sincere, will make this so. And no amount of fervent assertion can make intrinsically imperfect and plastic human words become perfect.

It would appear that every scripture has also had its editors. People who came after prophets, people more devoted to organizational growth and to the rules that organizations require. Over and over again, as I read words ascribed to religious prophets, I can see the erasers and the scribbles of editors intruding, "clarifying" that which could be more clearly seen in the wisdom of the prophets, but which contradict the imperatives of organizations. Nothing annoys the editors like questions about their dogmas.

It seems near suicidal to reflect upon the unity of true religion after stepping on so many passionate toes as I have already done here. But it is required, so let's begin.

The true religion, which can be found embedded in every scripture tells us to:

Be honest.

Do not kill. Do not murder, and do not make a game of calling murders by your team legitimate.

Do not steal.

Do not rape and do not assault.

Do not lie, especially when this can injure another (false witness). Do not poison your neighbor's well. Do not hurt children, or other precious living things. Clean up your own messes.

Take care of each other.

Respect elders and established authorities so long as they are not overbearingly corrupt. If the prophet was particularly wise, he urged respect for children as well as for elders, and for the stranger as well as for the sheriff.

Love God, and love your neighbor as yourself, or words to this effect, which are found in religious literature all around the world.

Listen to the common people, because they have the experience of suffering and work from which religious insight flows. Abstract understanding has value, but no one needs consult the clergy to learn about God, because the Creator is everywhere and can talk to anyone, anytime, anywhere.

Look within with the deepest sincerity, and God may talk with you. Certainly you can talk to God anytime. Many call this prayer.

There is a bit of the Ultimate within all people. This is another reason nothing is ever really forgotten, and nothing is truly secret. All the crimes of all the sinners in the world are recorded on at least two records, the souls of their victims, and the souls of the criminals. This is why judgment is reserved for final reckoning by something wiser than men, with access to both sides of every story, and this is also a reason why it was so short-sighted to remove all discussion of religion from the schools. Because awareness that secrets are temporary is a force which keeps some people from slipping sometimes, into criminal behaviors. It is harder to kill if you know a bit of God is watching you always.

Work hard, and be thrifty. Share with the poor because life is hard for them. Treat every human being with dignity, because that is what we all desire and most deserve.

Contribute to your community; it has given a lot to you.

Conserve the things of value around you, because they took immense effort, if not eternity, to create.

Take care of the earth, it is our only ultimate mother. Do no harm.

Take good care of the children, or your society is doomed.

Do not screw around, if you want a long and happy life, and avoid vices. If you do not abstain from vices, avoid excess. If you cannot avoid excess, avoid your neighbors because you will become a pest.

But above all else, do not kill. Because no matter how vile, your target was the child of a mother who loves him, and of a God who wanted better for us all.

The desire to kill is an eternal temptation in a world of frustrating human beings, and it is the ultimate root of war, which can now destroy everything. Do not kill, do not kill, unless it is truly, truly necessary to prevent an even greater loss of life. Do not forget this fundamental truth while memorizing dogmas or the thousand rules of churches, or the words of men long dead.

Now, I could write a hundred thousand other words which would be minor variations on these themes, different ways to say the same basic things which one can find in every scripture on the Earth. But clouding the picture with thousands of words would not help. Indeed it has hurt people over and over again as some chose to fight over which words were the "truly correct" words. There are many roads to Jerusalem, not one. And there are 100 thousand million paths to religious insight. Fighting over them is dumb.

Having been so critical of others, I felt obliged to express some specifics of my own for the churches to question and correct, should they care to. There are no "perfectly correct" words. Those who would end war must understand this, because those who believe they hold the one true religion in their grasp are marching as to war. And if you and I do not stop them gently, war will stop them. But the way war stops dysfunction is by killing people wholesale.

No doubt I have left out a thousand pearls of wisdom which might make good advice for someone. But I am not a prophet, and am often unwise. Besides, true religion can embrace a thousand wisdoms with simple, comprehensive thoughts. For example, "Do no harm" can cover 100,000 laws which intend to define this goal in more detail. I will leave pearls of wisdom for others better suited to that task.

Except for the soldiers and the police, for whom I have very precise instructions.

“What a curse it is for a Warrior to be denied an appropriate enemy.”

— source unknown

Being a Warrior in the Third Millennium

Some of the most religious people in the world are soldiers and policemen. Some soldiers, some police, men and women, not all.

Mercenaries are not. Mercenaries are killers hired by criminals and warlords to do their bidding. Their employers are the scum of the earth.

Professional men of arms walk a fine line between these extremes. Their positions are precarious today, because most professional soldiers serve the nation state. And the nation state is undergoing radical transformation. Some are police-states whose soldiers attack their own people. Professional police have it slightly easier, since their work has more obvious value to the people, but their lives are getting harder also. First, the public is becoming ever more aware of injustices at every level of government, so even the best peace officers face a public which is sometimes enraged (often with good reason) and sometimes well armed. Second, police are on the front lines of decay every day, while the soldiers mainly train for combat far away. The decay phase of a civilization is a difficult time for professional warriors.

The soldier who protects the innocent from barbarians is like a minister of God. Policemen who protect the weak are like ministers of God, sent to serve humankind. Those who would end war would accomplish their goal faster if they recognized this. Soldiers or police who become corrupt and victimize the citizens who sustain them are a blot upon the honor of the rest, and are despised by decent men.

The mercenary who murders innocents in service to his master is no better than a terrorist. Worse, he is worse than a terrorist, for at least the terrorist has a cause however twisted, while the mercenary's only goal is money.

Terrorists who murder innocents are merely murderers. Criminals who afflict civil society are a scourge upon humankind. It is to protect the innocent from

the rapist, the thief and the murderers, that God (or society) created professional men of arms.

The soldier who serves a sovereign or a state is vulnerable to abuse if the sovereign is unwise or the state corrupt. Some agonize, others act. It is for the best among them that this chapter was written.

I have news, and instructions. Not from me, from the Commander of us all; I am just a messenger. But first, a Situation Report.

1. The whole of human civilization is being radically transformed. Like a caterpillar turning into a butterfly, everything will turn to apparent disorder while the structures of civilization are rearranged. This will make the essential job of keeping order far more challenging during the transition, when chaos apparently reigns, and people are afraid.

2. Those who cling too long to structures which are dissolving, may be destroyed by the forces of dissolution. Those who protect civilian populations diligently while chaos apparently reigns, will be honored for all time.

3. Sooner or later you must choose which fate will be yours. Those who choose wisely will make the transition intact. Those who do not will suffer the fate of less-professional men of arms throughout history.

4. Protect the innocent, and forget extraneous duties you are assigned by sovereigns. This is a guide which can get you through. Concentrate on protecting the innocent, and avoid the political tasks assigned by those who cling to power.

Next, on Training Recruits. It is not my business to tell you how to do your jobs, and I have no desire to replace you; my job is difficult enough. But we all have to train our replacements. My people train for very specialized, highly demanding missions. Each must memorize the following 12 lessons, in exact detail, before they can learn lethal techniques.

 Long ago almost every man was a warrior, and there were almost no wars. Things are different now. These are some lessons from ancient times which can help with contemporary problems.

1. Remember. What must a Warrior always remember?
 Violence is the last resort of the incompetent.
2. Being. What is Being a Warrior?
 To Be a Warrior is not to be a thing.
 Being a Warrior is a state of existence.
3. Why? Why would anyone want to Be a Warrior?

Humankind has a grave problem with violence, especially with failures to control that wisely. Warriors serve the mission of controlling violence, and protecting innocence from abuse. Being a Warrior is the most noble and rewarding state of existence for a certain kind of human being.

4. Fighters. What is the essential difference between a Warrior, and a fighter?

Fighters love to fight. A Warrior avoids fighting except under the most extreme, compelling circumstances. To a Warrior, the use of violence is disgraceful; it is the third lowest form of failure.

5. Difference. What is the essential difference between Warriors, and other men?

A Warrior must always and forever be courageous in the face of fear, as he seeks responsibility. The second lowest form of failure, is cowardice.

6. Study. Why must a Warrior study violence, since to be violent is so disgraceful?

Most importantly, a Warrior must understand violence in order to control it in himself. Second to this, in the imperfect world as it is, violence unopposed is sometimes violence victorious. However great a Warrior is, he may encounter a threat to innocence which he is incompetent to counter according to the Tao. In the end, cowardice in the face of violence is a greater crime than failure to be perfect in pursuit of peace.

7. Responsibility. How does a Warrior seek Responsibility?

A Warrior strives to understand the Way, Tao. Part of the Warrior's special mission is to protect the innocent and the weak against the ruthless and the strong. To serve this mission well one must protect against self-deception. Rationalizations excusing violence can be very dangerous. Thus a Warrior contemplates deeply and forever, the essential difference between defense and aggression.

8. Tao. What is the Tao?

Lao Tzu observed correctly:

**The way which can be spoken of,
 is not the constant Way.**

However, in this place and time it can be said with confidence that the way includes the universal Love and Wisdom. The universal Love includes at least love of self, family, community, love of all humankind including adversaries, and love of all live things. Surely universal Love must include love for the cause of all these things as well. Wisdom requires the endless search for universal Truth, but cannot be fulfilled without the love by which men distinguish good from evil. The Tao includes the difference between good and evil, and the difference between knowledge and Wisdom as well.

9. Death. Why must a Warrior make his peace with Death?

All men live; all men die. It is in the manner of living, and of dying, that one finds relevance. A Warrior must make his peace with death early, so that the fear of death can never compromise his service to the Tao.

10. Weapons. What is a Warrior's greatest weapon?

A Warrior must be familiar with all manner of weapons. But the Warrior's greatest weapon is his mind. The mind creates all other, lesser weapons, and it endures beyond the body or any tools the body uses. Most importantly, only the mind can distinguish good from evil. A sound mind can find the peaceful resolution to a conflict, or failing that at least can choose the least harmful weapon or way with which to restrain a violent threat. A sick mind may injure anything, and can turn anything into a harmful weapon. A Warrior's greatest weapon is his mind, and it is the Warrior's special responsibility to train that properly to restraint.

11. Guide. How can a student guide his behavior and judgment, as he strives to develop his own philosophy of ethics to Become a Warrior?

To harm anything, unnecessarily, is bad. To help things as one is able, is generally good. Defense of innocence is generally desirable; attack against anything is generally not. Rationalizations excusing violence can be very dangerous. Nothing is so common as for attackers to justify their evil with the word defense. The lowest form of failure of all, is to harm innocence unnecessarily — no excuse is adequate.

12. Tests. What are the Tests by which a student may Become a Warrior?

A Warrior must be Self Sufficient in many ways. This requires a well refined ability to survive from the ground up. Therefore, a Warrior must be able to live off the land; to meet all his needs in the natural way and to learn respect for the things and laws of nature. A Warrior must also be competent in many sorts of work appropriate to civilized society, so that personal needs never compromise his service to the Tao.

A Warrior must develop his own Philosophy, consistent with the Tao. He must consider ethics sufficiently to write a version which deals with violence, and virtue, and men — especially with the very hard cases of defeating violent threats without becoming an agent of the Adversary.

A Warrior must kill a Tiger. The Tiger is a symbol for a noble and imposing problem. A Warrior must engage a problem which involves danger to innocence, and is sufficiently difficult that ordinary men would call it impossible. Tigers can be dangerous and strong; it is not necessary for the Warrior to prevail, only to engage with the gravity of ultimate commitment. When a student has satisfied the other tests, he must choose a Tiger in accordance with the Tao. When the student engages his Tiger, a man becomes a Warrior.

Many things are embedded in these 12 rules. Students who memorize them discuss a lot of other subjects along the way. Students who display insufficient self discipline, or who harm anyone outside of contact sparring are dismissed. Those who endure, are safe to the world, excepting of course, if they are attacked.

Gentlemen. Look to Russia for an example of what is coming everywhere. It is being reorganized, radically, and chaos reigns for awhile. It is not my business to tell you how to do your jobs, and your jobs are too diverse for

me to second guess your judgments. But I am certain that an even larger transformation is under way. So I offer these tips from the Commander of us all — only you can judge what they are worth to you.

Protect the innocent, and forget the rest.

Get with the program, or get your affairs in order.

Stand down from all extraneous duties.

No collecting bills for the wealthy, let them contract that out.

Don't enforce petty moral codes for pious hypocrites. Let them annoy their neighbors on their own. You cannot protect the innocent if you are harassing nonconformists.

Avoid escorting VIP's or powerful people just to serve their egos; they are bloated enough. Some will become targets, others are unworthy of your services. Protect the innocent, every day, and you will retire in honor. Serve the wealthy and powerful in corrupt systems, and you may retire to an early grave.

The nation state is dying, but it is not dead yet. In its struggles to survive it will sometimes wage war against the people. But in the long run, it is guaranteed to lose. So, abandon the tyrants, they are doomed, and those who serve tyranny past its time will be doomed too.

It is a sacred mission to protect the people during this difficult time. Those who do this well have a place in heaven. Those who fail this test will be judged severely.

A British Home Secretary named Robert Peel, had these words for both police and the ordinary citizen worth remembering (principles number 7 and 9):

“The police are the public and the public are the police. The police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to the duties which are incumbent on every citizen.”

“Recognize always that the test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, and not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with them.”

Mr. Peel wrote these words (slightly paraphrased) in 1829 when times were chaotic in London, and the army had been used to put down civil disorder. Injustice was common, and the wealthy enjoyed excess while the poorest starved; in many ways it was much like today. But Robert Peel observed eternal truths which he tried to incorporate into the founding principles of what would become the police of the leading metropolis of its time. The police and the public should be one in purpose, but this cannot occur

if the police are set against the ordinary citizen. The ultimate measure of good police work is not how many citizens you can jail, even hardened criminals, but rather how much crime can be prevented by maintaining the proper relationship between society and its guardians.

After the Transition: What the Military and Police Will Look Like

There will still be military and police for a long time, for as long as I can see ahead, because there will always be some crime against civil society and there will always be tyrants tempted to power, and some people foolish enough to follow them. But if catastrophic war is to be avoided, the military and the police of the future will follow somewhat different doctrines than today. In essence, the military will operate more like police do now, protecting the innocent by targeting far more precisely on dangerous evils, rather than using massive force to accomplish whatever task they are given. The police will operate more like a 24-hour social welfare agency, with teeth to deal with the harsher aspects which police have had to deal with for all time. But their primary mission will be preventing crime and resolving problems, not apprehending criminals after victims are abundant, and passing the problems they present into universities of crime called prisons, then back into society.

Whether it comes before the next world war, or after, the power of nation states will be reduced relative to international and subnational units of power to achieve a “balance of power” intended to protect against corruption in any part. This will have very major consequences for professional men of arms.

Soldiers will look more like police in many ways but equipped with heavier weapons, and police will act more like extremely tough and well equipped social workers. The latter job will be easier if accompanied by dramatic reductions in the baseline levels of social violence which would follow if justice prevailed more often than privilege, and if Peel’s prescriptions were adopted in practice, rather than given mere lip service during police training.

More specifically:

a) Soldiers will not use or maintain weapons of mass destruction, excepting perhaps some UN (or very limited national) nuclear warheads preserved for use against unruly comets. We are obviously a long way from this day, but the principle deserves stating. There is no honor, nor legitimate social purpose in indiscriminate slaughter of civilians. That is the legacy of historic wars, of nuclear weapons, and even more so of biological weapons. Weapons of “mass,” e.g., indiscriminate, destruction serve

no real, defensible security purpose except “deterrence” against similar madness. That, I submit, can be maintained in better ways. History is a poor excuse for suicide.

b) Soldiers will operate in smaller units than they do today, with very elite core professional cadre at the level of nation states supervising a larger reserve component (along the lines envisioned by the original U.S. Constitution). Both of these regular army forces would be associated with, but not controlling over, much larger numbers of citizen militia or home guards whose main responsibility would be protecting their local communities.

c) Professional soldiers will be configured and trained to be able easily to contribute to international efforts to 1) police against weapons of mass destruction or rogue states out to build them, and 2) come to the aid of peoples when they petition the UN or its remade equivalent, begging relief from a government which is turning (or has turned) into a tyranny. Toward such efforts they might call on, but not command, participation from their militia partners. Those people will decide for themselves whether the threat to freedom and survival generally is worth the risk to them in stopping it.

In short, soldiers after the Transition will serve a tri-level, three part, balanced form of governance with stronger international entities than today, weaker nation states, and stronger local militias or home guards who can best serve actual defense without provoking fear far away since they cannot threaten far away. The fundamental purpose is responding to the eternal truth that power corrupts, and that governments eventually become corrupt no matter how angelic their founders.

The people in league with nation states, should be powerful enough to frustrate the tendency of international institutions of governance to become a global tyranny. The people in league with organs of international governance, should be powerful enough to frustrate nation states which become tyrannical and violate fundamental human rights. The foundation of it all should be the people, and the notion that legal, moral power must rest ultimately with the people who create all wealth, not with the institutions they erect to protect that wealth or to manage community affairs.

What if “the people” whoever they are, become corrupt? It has certainly happened in history. When “the people” become corrupt, their civilization decays and eventually disintegrates. Let nature take its course if the people become corrupt, but do not empower governments to take freedom from the people in the name of protecting them. Guard against this instead.

How will the mission and life of police be different, after the Transition? They will be more involved in resolving conflicts than in apprehending criminals after the

fact. They will follow the models called “community policing” with decentralized control, neighborhood beats, and more open exposure more of the time between beat cops and the people they will serve for longer periods of their careers. There will be more personal contact, and more informal involvement in “bicycle thefts” and other petty acts which affect far more people than bank robberies, and which do not require state prisons, lawyers and expensive courts. They will be more involved in domestic violence, which injures more people now than all street crime in America. Arrest and detention of violent spouses will be a last resort, not a first, and the police of the future will be well connected with a better social service system. They will be the front lines, the 24-hour fully equipped component of that system, able to deal with crises large or small including deadly danger. But shooting it out with lunatics or looters, or lonely disturbed men, will not be their main mission. Many of these concepts can be found in a paper by Edmonton Police Superintendent Chris Braiden (1985).

Detecting crime early and deterring the juvenile, detecting mental illness early and healing the sick, detecting dysfunctional families or shattered relationships early enough to help, and if not to heal, to defuse them gently will be the goal. Not racking up arrest rates, filling prisons overflowing, and passing off what are now called “service” calls in the misguided belief that the smaller problems are not proper police work. The proper role of police will be keeping problems small, so that the people may grow up, or heal, or end their addiction, or save their marriage, or otherwise pass on to a more mature, constructive life in a society which cares enough about them to promote this goal. Rounding up the predators will always be a part of police work, this will still need to be done. The goal is just to minimize the number we have to put in cages to be safe.

The police whom I envisage will be warriors for a third millennium, on a par with the soldiers who serve larger security objectives. They will be less urban cowboys hooked on adrenaline; those should be weeded out better than they are today. One of the hardest tasks which administrators of such a system face, is how to purge the ranks regularly of those people who now become “thumpers” (brutal officers, often racist, who have been so embittered by life or by constant exposure to the worst of human behaviors that they become brutalizers themselves). Such officers are widely tolerated and protected today, because of the natural tendency of men at risk to stick together.

But the brutal officer becomes a danger to all other officers, because nearly every man he beats, or woman he rapes, or innocent he victimizes, will become a lifelong

hater of people in uniform. Somewhere down the line some other officer may pay the ultimate price for this bad relationship between the people and the police. So stopping abuse by one’s own must become a regular, a constant part of police administration — recognizing the human reasons why officers go bad, recognizing the special pressures officers must bear. Not striving for excess punishment, there is too much punishment already in society, but striving for a strict accountability, with rules of removal from service for those who violate the innocent under color of authority.

In the police of the future there must be more civilian oversight which actually works at its stated goal. There must be better recognition of the dynamics of diversity in multi-racial police forces of men and women configured to serve Peel’s goals with best efficiency using their different talents and styles. This is equally true for democracies and recovering police-states.

Now, it would be perfectly fair for critics to say that this is just Michael’s silly pipedream, and that governments are never going to change in the ways I have described here. Perfectly fair, I do dream about a better world. But you will find, sooner or later, that there is a natural law which lies behind the proper functioning of governments which is as inexorable as the law of Gravity. If you recognize this law, your government may last. If you do not, it will not.

Governments become corrupt. If you do not design them properly to correct this problem, they will suffer periodic train wrecks called international or civil wars. Since wars are becoming ever less affordable in both financial and in human costs, it behooves the most cynical businessman, journalist, politician or scholar to consider further what I say.

There is a law of Gravity which children must master if they wish to ride a bicycle without recurring pain. Turn too sharply to the left (or right) and you will crash. Go too slowly, and you fall. Your philosophy, your personality, your government or your church of choice has no bearing on this law — you obey the Law of Gravity, or it breaks you.

So it is also with governance. The laws are just a bit more complex and harder to discern, but they are as inexorable as Gravity. Many people are greedy; therefore, economic activity must be regulated in ways which enable the entrepreneurial capitalists to work energetically without running roughshod over the weaker, gentler, slower or merely less-greedy. Business, to take another example of the same law, must be allowed to work efficiently without destroying the natural environment upon which all depend. This sub-topic will be covered in more detail in the Biology of Survival (Ch. 34) to follow.

Here it is sufficient to recognize that people are often greedy, so we will always need police to help restrain the criminals who become parasitic on their neighbors. But restraining or reforming the criminal is our goal, not attacking the people in ever greater numbers for violating ever more rules enacted by some government.

People also seek power. Some lust for power, and we will also need new age police and soldiers to help protect society from the extremists who love power more than anything else. Those who lust for power will be attracted to the instruments of power, as they always have been, which include governments, the military and the police. The soldiers and policemen of the future must therefore, recognize an **exceptional need to police their own ranks** and to cull from those ranks religiously the men who come addicted to power, or who become addicted to power after acquiring it. Since no institution polices itself very well, they will have to accept a greater degree of civilian oversight than is common now.

The racist thumper which every large American police force knows may come from any race or background. He (or she) deserves some sympathy even in dismissal from the force, much sympathy, because constant work with the least friendly elements of society can turn anyone into a bigot with a short fuse. But dismissed they must be. They must be, because one angry and abusive cop, no matter what internal axe they are grinding, can generate many cop killers among the public.

Their effect goes far beyond their own victims. Victims have relatives, victims live in communities. And if nothing is done to hold police accountable, the bad feeling spreads far and wide. With modern media, especially egregious acts (like LA police beating Rodney King, or racist detective Mark Fuhrman talking about abuse of prisoners and evidence tampering) may be seen by tens of millions of alienated citizens. Some of these will grind their own axes, and a few will hold some other officer in uniform to pay for the anger generated elsewhere. Look at research on urban riots; there is always a long history of abuse and resentment before some spark sets off the multitude.

This is part of the unfortunate, unfair, but inevitable burden of police work. This is why we need warriors of exceptional stature today, for a new and better era of police work, who will look for and reject less honorable men in their ranks regularly, rather than protecting them. So that heroes do not pay the price of misconduct by others.

Shifting back for just a moment to the soldiers, although this applies in part to police as well — The ultimate warrior does not accept the concept that moral responsibility lies with the sovereign or superior who put him in the field.

The ultimate responsibility for every single act he takes, is his. He must agree wholeheartedly with any operation he supports. This is a sharp departure from traditional teaching, where soldiers are encouraged to transfer moral responsibility to their superiors, and police are encouraged to enforce every law impartially without regard to the justice or injustice of their contents (another principle of Peel).

But warriors in the third millennium will not be a part of immoral teams, and will not enforce unjust laws which abound when governments become corrupt. The warriors I speak of may decide to frustrate improper operations which are not sufficiently protective of innocent civilians or are immoral in other ways. You may think this radical beyond belief, but U.S. Navy Seal teams have always operated this way. They have discretion to refuse missions they do not approve of. That is the way it should always be for warriors, because this habit would serve as a great restraint on the cruder ambitions of politicians.

In ancient times, soldiers did what they were told or they were at least dismissed and were often killed. After Nuremberg, the world realized that even soldiers under arms and at war must be held accountable to standards higher than the wisdom of superior officers. The judges at Nuremberg told the people of the world that we must disobey orders if those orders violate fundamental human rights, lest we drift again into a Holocaust conducted by “good people” who just “follow orders.”

Nuremberg was a step in the direction of recognizing the natural law of governments and governance which I have struggled to describe here. But even Nuremberg is honored mainly in the breach today. U.S. Army officers are told of it, once or twice in training, and they are told how they can protest “illegal orders” or resign their commission rather than follow them. But after that lipservice, mostly they are made aware that careers depend on the same old deal of going along with whatever orders come down from above.

So we saw My Lai in Vietnam, where good American soldiers slaughtered 500 or 600 civilians in one village, and we have seen a hundred lesser known examples in other venues around the world, committed by soldiers in scores of armies. This problem is hardly unique to America; it is all too common in war. The Guatemalan military, the Argentine military, the Burmese military, the Nigerian military, the Russian military — even the Israeli military has admitted to slaughtering civilians and murdering prisoners of war when they became inconvenient. Long after the trials at Nuremberg, military men around the world have validated the need for a higher standard of honor than is often maintained.

But rather than attempting a long, detailed

description of the many atrocities which have accompanied most wars, and allowing for the many very different circumstances faced by national armies today, I will offer just one closing thought to the soldiers of the world, with one specific codicil for the Chinese and Japan.

Fellows, there is no crime you have committed which cannot be forgiven if you repent in time. And mend your ways. By repent, I mean public admission of the wrongs of the past; this is essential to help the victims heal. I mean sincere cooperation with truth commissions or others charged with documenting past abuse, and with the changes necessary to prevent them recurring in the future. But if you can do these things, the door to a new era of warring is open to the honorable among you, and I guarantee it will be far more rewarding and far less stressful than the angst of current times.

I remind you all that those who serve tyrants too long will be destroyed by the forces of dissolution. This is nothing I command, it is simply what will happen due to operations of natural law. The forces of dissolution are gathering today to deal decisively with tyranny; it will occur before I am grey, and I am not young anymore. The moment will vary from here to there, but it is not far away anywhere.

Let those who have been offended by my many comments against the brutalities of this or that government or military recall that I have criticized America's at least as much as any others here.

Now, if you are an officer in China's Army, or Taiwan's Army, or Japan's, I have these more narrow observations. You are destined to become a leading force in world affairs, probably the leading force, but this will only occur quickly if you align yourselves with the forces of modernity more wisely than you have so far. Specifically,

1) Continued oppression of Tibet and attempts to annex other neighbors will merely frighten the world which will drag you down. No amount of Asian subtlety will cause your neighbors to forget your long history. Hong Kong and Taiwan are other tests. You can crush their independence and stay irrelevant, or embrace their free examples and grow powerful. Japanese refusal to acknowledge sins of the past and present is as great an impediment to the moral power of Japan as Chinese oppression is to China.

2) More specifically, so long as China is a symbol for abuse of human rights, it will be denied the greatness it deserves by an international community which will not accept excuses — for its own survival. Those who threaten human rights are a danger to every man and woman on this earth. Yes, individualism can be overdone. I appreciate better than most the exceptional progress you

have made, and the exceptional challenges to survival which China faces. But this is not negotiable. You will better appreciate what some call human rights today, or you will forever remain second class in the family of nations.

3) So long as Japan abuses its minorities, and pretends the nation is run by something other than corporate power, it too will be denied the Mantle of Heaven. Refusal to acknowledge the obvious crimes of World War II is merely an egregious example of a broader reluctance to face your own flaws. Those who cannot acknowledge obvious flaws, cannot assume the top chairs of international governance. It is because of this vanity that America declines today.

4) It is certainly Asia's turn for global predominance, and you have accomplished many miracles during recent decades to be proud of. One remains. The key to future greatness will also require a more thorough and responsible integration of women into military and political affairs.

I appreciate very deeply how this may distress you, since China had such a difficult introduction to activist women during the UN's global conference on Women of 1995. The fact remains that the mission of warring is changing in the world. And women can make up in conflict resolution skills what they lack in capacity for slaughter.

It is to the ascension of women to (more) power, to which I must turn now.

But first, recall four bits from China's greatest military writer, Sun Tzu.

"War is a matter of vital importance to the State, the province of life or death; the road to survival or ruin. It is mandatory that it be thoroughly studied." But later,

"If not in the interests of the state, do not act. If you cannot succeed, do not use troops. If you are not in danger, do not fight."

"A sovereign cannot raise an army because he is enraged, nor can a general fight because he is resentful. For while an angered man may again be happy, and a resentful man again be pleased, a state that has perished cannot be restored, nor can the dead be brought back to life."

"Therefore the enlightened ruler is prudent and the good general is warned against rash action. Thus the state is kept secure and the army preserved."

China and Japan are not in especial, particular danger at this time. All men are in danger, and all women too, who do not acknowledge and deal with the female forces behind war, as well as the male forces.

“It is not the prerogative of men alone to bring light to this world. Women, with their capacity for compassion and self-sacrifice, their courage and perseverance, have done much to dissipate the darkness of intolerance and hate.”

— Aung San Suu Kyi, Nobel Prize winner, eight years under house arrest in Burma,

in a videotaped keynote address to the UN Conference on Women, held in Beijing, China, September, 1995.

The Feminist Revolt and Masculinity

Women of the world desire, and deserve more power. But they also have committed excesses, which retard their progress and the progress of human rights generally.

My main concern is how this may affect the probability of war [p(War)]. I am indifferent to the struggle for power itself, that is, the battle of the sexes over power is far less important to me than p(War). There are boy piggies and girl piggies at the trough of power, but which pushes hardest and grunts loudest is not interesting to me. All I care about is whether those who lust for power will turn to killing children as so many have in war.

The record on women leaders in war is mixed. Some people say it should be assumed that women will be less warlike, and I hope there is some truth in that. But the actual record is mixed. Consider these female leaders of nation states: Benazir Bhutto, Gro Harlem Brundtland, Tansu Ciller, Mary Robinson, Indira Gandhi, Aung San Suu Kyi, Golda Meir, Margaret Thatcher, and Jeanne d’Arc. Among them, four have been distinguished leaders in peace, and five have been leaders in war. Some have distinguished themselves in both war and peace. Not much different from the male leaders of the world.

For those unfamiliar with these women, the briefest characterizations. Bhutto runs Pakistan * (in 1996), has been an exemplar of moderate Islam, has avoided recurring war with India which marked her predecessors’ reigns and has managed, barely, to subdue radicals in her own country who set bombs for various reasons. She was also deposed as Prime Minister in 1990 on charges of corruption, * but was reinstated in 1994. Brundtland runs Norway today, and has been a major leader of international peace efforts

for many years, as has her country long before. Ciller ran Turkey, ** attempting to uphold the principle of secular rule in a Moslem nation, while she waged war against the Kurds in Turkey and Iraq. As Prime Minister, she sustained a program of cultural suppression not unlike what Indians were exposed to in America long ago. For example, it is still illegal for a Turkish Kurd to use his or her own language in school or business, and the examples of prejudicial law are many.

Mary Robinson was Prime Minister of Ireland the first seven years of the 1990’s and helped broker the first practical cease fire between contending forces in Northern Ireland in 25 years. Progress has stalled on reconciling differences between republicans, loyalists, and the British government which is ever a decisive factor, but Robinson has never been an obstacle. She has been encouraged to seek a top job at the United Nations due to her steadfast commitment to peace in the abstract and to peaceful resolution of real-world conflicts.

Indira Gandhi used her Indian army to put down protest on many fronts, and defeated Pakistan in a brutal war in 1971 which most would say she started. Now partisans of Mrs. Gandhi or the others may proclaim these conflicts were the fault of nasty males, but that is a partial “truth” and therefore partly false. All classical wars require at least two willing participants. Most involve a complex web of statecraft before the contest of arms. Mrs. Gandhi was deeply involved in her wars, both domestic and foreign, and shares responsibility for them. She attacked Pakistani forces in 1971 on the grounds that this was less expensive than caring for refugees which resulted from civil war between West Pakistan and East (soon to be

* Benazir Bhutto lost her seat again in early 1997, charged again with corruption.

** In early 1997 Tansu Ciller is foreign minister after losing the top job to the Islamic “Welfare Party.”

Bangladesh). In November, 1984, she ordered the military suppression of Sikh insurrection in India, which resulted in about 25,000 deaths. She was assassinated shortly after by her own bodyguards who were Sikh too, another twist in the convoluted wars of religion in South Asia.

Aung San Suu Kyi is one of my heroes, because she illustrates the courageous way so well. She led a democratic coalition to victory against a repressive military government, which promptly annulled the elections and kept her under house arrest for six years (now going on eight). She did not wage a war against them, but persevering quietly, won a Nobel Prize for Peace and has made the government of murderers, SLORC, a symbol around the world of abuse of human rights. The generals remain in power today, but this will not last forever because of larger forces affecting nation states. When Suu Kyi wins her second great victory, she will inherit a nation far wiser, wealthier, and far less wounded than could ever have occurred if she had taken the violent way to fighting tyranny. Her victory will take longer, it will be frustrating, and it will cost lives killed by the police-state as it clings to dwindling power. But it will be infinitely richer than the risk of revolution which, in any event, would not certainly result in victory for her. The only certain victor in violent revolution is death, for civil wars tend to be the bloodiest, and sow seeds of hatred which germinate for generations. So Aung San Suu Kyi is a hero to me.

Golda Meir and Margaret Thatcher both won wars for their nations, Meir a war of survival for Israel, Thatcher a war of dignity for Britain (and of freedom for the handful of people on the Falkland Islands). Both had good reasons for fighting their wars. Thatcher was clearly attacked by others which is the only universally legitimate reason for fighting. Meir's war was more problematic, for Israel clearly started armed operations by destroying Egypt's Air Force at dawn of June 5, 1967. To Israeli generals, massing forces of their enemies made war inevitable, which highlights the enduring problem of distinguishing offense from defense in war. I do not seek to criticize Thatcher or Meir, but they remain female leaders of nations at war. And it is not criticism to notice that they responded to political pressures against them, both foreign and domestic, much the same as male leaders have. The record overall is mixed, so the hope that women in top leadership will lead to less war is more hope than fact documented by evidence.

Perhaps things would be different if all leaders of nations were women, and perhaps not. That argument is hypothetical, more religious faith than empirical conclusion, and will not be tested by events in the near future. I hope women will continue to advance in political

power and will be more peaceful than the male politicians as they do. But I offer the observations above on actual women in high office as a caution.

Probably the most famous woman in war is Jeanne d'Arc, [or, Joan of Arc] who led France to victory against England in 1430. Richard Heinberg (1995) summarizes her most unusual history this way:

Jeanne was a medieval French peasant girl who, at age fourteen, began hearing voices. When she was seventeen, she took command of the armies of France and led them through decisive battles, foiling England's hundred-year-long attempt to unite the two countries under one crown. Jeanne's voices told her: "Jeanne, you are destined to lead a different kind of life and to accomplish miraculous things, for you are she who has been chosen by the King of Heaven to restore the Kingdom of France. ... You shall put on masculine clothes; you shall bear arms and become head of the army; all things shall be guided by your counsel." Jeanne heeded these words and, in a matter of months, became the savior of her country. At nineteen she was captured by the British, tried as a witch, and burned at the stake.

[May 31, 1431]

I urge the women who are so eager to join armies, enter military academies, seek political power, and to take part in every aspect of the war game to think their ambitions through and simply remember the ancient observation that a great many of those who live by the sword, will die by the sword. It is not as much fun and adventure as some of war's publicists would make you think.

Whoever is in power, male or female, should understand why wars begin and be committed to preventing them, because pressures for war will be ever present and, as Sun Tzu said: "War is of vital importance to the state, the difference between life and death, the road to survival or ruin ..." Whether male or female, leaders of nation states have to deal with powerful domestic pressures which will differ somewhat in democracies versus police-states. In any case, they will have to accommodate forces like:

- a) They will have to gain support from the Army, without which they will not remain in power long.
- b) They will have to appease or deal with other powers behind the throne, including of particular importance to this inquiry, the weapons manufacturers and banking interests so vital to war or peace in so many ways. They will also have to appease or defeat a variety of wheeler dealers in statecraft and international trade, who have a lot

at stake in whether war or peace occurs, and are adept at influencing events behind the scenes. The spies are good examples of this species. The spies and other operators will come in many colors, and you will never know for sure whom they are working for today.

c) They will have to face international pressures from neighbors who will usually be indifferent to the sex of the commander, excepting that some dullards may be tempted to push female leaders more, on the theory that women are less inclined to war than men. If women run great powers, they may be pushed to war by neighbors half way round the world, since great powers acquire the notion that they must be involved in everything.

Almost all these forces will be indifferent to whether the supreme commander is male or female, or a bunny for that matter, but they will be sharply focused on pressing interests which are dear to them. And they will be accustomed to pushing rather hard, because they all acquired their power by aggressively disposing of other power pushers. It is not a nice arena for either men or women.

Of course, any woman in high office will have prevailed against a sea of mostly male politicians in wicked political contests of her own. So betting on her soft, feminine instincts is probably unwise in the extreme. But history is full of unwise acts, some of which preceded awful wars of vast destruction.

Items a-c above suggest that female leaders will have to cope with nearly identical political pressures as the men must deal with, at least with respect to war. What about the internal pressures of the personal psyche involved? Well, on the side of female leadership, I have seen less megalomania and lust for global power among the female leaders cited than among male leaders of the world (not zero, just less). And I cannot recall any female leader emerging to the top position in a police state, excepting perhaps for a brief moment Jiang Qing of China, who became the most feared member of the Gang of Four briefly after the death of her husband Mao Tse Tung. Police-states are run by military establishments, up front or behind a curtain of political faces, and since military establishments have been among the last to embrace women, there have been very few female general officers. So the record of women heading police-states may change in time. I certainly hope not, as police-states are a problem for those who would end war, and I would rather ease them off the world stage than work for equality of women in butchery and abuse of human rights.

There is no honor in striving for equality in evil, and there is danger for the feminist movement when extremists move that way. Some feminists desire to join men in every single thing including war for sure, mass murder and

genocide maybe, if the pay is good. I urge them seriously to reconsider this kind of knee-jerk drive to be equally bad. Some argue that these are merely steps to power. Such arguments lead men down the road to destruction and dishonor, in business, politics and war. That road has many landmines, I am warning to avoid them.

Another pitfall to avoid is what some call "small man syndrome." We are all familiar with this, and rejection by women of small men is one of the important forces which creates it. Males of tiny stature sometimes overcompensate for the endless stream of insults they must deal with growing up. They are beaten by men, which makes them violent, and rejected by women, which wounds them more and makes them bitterly resentful. Some small men become megalomaniacs of whom one of the best examples is Napoleon, because he let it shine through in his many portraits. He also let it shine in the slaughter of multitudes in service to his monumental ego. Hitler was another.

Well, women are smaller on the average than the guys, and there is a high incidence of the same kinds of hyper-irritability, and excessive aggression in defense of petty things among some feminists, which we associate with small men. We pray you will handle this better than some men do.

On this aspect of the psyche of leaders large or small, it bears reflection that many of the best soldiers in the world are also tiny men. U.S. Special Forces is full of them, as are Britain's SAS, and other special warfare forces. Martial art attracts mainly smaller men, who have the greatest need to maximize whatever power nature gave them.

The little people of the world are often abused, and sometimes grow up grinding little axes. They have no illusions that brute force will solve their problems of survival, without help from weapons or from a brand of viciousness which should alarm all bigger beasts. So some smaller men, and I bet some women, become the masters of intrigue, and those I have trained in physical techniques are prone to an explosive viciousness when cornered. These qualities can have larger consequences if the tiny men or women become leaders of nation states with big battalions, or nuclear weapons.

So, female leaders have a mixed record when it comes to wars, have not emerged in police-states, are exposed to much the same domestic and external pressures as the men who lead nations, and should beware of small man syndrome. What about the feminist claim that men cause war?

Well everyone who looks at war likes to blame somebody else. That men cause war is a truism, but like all simplistic answers it is incomplete. Women are a force for

war in at least three related ways: materialism, irresponsible reproduction, and cheerleading.

Materialism drives competition for resources, among the most important of all causes of war. And while men certainly play a large role in that as in all things, women are the queens of materialism in my experience of the world. Ferdinand Marcos ruled the Philippines with a sometimes brutal and often corrupt hand, but it was Imelda Marcos who needed 3,000 pairs of shoes to stock her closet. She became, as much as he, a global symbol for exploitation of the poor to serve the appetites of rich and powerful people.

It would be a challenging social science project to measure of how much men's toys (guns, motorcycles, tanks, tools, etc.) and women's joys (big houses, jewelry, land, and clothes beyond male comprehension) contribute to the overall appetite for material consumption. The task is beyond me, but marketers make a science of it. They tell me women spend more.

What matters here is simply recognizing that competition for material wealth is driving the world toward ruin, and that whether this comes by global war, or by a hundred smaller wars over land or oil or water, or by a slower but equally lethal destruction of the general environment — will not matter much a century from now. Suicide is deadly by whatever means employed.

Feminists desire power, and they are going to get more with my occasional support. But with power comes responsibility, and it is time the enthusiasts of female power took more responsibility for the ongoing destruction of the earth instead of just blaming men. Of course men deserve some blame, blame comes with power. Have all you want.

Another great female force for war is irresponsible reproduction. Of course men share blame in that too, but if we are ever to end war people must stop dodging responsibility. Some will dodge by claiming men are more responsible for babies than the women are, due to coerced sex which undoubtedly occurs. But I say to them, get real. Coerced sex is a terrible crime which should be better controlled, but it is way, way less common than consensual sex. And women have been the main gatekeepers of consensual sex for as long as men can remember (or at least since the advent of reliable birth control in developed countries).

My point is reproduction, not battle of the sexes over power, sexual or otherwise. Whomever is responsible for large families is a powerful promoter of war over scarce resources. Men and women may argue over who is more responsible, but clearly both must be to some degree.

Now, some will rightly say that reproduction ought

to be an equal responsibility of males and females, and that women and men should be equally responsible in their sexuality. The way the world is often differs from what ought to be. Some people say everyone should be rich. And if wishes were money, we all would be rich. But wishes are not money, and the world is not the way we often wish it were.

Individuals vary greatly, but as groups there is clearly no equality between men and women in either sexual drives or in practical control over reproductive matters. Power relations between women and men would be easier if they were the same size also, but this is not going to happen any time soon no matter how different the world "should" be. And we must deal with actual probabilities of real war which matter urgently today.

Population pressure is driving the human world toward destruction. Love of large families is not exclusively a male thing. Where women have easy access to education, contraception, legal abortion, job opportunities, and social security or other services for the elderly, birth rates tend to go down. This is one of many reasons I support the feminist revolt when it is not committing its excesses.

It may be different in central Africa, where the world's highest birthrate led directly to its largest recent genocide (Rwanda) and it may be different in South Asia where many wars have been fought recently, some enduring to this moment as in Kashmir, and Sri Lanka. But in the developed world, women certainly hold the predominant power on matters of sexuality and reproduction. Rather than arguing over who is in charge, I urge everyone to focus on the challenge to human survival. Which means more responsible reproduction, which means less reproduction by almost any means available at this time in human history.

Regarding cheerleading, this is simple. What women reward, men will do, especially young men. Young men do most of the killing in war, though old men are more responsible for starting wars. Where attractive women lead, men of any age will follow. And women are very, very friendly to their soldiers. The peace community is over two-thirds women, often more, but there is no parallel encouragement of men to join that cause. So few do.

Rather, men in the peace community are greeted with a steady stream of commentary on the evils of men. While change is everywhere, women still generally love the soldiers. So why be surprised that many more men join the military, than the peace brigades? When women in general support peace as much as they currently support war and preparations for war (which they undoubtedly do) you can be certain that the men will start to come around,

albeit grudgingly and slow.

Now, to a much more local subject, but important to the smaller wars between men and women. Ladies, wouldn't you like to walk the streets at night in perfect safety like I do? Wouldn't you like relief from the rages of damaged men who beat their wives and girlfriends in a million homes? I certainly would like both of these things. And while utopia is not possible on earth, I can clearly identify one giant step in the direction of safer streets and homes if you will let it happen. But you must let it happen, I and men cannot.

Let us legalize prostitution, and regulate it properly, and the streets will be safer for women almost overnight. A lot safer, for many women. Most especially for the prostitutes so persecuted by bigots today, but extending to every woman everywhere.

This runs contrary to the myth that prostitution inevitably means exploitation, but that is just a myth which matches popular bigotry so it is widely held. There is another related myth which suggests that sexually frustrating men will make them less violent. This is shockingly false.

Sexually frustrated men are extremely violent compared to men with access to natural orgasms. Everyone who trains warriors knows this, and many use it. Whoever sold you this particular baloney that frustrating males at every turn was the path to peace and freedom for women was either, a) perverse, or b) a theoretician, speaking not from personal experience but from airy academic thought.

I speak from personal experience of almost every kind obtainable which bears on the problem of reducing violence. To wit, I spent two weeks living in a house of prostitution talking with the people there (not a customer, a consumer of information). All but one were females in the trade; the guy was co-owner with his wife, and occasional participant when their high-end customers wanted a male involved.

The most important thing I can say from this experience is that people with no direct experience with prostitution have some wildly unreal ideas about people in that business. Yes, prostitution can involve all kinds of exploitation, but NO, it does not have to be that way. And yes, some women are coerced into prostitution, but NO, many are not, and all deserve protection from society, not the persecution they receive. The practice of making prostitution illegal is central to the difference between these conditions.

The trade is everywhere, of course, and has been for all time. But where it is illegal, it is immeasurably more dangerous for the women and men involved. Most of those problems are relieved in much of Europe, and in the

four counties of Nevada where it has been legal for some time. Where it is properly regulated, women work in controlled environments rather than on the streets, and the streets are safer because there is a safe place for drunk and horny men to go rather than roaming the streets. Where properly regulated, women have immediate access to help if a customer becomes violent. Where properly regulated, they have medical checkups once a month or so, and public health is maintained in many other ways. Where properly regulated, owners have no incentive for juvenile prostitution but can go to jail and lose their business if they cross that line. And where properly regulated, most of the owners are women aged out of the business, rather than brutal men made necessary for protection where it is illegal. So where properly regulated, women keep most of the proceeds rather than least.

Where legal and properly regulated, you don't have pimps -- who are responsible for most of the abuse and exploitation which properly offends so many people.

It therefore amazes me that women who call themselves feminists are among the strongest voices calling for further repression of this business, side by side with religious fundamentalists who are their natural enemy. It is really quite amazing.

Well, ladies, let me be blunt about what happens when males are denied access to natural orgasms. Many will go slowly bonkers, many will masturbate with minimal effect. Some will wander into woods or farms to stick their thing into inappropriate places. Some will experiment with homosexual relations, and some men will go hunting female people.

That is more natural, but also far more dangerous. Some people have a dim appreciation for how enormously powerful the drive to shoot sperm is.

Some of those men will merely pester, some will harass, some will rape, and some who rape will tear their victims to shreds or torture them in other ways. There is nothing good about that, I am not offering excuses. I am citing accurately the inevitable consequences of sexually repressive regimes of social control, of which hundreds have been observed. The men become more violent.

Now, some feminists will say that rape has "nothing to do" with sexuality, but rather "everything to do" with power. Another partial truth carried to a sad extreme. Of course rapes involve power, you cannot coerce without some power, and of course some rapists are strictly on a power trip, paying womanhood back for insults earlier in life in the most inappropriate way. But some rapists are not. Some are just incredibly horny men who have failed to find the elusive keys to ever demanding women, cannot find relief in legal ways, and fail to maintain a precarious discipline which society must drill in all their lives because

the drive which must be disciplined is so incredibly strong. Of course power is an issue in rape, but to say that sexuality has nothing to do with rape is appallingly ignorant, dangerous nonsense. Worse, it wars against solutions which could reduce the level of sexual and other violence in the world.

Like legalizing and properly regulating prostitution, so that women in the oldest profession would not be raped regularly by corrupt police who abuse their power of authority to arrest, or by pimps maintained to protect them from abusive customers. What I have heard from women in the business about abuse should anger every man and woman on earth, but most of this flows from the facts of illegal business rather than from the trade in sex itself. It is a profound crime against women and humanity to maintain such a high price for bigotry. Every woman killed by sadistic predators in the dark of night, in isolated places because it is only there they are allowed, was killed by pious hypocrites as well. It is amazing to me that some of those people call themselves feminists.

This topic deserves greater explication because it is so tragic. But our focus here is on causes and cures for war, so I turn now to the story of Lysistrata, and related myth. The Reader's Encyclopedia (Benet, 1948), cites Lysistrata thus:

"Lysistrata. The title and heroine of a comedy by Aristophanes (ca. 415 B.C.), dealing with an effective women's peace organization. In the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian War Lysistrata persuades the wives of Athens to shut themselves up in the Acropolis away from their husbands until peace shall be concluded. She has the satisfaction of dictating the terms. There is a modern version by Gilbert Seldes."

This comedy plot has generated various myths and versions with both positive and negative potential. When feminists are inspired to challenge hierarchical power structures, I say more power to them, all the most dangerous power structures in the world seem to be organized that way and they are certainly too powerful for me to defeat. Go get them!

When feminists are creative working for peace, I say more power to you all, because war certainly looks like it brings misery to millions every year. When you try to develop better ways to raise less violent sons and stronger daughters I say, that's great. When you break down barriers to achievement based on merit, you help build the wealth of the whole society. But there is a school of thought which maintains that real equality can never come unless one banishes sex entirely from the workplace and other major sectors of life. Lysistrata uses sexual blackmail to end a brutal war, according to the comedy. No matter how satisfying this myth may be to certain

prejudices, as a general guide it is a 180 degrees wrong formula for reducing male violence.

There is a reason boxers everywhere avoid relations with women before fights; this makes them more aggressive. There is a reason elite fighting units shun women; it is because they are training for combat. After combat, sex is OK, before, it is taboo in the observable behavior of elite men who train for war. There are more than mythic reasons for this taboo. Sex is forbidden before combat, among elite units, because of the deep, dark connection between sexuality and violence in men.

Now that subject is mysterious to me at least, and complex enough for many books to itself. I will offer just a tiny piece of the whole explanation, which is that the centers in the brain which have the most to do with sex and violence are very close together in the primitive limbic system and use similar neurotransmitters.

Activity in the one may trigger activity in the other. Tension in one may affect thresholds in the other. More to the point of controlling both, sexuality and aggression both respond to natural drives as well as to cultural programming. Damming up the drive of either by repressive social conditions may increase the power of the other for release. Release of one reduces energy for the other, in general, on average. There are pathological exceptions to this which need not concern us now, but should concern professionals who would be more able to detect such individuals if society were not so hysterical about the whole subject at this time.

I offer for further inquiry the hypothesis that this relationship between sexuality and violence may have something important to do with the difference between Compulsive and Compassionate personalities discussed earlier. For whatever reason, compulsive personalities get all bent out of shape and upset over sexual issues, are repressive of them generally, and are also more prone to child abuse (physical for sure, sexual, maybe). They also support death penalties and are more punitive in their choice of social control mechanisms generally. Compassionate personalities tend to regard sexual issues as relatively unimportant, but dislike or even hate violence in all its forms.

Those who would end war have more in common with compassionate people than with compulsive ones. And feminists who desire more freedom and equality for women, would do better to support the sexual liberators than to support sexual repressors who are their natural enemy. It is the repressors who would keep women in the role of mothers only.

Riane Eisler presents a much more critical view of men (1995, 1987) where she finds much evidence of systematic associations of sex with violence in ways

calculated to brutalize both sexes. She cites frequencies of sexual crime throughout the centuries up to the rapes of tens of thousands of women in Bosnia, and dozens of examples of sexual imagery in military training. We certainly agree that anthropology provides examples of every conceivable social organization, and that many were less violent than the dominant ones today, but I would not go so far as she does because most of the history she cites is far outside my limited but real experience of the last half of the 20th century.

We agree that sexual crime should be taken seriously. Seriously means with due deliberation, and intelligent awareness of life's complexities. We also agree that women's rights, population pressure and peace are intimately connected (Eisler, 1986). There are some excesses of the feminist revolt which require brief comment, however, all of which fall within the following two principles:

1. Where women's rights are expressed and sought as human rights, they will prevail in the long run because they will have the support of decent men.
2. Where women's rights become special rights for women they will often be opposed by men who have been given plenty of energy by those women who hate men.

Support of decent men and women is critical because it is only they who can restrain the women haters and the man haters who cause so much of the suffering in this war between the sexes.

Assertiveness in pressing one's issues is necessary to advance, especially for women in "a man's world." But attacking men in general is seldom wise. Furthermore, a shockingly large percentage of men are in fact virtually powerless, and challenging them constantly to give up something which they do not have is counterproductive in many ways.

There are a hundred issues where I would like the women to succeed, because my own values are for life instead of death. I also have a mother, wife and daughter, all of whom I wish to succeed. Even more, I wish that they could walk the streets and fields at night unafraid. So I pray the feminists among you will remember this when I comment on some excesses which hold you back.

On Pay Equity: Equality for equal work is only fair, and has largely been achieved in the developed world. But women can never achieve 100 percent equal income in aggregate with men unless they abandon the family as so many men have to gain fame or fortune. This would be disaster on so many fronts that I will take up the family separately in a moment. One fact often cited in America is that women earn on average about 74 percent of what men earn. Another fact is that women in America have nearly achieved pay equity for equal work (Danielle Crittenden,

1995). These are not contradictory facts. So long as more women than men shorten careers or stall advancement, or simply leave paid work to bear and care for children this will remain so. Unless, of course, you want extra pay for women, as some women do. That will only fuel a terrible backlash by men who have already paid much to make room for women at the tables of wealth and power.

On Equal Opportunity: I am all for it. However, if equal opportunity is truly the goal, there must always remain significant differences in the numbers of men and women who achieve in competitive jobs requiring upper body strength, for example, or compassion, for a contrary example. Men may become nurses, good luck to them, but they will never become as good, or as frequently good, nurses as women, and we all know why. Likewise, for some jobs like fighting fires and ground combat, where upper body strength happens to be very important, women will never be as good as frequently as men. I have nothing against opening the door to exceptional women who can do these jobs — I have known some, I have trained some. But I strongly disagree with those who would lower standards so that more women could enter, like changing the requirement that firefighters be able to carry people out of burning buildings, to a standard which says they may merely drag the injured down the stairs instead (or up — this is a real change adopted by a real fire department after a lawsuit by would-be female firefighters). I would disagree as strongly with attempts to lower standards for nurses, should that ever occur, to accommodate the tempers or test scores of average men.

On Sexual Harassment: Rape has been illegal for a long time, and egregious harassment of women should be too, especially across power differentials. But in America this has evolved into a class of laws and standards of evidence to which males are uniquely vulnerable today, and this excess can only hurt both sexes in the long run. Not knowing where the balance will be, how many women saved from abuse by stronger restrictions nor how severe the backlash of falsely accused or otherwise wronged men will be when you read this, I will concentrate instead on more eternal factors.

It has always been hard for men and women to get together for many reasons which go beyond this discussion. Making it as dangerous as possible for men to approach women is not a healthy answer. Reducing fear and danger to women is a healthy goal, but increasing the fear and danger to men is not a healthy solution. A generation of young women and men are now growing older in a climate which makes even dating dangerous, much less long term relationships. So more and more forego the risk, and that is not very good for anyone. Least of all children.

On the Family: Some feminists tire of being accused of being anti-family, and I know they are unfairly accused of this sometimes. But I also know the American family has taken a terrible beating for several decades, and I know from study of civilizations that collapse of the family is a common prelude to collapse of civil society.

Foreign eyes may have a clearer view on this than Americans can. Martin Walker in the *Guardian* of London (in *World Press Review*, July, 1995, pg. 28) quotes a top official in Singapore's Foreign Ministry, Kishore Mahbubani: "American society is breaking down and falling apart," he claims, citing, over the past 30 years, "a 560 percent increase in violent crime, a 419 percent increase in illegitimate births, a 300 percent increase in children living in single parent homes, and a drop of almost 80 points in Scholastic Aptitude Test scores."

I reviewed the Statistical Abstract of the United States for numbers on marriages recently, and discovered these disturbing items. **In one generation (from 1970 to 1995) the number of first-time marriages has declined by 40 percent, and of those who marry at all, twice as many get divorced.** Those are huge changes in a basic demographic variable.

The mass movement of women into the workplace, and distress for families, have other causes besides the feminist revolt for equal rights, of course. The greed of the wealthy concentrating ever higher percentages of wealth to themselves in America is one reason single incomes can no longer support most families. The greed of middle and lower classes plays a role as well; you cannot have ever larger houses, cars, TVs, games and toys galore without someone paying a price. And children without parents at home (because the parents are slaving away to buy material things) have paid that price in tragedy. The decline of other institutions from true religion to honest government have also eroded American families, so there is blame enough to spread around.

Blame is not my purpose here; restoring the health of children and preventing war is. A violent, dysfunctional society is more prone to war. And America is rearing an astonishingly violent crop of kids today. They are neglected. Our Justice Department reported in September, 1995, that arrest rates of juveniles aged 10 to 17 jumped 100 percent from 1983 to 1992, and that the number of teenagers arrested for violent crime could easily double again by 2010. One of the myths behind this disaster is the myth that commercial day care can replace the loving family.

This is not to slam the poor providers; they are doing the best they can to make up for lack of parents in the home. But even saints cannot provide 5 or more strangers with as much love as parents provide their own. My desire

is not to add further guilt to those single moms and dads who are doing the very best they can now to provide both love and sustenance to their children. Their lot is hard enough, too hard by far already. Also, I do not intend to lay the burden (or the joy) of raising children solely on women. Men have important roles to play in that, especially in helping the young men to control their violence, which is my principal concern.

But even the most hardened feminist must agree that hard-won gains for independent women have been accompanied by a terrible price in family decay.

Men can certainly be blamed for their share of family decline. I will accept the blame for men. But it would also help if feminists could see how families have suffered from mothers chasing incomes and careers as aggressively as men. Some critical professions with other connections to family took this change in the neck as well, in particular teaching, which suffered a serious brain drain when the business world opened up for bright, energetic women. Children are the big losers again, even though no one intended this directly.

Personal things have no place in academic work, but the feminists say, "the personal is political, and the political, personal." So where it seems necessary I have been so. In our family, we chose mom to work for money and me to raise our daughter full time; peace paying so little, this was more practical by far. So I have benefitted a lot from the feminist revolt. And I want male readers to know one of the things I learned from that is that there is no joy so pure as the love of small children. The horrors of the housewife's life have been somewhat overstated.

I also maintained a professional life, so I have been on both sides of these tracks. And I say to all that we should embrace the freedoms and most of the equalities which women seek as natural human rights. But we should not abandon the children as so many have, male or female, because disaster and war lie at the end of that road.

On Taming Masculinity: The previous chapter contained much on the proper training of fighting men which I will not repeat here. Well-trained men are simply less violent than untrained men in general; more able, but less violent. Rather, to the more enthusiastic feminists, I have two basic but related messages to close this chapter.

1) No matter how hard you try, you will not turn most boys into big women. Persistent attempts to do this will merely result in walking time-bombs, sent out in the world to erupt in the dark of night somewhere.

2) The cycle of violence between men and women is a cycle, yin and yang, reciprocity. The men who hate women and the man haters resonate against each other, and victimize us all. If you want to reduce the violence of men

against women (as I surely do) it would help if women would injure men less too. Especially when they are young, and vulnerable.

Now rearing boys successfully to be able, responsible men is very difficult and I am not pretending special expertise. But I observe from experience with fighting men that the most dangerous to women are not the men with high esteem, but those with low. Self-esteem, I am not talking social class or rank in service or education. The men most dangerous to women, in my experience, have also carried with them a story, or 10 stories, of women lacerating them emotionally when they were young.

Of course, of course, it is worse to cut with a knife than to cut with words; we jail a thousand men a day in America for physical assaults. We jail almost no women for verbal assaults, and I am not urging that, no matter how integral verbal abuse is to domestic violence in all its forms. *

I am urging recognition that one begets the other, that male violence generates hatred of men among women, and that hatred among men for women is also fueled by women who violate men. Emotional violence more than physical, but painful just the same. More forgivable, sure, but just as dangerous in the long run.

Beware the man who has never had a decent date because he is too ugly or too poor or too awkward to attract the favor of women. He is still a man, and he grows more dangerous with each rejection. Soon he will no longer ask, but the poison within him will ferment as it does in women rejected by men.

The war between the sexes is not going to end any time soon. But we could moderate its violence better if women would help in several ways.

1) Recognize that the women who hate men are as much a part of the problem as the men who prey on women. Healthy men can do a better job of restraining angry men, and we will, but it would help if you would also do a better job of restraining the man-haters. Because they generate the men who hate women, and they feed upon each other.

2) As noted often here, it would help if you would let us legalize prostitution, as an outlet for the horny and a

place for healing injured men. It would help me to control male violence, it would help society to detect the seriously sick (who are a danger to all), and it would help the female victims of prostitution more than any other group. And fundamentalist preachers notwithstanding, by far the most support for persecuting prostitutes comes from women, not from men. So you must make this change, because we cannot. Lysistrata is not a general answer, Lysistrata was a play. Puritan values can be valuable in many ways, for population, public health and healthy, two-parent families for three examples, but when turned into punitive legislation like that which persecutes prostitutes, Puritan values merely increase male violence and the victimization of women.

3) Recognize that while repression of sexuality does not decrease violence, repression of reproduction does. It is infinitely more important to reduce reproduction in a world preparing for general war over scarce resources, than to repress sexuality which merely increases violent behaviors in men. Puritan values are very handy here, but so is science. Birth control makes possible what was not before, including most specifically, an end to war.

Most simply put, to end war we need more healthy sex, but less reproduction.

4) And finally, do not condemn boys for trying to be men. It is in their nature, and it is hard enough to make this transition without a bunch of women nagging them to be feminine. Of course we must teach our young to restrain their nasty impulses, sexual and violent, in responsible ways. But go too far, expect too much, lacerate when nature pokes its head out, and we merely create repressed individuals with low self-esteem, unable to find the love which all men seek. And all too often hateful of the sources of their pain.

Love is the only ultimate antidote to hatred in the end; do not outlaw it.

* That would be equalizing the punitive response, rather than solving the problem. This is a common flaw in responses to such problems, and I say that hurting people more seldom helps to solve either their problems or ours. Another example is jailing "johns" rather than legalizing prostitution. Stop hurting the women, do not equalize pain to the men.

“We have seen the enemy, and he is us.”

— Pogo, a cartoon character created by Walt Kelly

The Biology of Survival: Economic and Political Consequences

The primary threats to human survival at this time are: 1) destruction by warring factions using exotic weapons, and 2) the generalized biological crisis on earth which starts with population pressure and spreads in every direction.

Biological weapons present new challenges to established political order so profound they will be deferred to concentrate on the more familiar biological challenges to life on earth today. But we will return to them often because they are quite important. Simply put, biological weapons can kill everyone many times over.

The developing global crisis begins with population pressure, which quickly translates into dozens of life threatening sub-problems which may be summarized as:

1) The challenge of feeding and clothing people, amidst destruction of agricultural soils and fisheries by erosion, desertification, salination, coastal pollution and simple overfishing or overharvesting of many biological crops.

2) Energy, and the destruction of forestry resources worldwide by overharvesting, by clear-cutting to make room for exploding populations, by widespread use of wood as a primary fuel in the third world, and by the diffuse consequences of reliance on carbon-based fuels in general which includes global warming and depletion of the ozone layer.

3) Biodiversity, the loss of species at rates seen only five times before in geological history, the loss of wild varieties of food and fiber species, with consequences for stability of agricultural crops and species, and the maintenance of effective medicines in the face of rapidly evolving disease processes.

4) Ecological consequences of all of the above, plus unforeseeable interactions between transplanted “exotic” species and ecosystems around the world due to human mobility, plus the mostly foreseen, yet so far unstopped, consequences of general pollution of the air and water.

5) Biological weapons, and exotic diseases, natural and manmade.

Now, biologists have been warning about all these problems for a generation or two, so there are hundreds of excellent books written on the details of their interactions which I need not repeat here. Instead I will focus on economic and political consequences.

The good news is there are technical solutions to almost all of the biological problems confronting humankind. Biologists and many others have been working like beavers on solutions since they are smart enough to be scared half to death.

The bad news is that existing political and economic powers forbid implementation of most solutions, or even frank discussion of some root problems. Therefore, actually solving the biological problems of life and death for humankind requires a transformation of political and economic power. Biologists, and scientists generally, are impotent at that.

However, should the dominant powers ever comprehend the ancient truth that you can gain the whole world, but still die in a muddy rut if society disintegrates around you, then technical solutions are fairly readily available. Some of them present novel economic and political consequences. We will begin with the most important economic ones.

Economic Consequences

1. To solve the biological crisis on earth requires adopting a truly long term economic philosophy, and adjusting thousands of laws and conventions to accommodate that new reality. In economic terms this fundamental change would be going from a “present value” mentality to a “sustainable yield” mentality. Another way to phrase this would be moving away from maximum profit in minimum time, and devil take the

future, to maximal yield over extended periods of time; our children matter.

The change most urgently needed and obviously useful is the concept of **sustainable yield**. This comes from biological systems, which always require seed and much else to produce the next crop. But it should be recognized at the beginning that this concept does not apply exclusively to biological resources.

For example, it is obvious that the businessman who buys a forest or a lake, cuts down every tree or catches every fish for immediate sale at market, does some long-term damage to the productivity of those natural resources compared to the businessman who buys the same forest or lake, but manages them for long-term yield. They can produce forever at remarkably high rates if you do not destroy them by eating the seed. It is less obvious, but no less true, that parallels apply to many other aspects of business, such as the relationship between management and labor. Unwise management can use labor as a fungible commodity, and burn up workers just as “efficiently” as clear-cutters burn slash piles. Wiser management will recognize that skilled and loyal labor is a critical resource for corporations with a long-term view, and will work to maximize their long-term production rather than immediate return on investment.

Of course managers have managers too, or owners or shareholders, and Wall Street is notorious for telling senior management to produce everything this quarter or to join the ranks of the unemployed. So larger scale system changes could be necessary to enable even wiser corporations to work toward human survival instead of self and common destruction.

The Iroquois Confederation had a view on this, which was to consider the consequences of major decisions out to the seventh generation of descendants. Wiping out the Iroquois before we understood the value of certain kinds of wisdom serves as an excellent example of the general stupidity of wiping out any diversity, since diversity is the fundamental resource of all genetic, living systems.

“Present value” economists have a difficult time calculating returns on investment $7 \times 25 = 175$ years into the future, much less $7 \times 75 = 525$ years (short vs. long generations). Economists have this notion that merely putting money into a bank (or high yield stocks) would produce nearly infinite wealth over that time. But they are blinded by an excessively theoretical worldview which forgets that all the money in the world will not feed one starving child or even one banker unless someone is producing food, and that the production of food requires inputs of real resources as well as capital resources. If you destroy the real resources chasing money, you can try

eating money, but natural law will exert its effect just like the law of gravity. You (or your children) will starve.

It is important to remember that the current system of economics is just a very elaborate exercise in arithmetic and words which does not produce a single thing of tangible value on its own. Bankers develop symptoms of heart failure when confronted with language like this, so they hire economists who will not tread on their taboos. But if humankind is to survive, it must expose the elaborate Ponzi game (pyramid scheme) which presents value economics is, and develop and use methods of accounting which accommodate the seventh generation or some similar long term view of human welfare.

Do not interpret this to mean that bankers are dispensable or unimportant; they are very important. And even if they were not, the ancient habit of writing off annoying human problems is categorically obsolete. Just as the very poor can destroy humankind, or critical natural resources as they certainly are today, the very rich can also. All are required if we are to survive the great transition which we face today.

2. We must rationalize, and humanize the relationship between the rich and the poor. In simplistic terms this means that a floor must be established on poverty, below which almost no one falls, and a ceiling on individual or corporate wealth above which almost no one rises — at least until that day when the floor is secure. The floor is more important than the ceiling, but the ceiling is needed too, because the desire of some for infinite wealth is a big reason why starvation continues to this day, despite wealth undreamed of in ancient times.

Less abstractly, population pressure cannot be relieved as long as poor people depend utterly on large families for security in old age. And poverty cannot be relieved as long as people have large families, regardless of whether the people involved are poor or rich, because even the richest do not intend their children to live at home forever, but rather send them into the common world to compete with others for their bit of turf.

3. Society must come to grips with the reality that if it does not take care of everyone, those discarded will destroy it. At the same time, tyranny must be avoided, which is more political than economic but essential to survival either way. The concept of taking care of everyone scares the hell out of wealthy people everywhere including most Americans. The concept of everyone pulling their share of the load scares even poor people, who feel they have little to share. Solve this problem wisely, and we can still inherit a heaven on earth, because damaged as she is, the mother earth is quite productive and healing is still possible. Fail to solve this problem, and nature will exert its force. Death rates will rise sharply

worldwide as ecology shifts to eliminate its major imbalance, too many people. This is a law of Nature; to disobey has real, and very serious, consequences.

Two examples illustrate the possible interactions between solutions 1-3 above. At the current time, there is a policy of minimum food prices in America which combined with many other policies has almost eliminated the family farm in favor of vast agribusiness corporations. Pursuing maximum profit in minimal time, these corporations mine the topsoil like one might mine coal, and America had lost one-third of that topsoil which had not been covered over by roads and golf courses by 1980 (Barney et al., 1980). It is closer to one-half as we approach the year 2,000 — half our topsoil, gone. The seventh generation will not eat a thing if this continues. Similar dynamics apply to forestry resources. Current policies have reduced one of the greatest natural forests in the world into a patchwork quilt observable from space with the naked eye, where many of the green zones left are not timber usable for lumber, but recent regrowth which can be harvested for pulp or toothpicks but not for building homes.

Now present value economists rightly note that family farms are less “efficient” at generating income per worker per unit time. And they note correctly that private fortunes built by mowing the forests down have been invested to yield dividends today (to timber baron heirs only, of course). What they fail to note is the difference between money and human survival.

A wiser society would recognize that you can not eat money, and that at least domestic agriculture is essential to survival, like the Japanese and Europeans do, who have seen starvation and wars to avoid starvation. So they subsidize small farming, or draft laws which level the terms by which large and small compete. These are some benefits.

a) The small farmer is closer to the soil and can preserve it like the national treasure which good soil is. This will cost a bit more in the short term, but enables production unto the seventh generation.

b) In many other ways the small farmer can preserve the quality of the land with regard to pesticides, herbicides, water, and residual natural habitat so that a few of the wild beasts and plants of nature can coexist with the human multitude, instead of being relegated to parks or enclaves where they are vulnerable to natural or human catastrophe.

c) The small farmer is inclined to do these things as inheritance to his or her children, if allowed to by the laws which govern agricultural production. It is important to recall that the actual price of agricultural goods and competitive advantages to large or small farms is extremely dependent on the rules of the system which are

written by governments. In America today many costs, like long term environmental destruction, are “externalized” which is econo-speak for “passed on to future generations” (or to society at large).

d) If energetic, the small farmer can produce more per acre than the large, and more diversity as well, than large farmers who depend on economies of scale for their advantages. Diversity is a value of unique importance to living systems, which is utterly unaccounted in the arithmetic of present value pricing.* Lazy farmers could still be moved off the land by economic forces without destroying small-scale farming if the government were wise.

e) Small-scale farming can employ many times more people than large-scale farming. The accountants of wealth consider full employment a disaster because they fear inflation more than suffering among the poor. If this view does not change, it will eventually be changed for them. I recommend a wiser solution which is to manage inflation by methods more humane than keeping unemployment high.

The second example, from management of forestry resources, will be much simpler but could be extended along identical lines.

Consider an average American forest today, not “old-growth” really useful timber, but regrowth after some clear-cut of 20 to 50 years ago. Despite the lack of mature trees, there may still be some diversity of size, age, and species of trees there. There will also usually be a residual infrastructure from previous activity, the most important of which are logging roads in various states of repair.

One option is to clear-cut it again, according to the cycle determined by the U.S. Forest Service which varies from about 40 to 120 years depending on the area. Having served the timber industry almost exclusively during its bureaucratic history, the habits of the Forest Service follow closely the thinking of what they call the timber beasts. Another option is micro-harvesting, where very small teams of people manage plots of land for the long term, and harvest individual trees only when they are economically mature.

Economic maturity will vary with local markets, mill capacity, and other factors. For example, a tree killed by lightning or stunted by disease is ready for harvest instantly. Management of the forest to reduce disease would be a strategic goal of the wiser, better system.

* One exceptional farmer I know personally produces a net income of \$30,000 on \$60,000 gross from 7 acres, yielding 90,000 pounds of organic vegetables in Minnesota’s relatively harsh climate. He also provides very partial, seasonal work for 3-4 other people.

Diversity of species would be another. Rather than monotonous, vulnerable stands of single species of single ages, management which considers the needs of the seventh generation would usually encourage a more variable forest where some harvestable timber of differing species is always available, but 40 or 100 times more is always growing to replace it.

As with small scale farming, this system would employ more people and cost a little more per board foot yield, but not a lot more. It is false to say the technology or means do not exist to harvest individual trees. Or to mill and market them. Such myths are widely promoted by the economic interests that currently depend on industrial scale clear-cutting of vast stands of timber resources.

4. The primacy of property rights must be rethought. We are fans of private property, because private owners often take better care of land than public owners. But often is not always, and no one should be allowed to destroy the living productive value of land just to make a quick buck and leave the mess for others to clean up. This is done by the stripping of topsoil today; by pollution; by harvesting fish, or timber, or exotic species to extinction which might be useful in medicine. People occupy land for tiny moments of time on the scale of human civilization, but the earth and human needs abide for millennia. So no one should be free to destroy that land or creatures on it just because he or she "owns" it. Harvest, yes; destroy, no.

As always, I am not urging either the communist model, nor any model of land use based on totalitarian principles of control. I am illustrating a biological model. Regarding control — economic incentives, shaming and other non-violent methods of control have been underutilized by states accustomed to coercive law. I am stressing that if we do not achieve radical rethinking of traditional property rights, the Earth may be destroyed piecemeal by a million private needs and greeds as surely as nuclear bombs could destroy it wholesale. The tragedy of the commons spoken of by Garrett Hardin is a dilemma for all people, and it must, it simply must be solved or the price will be paid by everyone who breathes and eats.

Now, rethinking property rights scares the hell out of ideological capitalists who are more concerned by far about their current wealth than about future children. It scares a lot of just plain rich people who did not exploit, but really worked hard all their lives producing wealth. Anyone with wealth finds it must be defended against infinite claims on compassion, some legitimate, some not. So we make it as difficult as possible for public discussion of rethinking property rights to occur. But sensible compromises can not be made in a climate where discussion is forbidden. And if sensible measures are not taken, the price in human suffering for abuse of the land

will only rise, leading to the kind of crisis where desperate measures are forced on those who were once rich. This is not good for either the wealthy or the poor.

5. The revolution in biological technology offers enormous economic potential, and equally vast political dangers. I will cover the politics, and the weapons, in the next section but they should never be far from our minds. Power cuts both ways, it may be used for good or evil, and advances in recombinant DNA and other biological technologies make a million things possible which were not before.

On the positive side, they make it possible to mass produce at low cost, biochemicals which had to be extracted from natural sources at phenomenal cost (like growth hormone from human pituitary glands, to cite a dramatic example). Now the genes for things like this can be inserted into bacteria and brewed up by the ton. We may be on the verge of food crops which fix their own nitrogen, eliminating the need for expensive fertilizers, and many other marvels.

But the extent to which we can take advantage of these powers is sharply bounded by the wisdom we bring to the brave new world before us. The dangers of tyranny are grave, but there are dangers of hubris as well. It is not wise to fool with mother nature rashly, and innocent mistakes may exact a terrible price if we are not careful. Like creating exotic species with mixed characteristics, and releasing them into ecosystems which have stood for centuries but could be toppled by our ignorance unleashed. It has happened already in places like Kenya where exotic fish introduced on purpose in 1954 (Nile perch) have almost wiped out a natural fishery which sustained millions around Lake Victoria before someone made a boo-boo (Kaufman, 1992, Bioscience).

Political Consequences

1. Tyranny must be avoided at all costs, because it self destructs. Tyranny is always tempting, especially when a nation faces imminent starvation as the Chinese did when they confronted the population pressure which had crippled them for centuries. It is tempting when danger is near and solutions are clear, to force people to do what apparently must be done. But tyranny is self destructive, and the growth in information and other powers are enabling the victims of tyranny to strike back as never before. That dynamic reaches its apex in biological weapons.

The problem of tyranny is so basic, and the solution is so contrary to the instincts of those who respond to fear by trying to control others, that it will be the basis for the next chapter. But the essence can be simply stated.

While population pressure, environmental destruction, and protecting the food, fiber and fuel resources of humanity all indicate that greater regulation of human behaviors is required, the Chinese model of totalitarian control is guaranteed to fail in a relatively short time on the scale of species. Why? Because any state which murders its own people will eventually be destroyed by the backlash which results. In China it is called the "Mandate of Heaven." When you lose it you are doomed, though this can take awhile. This process is being accelerated now by the information revolution, and will accelerate more as the secrets of exotic weapons leak out. Which they surely will; one of the novel properties of information resources is that they leak. Another novel property is that unlike tangible commodities, information can be shared at almost no cost.

Many exotic weapons have been developed since the last grand exposition, but the most dangerous will be the biological weapons because they are so cheap to create and distribute. It is within the grasp of single men to threaten everyone today, so you must decide whether to threaten them in turn, triggering their response, or to chose the wiser way which is to reduce their fear and threaten them not.

2. Biodiversity, global warming, ozone, fisheries and many other issues of survival will all require international solutions as never before. It is uncomfortable to yield power to international systems which fail so often, and are so distantly unaccountable at present. But the fact remains that most of the big biological issues simply will not yield to solutions advanced by any one nation, no matter how powerful or rich. The air travels everywhere, as does the water, and the poor will enter every neighborhood sooner than you think, if we do not find the better way to solve our common problems. Extinction of a species is forever, and for everyone. It is folly of the most foolish kind for any nation (or individual) to say it is OK for them to wipe out a species which might serve humankind forever, on the grounds that they alone need to make a living now.

3. The secret powers behind the visible powers of the earth must be revealed as never before, because they currently frustrate most serious attempts to solve the fundamental problems of humanity. Often, hidden powers are the biggest problem afflicting a society. Dealing with them implies a political transformation as profound as converting the military systems of national security to something which can help solve the biological crises for which current military systems are impotent.

4. Weapons of mass destruction, whether nuclear, chemical, biological or electronic, are quite worthless at solving biological problems, unless killing nearly everyone is your idea of a solution. More broadly, military

systems in general have little to no utility against the biological crisis of survival today. But can you imagine the American Congress approving \$280 billion or more each year to solving environmental problems in the world today? No, they will have to become much more scared than they currently are by those who lobby for military budgets ten times greater than any adversary.

It is so tempting to believe that the powerful can just ignore or slaughter their enemies. But the world has changed radically. What is known to one can quickly become known to millions now, and the age of indiscriminate slaughter without consequence has passed. Yet being creatures of habit, people are slow to respond. Have no doubt that men exist today who have put careful thought into how to kill the multitudes without a visible hand on a visible weapon. AIDS may be one of their creations.

AIDS as a Cautionary Tale

Let me be crystal clear to start that, while rumors abound, I have no certain proof which could answer the question of whether AIDS occurred naturally or was created in a biological weapons laboratory. I also cannot tell who made it, if it was made by the hand of man. The evidence is decidedly mixed. But whether AIDS was created by man or by an angry nature is not very important for the general thrust of this discussion, because if people do not wise up they may absolutely count on more exotic diseases like AIDS appearing, whether or not men are moved to do the deed. There are also many biological weapons labs in the world, which certainly have been busy for decades, whether or not they had anything to do with AIDS. All that effort could not have been entirely wasted.

Geneticists like me were getting rumors that the Russians developed AIDS, or that the American biological weapons program developed it, almost the day it was discovered by the press. Among those steeped in war, this raises the immediate suspicion that someone else developed it, and was sowing disinformation to muddy the waters and inflame passions. Remember that the rumor mill is perfectly capable of attacking its favorite enemies without any prompting from outside powers, and that most rumors are inaccurate.

First, the anomalies. Segel and Segel (1986, pg. 11) allege that the AIDS virus is about half HTLV-I and half Visna viruses (a pathogen which causes serious brain diseases in sheep) in origin, based on DNA sequencing. If true, that would be almost impossible to occur naturally, but could be attempted with modern recombinant DNA methods. British Dr. John Seale reported similar concerns in the Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine in 1988

(Vol. 81, pp. 537-539) and said that: “Doubtless most people will dismiss the suggestion that the AIDS epidemic in the United States may be the result of a deliberate act of biological warfare as worthy only of a fictional plot by Ian Fleming. But it is certainly no less plausible, scientifically, than the hypothesis currently favored by molecular biologists” [origin in green monkeys of Africa]. Dr. Alan Cantwell (Aids and the Doctors of Death, 1988) alleges that the original epidemiology indicates AIDS was first spread by a hepatitis B vaccine to homosexual males in three American cities (New York, San Francisco and Los Angeles) and by a different vaccine in Africa among heterosexuals. However AIDS began, its epidemiology is extremely weird in several respects, including the fact that it is primarily a homosexual disease only in America, not worldwide. Another odd fact, if AIDS started in African monkeys, is that America was the epicenter of its detected origin and spread, although heterosexual transmission, promiscuity and lack of health care facilities have made it spread faster in Africa. On the other hand, I also have one anecdotal report from a missionary nurse in Africa, that they were seeing general immune system collapse there before AIDS was characterized in North America, which would support the African green monkey theory of AIDS origins.

Critics of biological weapons also note that a Defense Department physician testified to the U.S. congress (House Appropriations Subcommittee, on Defense Budget for 1970) that organisms “refractive to human immune systems” would make especially promising biological weapons, if research funding were available. The most striking quality of AIDS as a disease is how it disables the immune system that protects us from the germs of the earth. This raised questions in suspicious minds long before that obscure testimony was dug up. And you should always remember, if you deal in conspiracy, that the Russians also had a very active biowarfare program at that time (in fact, they killed about a thousand of their own folks when an anthrax experiment got out of the lab near Sverdlovsk, USSR, in 1979). So interesting references could no doubt be found in Russian archives also. And remember, in the bizarre world of espionage, it is standard practice for those who deal in dirty deeds to leave lots of clues that others did it.

Well, given all this ambiguity, and original uncertainty that any biological weapons program is responsible for AIDS, what conclusions can be drawn? Simply these:

a) Whether or not AIDS is natural or man-made, and no matter who might have made it, there are undoubtedly men on earth who do think the solution to our problems is radical reduction of the population, by any means required.

Many men, in lots of places, think like this. Of course, they always think in terms of eliminating people other than themselves. It has been a major mistake to let them beaver away in secret laboratories whether those be in Russia, America or Iraq (whose extensive program was revealed in stunning detail by defection of key officers, then confirmed by Iraq itself). Our Pentagon estimates that at least eight active biological weapons programs exist on earth today, and it could easily be 80 due to the low cost and ubiquitous distribution of the necessary raw materials.

b) Whether or not AIDS is natural or man-made, and no matter who might have made it, if and when biological weapons are released, no-one really knows what they are going to do. Because unlike tanks or nuclear weapons, life no matter how small, has a mind of its own. Life reproduces. And life changes in unpredictable ways.

c) Whether or not AIDS is natural or man-made, and no matter who might have made it, it is time for a sharp pause in our development of ever greater weapons, to allow human wisdom some time to catch up with the power to destroy which we have already developed.

Why? Because the biological weapons we already have could kill everyone many times over. They are so terrible that governments lie about them now. We do not need even one more before we grow up.

I wish the Iroquois were here to help us think this through. In closing, just remember this.

1. These are all solvable problems. The knowledge, we have. What we lack is political will to apply that knowledge, and the wisdom to do it well.

2. Military traditions and methods are impotent to help us solve the biological crises of human survival which we face today. Those biological crises are now as threatening as war itself.

They respond to solutions based on biology, not military science, theoretical economics, nor theology. These are biological problems which may respond to wise biology, if and only if the economic, political and theological powers on earth will allow solutions.

The most generic example of a potential solution is replacing “maximum short-term profit” with the concept of “sustainable yield.” Many other derivatives apply to the complex living system of the earth which could yield partial solutions to the challenges of human survival in the 21st century.

Freedom is Required; Justice is Desired

The theme of freedom from tyranny runs throughout this work. This chapter seeks to explain why. Peace without freedom is unstable; it degenerates into war. Either police-state war, or civil war, or scapegoating wars of adventure by tyrants losing power, or imperial wars, or wars of imperial collapse as an angry world pays the empire back for its misdeeds. War kills many innocents and should be avoided.

Many people are willing to trade freedom for security. Tyrants are always eager to offer them this deal. It is a fool's bargain, because tyranny always degenerates. The security it offers is ephemeral. Police-states last for awhile, then they fall, and most of the people are miserable the whole way (excepting, of course, the beneficiaries of the evil system who cover their sins with self-righteousness). Society disintegrates, because the people sacrificed to tyranny always bring it down eventually. Sometimes this takes a long time, but every empire on earth has failed in its time. Because people who keep slaves become weak and corrupt, and tyranny is always built on the slavery of many to serve the interests of a few. Modern forms of exploitation are more sophisticated than slavery by whips and chains, but no less cruel.

Why is Freedom Necessary, but Justice Only Desirable?

Without freedom people will eventually rebel, but their capacity to endure injustice is great. Freedom is also relatively easy to define, but justice is very hard to define.

Birds understand freedom, and wilt when deprived of it. They know instinctively that loss of freedom is a prelude to loss of life. Mice understand freedom too, but justice is beyond them both. Every mobile creature on the earth comprehends freedom, and seeks it because they were born to live that way. Freedom protects them from the jaws of death so every animal knows there's something unnatural and dangerous about being locked up in a cage.

Police-states offer an illusion of security at the price of freedom. Then, many kill enough of their "own" people every year to consider it a constant state of police-state war. People will put up with vast injustices and a rather

remarkable level of parasitism by governments or ruling classes. But deprive them of their freedom and eventually they will rebel. Some will rebel right away, whether enough do to win is another question. Many others will rebel quietly and subtly, sucking the power from the hated police-state. The growing power of information makes rebellion ever more feasible for the dispossessed. This is why police-states repress freedoms of speech and information most ruthlessly of all.

So freedom is necessary, if war is to be avoided. Justice, whatever that is, helps the cause of peace. But there is far less agreement on what constitutes justice, and less zeal to fight for it. The partisans of justice often say there will be no lasting peace without more justice, but they are not usually going to war when they do so. They are just shaking their cages. People have shown throughout history a prodigious capacity to bear and to inflict injustice. So justice is desired, but not required to the same degree as freedom.

The Desirability of Justice

I struggle always to see the wisest path to avoid war for a whole world which is diverse, incredibly diverse in its cultures and conditions. But I am blinded by my own culture as we all must partly be. The probability of war, at least in America, appears to be increasing, because of decline in two fundamental forms of justice.

Wealth, and distributional justice. Inequalities of wealth in America have been growing since about 1973 when average wages started declining. The national debt started its explosive growth about a decade earlier, and really took off in the 1980's, resulting in a multi-hundred billion dollars per year money pump from the poor and middle class to the rich. That pump operates in tandem with other money pumps constructed over many years. So concentration of wealth has now reached such extremes that one percent of the population owns over 40 percent of everything, and controls far more than half of all the wealth. We are a very, very wealthy country. Yet malnutrition, once banished, has returned. People freeze to death under bridges in the cold regions during winter,

and over 500 people died of heat in one city (Chicago) during the summer of 1995. They were, of course, people too poor to cool their homes or to move to cooler zones during the heat wave. Millions more, the working poor, hang on by their toenails. Most of the deaths to poverty are not so dramatic as starvation or freezing under a bridge, but they are rising all the same.

Yet every day the media tells us the economy is “doing splendidly” which merely indicates how it looks to the extremely rich people who own newspapers and television stations. The stock market rises almost every day unless the daily headlines say unemployment has fallen which, amazingly, depresses the stock market. Another symptom of priorities twisted beyond the limits of long term viability. The economy in 1999 is growing still, as millions of farmers lose their homes. This, will change.

Power, and justice under law. The courts in America have been deeply corrupted in many ways, all of which result in qualitatively different systems of justice for the poor and for the rich. Furthermore, the ancient custom of patronage has reached such extremes that judgeships are handed out without any reference to real justice or often even to legal competence, but are based mainly on how well the attorneys have served their political patrons. Under no circumstances may prospective judges question the “right” of lawyers to rule other men in every detail of life. This is the unspoken assumption which corrupts the rule of law. Our already tottering democracy is further weakened every time political judges favor their patrons at the expense of the dispossessed.

Our prisons are positively bulging with the poor, partly because of terrible crimes some have committed and partly because of simple bigotries which many hold dear. It is common knowledge among the dispossessed that half of the people in prison should not be there, and half of the people who should be in prison are not. True, and tragic; an indictment really, of the system.

The FBI often notes that “white collar crime” (embezzlement, stock fraud, medical fraud, attorney abuse of estates, etc.) results in dollar damages about 100 times greater than street crime, and occasionally it announces a new emphasis on white collar crime, but this never lasts long. Professionals have powerful friends, and any sustained investigation into the larger, organized crime rings inevitably leads to the extremely powerful people who compose the secret power structures in America today. They are adept at stopping investigations, and have decades of practice and elaborate mechanisms for doing so. So the official law enforcement agencies always quickly return to the obvious, more violent, but financially trivial crimes of the underclass, which are covered in detail every day in every major news organ.

A single banking scandal, the savings and loan debacle of the late 1980’s, where the CIA, Mafia, and other politically connected secret powers looted banks of hundreds of billions of dollars cost American taxpayers and depositors more than all street crime during that decade (about \$500 billion according to Brewton, 1992; Mayer, 1992; and Pizzo, 1991).

So America itself, the most powerful imperial power remaining in the world, is suffering the same kinds of destabilizing forces which it turned into a science inflicting on countries in Latin America and elsewhere during the Cold War. Perhaps it is payback time. Or perhaps it is just the natural decay which comes when nations or national leaders become too accustomed to wealth without work. But a caution to all. No matter what the history, or what would be just or unjust for America, the world should be very cautious about this. Because when giants fall, the entire forest shakes. And when empires have fallen in the past, there have usually been many wars on their periphery, but our weapons are beyond all historical experience now. Way, way beyond historical experience. So no one should pray for a catastrophic failure now, because it could mean death for everyone.

Rights and Responsibilities

A few weeks before he was assassinated by a militant Hindu zealot, Gandhi the Mahatma had a conversation with his grandson, Arun. He handed Arun a talisman upon which were engraved “Seven Blunders.” Gandhi told Arun that out of these seven blunders grow the violence which plagues the world. The blunders were:

- Wealth without work.
- Pleasure without conscience.
- Knowledge without character.
- Commerce without morality.
- Science without humanity.
- Worship without sacrifice.
- Politics without principles.

Mahatma Gandhi called these disbalances “passive violence” which fuels the active violence of crime, rebellion and war. He said, “We could work until doomsday to achieve peace and would get nowhere as long as we ignore passive violence in our world.” I agree.

To these seven blunders, Arun added later in life, “Rights without responsibilities.” He is right too. What are the most obvious responsibilities which must go with the many rights a free society requires? I have written so much about freedoms here, and believe so deeply that freedom is required to end war, that I think it incumbent to

identify the kinds of responsibilities that seem required for an end to war. These are just examples which illustrate particular aspects of the broader relationship between freedom and responsibility to me.

Freedom

Responsibility

- of Speech - - to tolerate at least all speech from others, and to better welcome unusual ideas, rather than to become hyper-offendable.
- to Hunt or Fish - - to manage wildlife for the long term, and be a steward of the earth.
- to Own Land - - to be a steward of the Earth, and to always remember the seventh generation of descendants, for if you do not, who will?
- to Own Guns - - to store them safely, and to not shoot people or the neighborhood except in the extremely rare cases where defense of individual or community is actually required, and to accept as a duty cooperation with local police or militias in maintaining public peace and safety.
- to be Sexual - - to a) use birth control, and b) beware of disease and c) abstain if you get one, unless and until you are certainly disease free.
- to be a Parent - - to raise healthy children, and abstain from children if you cannot. In any event, to have few children since the earth is suffering from too many at this time.
- to use Vices - - to be moderate, to maintain the public safety and your home and family, and to tolerate the different opinions of others always.

- to Drive - - to obey the rules of traffic, without which chaos reigns, and to not endanger others regardless of the rules.
- to Travel - - to respect the laws and customs of others while you are there. And to accept that they will be different, not trying to make everyone the same everywhere, or to change their laws just because you do not understand their culture.
- Internationally
- to Work - - to obey the rules of commerce, and give fair labor for fair pay.
- to Manage - - to go beyond the rules of commerce, to exemplify responsible citizenship. Workers are a trust to be cared for, not a commodity to be used and thrown away. Remember, without a healthy community, your business is doomed.
- Workers
- of Religion - - to tolerate, or better to embrace, the freedom of all others to worship and to conceive of God in many ways. This requires freedom for others. The only freedom incompatible with all the rest is the freedom some claim to impose their religious views on all.
That always leads to war.
- to have Power - - to be wise, and not to use your power for anything but good, which does not usually mean running other people's lives.

This is hardly a comprehensive listing of freedoms and responsibilities, but it serves to illustrate the general principle most clearly stated by Will Rogers, that my freedom to swing my fist ends where your nose begins. All freedoms must respect the rights of others, and of others to differ. This listing also helps illustrate the point behind my libertarian attitude on what we call victimless crimes. You need not be a libertine to recognize that intolerance leads to war. Bigotry leads to war, ignorance leads to war, and authoritarian law is war. If limits are not placed on the violent laws of dietary and sexual custom which authoritarians love so much, there will be endless

wars among partisans of different codes as well as with the less compulsive people of the earth who are quite fed up with this bigotry masquerading as morality.

I have absolutely no objection to abstinence, sexually or otherwise. In fact, I wish the authoritarians would abstain more, rather than breeding like flies and scolding their neighbors for lesser crimes against the earth.

The Dilemma of Militias

People in other countries are appalled by America's love affair with guns, and cite the astonishing level of armed violence in America which results. That is indeed a very serious problem, but a sign of other sicknesses in America today. For all our many flaws, we remain relatively free, and the right to keep and to bear arms is one basic reason why.

The Swiss have a militia of every able bodied male. They have enjoyed peace and freedom longer than most, perhaps longer any other people in the world.

The Pathan peoples of Afghanistan defeated the British empire at its peak of power. Later, they defeated the Soviet Union, a superpower on their border. Every Pathan male has at least one weapon. They pay a steep price for this in domestic violence, and a peace loving world might wish this price reduced. So long as they are free, this is possible. Lose their freedom, and life would not be worth living for the average Afghan.

This does not mean that countries which enjoy both peace and freedom now without an armed citizenry should necessarily revert. Japan seems pretty stable without guns in private homes. Peace, freedom and a lack of arms appears superior to living in a land of weapons, so long as peace and freedom endure. Canada is happy, and New Zealand is healthy too, with minimum arms. China and North Korea are stable too, but they are also lands of misery. No private weapons there; indeed, police-states always forbid them. Governments become corrupt, and angry neighbors are always possible in a world as primitive as ours. So I encourage responsible militias, until that day when governments lay down their arms too. I will gladly add mine to the pile when Utopia comes.

To End War

The battle between good and evil is all around today. It is a profoundly interesting time to be alive. Many people long for a mythic time when life was easier, but they forget that people died like flies from infectious disease, dirty water and bad food during those nostalgic days. Every generation has its cross to bear. Ours is growing up, and growing up is often painful.

One of the most profound natural laws in the universe is the relationship between Wisdom and Power. Too much power, or too little wisdom for the power in hand, and intelligent living systems self-destruct. We are on the edge of an abyss, but there is no turning back. Why? Because we rushed for power, and once discovered, the power to destroy cannot easily be put away.

The cat is out of the bag, we are in the vortex, Pandora's box is opened, and the horse is out of the barn. These are all metaphors for the challenge to human survival before us. Having paddled as hard as we could to see what all the noise was about, we are about to go over a waterfall. Too late now, better get your feet front and focus concentration, because we are going over like it or not. People can survive amazing things if they are diligent, and try hard.

Having acquired the power of destruction, we must now acquire sufficient wisdom to moderate or contain it. Or else.

Tolerance, Compassion and Generosity in the Real World

I have written much about the need for tolerance of differences if we are to end the wars on earth, of the importance of limiting inequalities of wealth, and of the overarching value of compassion as a guide to achieving these goals. And I have written florid metaphors about the challenges to human survival during these amazing times.

Let us step back, for just a moment from the abyss, to reflect on why these things seem so hard. It is hard to be tolerant, because we have been taught to be judgmental of others and this teaching resonates easily with the natural bigotry which every monkey knows within its troop. Every other day I am prejudiced against the whole world. But recognize also the ancient truth that if we want to be free, we simply must allow others to be free also. If we want our wealth to be secure, we must set limits on poverty. And if we judge the world too harshly, it will likely judge us harshly too.

It is hard to be generous in a sea of need, and I have turned away as many beggars as most people. But I do not turn them all away, and I am learning more each day about how to strike the proper balance between prudence and heartlessness. Yes, we do not want to encourage dependency, subsidize the drunk, or pay for irresponsible reproduction. But we are incredibly wealthy, and poor people help remind us of how lucky we truly are.

If war is ever to end we must become just a bit more generous. Remember that nations will never be more generous than the individual citizens who make them up.

The sun will rise tomorrow and the rain will fall somewhere. Change comes slowly, and things will look pretty much as they did yesterday. Bigotry will battle tolerance in every human heart, and greed will war with generosity. Our fears will warn against compassion, in a world so filled with needs. And men will cling to weapons because they know that danger sometimes comes.

Things will not be so different tomorrow from today, because the time scale of civilizations is much slower than daily life. There is time for reflection, even nostalgia, and time to calm our fears before we venture the abyss.

But there is not infinite time. The change is faster every day. There is no more turning back from global maturation than a child can turn away from puberty. Be advised, it is upon us. Find your own way to increase your keys to survival. I discern they must include tolerance of others, generosity enough to heal the poverty which leads to war, and compassion enough to recognize that these are not really such big sacrifices when you know that peace and freedom are the prizes — peace and freedom in degrees which most humans have never known.

The peace to walk the streets without fear, the freedom to be yourself, and freedom for children everywhere to dream of beautiful futures unclouded by nuclear bombs or raging barbarians or starvation stalking streets. I wish, how I wish that you could see the world which could be, as I do. There would be little hesitation if you did, to abandon the hell on earth we are inheriting for the heaven which may come.

The Body as a Metaphor for Social Organization

Lao Tzu said look to nature, everything you need to know is found there. James Grier Miller (1978) said that all living systems share certain common properties. They must all eat, eliminate wastes, and process energy and information. He found 19 systems within every living thing from single cells to elephants to cities and societies which served these functional needs. He was right, and Lao Tzu was too. Living systems have universal needs, and nature knows a lot about how to organize them.

Metaphors can be powerful, but they are also always flawed. They reduce incredibly complex phenomena into simple analogies that people can understand. But we should always remember that they are just analogies. The metaphor of cancer illustrates this well, because it can be used or abused with equal ease.

Ten biological metaphors follow: the brain, the body, the heart in two parts, decay, cancer, hierarchy, vaccination, teenagers and metamorphosis. Each provides a simple perspective on surviving the great transition we embark on now.

The Brain, and Gaia

In the web of life on Earth, humankind is supposed to serve as the brain of a more complex organism, which some call Gaia. But in the words of Chief Seattle*: “Man did not weave the web of life, he is but one strand in it. Whatever he does to the web, he does to himself.” Brains cannot survive without the body which supports them, and humankind will not endure long if it continues pillaging mother nature upon which we all depend. You do not need to be a philosopher, or romantic about native perspectives, to recognize that life on earth is under great stress today. The reason is obvious. A wiser humankind would manage the earth like a wise person keeps his or her body in reasonably good shape. Not for vanity, or philosophy, but because that is a key to life itself.

* Chief Seattle had a ghost-writer, which does not matter for our purposes here since the words chosen certainly reflect Native American spirituality as intended.

Body Parts Differ, and Sometimes Hurt

Do liver cells look or act the same as cells within your lungs? Of course not, they have different jobs. Making them the same would harm the body, even kill it. The urge among some people to make everyone the same is severely misguided. People differ, and they (we) are supposed to differ. Our unity is our humanity and common human rights, which we determine because we desire freedom and other goods for ourselves as well as for others. Religious people discern a common bit of God in all people too, which is helpful although it makes one wonder why so many “religious” people urge killing as a way to solve our problems.

At the same time we observe that every cell of the human body requires its minimum of life support: food, oxygen, protection from disease and so forth. Deprive any cell of these things and it dies, which can threaten the life of the whole body. Those who think that any part of the body of humankind can live on nothing are greedy or misguided. And the wealthy who think their comfort can long endure when whole groups of humankind are dispossessed are living in a fool’s paradise.

If your finger hurts, do you treat this by hitting it with a hammer for misbehaving? Why then do people respond to pain in one part of the city of humankind by punishing the people; who cry out in pain? Of course, there is misbehavior, and of course, not every cry for help deserves a generous response. But the common response of governments to repress those who object to injustice is about as wise as shooting your toe because it hurts within your boot. Do this often, and humankind will never walk again.

The Heart, and Paths to Peace

Some people say there is only one road to peace, or only one path to God’s love — their path. This is extremely short-sighted. Stupid, actually. As the body relies on blood pumped from the heart to every part, the paths back to the heart are manifold. There are a billion

different paths to the heart from the cells of the body. They are quite different, but they all lead to the same place. Arguing over which path is the “correct” path is dumb, whether discussing paths to the heart, to peace, or to God’s love.

The Heart, and International Finance

Money is to human society as blood is to the human body. It transports essential nutrients, which all require. Now there are lean cells which require little, and fat cells which can never get enough according to their appetites. But all cells require nutrition, or they die and rot begins. Depriving some of the body of humankind of essential needs is as shortsighted as tying a tourniquet around your leg, as a way to economize.

Some body parts concentrate blood, and require more than other parts due to the nature of their work. Like the heart, which must concentrate blood in order to pump it around the body, and which needs more itself because it is working all the time. The hearts of the body of humankind are its banks, and they serve some most essential functions. But they deceive themselves when they think they can write off the poor in the name of economy. Even hearts can burst when gorged, and every part of the body, no matter how sublime, will die if rot consumes the other parts of humankind.

Decay, and Gangrene

When tissues die, they rot, and the process of rot is a danger to any body. Since cells all die in their time, there is a mechanism in place for orderly removal and replacement of dead cells. This system can handle ordinary loads. It is part of the immune system. But if any large piece of tissue is deprived of essential nutrition, the whole organ will begin to rot and the immune system is overwhelmed. Foreign organisms eat the dying tissue, and release toxins ahead of them which kill even healthy, well nourished tissue nearby. This is called gangrene. As noted before, it is not wise to starve significant chunks of the body of humankind. This is unjust as well, but love of justice is not required to notice the serious threat to survival of all which results.

Cancer of Two Types

Cancers kill by uncontrolled growth within a body, which eats up all the resources of life, and crowds out working organs to make room for wildly reproducing cells. It is important to emphasize immediately, that the metaphor of cancer has been widely abused by tyrants who

would like to eliminate all sorts of “undesirable” people, calling them a “cancer” upon their society. This has been an excuse for abuse many times, as has the misunderstood phrase “survival of the fittest.” Hitler loved these concepts, as do his ideological descendants, who are many and powerful today.

I am a geneticist. I am not an enemy of Charles Darwin. There are legitimate issues regarding the quality of the human stock which cannot even be discussed today because of abuse of the concept of survival of the fittest, by ruthless people who think they are God’s gift to humankind, and who try eliminating those they dislike by various gruesome means. So I will not discuss such issues here, because it is more important at this time to emphasize how metaphors or even universal principles of the organization of life may be abused. Quality is one thing, Quantity is another. Regardless of quality issues, uncontrolled growth is certainly a danger to everyone today.

Unrestrained population growth is like a cancer on the human body. But it would be a grave mistake to point fingers at any particular society or group of human beings as the exclusive root of this problem. For example, some of the worst abusers of the planet are very wealthy people who have large families in the vain belief that the Earth can survive their gluttony, just because at that moment they can feed their brood. Inevitably, such people feel that they are superior. They feel their wealth is evidence of their superior qualities, and sometimes it is true that they have actually earned their wealth by diligent effort of creative kinds. However, there are many other factors which also account for who accumulates wealth, and who does not, like who shares with their neighbors and who acts like a clot in the arteries of humankind.

So it is important to recognize that unrestricted growth can kill a body, whether human or the whole of humankind. That is the cancer of unhealthy growth. But it is equally important to recognize how metaphors like this can be abused by those whose greed or arrogance knows no boundaries. That is the cancer of malignant thinking.

The Paradox of Hierarchy

All complex organisms use a mixture of hierarchical and non-hierarchical controls. It is far easier to see and comprehend the hierarchical controls, but it is equally important to the healthy functioning of bodies to have the other kind as well.

The brain sends commands to the body down a hierarchy of control, and muscles respond in precisely coordinated ways which enable birds to fly and beasts to walk upright. Without centralized command and control,

informed by networks of sensors which also report to the brain as headquarters, this kind of quick, coordinated work would not be possible.

Hormones do not work that way, for the most part, and neither does the immune system which protects the body from disease. Blood clotting, salt concentrations, growth, and physiology in general are regulated by far more complex mechanisms responsive to tissues scattered throughout the body, which will die without them just as certainly as a bird would crash without centralized control of flight.

The authoritarians who love centralized hierarchical control so much, and who promote war so diligently in their battles over who will be in charge and what the rules will be, need to recognize the vital importance of diversity among control mechanisms as well as among the peoples of the earth. Those who would end war would also do well to recognize that for some things, hierarchy is essential, such as for the military aspects of ending war. It would be nice if all the warmongers could be stopped by gentle words. How I do wish it were so. But it seems to me, at this time in human development, that some of the warmongers need to be killed or captured before they will stop. And that is the domain of combat arms, where some degree of hierarchy is certainly required.

Teenagers

A generous God might forgive our many sins by considering humankind to be passing through that chaotic and conflicted period we associate with teenagers. Certainly our environment is an unholy mess, and we appear at a nadir of responsibility in many ways. We have played with building mechanical toys, and almost blown ourselves up on more than one occasion. We have run around recklessly and vandalized the community. We are drunk half the time, or appear to be drunk anyway, and we work at nothing important most of the time. We are beset by internal contradictions, and torn by conflicting urges to do opposite things at once. We rebel against authority, and are remarkably irresponsible about sexual matters. We are full of promise, but may kill ourselves at any moment.

An angry God may kick our butts big time if we do not grow up pretty soon.

A Vaccination for Evil

Consider a baby, getting its shots for diphtheria or polio or other diseases which could kill it. The needle hurts, the baby cries, and may get very sick for a few days as its body is assaulted by the toxins injected which are designed to stimulate its immune system so that it will be

on guard for life against diseases which can be truly lethal. On alternate Tuesdays, I consider our experience with totalitarian governments during this century to be like a baby getting vaccinated for evil.

Certainly governments have killed many millions of human beings during this difficult century. Certainly it was painful overcoming the nearly lethal disease. Certainly our recovery is not yet complete. And with great regret, I observe around the world another wave of totalitarian thinking which presents a grave threat to all.

It gives me a ray of hope to pray that this is just a booster shot. Designed to remind us that evil is never really banished, that there are always germs out there which would take over the body if allowed, and turn it to their purposes. Look at the number of cults in the world today, look how tightly vestigial communist governments cling to power and how cleverly fascist military governments claim to be necessary to stop the communist ones. I stand in awe of how seductive the secret powers are, and how firmly entrenched in their parasitic grip upon the lifelines of humankind. Perhaps we are getting a booster shot of evil as the twentieth century closes. Or perhaps we are just infested with parasites, and must deal with a larger problem.

Metamorphosis and the Butterfly

My favorite metaphor is more hopeful by far. Consider how an ugly caterpillar turns into a beautiful butterfly which can do things caterpillars could not dream of. Or perhaps, they do dream as they transform, who knows? Perhaps they have to have the vision of butterflies inside. Biologists are only guessing about DNA and development. We know a lot about DNA and regulation of cell function, about reproduction and so forth. But the mystery of development from eggs to adults, or of transformation from caterpillars to butterflies, is the deepest mystery left in biology.

We do know this. When the caterpillar makes its pupal case to protect it during transformation, the body turns to a kind of soup inside, and only selected bits of cells retain their geographic integrity. These are the bits which will grow into new lungs, new legs, new eyes, new everything, even wings where before there were none. Fat cells which were gorged with nutrients are depleted to fuel the process, and somehow most of the cells which formed the caterpillar make it through this process to assume the functions of adults in the life cycle of butterflies. It is one of the many miracles of nature which continues to amaze us all.

Well, every other Tuesday I ponder the metaphor of butterflies, because I would rather hope that humankind is embarking on a great transition. About to turn into something beautiful which flies. Rather than dying of its own stupidity, or being infected with parasites who have gained the upper hand. This is the big problem with metaphors, they are just analogies and you can use, choose, or abuse them as you please.

I have done the best I can to analyze the causes of war. This was my chosen task and I have looked at the problem from every angle available to me. I have selected the causes which seemed most important, ignored taboos and rules and walls of secrecy designed to hide some causes, and described them as best I can. No doubt I have made mistakes along the way. Many mistakes, but as few as I could.

Now, you and only you, must decide what, if anything, you do about the problem of war during these difficult times for humankind. There is not infinite time available. Certainly I wish I had had more time, but the period of greatest danger and maximum opportunity is close before us. Only you can decide what you will do in response to that.

Good luck.

Appendix A

A Version of the Prisoner's Dilemma Exercise Useful for Teachers and Students of Almost any Age

This prisoner's dilemma exercise is a small group game which takes about 90 minutes, optimum (45 minutes minimum). The group is divided into two teams which pick X's or Y's over a series of 10 moves. There is a negotiation after move #5. Each team gets points after every turn, according to a payoff table. There is discussion at the end. It evokes discovery learning, which is remembered far longer than lectures, about eternal verities of human nature which have much to do with both war and peace and other issues important to life.

While the prisoner's dilemma is easy to run, and is much more fun than most national security simulations, it provokes complex discussion of the human behaviors which lie at the root of international conflict. Derived from game theory exercises, the prisoner's dilemma is a remarkable model for mistrustful competition in the international arena, and for arms races in particular. Discovery learning predominates, and a good game leader will find this an exceptional tool for stimulating frank discussion among individuals in small groups. It works from about Junior High School through adult age ranges, although it can work down to 4th or 5th grade with exceptional students, and we have seen it fail with adults in a maximum security prison setting, because the participants there could not make the first cognitive hurdle.

Rules

1. The object of the game is to maximize your teams score.

[Teachers' note: This should be written exactly as shown, kept visible to both teams, and stated aloud in a flat monotone. Do not put an apostrophe anywhere on the word "teams." This is a critical and deliberate ambiguity.]

2. The game involves 10 moves. During each move, each team (A or B) will chose either an "X" move or a "Y" move. The teams will deliberate in separate locations, and the game leader will communicate to each team what the other has chosen only after both have decided their move.

3. Each team receives a score after each move. The score is a function of the joint choice of X's or Y's, according to the table below:

PAYOFF TABLE

Teams	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>
-5	X — X	-5
+5	X — Y	-5
-5	Y — X	+5
+3	Y — Y	+3

4. The scores are added each move, so that each team will have 10 move scores adding to a final, cumulative score. There is a single negotiating session after the fifth move. This involves one representative from each team, at a neutral location for about 5-10 minutes depending on time available. They may discuss anything, and are bound by nothing. Say this clearly to each team.

The notes above contain all essential rules for a prisoner's dilemma exercise. It helps greatly, however, if the game leader has played the game before, and understands its dynamics. It is helpful for the game leader to post at each team's location a written payoff table, the object of the game stated exactly as shown in rule #1, and a scorecard with 10 moves and space to record both move and cumulative scores.

I include the following comments to help folks get through their first run with this unusual exercise.

1. The purpose of the game leader is to describe the game process, to manage time carefully, and to facilitate an after-game discussion which is a critical component of the exercise as a learning tool. Avoid cutting this discussion for lack of time.

2. The object of the game must be stated in a flat monotone, and written without apostrophe, because the ambiguity of whether the goal is maximizing both teams' score, or as more usual only your own team's score, is quite important. Make sure each team has payoff tables in their separate locations and have heard all the rules including the negotiating opportunity. Be alert to spies, and do not allow teams to eavesdrop on each other.

3. The game leader must remain completely neutral, and transmit only the essential information which each team needs (e.g., rules, the other team's moves, and payoffs for each turn). Be warned that participants will try to learn more about what the other team is doing, and will try to get advice from the game leader regarding what to do. Be a mummy. One of the interesting aspects of this exercise is how quickly people begin to read motivations into the decisions of the other team, and how quickly enemy stereotypes and double standards emerge.

4. Moves must be made one at a time. At the end of the fifth move, call for a negotiator from each team, and give the teams some time if available to both choose a negotiator and to consider strategy. Taking surreptitious notes on the discussion during this period can provide much laughter later, during the after game discussion, as negotiators lie (often) about their motives and strategies. Do not lead the negotiators, just give them the opportunity to talk, and most pairs will begin a pattern of discussion you will be quite familiar with after you have run the game a few times.

Most groups will have appreciated by move five, that if they pursue an "X" strategy, the other team will also, and both teams' scores will be going down rapidly. So they want the other team to offer "Y's," but the other team will not do this unless they offer "Y's" also. So both will suggest some kind of deal of that sort, but both will likely be suspicious of the other team's integrity. Both will also be keenly aware of the difference in the last move, but often will not discuss that openly. Again, remembering what is said during this private negotiation, or keeping secret notes on that, can provoke hilarious moments during

after-game discussion, because all sorts of lying and diplomatic maneuver may occur during this brief negotiation.

5. After the last move, bring the two teams together but keep them on separate sides of the room. Discussion will often erupt spontaneously. The game leader's role here is simply to facilitate an orderly discussion mindful of the hidden lessons in the prisoner's dilemma exercise. It brings out behaviors which underlie arms races. It illustrates fundamental tensions between competition and cooperation which run through human societies everywhere. It evokes deception and maneuver in negotiations, and an almost instinctive awareness that when the other side cannot retaliate (move 10) previous promises are less reliable. It stimulates a variety of intra-group processes which are better experienced than described. I will note that we have not defined here how each group is to make its decision to move "X" or "Y." If you have time, let them find their own ways. Some will be democratic, some use consensus, and some will be anything but.

6. Some students may get very statistical and dogmatic about their conclusions. Do not let them dominate too stridently, because this is more than a statistical exercise, and even the professionals conclude that it has no clear cut statistical result, since so much depends on the future reactions of the other team. You might recall that Axelrod found the optimum strategy to be Tit-for-Tat, or starting out "nice" (e.g. "Y"), then copying every move the other side makes. His version did not include opportunities for negotiation, however, which is a significant factor. For the very rare group which is very mathematical, the expected value of X and Y moves, assuming an equal chance of an X or a Y from the opponent, is:

$$E_x = (-5 + 5) \div 2 = 0, \text{ and } E_y = (-5 + 3) \div 2 = -1.$$

7. Final advice is: Make Sure Everyone Leaves As Friends. Occasionally, discussion can be quite heated, and betrayals can be taken very personally. It is only a game. But it can be a powerful game, evoking deep emotions, especially if family members or friends are on opposing teams. And it can bring out the worst of human instincts. But it is usually a lot of fun, and provokes an unusual amount of discovery learning which is remembered for a long time.

Some sample discussion questions follow, in case your group is slow to talk:

- How does the Prisoner's Dilemma Exercise compare with real world arms races?
- Why was communication between the teams so important in gaining positive scores?
- What feelings or actions in your group worked against maximizing your team's score?
- Is the last move of the game any different than the others? If so, why? Can there be any "last move" in relations among nations?
- How does the choice of "X" or "Y" moves change if one looks at short, vs. long term results?
- What lessons have you learned from this about broader issues of cooperation and competition? Or war and peace?

Good Luck!

Table 1: Wars, Genocides and Flashpoints, Dec. 15, 1989 - Dec. 15, 1994 (1*)

<u>n = 45 Wars</u> <u>35 Locations</u>	<u>n = 6</u> <u>Genocides (*2)</u>	<u>n = 9</u> <u>Flashpoints</u>	<u>n = 10 Near Wars, or</u> <u>. Police-State Wars</u>
Afghanistan	Kurds, in	China / Taiwan	Bangladesh (Chittagong Hill Tracts)
Algeria	Iraq,		
Angola	Iran, and	Cuba	
Burma / Myanmar	Turkey		China (6*)
Burundi		Egypt	
Cambodia	Muslims, in Bosnia		Haiti
Chad		Israel (*3)	
Colombia	Tibetans, in China		Iran
El Salvador		Korea, N. & S.	
Ethiopia	Timorese, in		Israel
Guatemala	Indonesia	Mexico	
India, in		(Chiapas *4)	Laos
Kashmir (Muslims)	Tutsi, in Rwanda		
Punjab (Sikhs)		Nigeria	Lebanon
Assam (Bengalis)	Yanomami, in		
Indonesia, in	Brazil	Pakistan / India	Mauritania
East Timor			
Irian Jaya		Turkey / Greece	Northern Ireland (*5)
Iran			
Iraq, vs. Kurds			Western Sahara
vs. Kuwait			
vs. Shi'ites			
Kenya			
Kuwait			
Liberia			
Mozambique			
Nicaragua			
Panama (*1)			
Peru			
Philippines			
Russia, in			
Chechnya			
Moldova			
Georgia			
N. Ossetia (*7)			
Azerbaijan			
Rwanda			
Sierra Leone			
Somalia			
South Africa			
Sri Lanka			
Sudan			
Tadjikistan			
Turkey			
Uganda			
Yemen, N. vs. S.			
Yugoslavia, in			
Bosnia-Hertzegovina			
Croatia			
Slovenia (*7)			

Notes to Table 1

1. The invasion of Panama began on Dec. 20, 1989, as noted in text. The time frame chosen for my five year sample is December 15, 1989 to December 15, 1994, specifically in order to include this highly instructive case, and the Russian invasion of Chechnya on December 11, 1994.
2. Genocides, in my estimation, should include cases where ethnically biased laws are maintained by a dominant government to establish conditions of high death rates for the target population (e.g. Kurds, in Turkey; Tibetans, in China; and Timorese, in E. Timor, Indonesia). This also includes, in my view, cases where the dominant government is not the primary killer, but maintains a legal framework within which private parties may take land, and kill indigenous peoples who object, or drive them to marginal areas where death rates will greatly increase, as in the case of the Yanomami peoples in Brazil. This is an extremely broad definition of “genocide” relative to international legal practice.
3. “Israel” in 1996 includes the occupied territories on the West Bank of the Jordan River and in East Jerusalem over which so much of the contemporary conflict revolves. I have no opinion regarding who “should” properly administer these areas, and do not mean to imply any opinion other than that this dispute is central to the causes of armed conflict in that region. An alternative label could be Israel/Palestine.
4. The conflict in Chiapas during 1994 killed a reported 145 people, far less than a war. However, we are watching this area closely since there are numerous other armed groups operating in Mexico at this time, the government is corrupt to the point of near paralysis, and the country is exposed to severe population pressures both internal and resulting from refugees of similar conditions in Central America.
5. About 3,200 dead to political violence might qualify the conflict in Northern Ireland as a war (especially considering the small total population involved) but since these deaths are spread over 25 years I still maintain this conflict in the “near war” category. No offense intended to the many victims of it.
6. Near Wars are lethal conflicts which killed many, but not a confirmable 1,000 in any one year. Police-State Wars are where governments kill a thousand or more per year, but by execution or other methods not consistent with traditional definitions of war.
7. A couple of other lethal conflicts with much less than 1,000 confirmable dead in one year were grouped with other nearby and related wars. The armed conflict between Serbs and Slovenia in 1991, for example, killed very few people (21), but set the stage for three much larger wars in Croatia, Bosnia-Hertzegovina, and Kosovo (1999). The other case is North Ossetia in Russia.

Table 2: Wars, Dec. 15, 1989 - Dec. 15, 1994: Dimensions of Conflict

n = 45 Wars in 35 Locations	Tribal or Ethnic?	(Militant) Religious?	Economic Issues?	Population Pressure?	Personal Power?
Afghanistan	Y	Y	Y	1993 Growth Rate = 2.3%	Y
Algeria	N	Y*	Y	GR = 2.4%	Y
Angola	Y*	N	Y	GR = 2.7%	Y*
Burma / Myanmar	Y*	N	Y	GR = 1.9%	Y
Burundi	Y**	N	Y	GR = 3.2%	?
Cambodia	N	N	Y	GR = 2.2%	Y
Chad	Y*	Y?	Y	GR = 2.0%	Y
Colombia	N	N	Y	GR = 1.9%	?
El Salvador	N	N	Y*	severe eco-damage, 2.8%	Y
Ethiopia	Y	N	Y	GR = 3.1%	Y
Guatemala	Y	N	Y*	GR = 2.6%	Y
India, in				1.9% for all India, 1993	
Kashmir (Muslims)	Y	Y*	Y	more serious	Y*
Punjab (Sikhs)	Y	Y*	Y	most casualties	Y
Assam (Bengalis)	Y	N	Y	severe, and precipitating	N
Indonesia, in				1.8% for whole nation	
East Timor	Y	Y	Y	causal to Indonesian expansion	?
Irian Jaya	Y	Y?	Y	displacing tribal peoples	?
Iran	Y	Y**	Y	GR = 3.4%	Y
Iraq vs. Kurds	Y*	N	Y**	GR = 3.8%	Y*
vs. Kuwait (4)	N	N	Y**	not a major factor (see note 4)	Y
vs. Shi'ites	N/Y (6)	Y	Y	more important here	Y
Kenya	Y	N	Y	GR = 3.6%	Y
Kuwait (4)	N	N	Y**	GR = 3.0%, but not significant	Y
Liberia	Y*	N	Y*	GR = 3.0%	Y
Mozambique	Y	N	Y*	GR = 2.9%	Y
Nicaragua	N	N/Y (8)	Y*	GR = 3.4%, but not significant	Y
Panama	N/Y (7)	N	Y	GR = 2.1%, but not significant	Y**
Peru	Y	N	Y*	GR = 2.0%	Y
Philippines	Y	Y	Y	serious eco-damage, GR=2.3%	Y
Russia, in				GR = 0.4% overall, in 1993:	
Chechnya	Y	Y	Y	population pressure is probably	Y**
Moldova	Y	N	Y	not significant for most of these	Y
Georgia	Y	N	Y	post-Soviet dyads, rather history	Y
N. Ossetia	Y	Y	Y	excepting for the war between	?
Azerbaijan	Y	Y	Y	Armenians and Azerbaijani.	?
Rwanda	Y**	N	Y	GR = 3.7%, very severe stress	Y
Sierra Leone	Y	N	Y	GR = 2.5%	Y
Somalia	Y	Y	Y	GR = 3.3%	Y
South Africa	Y*	N	Y	GR = 2.7%, serious stressor	Y
Sri Lanka	Y**	Y	Y	GR = 1.5%	Y
Sudan	Y	Y*	Y	GR = 3.0%	Y
Tadjikistan	Y	Y	Y	GR = 2.4%	Y
Turkey	Y*	N	Y	GR = 2.2%	Y
Uganda	Y	N	Y	GR = 3.6%	?
Yemen, N. & S.	N	N	Y*	GR = 3.5%	Y*
Yugoslavia, in				pre-wars, GR = 0.5%	
Bosnia-Hertzegovina	Y	Y*	Y	?	Y**
Croatia	Y	Y	Y	?	Y*
Slovenia	N/Y (9)	N	Y*	?	Y

(5) * means the factor cited appears to be very important among the forces leading to war.

** means the factor cited appears to be of decisive importance.

Notes to Table 2

1. The upper axis of causes cites tribal or ethnic conflict, militant religion, economic issues, population pressure, and issues of personal power between rival leaders. Assessments reflect all information available to the author and are thus intuitive, not a numerical exercise. This is necessary since numbers are simply not available for many of these factors, excepting population growth rates.
2. A special example of the above problem is well illustrated by the concept called "corruption of governance" which is almost universally cited by rebels but almost never acknowledged by governments. We will not deal here with "corruption of governance" except to note its ubiquitous citation in civil wars, by rebels and by outside observers, and its neglect by political science.
3. In the population pressure column, data are mainly 1993 numbers drawn from a U.S. News and World Report Almanac, "New World of Nations," published in 1994, or the Statistical Abstract of Latin America, Vol. 1, UCLA Press, 1995. Most such references rely ultimately on U.N. population data. A growth rate of 3.0 yields a doubling time of 23 years, and growth rates equal or greater than 3.5 mean that the population doubles in 19 years or less. Growth rates like this place enormous strain on economies and on the natural environment upon which all governments ultimately depend. But there are many other variables between population growth, per se, and the population pressure which can increase p(War). Land available, or not, technology, and the expectations of a culture all have a great deal to do with whether population growth leads to severe competition for resources, and possibly to violence over resources, or not. Therefore, words are also occasionally included in this column to reflect more accurately the impact of growth rates on economic, environmental or political forces in the particular country.
4. The Iraq vs. Kuwait war reveals this important dimension of population pressure. Growth rates are 3.8% for Iraq and 3.0% for Kuwait. These are both high, but Kuwait suffers little effective population pressure due to its high oil revenues, low total population and abundant empty land area available. Iraq, by contrast, is under severe population pressure due to its far larger population and more importantly, its far lower per capita oil revenues. Kuwait can buy the food it needs for its population, Iraq cannot meet its needs nearly as well. In El Salvador, lower growth rates of 2.8% are still crippling due to severe population density, tiny land area, and deterioration of the resource base.
5. An asterisk (*) means the factor cited appears to be very important among the forces leading to war. Two (***) means the factor cited appears to be of decisive importance.
6. The anomaly in Iraq vs. Shi'ites x tribal or ethnic (assigned N/Y) reflects the degree to which differences between Arab, Sunni Iraqis and Persian, Shi'ite Iraqis are regarded as ethnic vs. religious differences. The factors are commingled, and any decision I could make on whether religion or ethnicity were more important to this conflict would be quite arbitrary.

7. The anomaly in Panama reflects the question of whether racism had any bearing on the novel method (invasion) used by U.S. President George Bush to recall CIA employee Manuel Noriega.
8. The anomaly in Nicaragua x militant religion (assigned N/Y) reflects disagreements among scholars over whether “liberation theology” is a militant religious force, or merely a moral injunction against economic injustice.
9. The very brief conflict between Serbia and Slovenia killed far too few people to call it a war, but it set the stage for far larger wars in Croatia and Bosnia-Hertzegovina which killed hundreds of thousands. Ethnicity is ambiguous in the Balkans anyway, but as best I can tell the primary issue was money and which leaders would control that. Slovenia was wealthy relative to Serbia, and sought independence. Slobodan Milosevich wanted to rule all of former Yugoslavia, and objected, sending tanks into Slovenia, but the distance from the center of Serbian power was too great to prevail.

In June, 1999 we are witnessing the third major war of this cascade in and around the Serbian province of Kosovo. This has already resulted in several tens of thousands of dead, and is destabilizing neighbors (especially Montenegro and Macedonia) and could escalate all the way to World War III, or not depending on decisions by many leaders including Russian and Chinese. One critical precedent is that NATO for the first time has attacked a sovereign nation over internal issues; another is that a UN sponsored International Criminal Tribunal has indicted a sitting head of state (Slobodan Milosevich) and four subordinates for crimes against humanity (of which they are undoubtedly guilty). One virtually unmentioned factor in the whole affair is long-standing birth rates in Albania of 2.0% or greater. This leads to doubling every 35 years or less, resulting in substantial immigration into Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro. The resulting clash between partisans of a “Greater Albania” and partisans of a “Greater Serbia” was almost inevitable. But since demographic pressure was ignored by the “international community” this powerful cause of war will continue exerting its force with sometimes deadly consequences.

10. General Observations:
 - a. Economic issues are always present, and are often confounded with ethnic or religious variables.
 - b. Issues of personal power between rival leaders also appear nearly universal, albeit usually are held more covertly by the self-serving rhetoric common to politicians everywhere.
 - c. Ethnic divisions are also very frequent, but not so universal as economic and personal power issues. They seem important to 35 of the 45 wars examined here (78%) with three ambiguous cases.
 - d. Militant religion appeared to be a significant factor in 19 of these 45 wars (42%).

Table 3

21 Select Assassinations Relevant to Wars

<u>Victim</u>	<u>Country / Date</u>	<u>Probable Assassins if Known</u>
Benigno Aquino	Philippines, August 21, 1983	one man, agent of Marcos or CIA
Mohammed Anwar Sadat	Egypt, October 6, 1981	fundamentalist Moslem enemies
Juvenal Habyarimana	Rwanda, April 6, 1994	Hutu extremists in Rwandan gov.
Cyprian Ntaryamira	Burundi, April 6, 1994	Hutu extremists in Rwandan gov.
Muhammad Zia ul-Haq	Pakistan, Aug. 17, 1988	unknown enemies in government
Rajiv Gandhi	India, May 21, 1991	Sri Lankan Tamil, or Tamil Nadu
Indira Gandhi	India, October 31, 1984	Sikh bodyguards, Punjab, India
Mohandas Gandhi	Delhi, India, Jan. 30, 1948	Nathuram Godse, Hindu zealot
Franz Ferdinand	Yugoslavia, June 28, 1914	Gavrilo Princip, militant Serb
Olaf Palme	Sweden, Feb. 28, 1986	probably South African secret police
John F. Kennedy	USA, Nov. 22, 1963	CIA, with FBI and Mafia help
Martin Luther King	USA, April 4, 1968	FBI, with probable CIA help
Robert F. Kennedy	USA, June 6, 1968	U.S. government, FBI and LAPD help
Luis Donaldo Colosio	Mexico, March 23, 1994	unknown government enemies
Ranasinghe Premadasa	Sri Lanka, May 1, 1993	Sri Lankan Tamil separatists
Pope John Paul I	Vatican, Sept. 28, 1978	"P2" + ultra-conservative clergy
Patrice Lumumba	Congo, January 17, 1961	domestic enemies with CIA help
Aldo Moro	Italy, May 9 (+/-), 1978	"P2" or "Red Brigade" leftists
Ngo Dinh Diem	South Vietnam, Nov. 1, 1963	military enemies in S.V. government
Dag Hammarskjöld	Congo, Sept. 18, 1961	plane shot down, several suspects
Yitzhak Rabin	Israel, Nov. 4, 1995	shot by Yigal Amir, militant Jew agent of a small RW conspiracy

Notes to Table 3

[Principal source, Facts on File, other sources indicated in text]

1. Benigno Aquino was certainly killed by an assassin as he left a commercial aircraft to set foot again in the Philippines. The alleged assassin himself was killed immediately by guards sent by President Ferdinand Marcos, one of whom pumped numerous bullets into his fallen body. A Japanese journalist traveling with Aquino (Ken Kashiwahara) claimed that "Aquino had told him he would be shot on arrival and that his assassin would also be killed." (Facts on File, Vol. 43, No. 2232, August 26, 1983, pg. 637). "Japan's Kyodo News Service cited a Japanese journalist on board the plane who said he witnessed the slaying and that Aquino was shot by soldiers. The journalist claimed that the soldiers then dragged a man from a nearby vehicle and shot him." Aquino had certainly been warned repeatedly not to return to the Philippines. The main theory is that Marcos arranged the murder of his principal political opponent. Another theory is that the CIA's Director William Casey arranged the murder of "the most loved man in the Philippines" in order to set the stage for Marcos's fall, because he "owed the CIA 10 billion dollars." This second theory arrives via a covert operator, which means it is virtually uncheckable, and subject to all the distortions of the rumor mill. The matter of political assassinations is so specialized and so professionally managed, however, that one cannot automatically disregard rumors from that world, since they are often the only men with first hand knowledge of this kind of murder. They also lie a lot. In 1985, Armed Forces Chief of Staff Gen. Fabian C. Ver and 25 others were charged and tried for this murder, but were acquitted 10 months later. In any event, Aquino's widow Corazon Aquino won the next election on Feb. 7, 1986, after a protracted dispute over election results, and Marcos fled to America where he was indicted for billions of dollars in embezzlement, much of which was not collected as he too died shortly thereafter. His widow, Imelda Marcos, is a legislator in the Philippines today. Aquino had been the main hope for ending two low-intensity wars in the Philippines which continue to this day (1999).

2. Anwar Sadat was killed by machine gun fire from a number of assailants who had been marching in a military parade when they broke ranks and assaulted a platform on which Sadat and many of his aides were sitting. They were then killed or captured by loyalist troops, although pictures taken of the event were remarkable in revealing the ease with which the assailants advanced all the way to the reviewing stand, and pumped scores of bullets into their many victims without evidence of return fire from Sadat's guards. The ostensible reason for the assassination was objection to Sadat's peace initiative with the Israelis. His successor, Hosni Mubarak, present on the reviewing stand but at most lightly injured, remains the ruler of Egypt today, engaged in a low intensity war with Islamic militants who object to corruption in his government. There was no obvious change in the basic ruling elite of Egypt.

3. & 4. Both Presidents Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda, and Cyprian Ntaryamira of Burundi were killed when the aircraft they were flying in was downed by an anti-aircraft missile, probably French made, fired from a military compound on approach to Kigali airport in Rwanda. They were returning from Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, where they had met with other African leaders to discuss ways of ending ethnic violence in the two Central African nations between the Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups (both men were Hutu). The prevailing theory is that military opponents of Habyarimana in the Rwandan government accomplished this. What is certain is that immediately thereafter, orders went out to hundreds of local militias (called Interahamwe) and a pre-planned genocide against ethnic Tutsi began. Among the first killed, however, were Hutu moderates in the Rwandan government who were murdered by special forces units. Also killed were Rwanda's Tutsi premier, Agathe Uwilingiyimana, at least 10 Belgian U.N. peacekeepers, and 17 Rwandan Jesuit Priests. Within three months, about 800,000 people were dead in the worst bloodletting of any kind in the world during 1994. A rebel army mainly of

expatriate Tutsi's based in Kenya had been pressing the Hutu government, and drove the Hutu military out of Rwanda at the end of that period, accomplishing a paradoxical transfer of power in the opposite direction of that desired by the putative assassins of the two Presidents.

5. Muhammad Zia ul Haq also died in a mysterious plane crash, accompanied by several of his generals, the US Ambassador to Pakistan and 28 other people including several senior Pakistani army officers and the chief American military attache to Pakistan. Prevailing theory is that this plane was sabotaged by a bomb, but this is not 100% proven. Other forms of sabotage have been suggested which could cause the plane to crash, specifically that a low-intensity explosive device had been detonated aboard the plane, releasing chemicals or poisonous gases that disabled the crew. This is a highly sophisticated assassination method developed by the CIA and KGB. Traces of a number of chemicals used to detonate such devices had been found after the crash on pieces of the plane's wreckage. Eventually Benazir Bhutto of the Pakistan People's Party became the Prime Minister. Her father, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, had been executed by Zia's government on April 4, 1979 for allegedly ordering the assassination of another political opponent in 1974. Political assassinations are so common in South Asia that a regular industry and lore exists around them. So Bhutto's supporters are one prime suspect group. But the Soviet Union, which had long been critical of Pakistan's role in support of the anticommunist rebel forces in Afghanistan, reported Zia's death without comment. Since they were at war in Afghanistan at that time, and Zia was funnelling upwards of a billion dollars worth of American arms to support their opposition in Afghanistan, the Soviets remain another significant suspect in this political murder.

6. Rajiv Gandhi, son of Indira Gandhi, was blown up by a suicide bomber in Tamil Nadu, a secessionist area of southeastern India, probably by a female Sri Lankan Tamil angered by his involvement in civil war in Sri Lanka, just 23 miles off the coast. His repression of rebellion in Tamil Nadu makes this a possible reason, although there had been much less election violence there than in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir in the Northwest. At least 7 people were arrested for conspiracy in this murder, about half from Tamil India and half from the Sri Lankan "Liberation Tigers of Tamil." Rajiv Gandhi was well known for failing to reform various corruptions he inherited from his party (Congress I, the dominant party in Indian politics since the founding of India in 1947). Both he and his mother had dealt with continuous secessionist movements in several other parts of India (e.g. Muslims in Kashmir, Bengalis in the Northeast, Sikhs in Punjab, etc.) so there are other possible enemies to consider. His younger brother Sanjay had been groomed to succeed Indira, but he too was killed, in another plane crash. The party which had made the greatest inroads among voters was the Hindu fundamentalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) or Indian People's Party, which had gained widespread support advocating a break with India's tradition as a secular state. So they are yet another possible suspect. But the main suspects are Tamil. 90 days after the assassination, a Sri Lankan Tamil known as Sivarasan was found with six fellow Tamils, all dead by apparent suicide, Sivarasan by gunshot, the others by cyanide.

7. Indira Gandhi (no relation to Gandhi the Mahatma, rather she was daughter of the first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru) was murdered in 1984 by two of her bodyguards in retaliation for her military suppression of Sikh rebellion in Western India. They too were Sikh, a warrior clan which has long held a disproportionate role in the Indian military. She received eight to sixteen bullets in revenge for her army's assault on the Sikh temple at Amritsar, which had resulted in an estimated 600-1,000 deaths. Once again, assassination follows war, or precedes war. It is a cycle of violence, with revenge following vengeance in such a way that attempts to identify concrete beginnings are often arbitrary.

8. Mohandas Gandhi (or Gandhi the Mahatma) was shot in 1948 by a fundamentalist Hindu, Nathuram Godse, who objected to perceived favoritism by Hindu Gandhi toward Muslims during political acts related to partition with Muslims into (mostly) Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan. His was by no means the first or last political murder in India, but it was exceptional since he was nearly the only political actor in that region who never waged nor counselled war against his adversaries. He also never sought political office. Gandhi's last words were: "Oh Rama," Oh God.

9. Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand was killed by gunshot by a militant Serb named Gavrilo Princip in the streets of Sarajevo on June 28, 1914. Princip belonged to a Serbian nationalist secret society called the "Black Hand" and had accomplices who had tried bombing the archduke's car earlier that day. The classic analysis about how World War I broke out (Barbara Tuchman, 1962, pg. 91) describes the awesome consequences this way.

"Some damned foolish thing in the Balkans," Bismarck had predicted, would ignite the next war. The assassination of the Austrian heir apparent, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, by Serbian nationalists on June 28, 1914, satisfied his condition. Austria-Hungary, with the bellicose frivolity of senile empires, determined to use the occasion to absorb Serbia as she had absorbed Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1909. Russia on that occasion, weakened by the war with Japan, had been forced to acquiesce by a German ultimatum followed by the Kaiser's appearance in "shining armor," as he put it, at the side of his ally, Austria. To avenge that humiliation and for the sake of her prestige as the major Slav power, Russia was now prepared to put on the shining armor herself. On July 5 Germany assured Austria that she could count on Germany's "faithful support" if whatever punitive action she took against Serbia brought her into conflict with Russia. This was the signal that let loose the irresistible onrush of events. On July 23 Austria delivered an ultimatum to Serbia, on July 26 rejected the Serbian reply (although the Kaiser, now nervous, admitted that it "dissipates every reason for war") on July 28 declared war on Serbia, on July 29 bombarded Belgrade. On that day Russia mobilized along her Austrian frontier and on July 30 both Austria and Russia ordered general mobilization. On July 31 Germany issued an ultimatum to Russia to demobilize within twelve hours and "make us a distinct declaration to that effect."

War pressed against every frontier. Suddenly dismayed, governments struggled and twisted to fend it off. It was no use."

Within five years, about one tenth of all European males were dead along with many Americans and others scattered around the world. The killing of Franz Ferdinand is one of the world's most famous assassinations, with the most direct connection to one of its largest wars as well. The twentieth century, bloodiest by far in human history, had begun with a very big bang. There have been at least 150 wars since then. Recent events in Serbia in June of 1999 are so similar that many are terrified.

10. Olaf Palme, a major leader of the international disarmament movement, was gunned down on a Stockholm street at night in 1986 after leaving a movie (his wife was also wounded). One witness claimed the assailant entered a waiting car which sped away. This murder has defied solution despite intense effort by Sweden, but rumors of secret police or weapons company involvement continue to this day (see the notes on South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission just below). Some rumors involved Bofors, the largest Swedish weapons manufacturer; others involve Iran-Contra, an American scandal of weapons transfers around the world. The Swedish government recently upgraded the case due to possible connections to Iran-Contra arms, although six investigators also quit a team of 22 in May, 1995 due to frustration with lack of progress in solving the case nine years after the murder. The Swedish government approached an international expert in covert assassinations known to me in 1988 to query him, but that investigation was stopped by what he describes as a whitewash. The latest theory is that agents of the South African secret police did the deed, in retaliation for Palme's support of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. Evidence for this theory comes from testimony by Eugene de Kock, an admitted killer for the South African secret police, at the Truth and Reconciliation Committee convened in that country. He alleges that another confessed killer, Craig Williamson, did the deed, and Swedish police have said that Williamson was in Stockholm at the time of Palme's murder (St. Paul Pioneer Press, Oct. 20, 1996, 18A). Many uncertainties remain. So at this time, I conclude that no one but the murderers knows for sure who killed Olaf Palme. What we know for certain is that one of the firmest international voices for peace and order based on reason was silenced that night. As always, leaders of other nations expressed their profound regrets. But few rose to take up the cause, and the budgets for weapons and armies around the world remained near a trillion dollars per year.

11. John F. Kennedy was almost certainly killed by the CIA in league with the American Mafia, the FBI, and other bad actors among America's secret power structure; 17 references to the details are cited elsewhere in this work, in the chapters on "Spies, Cults and Secret Power Systems" and "Balances of Power." Rather than repeat those here, I will simply note some of the main bits of evidence that he was killed by the CIA, and some of the principal consequences. First, he was undoubtedly shot in both the front and the back, which requires "conspiracy" so derided in the Warren Commission cover-up Report. The Zapruder film clearly shows this, 51 witnesses at the scene testified to a shot from the front, 11 doctors, nurses and other medical personnel who attended to Kennedy's wounds at Parkland Hospital in Dallas know he was shot from the front, and have given specific testimony on a gaping exit wound at the back of his head (not shown in official records) and a "magic bullet" offered by the Warren Commission which allegedly caused 7 wounds in Kennedy and Texas governor John Connally (breaking two of Connally's bones en route and leaving bullet fragments) would have required an impossible ability to change courses and speeds, as well as to break bones and tear flesh without the slightest sign of damage to the bullet itself. The Warren Report provides a drawing of Kennedy's head with no occipital/parietal exit wound, and a pristine "magic bullet," while the FBI claims to have "lost" Kennedy's brain after autopsy, and destroyed the presidential limousine within days of the event. This is only the most egregious evidence of substantial tampering with forensic evidence. Review of the books cited clearly indicates a wholesale program of evidence tampering which contributes to confusion about who killed John Kennedy to this day. The term in espionage is "disinformation" and it works astoundingly well, especially when the major media are "compromised" which is also the case in this issue.

The murder of John Kennedy was directly related to escalation of the war in Vietnam, to subsequent involvement in Laos and Cambodia, and to a flurry of covert coups, insurrections, assassinations and other operations short of war and extending into wars among dozens of Third World countries as part of an expanded Cold War with the Soviet Union from 1963 to 1989.

The consequences were not quite so profound as from the murder of Franz Ferdinand (in numbers of definable dead resulting), but the total bill is yet to be known, because democracy and freedom itself were gravely wounded in America in November 1963. The murders of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy in 1968 greatly deepened this wound. More blood may flow from political murders in America before the century is out, and the prospects for another global war due to distortions from these murders echoing down through time are also non-zero.

12. Martin Luther King, was certainly shot on April 4, 1968, and one man, James Earl Ray, was certainly convicted of his murder, but without a trial. The BBC investigated this, and concluded otherwise, specifically that the FBI and CIA had colluded in another murder of an American leader. Certainly J. Edgar Hoover, head of the FBI, had commissioned a five year psychological operations campaign against the black civil rights movement generally and Dr. King in particular, beginning less than a month after John Kennedy was killed (December 20, 1963) and ending shortly after King was killed. A review of the BBC documentary (The Men Who Killed Kennedy) can be found in Covert Action Information Bulletin, No. 34, Summer, 1990. Who Killed Martin Luther King? was written by the putative killer (Ray, 1992). Among other mysteries, it helps explain how an illiterate petty criminal could come up with professionally forged documents enabling him to fly to London undetected while the most powerful police on earth were searching for him. A CIA documents man in Toronto named Raoul is cited, and independent sources confirm that just such a man handled documents for the CIA in Toronto during that time, Raoul Miora. The definitive work may be William Pepper's "Orders to Kill" (1995), which indicates a rather larger government conspiracy behind this political murder. It also includes impressive and substantially documented detail.

13. From page 164, of "Conspiracies, Cover-ups and Crimes," by Jonathan Vankin, 1992. "Robert F. Kennedy died on June 6, 1968, from a bullet fired into his head. The bullet came from two inches

behind his right ear. Sirhan Bishara Sirhan, convicted of firing that shot, stood in front of Kennedy when he pulled the trigger. No witness saw him come closer than a few feet." Mark Zepezauer, in The CIA's Greatest Hits, 1994, adds: "Hundreds of books have been written about whether there was a conspiracy in the JFK assassination. In the murder of his brother, Senator Robert Kennedy, the case for conspiracy can be summed up in one sentence: The Los Angeles coroner's report states that RFK was killed by a point blank shot from behind, while everyone agrees that Sirhan Sirhan, the convicted assassin, was at least three feet in front of him." I'll add just this footnote, an LAPD detective told me that they recovered one more bullet from the crime scene that day, than could fit in the revolver which Sirhan Sirhan fired.

Philip Melanson of Southeastern Massachusetts University has written on this (1993) and maintains an assassinations archives for this and the King killing. Other books on the killing of Robert Kennedy include Turner and Christian (1993) and Morrow (1988).

14. Luis Donaldo Colosio, heir apparent to the ruling party of Mexico, was shot dead in Tijuana on March 23, 1994 by a single assailant, although videos of the murder suggest possible collusion by guards. Six months later, on September 28, a key aid to his successor Ernesto Zedillo, named Jose Francisco Ruiz Massieu, was gunned down in Mexico City. Investigators suggested that at least 5 people were involved, and pointed to narcotics traffickers. By March of 1995, the brother of the ex-President, Raul Salinas de Gortari, was arrested on charges of the Ruiz Massieu political murder. While this chaos went on, Mexico's economy went in the toilet. And revolution brews, in Chiapas, in Tabasco, in Guerrero, where poverty stalks while the rich boys argue over who inherits the only party which has ruled Mexico since 1929. On Jan. 21, 1999, Raul Salinas de Gortari was convicted of ordering this assassination, but as in John Kennedy's murder, very substantial evidence of witness tampering and prosecutorial fraud cloud this case (like \$500,000 in checks deposited when a key witness "strengthened" his testimony, checks from the second special prosecutor named by President Ernesto Zedillo, Pablo Chapa Bezanilla, (NYT, 1-22-99, A8).

15. Ranasinghe Premadasa, President of Sri Lanka was killed by a suicide bomber on May 1, 1993 along with at least 23 others, much like Rajiv Gandhi and probably for the same reason, Tamil separatism in Sri Lanka. He had unleashed a crackdown on the separatists which resulted in many missing children and battlefield losses as well. This situation is clouded by the fact that Sri Lanka's leading opposition candidate, Lalith Athuylathmudali, had been killed by gunmen just 8 days earlier. Another opposition candidate, Gamini Dissanayake and at least 51 others were later killed by a bomb on October 25, 1994. The Washington Post reported on this history of assassination thus: "Sri Lanka's civil war has caused an estimated 17,000 to 30,000 deaths and spawned brutal death squads, making the idyllic island one of the world's most violent nations, according to human rights reports." Here, in simple terms, is the reciprocal chaos of war and assassination. Political killings may trigger wars, but wars also certainly fuel political killings, and death squads, and other secret organizations of lethal power. After a while, no one really knows who is killing whom or why. But there is a lot of killing, which may continue for generations. The ultimate victor in Sri Lanka's political tests, as of early 1995, was female Prime Minister Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, whose father, Solomon, was himself assassinated in 1959. Her mother, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, became the world's first female prime minister in 1960-65. In 1972, Chandrika's husband, Vijaya Kumaratunga, won a parliament seat. In 1988, the Tamil rebels assassinated him too.

16. What is certain is that Pope John Paul I died under severely mysterious circumstances, 33 days after being installed. Allegations involving P2 ("Propaganda Due", a clandestine Masonic order which allegedly specializes in political assassination, and was disbarred by International Masons due to refusal to release a membership list) the Italian and American Mafias, and six specific men including the Vatican's banker (Chicago born Bishop Paul Marcinkus) and ultra-conservative Secretary of State, Cardinal Jean Villot, are the most persuasive explanation we have seen to date. The main source for this

theory is David Yallop (1984), In God's Name: An Investigation into the Murder of Pope John Paul I. A minor source, but important to me, was Sister Mary Giovanni Gourhan, SSND, renowned in West St. Paul, who was at the Vatican during the date in question, and returned convinced that internal "Mafia" had killed her Pope. Why is this Pope important to war? First, he was about to reverse the Vatican ban on birth control, one of the most powerful acts which could reduce the population pressure which drives so much war and poverty today. Second, the major allegations behind his murder involved organized crime participation in Vatican banking. This has implications in many countries where conflict has financial roots. Organized crime and banks run too many governments behind the scenes today.

17. Patrice Lumumba was assassinated in the Congo in mid-January, 1961. The CIA had certainly considered killing him, for reaching out to the Russians for support during the early days of the Cold War. A 1975 US government report on assassination attempts by the CIA claimed that a lethal virus produced at Fort Detrick, Maryland, had been transported in diplomatic pouch to the Congo for that purpose. But by the time this arrived in Leopoldville, his political opponents had already captured Lumumba (Kelly, 1993). So the CIA chose instead to help his domestic enemies kill him, which is a difference without a distinction in some circles, but is regarded as a highly significant difference within the CIA. Their client was soon to be President of Zaire, Joseph Mobutu Sese Seko [who endured for 36 years until deposed by Laurent Kabila after civil war in May, 1997]. From Mark Zepezauer, The CIA's Greatest Hits, pg. 16: "With the CIA's help, Lumumba was captured on December 1, 1960 by the troops of General Joseph Mobutu, who had assumed control of the government. Lumumba was held prisoner for over a month, interrogated, tortured, then finally shot in the head. His body was dissolved in hydrochloric acid." Another source (John Stockwell, who ran the CIA's nearby Angola station for many years) claims that a colleague of his drove around for several hours with Lumumba's body in the trunk of his car, trying to figure out how to dispose of it. The Russians' school for Third World KGB assets was named Patrice Lumumba University during the Cold War. It is certain that both the Russians and the Americans were involved in many political murders in Africa and elsewhere during this period, all vigorously denied.

18. Aldo Moro was Prime Minister of Italy until abducted on March 16, 1978 in Rome by people claiming to be from the "Red Brigade" terrorist faction. They demanded the Italian government release 13 leftist gunmen, for whom they would trade Moro. During his captivity, he wrote about 20 letters to his family and political associates, who were disgusted with the government's refusal to negotiate with his captors. He was found dead in a car trunk on May 9, shot 11 times. Cross currents of rumor suggest that he was actually killed by "P2," a militant Masonic chapter with deep links to the Italian Mafia which specializes in political murders. "P2" is implicated in the probable murder of Pope John Paul I as well, for which there is more evidence. Mark Zepezauer describes P2 this way: "One of P-2's specialties was the art of provocation. Leftist organizations like the Red Brigades were infiltrated, financed and/or created, and the resulting acts of terrorism, like the assassination of Italy's premier in 1978 and the bombing of the railway station in Bologna in 1980, were blamed on the left. The goal of this 'strategy of tension' was to convince Italian voters that the left was violent and dangerous -- by helping make it so." I cannot tell whether Aldo Moro was actually killed by P2 or by the Red Brigades, which is one goal of those who conduct political assassinations. Another goal is to sow chaos around normal political processes, so that police-state methods have an edge over democratic methods. This helps them whether they are totalitarians of the left, or fascists of the right. And it retards the cause of those who would end war. In any event, the 'strategy of tension' and a Hegelian method of covert involvement on both sides of political struggle are both undoubtedly common features of high level international politics.

19. Ngo Dinh Diem was killed by political opponents in the military of South Vietnam in early November, 1963, three weeks before President John Kennedy was killed halfway around the world. There was speculation about a connection between these assassinations, but I know of no good evidence to support that. Certainly they both resulted, however, in significant escalation of the war in Vietnam. Kohn's Dictionary of Wars (1986) pg 496, has this to say about Diem's death: "On November 1-2, 1963,

a military coup toppled the South Vietnamese government; Diem was killed; and a military-controlled provisional regime was established. A period of political instability ensued, with South Vietnam trying to strengthen its anti-Communist military effort. By 1965, the Armed Forces Council, headed by Generals Nguyen Cao Ky and Nguyen Van Thieu, was running the country." Kohn goes on to record the next ten years of battle leading to a defeat which cost at least 3 million lives.

20. UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold was killed in a plane crash over Northern Rhodesia on September 18, 1961 while flying at night on a circuitous route to avoid detection by the single jet used by Katanga's armed forces during another brief civil war in the Congo. This was one of the first UN peacekeeping missions. A truce was signed in Ndola, Rhodesia on Sept. 20 by Katanga President Tshombe and Mahmoud Khiari, head of UN civil operations in the Congo, ending 8 days of fighting begun September 13 when UN troops tried to disarm Katanga gendarmerie units and overthrow the secessionist Katanga government. The UN lost 20 soldiers killed and 63 wounded during this fighting. Rumors from the covert operations guys suggest a daggerly connection, involving the Russians who had offered condolences for the death, but faint praise for Hammarskjold. I have no evidence to support that contention. Indeed, if the plane was shot down at all which is uncertain, it is more likely that the obvious enemies (Katanga secessionists) who were at war with UN troops at that moment, are the more likely culprits. But whether accident, or ordinary loss of war, or loss to the secret wars of covert forces which surround and animate so many other wars, does not matter much 35 years later. One of the great peacemakers of the world was killed, and great peacemakers are far harder to replace than ordinary soldiers. Dag Hammarskjold had given his life in the service of a more humane world, like Olaf Palme, and Gandhi the Mahatma. Each were intellectual giants, felled by lesser men whose appetite for power caused them to deprive the world of a resource it needs more urgently every day.

21. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was shot dead by a right wing Jewish extremist minutes after attending a large peace rally in Tel Aviv. The assassin, Yigal Amir, said at the scene: "I acted alone, on God's orders, and I have no regrets." But Israeli police arrested several other associates during the week to follow, and evidence of a conspiracy extending over several years was found. Amir's brother, and at least one other were later convicted in an Israeli court of conspiracy. The murder was preceded by extremely angry denunciations of the peace process by Jewish zealots, and even calls by rabbis for the death of the Prime Minister. Amir also claimed in the days following his arrest, that "I did it to stop the peace process," and "According to the Halacha [Jewish religious law] you can kill the enemy. My whole life, I learned Halacha. When you kill in war, it is an act that is allowed."

Seven months later, the militant party of Israel, Likud, regained power when Rabin's successor, Shimon Perez, lost to Likud's Benjamin Netanyahu. The peace process between Israel and Palestinians has since stalled, and in September, 1996, over 60 people had died in the worst armed clashes there in several years. Since this issue has profound implications for conflicts throughout the Middle East and to some extent the world, p(War) generally rose with this political murder.

One could hardly find a better example of the power of militant religion for increasing p(War). This episode, and the earlier murder of Anwar Sadat of Egypt by Islamic extremists, highlight the enduring problem of "religious" extremism in war.

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Ground Zero Minnesota's mandate is: "Top quality, non-partisan education for informed democracy and human survival."

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