Peace: A Compendium provides a uniquely comprehensive, intensive and practical presentation of the diverse facets of peace, featuring both classic and contemporary works.

PEACE: A Compendium

By Richard Birrer

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Preface

"O peace! How many wars were waged in thy name." Alexander Pope.

Gracing the shelves and catalogs of our libraries are thousands of volumes, both fictional and nofictional, devoted to the cruelty of man in the form of violence, aggression, war, and conflict. They dwarf the number of familiar works devoted to peace. Such a fact begs the question: Why is peace such an uncommon topic? Is it because it lacks excitement and romance? Is it the stuff of pseudoscience, surrealism, anarchy, free love, communal living, or nature-worship? For every media presentation on peace, there are at least 100 as many vignettes on some form of violence. Perhaps, it is because the topic is noneconomical, unacceptable, unworthy, or just misunderstood by humanity. Thomas Hardy observed: "War makes good rattling history, but peace is poor reading." Is it that we are oriented, inbred with and even hardened to a violent heritage, or rather is it that humankind lacks the discipline and trust so necessary for peace?

Moreover, is this subject worthy of consideration? Should it concern us? Scripture notes "we must strive for peace with all our hearts"(Psalm 34:12,14). Few disagree with the value of and desirability for peace. Who among us does not yearn for long life and the contentment of peace? Conventional wisdom, however, promotes armamentaria and conflict or at best disarmament and the avoidance of violence without taking the more difficult positive steps toward permanent peace. Viable options derived from the lessons of history are vital lest we forget what has and has not worked in this regard. By learning about successful outcomes, the recycling of productive ideas and actions become possible. Learning about peace work in different countries can also help the growth of, and the need for, more international understanding and cooperation. Indeed, peace movements, while limited in time, may not be limited in space. These efforts have borne significant fruit. Hundreds of undergraduate, graduate and postgraduate programs that address peace and conflict issues are emerging worldwide in some of our finest colleges and universities. They reflect a growing interest and burgeoning job market in this field.

This book plumbs the breadth and depth of peace as an entity, an ideal and a survival behavior. It covers definitional issues, relevant historical aspects, and recommendations for achieving peace. Theoretical and practical research from the fields of philosophy, sociology, political science, and psychology provides a basis for a comprehensive understanding of this sometimes maligned, often neglected state. As much as possible, the material is presented in a dispassionate and nonpartisan approach.

In the search for peace, the journey will be more important than the result. Understanding the basic concept of peace is the first step on a sojourn whose

roadmap requires discernment and revitalization: "I do not want the peace that passeth understanding. I want the understanding which bringeth peace"(Helen Keller). Milestones need to be placed, direction clarified and obstacles and detours identified. A commitment to and the appropriate provisions for the quest are absolute essentials for it will be a long and difficult one. Every step taken along the path, however, must yield fruit. Let us find the way together.

"Peace, not war, is the father of all things." Ludwig von Mises.

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"Peace be with you." Genesis 43:23.

Introduction

"Assalam alaykom"(Peace be upon you). Islam.

There are certain ideals(e.g., love, beauty, truth) that are ubiquitous and timeless across cultures. Peace shares the fate of these societal ideals, which are neither suppressed nor forgotten, but which are not seen for what they are. Like its siblings peace is a hot topic in politics, the media, and the public. It is sworn to, then revoked; proposed, later refuted; given, then taken. This tidal exchange gives the impression that peace is a familiar set of circumstances that can be created and traded like a commodity. The "International Year for the Culture of Peace" marked the year 2000, and the first decade of the Third Millennium was dedicated to it. What, then, has been its legacy?

An ancient proverb notes "peace begets prosperity; prosperity begets pride; pride begets prejudice; prejudice begets war; war begets poverty; poverty begets peace". The *Rota Fortuna* (Wheel of Fortune) described by the Romans consisted of history progressing from peace to wealth, from wealth to pride, from pride to war, from war to poverty, from poverty to humility, and from humility to peace. The rise and fall of many civilizations reaffirm this paradigm. Is this the inevitable fate of peace and humankind?

History is awash in blood; warfare characterizes much of humanity's storyline. The Greco-Roman tradition, epitomized by the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*, a large part of the Western heritage, is a romanticized panorama of heroic characters, arrogance, imperialism, and jingoism. Most citizens were warriors; wars were largely piratical. A permanent human obligation, war has endured as the ultimate yardstick of the ideals of the health and wealth of nations and the hardiness of their peoples. One hundred sixty million people died in wars during the twentieth century alone. It began with World War I, heralded as the "war to end all wars." However, one billion people have been directly affected by conflicts in the last 25 years alone. Is it surprising that the idealistic dreams of youth that peace is possible are eventually replaced by despair, cynicism, and resignation as yet another peace movement or peace treaty inevitably fails?

The problems of war and peace have not gone away despite the end of the Cold War and with it the demise of the former Soviet Union and the threat of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) among the superpowers. In their place have emerged changing ideologies, terrorism and weapons of mass destruction that not only threaten millions of people but also could bring about the extinction of the human species. Yet, only a few voices in the wilderness cry out for the moral imperatives of disarmament, world justice through effective international law, and fundamental human rights for the peoples of the world. Why is an enduring permanent peace not sought? How could this be accomplished?

Millions of years have hardwired humankind for survival, so is it a surprise that the struggle for life sidelines peace? However, has our less than a peaceful approach to survival assured a safe and secure future? When has humanity been at peace? Has there ever been a time in which the entire world was at peace? The faith-based descriptions of the Garden of Eden and the period around the birth of Christ describe peaceful times. Are these reliable facts? *The Peaceable Kingdom* by Edward Hicks is a visual sermon portraying Isaiah's prophecy of Christ's coming and the arrival of a peaceful world. Is this picture realistic or merely a fantasy? As the planet's population grows exponentially stretching resources, technology becomes more sophisticated and our understanding of ourselves and our environment deeper, are we also becoming more peaceful?

How many of us are truly at peace? It is a rare person who is at peace with himself since this would require complete acceptance of all imperfections and flaws in oneself and this life. Many believe that Mohammed, Christ, and Buddha achieved that level of perfection. However, the truth is that the majority of men and women are not so enlightened; instead, they spend most of their lives struggling for some measure of success in this life (i.e., wealth, material goods, titles, and power). Instead of living as human "beings," we function more appropriately as human "becomings." It is not possible to be at peace with another person if we are at unrest. Peace, therefore, often becomes a reflective measure of our ability to successfully compete. Contentment is rarely possible because the nature of man is to want and desire far beyond need. The incredible drive for survival relentlessly pushes the frontiers of desire, in turn creating unfulfilled wishes, anxiety, worry, and frustration. When is enough "enough"? Moreover, does the fulfillment of a desire bring a measured peace?

Scholars have noted that the average age of the world's greatest civilizations has been about 200 years. During those 200 years, the typical progression according to Henning W. Prentis Jr has been through the following sequence: bondage → spiritual faith → great courage → liberty → peace/abundance →selfishness →complacency → apathy → fear →dependence → bondage. Many academicians and citizens believe that the Western world is now somewhere between the "complacency" and the "apathy" phase; with some 50% of a nation's population already having reached the "governmental dependency" phase. For most democratic peoples(about 60% of the world's population in 125 countries) peace is defined in the context of legal parameters (i.e., the law). So, the individual's heart and mind may be deeply troubled, but the taxes and bills get paid, inalienable rights preserved, and the laws obeyed. What about the other 40% of the world's population? Many autocratic societies and communities remain nonviolent as long as work is available, food and water are adequate, and shelter provided because the fear of further repression is significant. While individuals rarely achieve higher levels of peace in their life in most societies, it should not come as a surprise that many communities, states, federations, and countries often find themselves struggling with internal or external violence. Peace in such places is very fragile, being mostly synonymous with the absence of conflict.

Countries have spent billions on the research and technologies of armaments and war-making, but the investigation into peace remains an elusive goal. Why? History, philosophy and social science have helped us understand the ideas and principles of

peacemaking. Peace comes from a moral order built on a framework of respect and justice that ideally rests on a foundation of love. Take a moment and think of our heroes and heroines. They are usually superhuman, idealized iconic figures, more fictional than real, who overcome some form of adversity-outstanding generals, conquerors, star athletes, great leaders. How many of them have proactively promoted or championed peace? If they have, how have they done it and were the results realistic and durable? The great cultures of the world have witnessed the story of peacemaking through some remarkable role models during different historical epochs. Philosophies, religions, and politics have provided a roadmap for peace, but where are we on this journey? Perhaps, it is because we do not want to hear the real story of peace. We want to believe that our current lifestyle and its perceived contentment are compatible and sustainable. With enough weapons and enough expertise, security can be had without changing privileges or sharing wealth.

Is this stability sustainable with the phenomenon of globalization and dwindling natural resources? Can there be peace without justice and human rights? The rigorous, consistent application of international law could provide a meaningful roadmap. Conversely, Martin Luther King's principle of nonviolence calls for the creation of beloved communities where none exist. Why? Love begets justice.

Despite Victor Hugo's admonition and prediction, humanity is still better at resisting the invasion of armies than accepting the power of an idea whose time has come. How long do we want to wait for meaningful peace? What the world needs now more than ever is guidance for establishing lasting peace. Through the work of Thoreau, Tolstoy, Gandhi, and King we know targeted methods of nonviolent direct action can lead to a social transformation necessary for a peaceful world.

Peace has no pantheon of victory, no parade. Any meaningful peace process must acknowledge and contend with its alternative, war, because of the high-value status of violence. While fighting has brought out some of the worst behavior in humans, to be sure it has also brought out some of the best. War has bred courage, loyalty, heroism, self- sacrifice, financial windfalls, besides relieving boredom and monotony. Suicide rates decline during war. War has helped catalyze beneficial social changes such as racial and sexual integration, freedom, democracy, and a sense of national pride. Because of its apparent utilitarian value and its ability to renew, violence is part of the national psyche of many countries. Its elimination, therefore, will be no easy feat. Is there not room for and benefit from collaborative bridge-building and cooperation among societies? Selflessness at the individual, community, city and state levels in the context of freedom and justice could provide a wholesome world order.

Let us now examine the evidence for this shame and paradox. Let us be as open-minded and objective as possible. The challenge is significant because far more information is available on war than peace, data collection standards vary, and research studies on the subject are for the most part empirical and subject to considerable bias.

"We shall find peace. We shall hear the angels, we shall see the sky sparkling with diamonds". Anton Chekov(1860-1904).

Definitions and Concepts

CHAPTER 1
Of Peace

"Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men!" Luke 2.14.

Introduction

Peace! Peace! Peace! Like love, liberty, and happiness, everybody wants it. Nobody is against it. Peace has always been among humanity's highest values--for some, supreme. Consider: "Peace at any price. The most disadvantageous peace is better than the most just war. Peace is more important than all justice. I prefer the most unjust peace to the justest war that was ever waged. There never was a good war or a bad peace. Give peace a chance." Universally desirable, peace remains intellectually elusive and pragmatically problematic. For starters, we lack agreement on what is peace. It is a slippery, fuzzy, often tarnished word with considerable latitude in meaning(1).

The traditional concept of peace is understood as a universal organizing principle, a cosmic expression of order legitimized by a spiritual force and then embraced by the natural reason given all people(2,3,4). War, therefore, appears as a chaotic interruption or a disturbance in the natural growth of peace. Peace can also connote a direct, proactive expression of people's will, a product of a political culture that can be rationally founded and reflected in contractual agreements and protection by the state(5). From a dualistic viewpoint, peace is non-war or the moral equivalent of war(6,7). A prevailing view of peace is a passive, empirical, dichotomous state(i.e., it exists or it does not), external to nation-states, that punctuates episodes of violence or war and is a means to or a condition for security. A specific agreement concluding fighting, diplomacy, and balancing of power may be involved, or there may be little or no interaction. However, many students of international relations recognize a descriptive nature of peace(i.e., both positive and negative aspects) and accept war in some situations as necessary and just(8). Under such circumstances, peace is usually a temporary state and local in nature. Peace can be voluntary, where potential agitators choose to abstain from disturbance, or it can be enforced, by suppressing those who might otherwise cause such trouble. Costa Rica, Sweden, and Switzerland are recognized for their enduring peace.

A common perspective of peace emphasizes the materialistic(prosperity), external(existing outside the individual or the relationship) and international(between nations) aspects of it. Peace is more a product of social structures than of a subjective state, has a worldview with a basic orientation to fear, and human nature is seen fundamentally as conflictual with annihilation as the final peace(9-12). Unfortunately, such a concept fails to focus and direct our attention to a meaningful pursuit of peace. What one does to achieve peace(peacemaking) depends on how one images, defines or conceptualizes peace. There are at least ten *Webster* and thirteen *Oxford English* definitions of peace.

These definitions become more controversial and complicated when colored by culture and environment. While there are differences about what peace is from an intercultural perspective, the meaning of peace also differs among members of the same culture. It may be narrow in scope, referring to specific relations in a particular situation (like a peace treaty), or overarching, covering an entire society (as in world peace). It may refer to an internal state of mind or nations or external relations. The term may also connote the restfulness associated with meditation or sleep.

Religious leaders, researchers in the fields of sociology and psychology, pacifists, politicians, socialists, fascists, and libertarians have different perspectives of peace. It may be passive or active, empirical or abstract, descriptive or normative, or positive or negative. Common synonyms for peace include amity, friendship, harmony, concord, tranquility, repose, serenity, quiescence, truce, pacification, and neutrality. The "peace and quiet" of country life often stand in stark contrast to the noise and chaos of city life. The phrase "at peace" usually connotes "rest in peace" synonymous with death, and including this form of permanent peace as a useful meaning would seem illogical and unhelpful since living persons and their relationships to one another are absent. In some contexts, peace refers more generally to a state of tranquility-an absence of disturbance or agitation.

Origins of the Term

The derivation of the word peace comes from the Latin word *pax* which entered the English language around the 12th century, and subsequently influenced much of Western thought(13,14). *Pax*, itself, suggests treaty or pact, and originated from the earlier Indo-European term *pag* or *pak*, meaning to "fetter" or "fasten," implying an agreement used to tie down dangerous forces in the context of havoc and war. The Roman concept of *pax* referred to external relations and security due to the predominance of Roman power which produced a period of enforced relative peace. This likely explains the West's most common understanding of peace today-a static state of law and order and the absence of violence and volatility. While harmony permeates the Eastern traditions, moral skepticism, relativism, stability and power shadow the Western mind.

As such, the West defines peace in terms of what it is not, most generally as an absence of anything that upsets the equilibrium between things, with a particular emphasis on physical violence. This understanding of peace is limited in significant ways since it is a reactive strategy based on power and limited proactive, preemptive or preventive elements. Oppression continues; relationships remain unhealed. *Pax* excludes personal and interpersonal conflict, confrontation and anger-marks of a healthy existence distinct from the genuine relational problem of violence. To live well is to be anxious often. They are a necessary part of positive social change. The structures of violence that oppress much of the world need to be disturbed, not ignored and maintained in their present form. If *pax* condones injustice, then it may serve tyranny. A commitment to justice entails engaging in conflict when necessary, rather than avoiding it, and we can pursue conflict without violence. *Pax* makes war wrong, but what does it say or do about what is right?

Priti, a Sanskrit term based on the Indo-European root *pri*, means essentially "love, joy, and satisfaction," primarily as experience. It evolved into the words 'friend', as one who loves and is loved in return; 'freedom', considered to be the result of love; and 'Friday', as the day of Frigg, a Nordic goddess associated with Venus. Its modern Germanic equivalent is *frieden*, meaning peace or the experiential character of love as joyful, rewarding and fulfilling. Peace is more than a moral responsibility. It includes everything we do that celebrates and joyfully affirms existence.

Homer(c.750 BC) used the Greek word for peace, *eirene*, to refer to brief interruptions in the endless wars then thought to be the norm. Like the Latin *pax*, eirene originally meant law and order and an absence of adversity rather than a state of well-being that might persist and grow. Later, its meaning changed in the New Testament, adopting the "wholeness" of *shalom*. Its positive, affirmative definitions included the making of peace, order, welfare, health, and reconciliation.

Shalom, the Hebrew greeting for peace, is derived from a Semitic Akkadian root *salamu*, meaning "to be healthy, whole, and complete"(15). The concept of peace found in shalom is similar to that associated with *salaam* in Islamic traditions-meaning "peace to you" but implies "may you be well." *Shalom* means being intact or whole and evokes the entirety of a person(i.e., well-being, integrity), community, humankind or thing. It includes meanings of life and health, welfare, prosperity, salvation, reconciliation, satisfaction, goodness, contentment and a state of being safe and unharmed-ideas later adopted by the West. It implies the exclusion of such divisive factors as war and violence, marginalization, oppression, ecological abuse and misuse, the disproportionate power of multinational corporations or an unconstrained profit motive.

The peace of *shalom* is positive and dynamic and suggests a flourishing person, community, and ecosphere, as opposed to an oppressed or fragmented one. Peace is the source, creator, supporter, multiplier and protector of all that is good in heaven and on earth. Not only is it necessary for the preservation of the existence of humanity, but it is also a requirement for its development. It is a personal and social process by which we flourish and become 'whole'.

The Hebrew verbs 'to be peace' [or wholeness] (*shalem*) and 'to make peace'(*shalam*) connote the process in which the world is redeemed, renewed and celebrated in all its fullness, thus providing forgiveness and healing for those suffering. The vision of the prophet Isaiah (Isaiah 11: 6-7) describes *shalom* anthropomorphically-wolves and lambs lie together, cows and bears graze side-by-side, and lions eat straw like oxen. *Shalom* is not utopia; it includes much of what makes life difficult, sometimes uncomfortably so. The flourishing state recognizes and deals with tragedy(e.g., deadly and debilitating disease, natural disasters and personal loss) and its attendant grief which is an expression of love. It allows conflict since some conflict, for example, characterizes all friendship.

The Hebrew, Islamic and Christian religions refer to the God of Peace. The Jewish and Islamic traditions amplify the elements of nonviolence and justice-"an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth". Judaism and Islam remain primarily tribal, a shared cultural inheritance, in that they are inconsistently concerned with the human species *per se* but rather concentrate on the conformity to God's will. By contrast, Christ's

greeting of "My peace I give to you"(John 14:27) reflects an all-inclusive state and process of social and spiritual wholeness and abundance. As a prophetic incarnation of *shalom* he provided a vision of a society made whole, just and free from the tyranny of violence-the ideal of heaven made manifest on earth. The Christian tradition, thus, introduces a new dimension- "Peace I leave with you; my peace I give to you; not as the world gives do I give to you"(John 14.27). Here we are called to love our enemies and turn the other cheek by showing that peace is what love does. An individual moral obligation calls us to reach out to other human beings through love and truth. This reverence for life and respect for rights of others creates and nurtures peace at all levels- "...and the peace of God, which surpasses all understanding"(Philippians 4.7). It is a healing process which may involve separations or fractures in many if not all aspects of human life including war, the workplace, marriage and family, environment and its ecology, and the individual and reality.

> "We may have all possible reasons against war- but how does this help us when we are unable to say what peace is...?" Rudolf Pannwitz, *Der Friede*.

Types of Peace

Let us consider the nature of peace in some detail. There are two general approaches: Popular and Numinar(6, 16-19). The Popular Paradigm, prevalent in many societies, is predominantly materialistic, international, and external. It consists of two main camps: positive and negative. The West, in particular, favors peace as a property of social systems functioning to assure prosperity through stability. The Numinar Paradigm, based on spirituality and social processes, emphasizes concepts of peace that are more idealistic, transformative, intra and interpersonal, community-based, and both internal and external(20-22).

Negative peace means the absence or control(i.e., preventing or stopping)of war or personal violence(e.g., physical, verbal, and psychological) among individuals, groups, and governments(23). A *negative* definition of peace does not set out to achieve a nonviolent world society or, to put it in theological terms, the end of man's suffering. Empirically paired to its opposite(*positive* peace) it conceptually opposes social justice and leads to acceptance of 'law and order' societies. Its harshest critics view it as maintaining the *status quo*. It may become indistinguishable from societal anesthesia or the soma described in Huxley's *Brave New World*. Western societies through Greco-Roman traditions typically embrace this definition of peace. The most popular contemporary meaning of peace, as given in the authoritative *Oxford English Dictionary*(OED), is an absence of antagonistic conflict:

1. Freedom from or cessation of war or hostilities
2. Freedom from civil commotion and disorder
3. Freedom from disturbance or perturbation
4. Freedom from quarrels or dissension between individuals

Peace as an absence of antagonistic conflict is also a favorite definition among irenologists. This non-pejorative definition may be applied to internal or external physical conflict, the exercise of force, violence, or war, and ranges from varying

degrees of inclusivity to exclusivity(24,25). Historically, it did not discriminate against all forms of violence, instead just organized military damage to the physical existence of people. More recently, it excludes its preparation, or rather, the readiness for war. Peace in this sense is used to describe a process in the international system that is characterized by the nonviolent discharging of the conflicts arising within it. Most of us recognize that peace does not merely mean the absence of visible violence-a prevailing, albeit myopic perspective in the world today. Structural violence or violence perpetrated by social systems remains enforce.

Creative alternatives are essential. Reardon emphasizes that "peace is the absence of violence in all its forms-physical, social, psychological, and structural"(26). Nevertheless, even this empirical definition is unduly negative in that it fails to provide any affirmative picture of peace or its ingredients. It also commits a serious oversight: it ignores the residual feelings of fear, mistrust, and suspicion that the winners and losers of war often harbor toward one other. The emphasis is on the control of the manifestations of belligerence by a set of social structures that provide security and protection from acts of direct physical violence committed by individuals, groups or nations. Unfortunately, the separation of conflicting parties, the primary intervention strategy, is often insufficient to assure enduring conditions of peace since causation is not addressed. Indeed, by suppressing the release of tensions resulting from social conflict(e.g., Russian suppression of ethnic hostilities in Georgia, Yugoslavia, or Ukraine), negative peace efforts may lead to future violence of greater magnitude.

Furthermore, history is replete with the absence of conflict in many repressive societies whose roots nonetheless nurture fear, ignorance, and powerlessness. There is no harmony, justice, goodwill or the consent of the parties involved. Thus, the Congo, Sudan, and North Korea could be considered at "peace" because none of these countries engages in deadly combat with external enemies. Such a minimalist definition may give the illusory veneer that we live in an era of world peace.

In *cold* peace, there is little mutual hostility since there is almost a neutral view of a previous enemy. However, there is also a lack of mutual benefit derived from trust, interdependence, and collaboration. Lack of a *bona fide* adversary can lead to isolationism and nationalism simultaneously. The notion that "there are still dangerous people/ societies in the world" is often used to advance the cause of military preparedness and at least some momentum toward a restoration of Cold War thinking and behavior from which an ironic "peace dividend"(i.e., money for social projects) accrues. Nationalism in the form of propaganda and war preparations, always at the expense of human needs, prevails. Such a constrained, simplistic passive definition of peace emphasizes a "peace through strength" posture that has led to an arms race, stockpiles of nuclear weapons, and the ultimate threat of Mutually Assured Destruction(MAD). Such a construct depends upon the threat and intention to kill vast numbers of human beings is hardly a stable or justifiable peace worthy of the name.

These definitions of peace as a state of non-antagonistic conflict, nonviolence, or nonwar produce a default concept lacking theoretical and pragmatic clarity. Peace becomes the accidental fallout of the conditions, causes, nature, and prevention of violence or war. Accepting peace as an absence of violence or war raises many

questions. Peace means that the weapons remain still, but for how long? Does peace only exist when the last war has been fought? Is everything in-between a ceasefire? When there's peace, the lives of individuals and entire societies are protected from the use of military aggression; but what about other types of violence? Is a dictatorship's use of mass executions, torture, and imprisonment to maintain order an acceptable form of peace? How do we reconcile the bondage, slavery, or injustice of peaceful totalitarian regimes with a loving, cooperative, or just peace? Is peace the same between states bound by communication, trade, and aid, ties between which violence is unthinkable, and states standing in the shadow of war? What is the relationship between peace and conflict? Should not peace be analyzed as an entity unto itself, rather than as a social default? Is peace divisible(i.e., peace in one state, but not in others)or can it only be achieved when there is global peace?

It would seem that true peace, then, is not merely the absence of war; it requires the absence of evil(e.g., repression, injustice, intergroup fear, exploitation and racial, class and religious intolerance and prejudice) and those conditions which mitigate against peace(e.g., poverty, ignorance and a lack of education and information, envy, unrealistic expectations). Many believe that peace is more than the absence of certain societal maladies(i.e., a state of nonviolence and the silence of guns). Peace is also defined as a targeted process, the central issue of which is to encourage people to express their conflicts using nonviolent means and secure human rights, justice, and freedom(9,10).

> Peace, in the sense of the absence of war, is of little value to someone who is dying of hunger or cold. It will not remove the pain of torture inflicted on a prisoner of conscience. It does not comfort those who have lost their loved ones in floods caused by senseless deforestation in a neighboring country. Peace can only last where human rights are respected, where the people are fed, and where individuals and nations are free. Dalai Lama.

Positive peace, an ameliorative concept embraced by many, addresses some of the inadequacies of *negative* and *cold* peace. *Positive* peace is not only the absence of structural aggression but also the presence of social justice through equal opportunity, a fair distribution of power and resources, and equal protection through impartial enforcement of the law. Justice is an essential ingredient of peace; violence represents harm to an individual and social injustice. The absence of violence[negative] equates with social justice[*positive*](e.g., equalitarian distribution of power and resources). Thus, a socialist theory of peace is: *positive* peace => equality => social justice => actualized human potential. Unfortunately, the critical analysis of this equation is lacking and based on some experimental socialist communities, challenging, if not impossible to achieve. Nonetheless, the essence of *positive* peace initiatives consists of collaborative bridge building and mutual benefit through cooperation.

Peace as a secular good has been most often equated with political good(i.e., justice). "And the work of justice shall be peace"(Isaiah, 32:17). What is the relationship between peace and justice(*pax* and *iustitia*)? Justice has to do with the right relationships-the right ordering of individuals to one another and the whole of

society. As a virtue, justice consists in the constant and firm will to give to another his due. It is the pursuit of restoration, of rectifying wrongs, of creating right relationships based on equity and fairness in the social(i.e., human rights, respect for life), economic and environmental spheres. World order, therefore, would require nation-states to move beyond their internal needs- a challenging and complex goal. As Jawaharlal Nehru(1889-1964) observed: "Peace is not a relationship of nations. It is a condition of mind brought about by a serenity of soul. Lasting peace can come only to peaceful people." Many influential leaders and thinkers(i.e., activists and advocates) think justice flowers before peace- "Peace is more important than all justice, and peace was not made for the sake of justice, but justice for the sake of peace"(Martin Luther); "if you want peace, fight for justice"(Pope Paul VI).

Society establishes peace and secures it by the ruling powers of the state; justice legitimates a given social order providing everyone with their share thus making it subordinate to peace. Others(i.e., conflict resolution mediators) believe that peace leads to justice-a justice that is often more just than that delivered through adversarial, political, or legal systems. The former charge that the latter sacrifice justice for peace by down-playing social structural or justice-related issues, while the latter argue that political leaders sacrifice peace for justice by intentionally escalating conflicts to win converts to their cause. Lederach suggests, however, that the two can work together(27). For example, advocacy and activism are the approaches of choice in situations where power is unbalanced, and the awareness of conflict is relatively low. By raising awareness (on both sides) and balancing power, mediators can enable the parties to negotiate successfully to obtain both peace and justice simultaneously. Pursuing justice involves respect for people and the restoration of relationships based on recognizing and amending injustices. Because reconciliation or restitution seldom follows punishment, the resulting justice is illusory. Rather, in advocating for those harmed, reconciliation involves the identification and open acknowledgment of wrongs committed(i.e., truth), an effort to right the wrongs that occurred (i.e., justice) and forgiveness for the perpetrators (i.e., mercy). The result may not only be forgiveness but peace.

The political definition of peace, achievable through communication and agreement, blends law and order and a measured sense of justice or goodness based on some degree of governmental organization. While the vocabulary of diplomacy includes such terms as "lasting peace," "peace with justice" and "permanent peace," the enforcement of peace defined by a treaty is left to the parties-often a fatal flaw. "One of the most important antiquities we face is that everybody talks about peace as a goal. However, it does not take the sharpest-eyed sophistication to discern that while everybody talks about peace, peace has become practically nobody's business among the power wielders.

"Many men cry peace! Peace! But they refuse to do the things that make for peace"(Martin Luther King). Peace treaties or civil governments consist of particular authoritative laws governing social relations; one backed up by the powers of the parties, the other supported by the coercive power of a state. Therefore, a common assumption, especially among advocates of a world government, is that peace is a state of law binding on all and authoritatively secured through the monopoly of force

by a sovereign or legislative body. What type of peace should we expect from this pre-condition?

For others, however, peace is a state of civil government, an opposite state to war as defined by Thomas Hobbes(28). He argued that men create and secure peace when they transfer their rights to a civil government(*Leviathan*) and become united in one Commonwealth, which, defined as a single person, will "use the strength and means of them all as he shall think expedient for their peace and common defense." Peace between states is merely war and competition by other means. This constrained form of a social contract means that a person gives up his natural rights to the sovereign in return for peace. The end justifies the means. For Locke, however, civil government creates a domain of peace by preserving property and protecting life and liberty through ratified law(29).

A more general conception of political peace, however, equates it to abstract or universal law. As direct and indirect contracts, abstract laws are individual expectations harmonized across a society(i.e., the balance of powers) that guide social behavior. Such customary laws are binding on all and usually passed by legislatures(e.g., laws defining rape and murder as crimes, human rights, or establishing the general qualifications for citizenship or the right to vote). Abstract laws can govern a spontaneous or self-regulating social system because they are universally accepted as standard behavior and practice.

The peace derived from a social contract(Chap. 4) consists primarily of a state of order(i.e., balance of powers) and mindfulness, and secondarily of law and power. Balance of power is based on just laws among the involved parties-the interests, wills and capabilities of the parties and their willingness to accept the outcome. Traditional balance of power among nations(i.e., military-political organization, leadership, morale, armaments, and size for states) has been a historical feature of international conflict so that force and coercion lead to peace. Peace, therefore, endures as long as the processes and structures of governance have a monopoly on the use of force. More broadly, the concept can be extended to include such sociologic ideas of a family of powers, including some combination of bargaining, authoritative, intellectual, altruistic, and manipulative powers (i.e., the balance of powers).

Moreover, this balance is not only of capabilities, typical of the classic balance of power but also involves interests and wills (or credibility). Peace is based on power, that is, on the relation between the capabilities possessed by the political units acting upon each other which may take the form of equilibrium, hegemony or empire. Many view the international law of peace as subordinate to such a balance. A law of nations can only exist if there is an equilibrium or balance of power among the members of the family of nations. Rules of law will lack force if nation-states cannot keep one another in check since very powerful states will naturally strive to exert themselves and disobey the law. Until a central political authority above the sovereign states capable of enforcing the rules of the law exists, a balance of power must prevent any member of the family of nations from becoming omnipotent.

A civil government provides an overarching social contract for peace, life, property, and security that is accepted consciously or unconsciously by successive generations. Peace in a social contract is value-neutral, whereas the contract itself may be just or

unjust, good or evil. Positive-valued peace is the minimization of governmental powers, and the promotion of freedom maximizes a just peace. What is the nature of a just social contract? Historically, *eirene* (a new state of relations following hostilities), *shalom*(a covenant), and *pax*(a legal relationship based on a pact) were limited social contracts terminating open conflict (within a specific situation). A social contract is not wholly external. It is fundamentally a linking of minds. However, harmony may be absent if a party agrees under duress.

Peace as concord is primarily a state of order closely related to a social contract. Thucydides, in *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, implied harmony between nations when he wrote of a treaty that turned out to be only a temporary break in the war: "Only a mistaken judgment can object to including the interval of the treaty in the war. Looked at by the light of facts it cannot, it will be found, be rationally considered a state of peace, where neither party either gave or got back all that they had agreed, apart from the violations of it which occurred on both sides"(30). Peace becomes a proactive behavior for those in a conflict situation. The Augustinian conception of peace ("...between man and man is well-ordered concord. Domestic peace is well-ordered concord between those of the family who rule and those who obey. Civil peace is similar concord among the citizens") is a kind of agreement similar to a social contract. Aquinas argued that peace as concord is an agreement between our wills and desires. Concord achieved under threat is not peace. A complete concept of peace, then, has both personal and interpersonal dimensions.

Peace of mind and peace as a social contract are entirely different concepts. One may submit or agree to an external arrangement while still mentally troubled or at conflict with oneself. As a constricted social contract a peace treaty neither accommodates implied understandings and rules or agreements concluding conflict or violence excluding war nor covers those large-scale wars that end in a frozen stalemate or armistice rather than a peace treaty(e.g., the Korean war). However, because internal harmony and external concord and consensus tend to go together, social contracts and peace of mind are not completely independent. Social contracts, unlike social harmony, may bring respite from violence and overt antagonistic conflict among hostile or competitive parties, while permitting competition or struggle by other means. "Peaceful coexistence" between socialist and capitalist societies represents an agreement to disagree so to avoid or lessen the risk of interstate war. The outcome, therefore, reflects what the negotiating parties will accept to terminate a conflict: equilibrium, equality, dominance, hierarchy, empire, or enslavement. Such a balance can change significantly as interests, capabilities, and wills shift (e.g., American interests in the Middle East), while the associated social contract remains unaltered. One can fully appreciate the limitations of the latter. Politics cannot change the nature of the wolves, bears, and lions; it can restrict them, limit them to certain areas and chain them if need be. From a citizen's point of view, this type of peace implies a means to or a condition of national security. Its dimension of freedom affirms community safety, welfare, and prosperity internally among its members and externally in its relations with others. It is necessary for the preservation of the existence of humanity; it is also a requirement for its development- "When peace has been broken anywhere, the peace of all countries is in danger"(FDR). Internationalists, those

favoring the development of a world community, define peace as international or world justice, which once meant orderly and constitutional procedures, but now has become a more complex concept, involving social justice, economic welfare, and ecological balance(31,32).

Hot peace proactively imagines and contemplates a state of tranquility(26, 33). Collaborative bridge-building efforts between and among past and present enemies break down the walls of nationalism, isolationism, prejudice and the threats to the health and well-being of humankind and the planet(e.g. human rights abuses, air and water pollution, dwindling energy resources, the destruction of the ozone layer, famine, poverty, and ignorance). Mutual benefits are sought through global interdependence of diverse groups and accrue from high levels of cooperation and integration(e.g., democratization). Thus, those societies with structural and cultural oppression of one subgroup by another lack peace even in the absence of violence because the abuse itself constitutes evil. Such a definition also includes the active search for positive conditions which can resolve the underlying causes of conflict that produce violence.

Other positive definitions include a state of well-being and interconnected brotherhood that is characterized by justice, trust, and compassion. Such a description promotes the exploration and celebration of the global human family's diversity in the context of developing the good in one another without the concern for personal sacrifice and pain. As part of self-actualization, humans should have the right to a full and satisfying life.

Utopic peace(i.e., Numinar Paradigm), an inclusive concept, is the absence of inner conflict, separation, fracture, fear, passions, toils, efforts, desires, anxieties, and wandering thoughts; the heart becomes calm and content; the mind is at rest; goodness is pervasive; harmony prevails. It is an ideal state as described by Sir Thomas More where order prevails for the best and where the evils of society, such as poverty and misery, have been eliminated(34). Shakespeare in Henry VII captured this idea as: "A peace above all earthly dignities, a still and quiet conscience"(Act 3, Scene 2). The ideal objective is to strive towards a "nonaggressive international community." The idea of harmony or tranquility has been intrinsic to peace for many cultures and religions, particularly the Eastern ones. Harmony is conceived of at two levels: personal(i.e., mental or spiritual) and interpersonal(i.e., social order, relationships).

The koans and meditations of Zen Buddhism transform not only the individual but those around him. Like *shalom*, *shānti,* the Hindu word for peace meaning a well-ordered mind, focuses on the cultivation of peace at the individual level since there will always be conflict and war in the world. Individual conformity to norms and customs(i.e., personal internal well-being) produces peace. Utopic peace also implies quiet, tranquility, and harmony in society, as embodied by such phrases as "a peaceful life," "peace be with you" or "to keep the peace." Peace in the form of accepting the message of a higher force is an active communal process. Paul of Tarsus described it as the peace which surpasses all understanding. Peace is a state of goodness described as desirability, virtue, and rightness. It is the reward for all wise action, the greatest aspiration, and the highest good. Thomas Aquinas capsulated these thoughts: "true peace is only in good men and about good things." Unity, good order,

close coordination of minds or behavior, or social quiet and serenity characterizes peace as social harmony, a continuum of social and mental order(35). Peace as a state of harmony is an ideal of life resulting from a long, undisturbed process of adjustment of increasingly durable and cooperative periods of concord interspersed by less intense and shorter conflicts. Nirvana is often translated as "peace." *Kindoki*, an African word for peace, refers to a harmonious balance among human beings, the rest of the natural world and the cosmos. As a divine state, peace has a profound religious dimension and forms an integral part of such teaching.

Some Models

It is philosophically and pragmatically worthwhile to put aside the notion of one correct or right definition of peace. It may be useful to see peace as a process continuum, but we must recognize that three main challenges confront us. First, the concept should not create an ideological path to new wars (as a war against war). Second, it should free itself from exploitation for legitimating existing rule (as the realization of peace). Third, it should consider historical developments to make sure that it doesn't remain a fantasy. Some scholars and politicians have considered a multidimensional or pluralistic paradigm. Such an approach moves us from a static product to a dynamic process.

An easy and comprehensible model is shown in Figure #1. Its three dimensions allows for the physical, mental and spiritual dimensions of peace and recognizes the fact that the concept of peace may be viewed monolithically(i.e., purely physical having to do with aggression and violence) or may involve various degrees of mental and spiritual elements.

Figure #2 represents peace as a linear construct with pure violence and war on the left and utopia and ideal peace on the right(2). Causes, as well as solutions, are represented. Peace is reactively incorporated on the left(Hobbesian concept) whereas it is proactively integrated on the right. Fractured individuals and relationships(i.e., separation) exist in the culture of conflict and competition whereas cooperation and oneness at the personal and group level occur in ideal peace. As one moves from left to right, there are increasing amounts of justice and healing. The spectrum can be broken up into progressive stages or phases. Justice and healing involve not only war and violence; instead, they can mend all internal and external fractures, thus, promoting wholeness. In a philosophic and pragmatic sense, this model has applicability at an individual, community and society level. It is essential to visualize the peace of world order involving micro(intra- and interpersonal) and macro(international) elements. Lastly, the vital element of time must be recognized among the various milestones. The tipping point marks the transition from *negative* to *positive* peace.

Figure #3 is a peace pyramid. The most basic level or foundation is the absence of violent behavior. As one moves, upwards one encounters decreasing desire and increasing amounts of justice, cooperation, and integration until the apex(utopia) is reached in which there is complete harmony based on respect, love and understanding among all members of society.

Figure #4 represents another way to view the peace-conflict continuum that may involve individuals, communities or societies. Critical elements for peace follow an openness to search for truth, respect, dignity, and justice. A closed mindset underlies conflict leading to separation, resentment, scapegoating and fragmentation(36). The various components and their significance are discussed in later chapters.
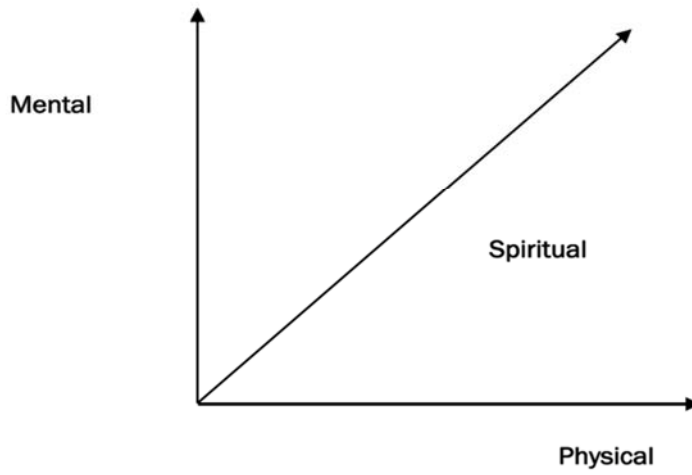
Figure #1
Peace Dimensions

Mental

Spiritual

Physical

Figure #2
The Peace Continuum

Causes		
War/Cold War Tactics	Arms Control Disarmament	Utopia
Competition	Deterrence Negotiation	Cooperation
Separation	Tolerance	Community
Threats	Nonviolence	Actualization of potential
Fear	Coexistence	Integration
Non-Peace/Warfare	Detente	Collaboration
Negative Peace		*Positive* Peace
Cold Peace	*Hot* Peace	*Ideal* Peace
Fractures		Harmony
Culture of conflict	Separateness	Oneness

Tipping Point

Increasing Violence   Increasing justice, law, ethics
Negative/reactive   Positive/proactive

Solutions		
Balance of power	Peacemaking	Pacifism
Boycotts	Peacebuilding	Love
Sanctions	Peacekeeping	Altruism
Peace enforcement		Freedom
Rule of Law	Free Trade	Mercy/Truth
Collective security	Democratization/Removal of Oppression	
Strength	Cooperation/Partnering	
Governance	Conflict Resolution/management	
	Tolerance, forgiveness, reconciliation	

Figure #3
Peace Pyramid

Utopia

Integration
Cooperation
Collaboration

Justice

Communication
Coexistence
Tolerance
Respect

Desire

Absence of violence
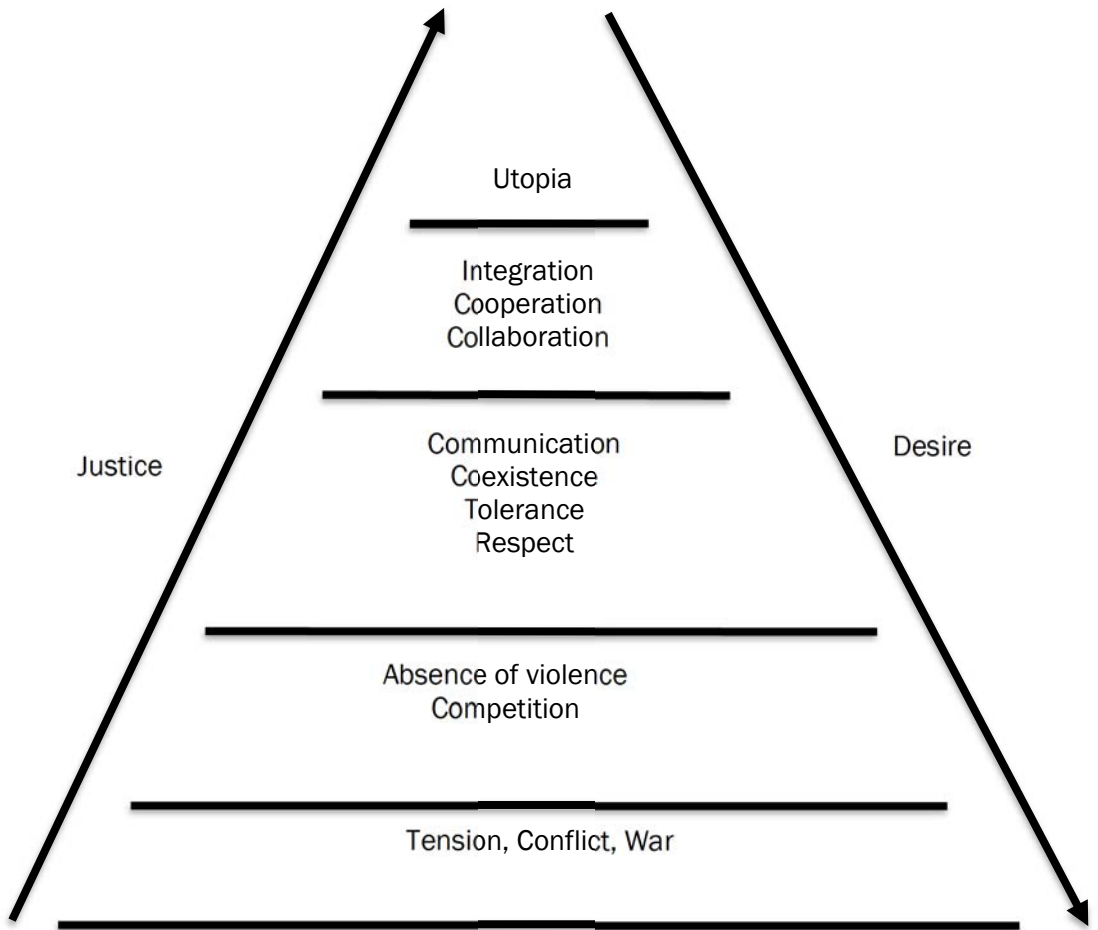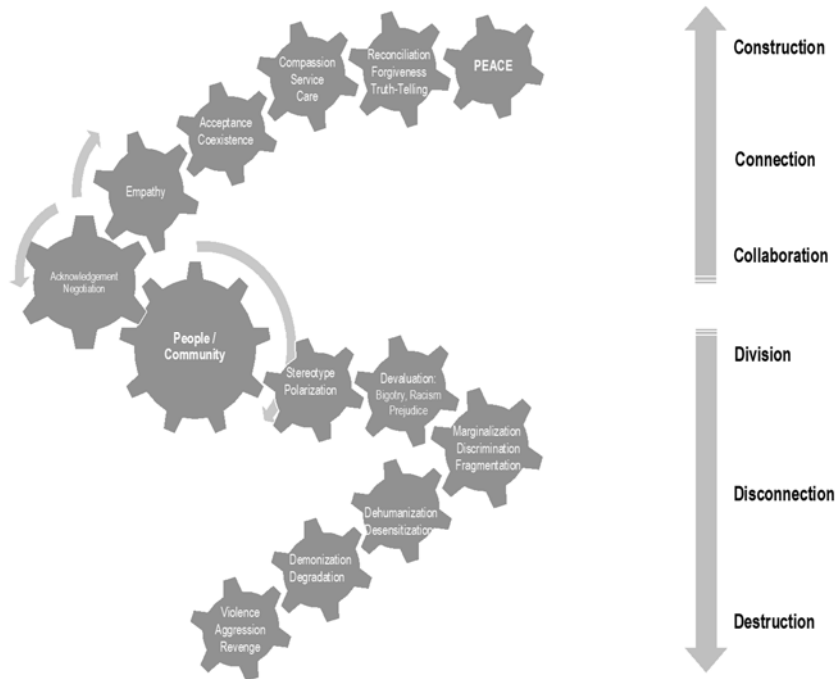Competition

Tension, Conflict, War

Figure #4
The Peace-Conflict Cogwheel

Can peace be measured? Social science quantification is always tricky due to the complexity of issues and their confounding factors. The Institute for Economics and Peace has attempted to develop a reliable methodology for assessing peace. Named the Global Peace Index(GPI) the Institute has provided data since 2007(37). The GPI quantifies global trends in peace and conflict for 162 countries and also serves as a tool to identify early indicators of potential conflict. Supported by many noteworthy individuals and organizations, it uses 23 aggregated indicators in its assessment which are weighted by a panel of experts. The components fall into three in three concept areas: 1) ongoing domestic and international conflict; 2) societal safety and security; 3) militarization. The analysis includes elements of negative and positive peace and is both quantitative and qualitative. The latest annual report indicates that the world is becoming less peaceful; specifically, 79 countries have deteriorated in the ranking. This finding may be surprising since many people believe that we are living in the most peaceful century of human history and that the most war-prone zone of past times, the European Union has developed into a paradigm of peacefulness and cooperation among former hostile nations. Are these conclusions reconcilable? Specific findings indicating global changes, such as the fact that interstate violence is in decline, provide evidence of the effective use of diplomacy as a tool to enhance peace among nations. However, the indicators which are used by the Institute for

Economics and Peace have to be carefully discerned as well as the driving factors of change, which may lead to a quickly changing nature of peacefulness. Because peace as a concept is complex and multidimensional differences of great interest and significance may become obscure. No single indicator can catch all the relevant elements.

Furthermore, the GPI does not rigorously consider indicators of positive peace, such as the status of women and children, the integration of minorities and different ethnicities or the Gini index, a measure of income distribution among populations. How is it that countries such as Kuwait and Qatar, in which women's rights are suppressed, are in a "very high state of peace", and therefore ranked higher than, for example, France? Moreover, how is it possible that a country such as Bulgaria, with one of the highest corruption rates in the world, running through all layers of society and politics, can rank 29, and therefore be in a "high" state of peace? Finally, consider military expenditures and deaths from external conflicts. Countries can sometimes avoid wars by preparing for them; rival states are less likely to pick fights with armies that are strong(i.e., peace through strength). Most people would probably think of the avoidance of war as a peaceful outcome, but the GPI casts the preparations that sometimes help to produce that outcome as a diminution of peace. In an ideal world, disarmament and peace would always go together; in the real world, they don't, but the index's attempt to combine measures of negative and positive peace muddles that complexity. Improved data collection, expanded data points, and multivariate analysis might offer a better methodology than an expert panel(38).

Related Aspects of Peace

There are other terms applied to activities associated with peace. Peacemaking, a word derived from the Latin root of pacifism, overcomes entrenched violence and conflict through principled leadership(i.e., truth-seeking, listening, nurturing, understanding) and a vision to achieve peace. In the primate world, the female of the species usually excels in coalition building, restraint, and peacemaking. How can humankind leverage this evolutionary fact? Peacemakers(e.g., pacifier, mediator, intermediary, intercessor) must stress that the long-range goal of peace education(teaching about and for peace) is the elimination of the institution of war as a method of resolving disputes. The first challenge is establishing the need, as there has been no international mandate to do so, followed by an equally significant and radical reconstruction of interpersonal and international relations(e.g., trade) based on social justice and international law(35, 39). The role of the individual peacemaker is to work toward a world in which nonviolent interaction and social equality are the norms. The effort begins at the grassroots level to encourage corporate leaders, political figures, and government officials to establish policies promoting peace and justice and to stand against those not operating in the best interest of global harmony. For example, peacemaking governments could mandate a system of nonmilitary national service(e.g., Peace Corps, exchange student or "exchange citizen" programs) as well as the duty of developed nations to proactively share technology and surpluses with those countries less developed and in need. At the international level peacemaking means the process leading up to the signing of a peace treaty or cease-fire and is

used to describe activities aimed at encouraging warring parties to reach an agreement, using, for example, the peaceful means provided by chapter VI of the UN Charter(Appendix).

Peacebuilding constitutes those actions, policies, and programs undertaken immediately after settlement and over the medium and long-term to address the root causes of conflicts in a targeted manner(40,41). A form of conflict transformation, it includes negative and positive peace solutions. It may entail the creation of autonomous and interdependent communities that work for the realization of justice, well-being and equality for all through the healing of fractures. It seeks to guarantee and protect such basic needs as relationships, appropriate resources, security, stimulation, meaning in life, recognition, control of the environment, autonomy, identity, dignity, need for bonding, development, participation, and belonging. Strategies include international legal systems, dispute resolution mechanisms, and cooperative arrangements; meeting people's basic economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian needs; and rebuilding societies that have been shattered by violence.

Peacekeeping refers to the active preservation or maintenance of peace among hostile nations or groups(42). More generally, it embodies the attitudes and values that contribute to the deterrence of violence. It usually involves lightly armed troops and police to monitor and implement cease-fires, truces, peace agreements, and elections. Peacekeeping is a technique designed to expand the options for preventing conflict and peacemaking. Ironically, the word peacekeeper also identifies a nuclear weapon with 200-300 times the explosive power of the bombs dropped on Japan during WWII which were considered by Truman as an "overwhelming influence toward world peace." It is a clear example of peace through strength.

Peace enforcement encompasses measures for restoration and maintenance of a cease-fire through the deployment of more heavily armed troops(42). It goes beyond peacekeeping but falls short of coercive measures.

Pacificism, a form of defensivism, is defined as the morally just opposition to war or violence, except in cases where force, subject to international arbitration, is deemed necessary to advance the cause of peace. By comparison, pacifism believes that any form of violence is unconditionally wrong in all cases(Chap. 4).

Conclusion

One of the noblest goals of humanity, peace is a pregnant philosophical and practical concept. The colorful potpourri of attributive modifiers to peace (i.e., real, positive, lasting, negative, imperfect, graveyard) suggests that at best we can describe some aspects of peace and at the worst, we do not have a comprehensive grasp of it. So where does that leave us for solutions? Perhaps, peace should not be seen as a fixed state in a social system, but as an 'eternal process of progress' towards a goal, reflective of the lessons from history. Specific starting and ending points must be identified and acted upon for the existing situation. As an intermediary step to a utopic peace, we can help shape a nonaggressive world society, which, while not a world free of conflict, will be a world in which conflicts are resolved without the threat or use of collective aggression. To better appreciate these points, we need to understand what has and has not worked during the recorded history of humanity. To that end, we will

now explore the historical dimensions of man's struggle for peace. In doing so, we must confront the stark world of violence, aggression, and war.

"In peace sons bury their fathers. In war, fathers bury their sons." Herodotus

Questions and Problems:
1. What is your definition of peace? Defend your position pointing out both pros and cons for your rationale.
2. What elements would you include in a peace negotiation? Why?
3. What are the similarities and differences for peace at the individual and societal levels?
4. How would you balance peace at the individual level with community or society needs? Would you create standards or limits?
5. Is it possible to have a peaceful society that includes all members? If not, who would be excluded? And what would you do with those excluded?
6. Where along the peace continuum do you think mankind is now? Why?
7. You are asked to mediate escalating friction between Berserkystan and the Duchy of Gran Fenwick. The former is rich in kumquats while the latter has a monopoly on chambongs. Each has exclusive, lucrative trade deals with other countries for its product. Both have additional resources and commodities, but economic sanctions prevent mutual exchange. How would you go about reconciling this problem?

"Peace is not the absence of war. Peace is a virtue, an attitude,
a tendency to good, trust, and justice." Spinoza

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"Peace is the work of justice indirectly, in so far as justice removes the obstacles to peace; but it is the work of charity directly, since charity, according to its very notion, causes peace." Aquinas.

CHAPTER 2
Of Conflict: Anger, Aggression, Violence and War

"War is peace, Freedom is slavery, Ignorance is strength." George Orwell, 1984.

Anger and Aggression
"Aggression unchallenged is aggression unleashed." Phaedrus.

Just how widespread is hostility? 69% of males and 56% of women responded 'yes' to the survey question: "If you could secretly push a button and thereby eliminate any person with no repercussions to yourself, would you press that button?" (1). Men would most often kill the president or some public figure; women would kill ex-boyfriends or husbands, bosses, and former partners of current lovers. A 1980's survey of college students found that 15% agreed that if we could wipe out the Soviet Union(resulting in at least 100 million deaths), and be sure they wouldn't be able to retaliate, we should do it. Despite the WW II nuclear bombing of two Japanese cities and the death of over 100,000 people, many of them children and women, a poll at the time indicated that only 5% of Americans were against the bombing, whereas 23% felt we should have bombed more targets before Japan could surrender. In one study of inner-city minority seventh graders 95% had no idea how to handle their anger except to react emotionally "retreat inward" or "explode outward"(2). Only 2 out of 40 said they would "verbally express their feelings of anger," but none considered "trying to reason with the other person" or "having an open discussion of both peoples'' feelings" or "exchanging information or views" or "trying to find a satisfactory compromise" or any other solution. Over 50% viewed fighting as constructive-a way to find out who we are and what we want out of life, that we can learn about people and how they react by fighting, that fights sometimes build relationships, that fights settle arguments, and that fights can be fun. Indeed it seems, as *Pogo*(Walt Kelly) observed: "we have met the enemy and he is us."

Surveys of adults and adolescents have consistently found that more than 60 percent feel that conflict will always exist because of man's nature. The conventional wisdom of cynics and critics runs like this: animals are aggressive and humans cannot escape the legacy of our evolutionary ancestors(Tennyson's "red in tooth and claw"). Episodes of war and cruelty dominate history. Certain areas of the brain and particular hormones are linked to aggression, suggesting a biological basis for such behavior. In the 1968 film, *Planet of the Apes*, Cornelius [reading from the sacred scrolls of the apes] observed: "Beware the beast man, for he is the Devil's pawn. Alone among God's primates, he kills for sport or lust or greed. Yea, he will murder his brother to possess his brother's land. Let him not breed in great numbers, for he will make a desert of his

home and yours. Shun him, for he is the harbinger of death." These widely held beliefs provide us with grim expectations, self-fulfilling prophecies, and excuses for being aggressive, none of which are easily shaken.

What's the reality of aggression? A passion for life, aggression has adaptive value as a survival strategy, but only in controlled amounts. Indeed, all animals show a tendency to be aggressive at times for purposes of defense, the provision of food and mating, and human beings are no exception to the rule. Aggression coexists with other adaptive survival strategies, heroism, and compassion, especially in the primate kingdom. Evolution has worked to provide a balance in order to optimize survival. If killing to eat(i.e., predation) is excluded as a form of aggression, animals are not as aggressive as many people think. Despite the surfeit of violent nature documentaries inter- and intraspecies cooperation in the animal kingdom, however, is quite common. Empathy, reciprocity and communal activity have a calming effect on aggression. Lorenz argued that aggressive behavior including mating in animals is mostly "show" or "display" and has always been used to ward off, but not kill, other animals as a method to announce territorial boundaries and enhance survival(3-5). He found that in most species the threat is more likely to be used than actual violence.

Conversely, altruism in the form of kin selection is very common in animal species, including man. Pure altruism, self-sacrifice for nonkin, is deemed a sentimental illusion. Unlike the institutional aggression of mankind, organized group aggression is rare in other species, and the hostility that does exist is typically a function of the environment in which animals find themselves. Altering an animal's environment(e.g., overcrowding), or the way they are reared, can have a profound impact on the level of aggression. Perhaps this has been etched into man's genes. Depending on the environment and the person the roots of tyranny(i.e., alpha behavior) or freedom(i.e., beta and gamma activity) may be found.

While there is an alarming number of aggressive human behaviors, aggression is not universal. Some preliterate cultures were extremely violent warrior societies where aggression was highly valued(6). Conversely, many nomadic hunter-gatherer foragers surprisingly have lived peacefully refuting the idea that cultures "closer to nature" would be expected to be the most warlike: "The most primitive men are the least warlike and...war likeness grows in proportion to civilization. If destructiveness were innate in man, the trend would have to be the opposite"(7). Even in combat situations, aggressive behavior may not be natural.

> The biggest problem American officers encountered in the field(i.e., WW II) was getting their men to fire at other human beings. The infantryman did not have the psychological prop of the fighter pilot, who could tell himself he was only trying to bring down an enemy aircraft; or of the sailor, who could tell himself he was attacking another ship rather than the people aboard it; or the bomber crewman who was attacking a factory and not the factory hands[employees]. The infantryman had to face the bleak reality that he was there to kill another human being, sometimes close enough to see his face. Only about one rifleman in four could bring himself to fire his weapon in combat. The American soldier is willing to die, Patton observed, but not to kill(7).

Finally, just because a behavior is universal does not mean it has a biological foundation(e.g., clothes, language, pottery making). Sometimes, some nonaggressive behaviors and emotions have been dumped into the aggression bin. For example, cannibalism has historically been classified as an expression of hostility when in fact it has had ritual and religious significance for many cultures. Lastly, selective reporting may have skewed our historical perspective(i.e., marking time in war and interwar years) and assessment(e.g., inflated prevalence).

> "Anger is an acid that can do more harm to the vessel in which it stands than to anything on which it is poured." Anonymous.

Anger

Anger, hostility, aggression, resentment, and rage are fundamental human emotions that are interrelated and lie along a continuum that can terminate in violence. The instinctive, natural way to express anger is to respond aggressively. Anger is a perceived loss of control and frustration associated with not getting what we expect or want. Anger is one of the most important human emotions and part of the basic fight or flight survival response. It is with us from birth to death and can be an asset or a liability, depending on how we use it. Anger can be expressed in the form of crying, teasing, yelling, sarcasm, attack, depression, violence, suicide, pouting, silence, aggression, and violence. Sources of anger derive from real or perceived loss of:
1. Safety and well-being
2. Power and control
3. Perfection and pride
4. Self-sufficiency and autonomy
5. Self-esteem

Anger consists of our response to insults, hurts, injustices, rejection, pain, and the bitterness can be rehearsed and remembered. Hatred is a memory that we are unwilling to let go, dismiss or forgive. Anger can have other deadly consequences. It can turn us into brutal abusers. Civil, reasonable people can suddenly resort to brutal violence. But even if anger does not develop into physical assault, wounding tones and words can crush the soul, sometimes irreparably. As children, we chanted "sticks and stones may break my bones, but words can never hurt me," but we were soothing our wounded egos. Yes, words can hurt. So, finally, though we may enjoy anger for a while, with the realization of the truth, we have diminished ourselves. We have become the victims of our rage.

While everybody experiences their anger in unique, individual ways(i.e., uncontrolled anger sequence) it is possible to identify some common features of uncontrolled anger:
1. Triggers: an unpleasant event happens
2. Thoughts: evaluation/rumination of others' behavior
3. Feelings: emotional response to our thoughts and judgments
4. Behaviors: action(s) based on our feelings
5. Consequences: escalation and reinforcement of the anger cycle

Of course, not all anger is harmful. Anger helps us survive assaults, correct injustices, grow, be independent, and establish better values. It may be positive as in the case of promoting constructive social change or improving interpersonal relationships. When we hear of hideous cruelty, when others are defrauded, affronted, or insulted, we ought to be outraged. "A man that does not know how to be angry does not know how to be good"(Henry Ward Beecher). Proper indignation is commendable and has been linked to improved health.

To understand your anger pattern, answer the following questions:

1. Who or what makes me angry?
2. When do I get angry?
3. What do I do about it?
4. Where do I feel mad most often?
5. Do I stay mad for a long time? How long do I remain upset?
6. How does the anger end?
7. Does anyone or anything help to stop me being angry?
8. How useful is my anger in getting me what I want?

There are two basic types of anger: internalized(*swallowers*) and externalized(*spewers* or *exploders*). Subtypes include moral, addictive, paranoid, habitual, deliberate, sudden, judgmental, volatile, and shame-based. Rage is an aggressive state where there is a loss of self-control. Rage can kill. It's a simple fact that most murders are not premeditated acts of violence, but "crimes of passion," committed in moments of uncontrolled frenzy and deeply regretted after the fact. Hostility is a chronic anger state due to the unacceptance of reality and is considered a permanent personality characteristic. It is harmful to the individual as well as those around him.

Resentment is an internalized rage. Both rage and resentment are guided by selfishness and the desire to rid oneself of those who get in our way. "The Poison Tree" by William Blake eloquently describes the veneer of polite restraint while still harboring bitter resentment:

> I was angry with my friend;
> I told my wrath, my wrath did end.
> I was angry with my foe;
> I told it not, my wrath did grow.
> And I watered it with fears,
> Night and morning with my tears,
> And I sunned it with smiles
> And with soft deceitful wiles.

Aggression

Aggression is the intentional physical, verbal or symbolic behavior to harm without consideration for the needs or rights of others. Actual harm or injury does not occur. Aggression can be either inwardly directed (e.g., self-mutilation or suicide) or outwardly directed at another person or the environment. Aggression can anywhere(e.g., home, workplace, school, driving.) or anytime. Aggressiveness is not assertiveness which

means standing up for yourself in an appropriate way(i.e., taking care of your own needs without hurting other people). Aggression can be classified by type, but overlap and unclarity occur. Instrumental aggression is designed to obtain some reward or position deliberately, hostile aggression to hurt someone or get revenge, and annoyance aggression to stop an irritant. Benign aggression is a brief reaction to protect oneself from danger; malignant aggression is the intention of hurting others purely for sadistic pleasure. Defensive aggression takes place when an animal or person is injured or threatened with physical injury. Maternal aggression is an animal example of defense that is directed to defending the young. Predatory aggression occurs in carnivorous animals and has been reported in humans(i.e., stalking). Group display, a behavior characteristic of primates, also occurs in humans, where its function ranges from the cheering at a sports event to the aggressive cries of a lynch mob. Felonious aggression is associated with a crime.

Individual and collective aggression are not comparable in psychological terms(Table #1). In a group, the individual is subjected to entirely different situation-related influences(i.e., the "stimulating" behavior of others). These influences conspire to make individuals do things(good and bad) that they would probably never do on their own. Not all of the characteristics will always be present at the same time. For instance, riots and uprisings usually occur spontaneously and lack command structures.

Table #1

Individual aggression	Collective aggression
Single	Several cooperating together
Mostly targeted at another individual	Mostly targeted against a collective, sometimes against an individual
Aggressor and victim usually know one another	Anonymity usually between aggressor and victim
Self-motivated (active or reactive)	Motivation usually comes from external forces
Fear of punishment and personal attitude causes inhibition	Reduced inhibitions due to anonymity, responsibility spread, group ideology, propaganda
Independent decision-making	Command decision structure; division of labor
Learning comes from 'normal' socialization	Systematic training with regular reinforcement

We do not usually look for allies when we love... but we always look for allies when we hate... whence come these unreasonable hatreds, and why their unifying effect? They are an expression of a desperate effort

to suppress an awareness of our inadequacy, worthlessness, guilt and other shortcomings of the self. Self-contempt is here transmuted into hatred of others-and there is a most determined and persistent effort to mask this switch. Obviously, the most effective way of doing this is to find others, as many as possible, who hate as we do. Here more than anywhere else we need general consent, and much of our proselytizing consists perhaps in infecting others not with our brand of faith but with our particular brand of unreasonable hatred. Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer*.

- **Causes**

"What causes fights and quarrels among you? Don't they come from your desires that battle within you? You want something but don't get it. You kill and covet, but you cannot have what you want. You quarrel and fight." (James 4:1-2).

Reality and our perception of it notoriously produce erroneous zones in our life. Despite all evidence to the contrary, we believe that everything should go our way: our children should always behave; our opinions should still be considered; our spouses and friends should always be reasonable, cheerful, helpful, and kind; others should always listen to us, understand us and do what we ask. Everyone should love us as we are all the time and under all conditions of life. James calls it as it is: we're hedonists at heart. We want to be pleasured, and when we don't get what we want, we often become aggressive. It's that smothering self-absorption with needs and wants-being acknowledged, understood, cared for, catered to, listened to-that brings us into conflict with others. People don't come through for us, and that makes us angry, an anger that can quickly become blind rage, cruelty, and force.

We tend to think of anger as an instinctive, reflexive, unconscious, adaptive biological reaction beyond our control, which promotes our survival. When our imperfections are revealed, when we are rejected, when we lose power in a relationship, when our sense of security is imperiled, we feel frustrated and angry. It is a continuous physiologic surge that overwhelms our rational thought and behavioral processes. It involves four intertwined components: (1) activation (e.g., a crying baby, a tardy spouse, a thoughtless remark); (2) emotional reaction; (3) augmentation or mitigation of the anger; and (4) an external behavioral response. Because rationality may go out the window at a certain point, it's crucial to slow our thought processes down and begin to analyze how we're thinking. But how is that reasonably accomplished?

Are humans innately aggressive? The seeds of aggression include a wide variety of nature(biological) and nurture(environmental) etiologies that are tightly intertwined. Seneca's *De Ira* [*Of Anger*](Chap. 4) proposed theories about aggression and self-help methods remarkably similar to the best we have today(8). He said *hostile aggression* is to avenge an emotional injury. *Sadistic aggression*, with practice, becomes habitual by frightening others and, in that way, reduces self-doubts (negative reinforcement). He noted that anger is often an overkill mechanism because we attribute evil to the

other person or because the other person has hit our psychological weak spot, lowering our self-esteem, or worse, humiliating us.

The instinct or Deep Root theory, one of the earliest causal ideas of aggression, hypothesizes that human beings, as well as other animal species, are genetically programmed for such behavior, much like the drive for sex and food(9). Our closest kin, *Pan troglodytes* the chimpanzee, shares 99.6% of our DNA, making only about 160 different enzymes. Not unsurprisingly, male chimps hunt, forage and defend territory like soldiers in an army. Their ability to wreak havoc with guerilla tactics is legion. Sound familiar? Chimps deftly operate through opportunistic alliances and balances of power. They also demonstrate friendship, reciprocal altruism and tradesmanship.

Certain environmental factors can increase the likelihood or amplify aggressive behavior(e.g., elevation of ambient temperature, foul odors, unpleasant visual images, and crowding). Animal studies offer some insight to how both nature and nurture interact in producing aggression. Overpopulation in Gombe chimps and a power vacuum in Capuchin monkeys induce significant aggressive behavior. Chimps, however, make concerted efforts at peacemaking. Rhesus monkeys have a well-developed social hierarchy. Some born with normally functioning serotonin systems, but reared badly, can end up both with low serotonin and aggressive tendencies. A small portion of those born with low serotonin levels never develop social skills and demonstrate impulsivity and aggression. They are inevitably kicked out of the troop into a world where they have little chance of survival. Ethnocentrism, territoriality, homophobia, and xenophobia are extremely common in the animal kingdom, and although not an invariable rule, tend to be contagious because they enhance survival through cohesiveness. Gangs, posses, stereotyping(e.g., racism, sexism) and secret societies are human equivalents.

Freud believed that humans have inward(self-destructive) and outward(violence towards others) aggressive tendencies(10). He and Lorenz described a reservoir of aggressive energy(i.e., the hydraulic model) in humans and animals that has captured popular opinion. Natural and spontaneous, this force which builds up all by itself, must be periodically decompressed-say by participating in competitive sports, yelling, screaming, breaking things or sex-lest we explode into a fit of violence. This appealing model easily visualized and readily understood is, however,untenable.

Under normal conditions fighting behavior among higher mammals, including man, originates from external stimulation. Many people, and in fact whole cultures, manage quite well without behaving aggressively. There is no evidence of the inexorable build-up of aggressive pressure. The venting of aggressive energy or purging of unpleasant emotions, described initially as *catharsis* by Aristotle, does not reduce aggressiveness or get redirected into creative acts(11). Instead, a growing body of evidence indicates that engaging in aggressive play strengthens the disposition to react aggressively(12). Football players are more aggressive after the season is over than before the season. It appears that the 1970's slogan "Make love, not war" may, indeed, be good advice. The research of most psychobiologists indicates that human behavior is very complex and does not support either theory. Unfortunately, however, many people hold to these beliefs which may explain why they feel that nothing can be done to change behavior.

The frustration-aggression theory posits that frustration reactively creates a motive for aggression. The frustration that arises from an understandable cause does not necessarily lead to aggressive behavior, but it is especially likely to if it is intense and seems to be unjustified. Aggression in response to frustration is not always aimed at the object causing it. The aggression may be displaced if the preferred target is too threatening or not available(e.g., kicking the dog). Social learning theory proposes that people learn to behave aggressively by observing aggressive role models and by having their aggressive responses reinforced(13). Aggression is known to be higher in groups and subcultures(e.g., street gangs) that condone violent behavior and accord high status to aggressive members. Berkowitz revised the frustration-aggression theory by noting that frustration leads to negative feelings and anger which trigger aggressive behavior(14,15). Direct aggression against the source of the anger, however, does not reduce the degree of aggressiveness. Similarly, venting does not take away the reason, and committing an act of aggression towards a person leads us to view them more negatively. While aggression is usually a result of anger, it may be "cold" and calculated(e.g., the bomber pilot who explodes a target, the judge who sentences a criminal, the merchant who overprices a product).

Low arousal level(i.e., low reactivity and heart rate) of the autonomic nervous system is usually due to chronic stress and is very closely related to aggression and violent antisocial behavior(i.e., fight, fright, flight, delinquency). Such individuals tend to seek stimulation and excitement and often exhibit fearlessness, even in the face of danger. Children with aggressive tendencies have more reactive hearts and higher resting blood pressures following exposure to violence. The scientific fact that men are more physically aggressive than women, in general, has been linked to the hormone testosterone. Males with high testosterone levels are more prone to delinquency and hard drug use. Elevated testosterone levels positively correlate with aggressive behavior(e.g., dominance, sexual expression, and territoriality) in both males and females and negatively correlate with prosocial behavior. Males tend to display physical aggression and risk-taking behavior more than females, particularly in the late teens or early twenties. Females tend to value peace more highly than do males; they rarely participate in the decision-making processes for war(16,17). The primary biological variable related to domestic violence appears to be high testosterone levels, which is highly heritable.

Interestingly, abnormally low levels of testosterone are also associated with aggression. Aggressive behavior has also been linked to low levels of serotonin or increased levels of vasopressin, adrenalin and progesterone, injury to the brain's septum, prefrontal cortex and amygdala, certain toxins, infections and metabolic disorders, pain, depression, temporal lobe epilepsy, attention deficit disorder, poor nutrition, brain tumors, genetic defects(e.g., Lesch-Nyhan syndrome, XXY and XYY chromosomal abnormalities), hypoglycemia, certain drugs(e.g., cocaine, phencyclidine[Angel Dust/PCP]) and alcohol(decreases self-awareness, lowers inhibition and decreases the ability to accurately perceive the outcome of an aggressive act). At least 80 percent of all rapes occur when either the rapist or the victim is under the influence of alcohol. While data on children are sparse low serotonin levels, predict aggression in those diagnosed with disruptive behavior

disorders(18). Drugs that keep serotonin levels high can improve the behavior of impulsive-aggressive individuals.

Stress and aggression reinforce each other at the biological level. In rats, whose neurophysiology is similar to ours, stress hormones lower the threshold for hostility, and aggression raises stress hormones in a bidirectional positive feedback loop. The findings may explain why, under stress, humans are so quick to lash out and find it hard to cool down. A bad day at the office could prime someone for nighttime violence toward family members. It is speculated that the findings may also help to explain why people who are not typically violent become violent in settings previously associated with aggression: their stress hormones rise, facilitating the onset of aggression and making them more likely to become violent in seemingly benign settings. Also, the stress response that accompanies conflict may effectively cancel out the effect of therapies intended to reduce violent behavior. The offense response in animals has evolved into the complex anger response in humans, but only humans participate in institutionalized aggression.

Let's be clear, however, "biological" is not synonymous with "unavoidable" or "unmodifiable". The 1986 Seville Statement concluded that "biology does not condemn humanity to war, and that humanity can be freed from the bondage of biological pessimism"(19). Many researchers believe that biological factors are markers/red flags that do not cause aggressive behavior *per se* but mirror and facilitate environmental dynamics, helping to explain, for instance, the relation between harsh rearing and antisocial behavior(20). They emphasize the stimulus-bound nature of aggressive behavior. The behavior does not occur unless an appropriate target is available, and even then, it can be inhibited, despite the neural system specific to a particular kind of aggression being activated. Furthermore, even if a person is genetically disposed to react aggressively to unpleasant events he can learn to modify and control the reaction. Our large cerebral cortex that allows for thought, will, creativity and culture supersedes the instinct-controlling part of our brain. It is this flexible capability that many anthropologists believe has enabled humans to survive through cooperation and rise above the rest of the animal kingdom.

Aggressive behavior correlates with toys associated with violence(e.g., guns, swords, etc.). Cultural factors are considered by some to be very important in the formation and reinforcement of certain narratives or fantasies. For instance, there are few female warriors, not because women are less aggressive but because their exclusion may protect the security of their warrior husbands since the women may have a contradictory loyalty derived from the opposing neighboring community. Deindividuation, loss of autonomy and bonding in the context of a group or society that distorts or suspends personal identity and moral values and promotes aggressive behaviors to the point of savagery can create a cultural belief system that may view itself as "the chosen people"(21). Differences are seen as a cause for inferiority and disrespect. Other psychosocial factors(e.g., emotions and needs, prejudice/stereotyping, communication style, unmindful "thought" processes[i.e., traditions, habits, and routines], perceptual distortion, childhood experiences, unconscious resentments, motives, and defense mechanisms) significantly influence aggressive behavior. Fromm believed people can feel helplessly compelled to conform

to the rules of society, work, and authority everywhere(22). This lack of freedom to make decisions produces boredom and powerlessness, and the inability to find meaning and love in one's life causes resentment and sometimes malignant, sadistic aggression(23).

"The story of the human race is characterized by efforts to get along much more than by violent disputes, although it's the latter that make the history books. Violence is actually exceptional. The human race has survived because of cooperation, not aggression." Gerard Vanderhaar.

- **Learning Theory**

While biology is important, not every youngster born with an aggressive disposition turns out to be aggressive. Only a small minority do. Aggressive individuals learn to behave this way to maintain status. In preadolescent children, bad parenting positively correlates with aggression. Independent predictors of aggression include low involvement with the child, harsh discipline, and inadequate monitoring of a child's whereabouts. A child whose aggressive acts intimidate other children or adults will often become increasingly aggressive. When people (especially children) observe aggressive behavior which is rewarded, their aggression levels increase(24). For instance, aggressive hockey players score more goals than nonaggressive players(25). When the rough play of such players is reinforced by applause from their parents they demonstrate the most aggressive style of play. Aggressive models appear in three areas:

1. Family: Abusive parents were usually abused as children. Abused children are four times more likely to abuse their children than non-abused children
2. Subcultures: Cultural stereotypes can create expectations of machismo behavior in men. Teenage gangs provide younger members with aggressive models
3. Mass media(e.g., ads, television, music, books, video games): Several sizeable long term research including meta-analyses have found a positive correlation between observing media with antisocial or violent content and antisocial or violent behavior during childhood and adolescence. Media violence is an independent risk factor for dangerous crime decades later. Duration of exposure also positively correlates with the degree of desensitization, habituation, and fear of personal assault. By 12 the average child has seen 8,000 murders and 100,000 acts of violence on television; life appears as a jungle: "most people would take advantage of me if they got the chance"(26). On the other hand, specific media programs (e.g., Sesame Street, Mister Rogers) can promote prosocial behavior(i.e., enhanced cooperation, expression of feelings and helpfulness)

"Our children are not born to hate, they are raised to hate." Thomas della Peruta.

- ### Symptoms and Signs

Some common findings include(27):

Behavioral:
1. Physical and verbal cruelty, rage, slapping, shoving, kicking, hitting, threatening with a knife or gun
2. Discounting others by not respecting their rights
3. Inappropriately expressing feelings and opinions
4. Making decisions for self and others
5. Achieving goals at the expense of others
6. Taking advantage of others
7. Disruptive, uncooperative, or distracting actions
8. Unforgiving or unsympathetic attitude
9. Passive resistance
10. Withdrawal: quiet remoteness, silence, little communication especially about feelings
11. Psychosomatic disorders: tiredness, anxiety, high blood pressure, heart disease
12. Depression and guilt
13. Prejudice, intolerance, bigotry
14. Serious mental illness: paranoid schizophrenia
15. Accident-proneness and self-defeating or addictive behavior, such as drinking, overeating, or drugs
16. Vigorous, distracting activity (exercising or cleaning)
17. Excessively submissive, deferring behavior
18. Crying
19. Judging: superior or "holier-than-thou" attitude
20. Irresponsible and inappropriate behavior(i.e., malicious gossip, stealing, trouble making, antisocial behavior, open defiance, confrontation, refusal to talk, distrust, skeptical, argumentative, irritable, indirectly challenging, demanding, resentful, jealous, envious, sulky, sullen, pouting)

Verbal or cognitive:
1. Open hatred and insults
2. Contempt and disgust
3. Criticism
4. Sarcasm
5. Suspicion
6. Cynicism
7. Blame
8. Feeling disrespected/humiliated
9. Revenge
10. Name calling
11. Statements like: "Well, I'm a little annoyed;" "I'm fed up with...;" "I've had it," "You're a pain," "I don't want to be around you," "No, I'm not mad, I'm just disappointed, annoyed, disgusted, put out, or irritated," "You don't know what

you are talking about;" "Don't make me laugh," "Don't push me, I'll do it when I get good and ready," "Well, they aren't my kind of people," "Would you buy a used car from him?," "You could improve on...," "Unlike Social Work, my career admits only the best people," "I don't want to talk about it," "I feel bad all the time," "If you had just lost some weight," "I'm really swamped with work, can't we do something about it?," "Why does this always happen to me?," "No, I'm not angry about anything-I just cry all the time"

Males have more frequent outbursts, higher intensity episodes and hold onto the behavior longer than females. The event is often related to anxiety, guilt, depression, dependency, and sexual expression. If we think of ourselves as the innocent victim of circumstances, we are not bad people or failures; indeed, we deserve sympathy and help. When we do something that we don't feel good about, often our first impulse is to try to convince ourselves and others that it was not our fault, or that we were right to do whatever it was we did. Perhaps this is so that others won't think we are wrong or bad; thus, they won't judge us or try to get revenge. It is also so that we will be able to go on thinking well of ourselves. It is an attempt to preserve our self-esteem. Very few of us feel good about being violent or abusive, and we know somewhere inside ourselves that it is wrong. And so, we try to deny our responsibility for our behavior. Resentment of others and past events helps us deny our responsibility for our failings and unhappiness.

While most children learn to curb their aggressive behavior, as they grow older, danger signs in children and adolescents who are aggressive include:
- fire-setting
- torturing or killing animals
- threatening or hurting other children(e.g., new baby)
- repeated incidents of fighting at school or gang membership

Conclusion

The aggressive propensities of individuals are best understood through the complex interactions between and among individuals, group membership, and the sociocultural structure(s) operating that derive from nature(biology) and nurture(developmental, experiential, social, and circumstantial) factors. And despite all of the negative aspects of impulsiveness or aggressiveness, this kind of behavior can occasionally be useful and desirable. It may take the form of the impulsive, daring soldier who helps to take a hill during battle, thus saving the lives of comrades, the testosterone-driven athlete who makes the winning goal or the daring pioneer-explorer who takes the chances needed to survive and succeed.

Violence

"Irrepressible violence ... is man recreating himself." JP Sartre.

Myth 1: "It's all in the genes."
Fact: Research indicates that only a small portion of violent behavior is due to biology.
Myth 2: Violent behavior is a "phase" that kids outgrow.

Fact: Many studies indicate that such behavior is learned and once established is not only difficult to change but also escalates in severity. However, most violent youths are not arrested for a violent crime.

Myth 3: Violent behavior is established in adulthood.

Fact: Individuals are most likely to develop entrenched violent beliefs in early childhood [age 7 or 8] and late adolescence [age17 or 18](28).

Myth 4: Violence is just a "guy thing".

Fact: Girls can be just as aggressive as boys but they express it in more indirect non-physical ways (e.g., gossip, manipulation, bullying, shunning).

Myth 5: Violent behavior can't be changed.

Fact: Because violent criminals are made, not born, their behavior can be changed. Violent behavior can be prevented.

> "We will not learn how to live together in peace by killing each other's children."
> Jimmy Carter.

- **Introduction**

Violence has played a much more predominant role in the evolution of humankind than nonviolence. It can be contagious. Humans are more attracted to violence than nonviolence. Consider the media. What do people want to read about, see on TV, or slow down on the freeway to look at? Violence holds human attention. Much of our political, social, religious and scientific thinking, conscious and subconscious, starts with the premise that human beings are born killers and associated myths. Media hype preferentially reports on violence and the more gruesome and senseless, the better. An angry glance or curt response can snap hair-trigger tempers and send bullets flying; years of smoldering psychopathology can result in mass murders. Violence seems to be the evolutionary norm.

- **Definition**

Violence is the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in, or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, or other adverse social, psychological, or economic effects. Examples of violence include war, conflict, child abuse, violence against women, violence against the elderly, xenophobic violence, firearm-related violence, organized crime, and suicide.

- **Types**

Violence can be divided into three major categories: personal, structural and collective. The three broad categories are each further divided to reflect more specific types of violence. Personal violence is directed at the self(i.e., suicidal behavior and self-abuse) or another person(s)(i.e., family and partner violence). Structural violence is aimed at organizational and social structures(i.e., community). Collective violence refers to systems of legitimation, traditions, and ideologies. Collective violence is divided into social, political, religious and economic types. It can take a variety of forms: armed conflict within and between states, repression and other human rights

abuses, terrorism and organized crime. Democide is the murder of any person or people by a government(e.g., genocide, politicide, and mass murder). It is essential to understand that there are considerable overlap and interrelation between and among the types.

- **Demography**

"Truly man is the king of beasts, for his brutality exceeds them. We live by the death of others." Leonardo da Vinci.

On a global scale, violence kills 1.6 million people a year(29). Violence is the leading cause of death among 15-44 year olds worldwide. This accounts for 14% of deaths among males and 7% of deaths among females. In 2000 global mortality from violence exceeded that of road traffic crashes and malaria. A growing number have involved students and have attracted international notoriety(e.g., Ecole Polytechnique, Columbine, Sandy Hook, etc.). Deaths are only a very small part of the problem of violence(<10%); many other people suffer the devastating social, psychological and physical consequences of violence(e.g., injuries, disabilities, and mental disorders). Violence of all types has a dramatic effect on the lives of the victims, the perpetrators, and their families, often for a lifetime and sometimes for several generations. For instance, child abuse is intricately linked to other types of violence. The collective cost to society is in the billions.

Contrary to the impression given by the media, the most significant number of violent deaths is not due to war but to suicide. Annually, over one million people commit suicide(16/100,000 population), and the rate is rising[www.suicide.org]. For the year 2000, there were 815,000 cases-or one death every forty seconds. In general, the highest rates of suicide occur in the regions where homicide rates are lowest. Wealthier countries tend to have higher levels of suicide than in poorer countries. Interpersonal violence accounted for 520,000 deaths: or one murder per minute. There were 310,000 deaths directly due to collective violence. Studies show a strong relationship between homicide rates and economic inequality with poorer countries tending to have higher rates of homicide than wealthier countries. Among regions, Latin America(e.g., Columbia, Mexico, Venezuela) has the highest homicide rate among young people between ten and twenty-nine years of age, 36.5 per 100 000.

Unfortunately, there is no adequate information, inaccurate data due to under-reporting or undercounting or uniform standard regarding the numbers of people killed by violence in more than half the world's countries(30). For instance, for every young person murdered, there are at least twenty to forty other young people who receive hospital treatment for a violent injury or were killed outright. Inadequate recording or reporting systems, as well as fear, shame or because violence is accepted as "normal", are common reasons.

In 2000 1.4 million violent crimes were committed in the United States, producing one of the world's highest crime rates(28, 30):
- One murder occurs every 34 minutes
- One forcible rape happens every 6 minutes

- One robbery occurs every minute
- One aggravated assault occurs every 34 seconds
- One motor vehicle theft occurs every 27 seconds
- One violent crime occurs every 22 seconds
- One burglary occurs every 15 seconds
- One larceny-theft occurs every 5 seconds
- One property crime happens every 3 seconds

Violence in Young People

An estimated 299,000 homicides (21.2 per 100,000 population) occurred globally among young people aged 15-29 years in 2010(31). Rapid social and economic change is associated with higher homicide rates(e.g., Albania-28.2 per 100,000, Russian Federation-18.0 per 100 000). Stable countries have low rates(e.g., France, Germany and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland-0.6, 0.8 and 0.9 per 100 000, respectively). Almost everywhere, homicide rates are substantially lower among young women than among young men. Sociocultural factors are important to understanding why the homicide rate of certain countries(e.g., America) are significantly higher than others(e.g., Europe, Japan) or why crime is higher in lower socioeconomic classes. Between 1985 and 1994 youth homicide rates increased in many parts of the world, particularly among those aged 10-24 years. The carrying of weapons has become a significant risk behavior among young people of school age. In Scotland, 34.1% of boys and 8.6% of girls aged 11-16 said that they had carried weapons at least once. In the Netherlands, 21% of secondary-school pupils admitted possessing a weapon, and 8% had brought one to school.

The number of murders in the United States committed by children 14 to 17 years old has risen 165 percent since 1985(28). Violent deaths among children 5 to 14 and among young adults 15 to 24 have increased threefold since the 1950s(32). One in eight US high school students are involved in an abusive "love" relationship currently. Annually, 40% of youths have been in a fight; 10% were in four or more fights(33). 25% of young males have carried a weapon at least one day in the last month (60% carried a knife and 25% a gun). However, recent studies suggest that college (not high school) women are more likely than men to kick, push, bite, and slap in anger, especially when they are jealous. Hostile, aggressive young people tend to come from broken, angry, violent homes.

No community, whether affluent or poor, urban, suburban, or rural, is immune from the devastating effects of youth violence(ages 10-18). Although youth violence has declined significantly nationwide since 1993, youths' confidential reports about their violent behavior reveal no change since then in the proportion of young people who have committed physically injurious and potentially lethal acts. Moreover, arrests for aggravated assault have declined only slightly and in 1999 remained nearly 70 percent higher than pre-epidemic levels. That same year, there were 104,000 arrests of people under age 18 for a serious violent crime-robbery, forcible rape, aggravated assault, or homicide (34). Of these, 1,400 were for homicides committed by adolescents and, on occasion, even younger children. Homicide rates and arrest records give only a partial picture of youth violence. For every youth arrested in any

given year in the late 1990s, at least ten were engaged in some form of violent behavior that could have seriously injured or killed another person. Thirteen to fifteen percent of high school seniors report having committed an act of serious violence in recent years.

The number of youths involved with gangs has not declined and remains near the peak levels of 1996. Surveys consistently find that about 30 to 40 percent of male adolescents and 15 to 30 percent of female youths report having committed a serious violent offense by age 17. Serious violence is part of a lifestyle that includes drugs, guns, precocious sex, and other risky behaviors. 20% per year abuse their parents; 93-95% are a "little physical" with parents. Also, 10% of children are dangerously and severely aggressive with siblings. Teenagers commit about 25% of all murders. Most youth violence begins in adolescence and ends with the transition into adulthood. Most highly aggressive children or children with behavioral disorders do not become serious violent offenders. Youths who become violent before age 13 generally commit more frequent and severe crimes over a longer period.

Violence among Intimate Partners

Violence inflicted by one intimate partner on another occurs in all countries and social, economic, religious and cultural groups. Yet, about 80 countries have no (or unknown) legislation against domestic violence. One in three women in the world suffers violence in her lifetime. Their male partners kill about 70% of female murder victims. The risks are greater in some populations, such as the poor. In India, there are approximately 15,000 dowry deaths per year, mostly disguised as kitchen fires. "Honor' defenses" (partial or complete) are legal in Peru, Saudi Arabia, Bangladesh, Argentina, Ecuador, Egypt, Guatemala, Iran, Israel, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Turkey, the West Bank, and Venezuela. At least 1,000 women and girls a year are killed in "honor crimes" in Pakistan alone. Domestic violence accounts for more death and ill-health than cancer or traffic accidents in Europe. The Russian government estimates that their partners or relatives killed 14,000 women in 1999, yet the country has no law specifically addressing domestic violence. In the UK, one in four women will experience violence at the hands of a partner during their lives, the emergency services receive one call a minute about violence in the family, and two women a week are killed. China's last census (2000) revealed a ratio of newborn girls to boys at 100:119 (the biological average is 100:103); India has a similar trend.

In the overwhelming majority of cases, men inflict violence on women. Internationally, 10–69% of women report being physically assaulted by an intimate male partner at some point. Research suggests that physical violence in a close relationship is often accompanied by psychological and sexual abuse (30-50% of cases). An Israeli study found that 40–70% of female murder victims were killed by their husbands or boyfriends, frequently as the culmination of an abusive relationship(35). In America 1/3 of female homicide victims are murdered by a husband or boyfriend. In 1999 over half a million women (25-50% of all wives) were the victims of domestic violence; a woman is assaulted every 15 seconds and four women die each day as a result of violence in the family-approximately 1,400 women a year.

Sexual Violence

Depending on the country and the study, about one in three women have been physically assaulted by an intimate partner at some point in their lives and sexually abused by a partner in one-third to over one-half of these cases. Each year two million girls aged between five and 15 are introduced into the global commercial sex market and 700,000 women and girls sexually exploited. One in five women in the world will be the victim of rape or attempted rape in her lifetime. Between 250,000 and 500,000 women, or about 20% of women, were raped during the 1994 Rwanda genocide. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, 20,000-50,000 women were raped during five months of conflict in 1992. 94% of the households displaced by conflict in Sierra Leone experienced sexual assaults, including rape, torture and sexual slavery. In South Africa in 2000 52,975 rapes were reported, with the 12-17 year age group being the most vulnerable-the rape conviction rate was 7%. In the UK, there were 14,000 recorded rapes in 2003 (up 8% in 2002); only one in five rape attacks are reported to the police; 167 women are raped every day. About 135 million girls and women globally are estimated to have undergone genital mutilation-a further two million girls a year are at risk.

In America, a woman is raped every 90 seconds. 1 in 5 women has been raped, 683,000 women were raped in 1990 (30% were less than 11 years of age). At least 25% of female college students have reported either an attempted or completed rape since age 14 years. Most cases(>50%) are date rapes. Over half of college women and one-third of college men have experienced coercive sexual activity.

Violence in the Elderly

Because the general statistics collected by countries on violent acts vary widely(most developing countries do not track at all), the likely rates of elderly abuse in both communities and institutions are significantly higher than official figures indicate. The deaths of older people have often been attributed to natural, accidental or undetermined causes when in fact they result from abuse or neglect. The prevalence appears to be at least 4-6%, if physical, psychological and financial abuse and neglect are included. Female abuse is about three times as high as for males.

Violence in Children

Reports of infanticide, mutilation, abandonment, sexual abuse and other forms of violence against children date back millennia(29,32,34). The findings of international studies conducted since 1980 reveal that the mean lifetime prevalence of childhood sexual victimization is 20% among females and 5-10% among males. In some studies, nearly half of the parents interviewed reported that they had hit, kicked or severely beaten their children. Reports from parents in some European countries confirm that significant numbers physically punish their children. In Italy, 8% of children receive harsh physical punishment from their parents. A recent survey of households in Romania found that 4.6% of children reported suffering severe and frequent physical abuse, including being hit with an object, burned or deprived of food. Infants and very young children seem to be at highest risk; rates for children aged 0-4 years are more than double those for 5-14 years. Each year in America 1.2 million children are

physically abused and over 150,000 are sexually abused. Parents and caretakers often inflict the most severe abuse. Girls suffer more sexual abuse than do boys, but boys suffer more physical abuse than girls do. Mothers are more likely to abuse their children physically; fathers are more likely than mothers to abuse their children sexually.

- **Causes**
"The cause of violence is not ignorance. It is self-interest...only reverence can restrain violence-reverence for human life and the environment." Rev. William S. Coffin Jr.

Over time humankind has developed psychological adaptations to recurring violence. Moral behavior may be hard-wired(36). Examples include the Golden Rule, not cheating, killing, or committing adultery. There is evidence that such a moral compass has evolved through natural selection to favor survival and social living. Even though the modern skull houses a Stone Age mind, this moral grammar is subject to cultural influence-some societies may accept abortion, others infanticide. No single factor can accurately predict or explain why one individual, community or society is more or less likely to experience violence. Individual characteristics interact in complex ways with people and conditions in the environment to produce violent behavior. Exerting different effects at different stages of development, they tend to appear in clusters, and they seem to gain strength in numbers. These risk probabilities apply to groups, not to individuals. Biology is not destiny. Most experts agree on one critical finding: violence is learned. For example, in war-torn countries assaults and homicides increase, particularly after the fighting is over. Why? Much like the media, an environment of war makes aggressive responses more acceptable by desensitizing man to the horrors of violence, weakening inhibitions and leading to acts of violence. How do we reconcile the intelligence of our species with such intense violent behavior? Is this simply a matter of flawed thinking or self-centered mean-spiritedness?

It is essential to understand these factors and how they are interrelated to begin to consider how to reduce and prevent their hideous consequences(37). One model organizes the risk factors for violence into four diverse, interacting levels:

- Individual: young age, isolation, low income and poor education, psychological and personality disorders, alcohol and substance abuse, and a history of engaging in violent behavior or experiencing abuse
- Relationships: poor parenting, family dysfunction, parental unemployment, marital conflict and friends who engage in violent or delinquent behavior
- Community: poverty, high residential mobility and unemployment, overpopulation, social isolation, the existence of local drug trade, and weak policies and programs within social settings such as neighborhoods, schools, workplaces and other institutions
- Society: the availability of means (such as firearms), weak/nonexistent criminal justice systems, social and cultural norms that support the use of

violence(media) and policies that maintain or increase economic and social inequalities

"Nobody has been born violent. No one has been born charitable. None of us comes to these things by nature but only by conversion. The first duty of the nonviolent community is helping its members work upon themselves and come to conversion."
Lanza del Vasto.

Although risk factors are not necessarily causes, a central aim of the public health approach to youth violence is to identify these predictors and to determine when in the life course they typically come into play. The most influential risk factors during childhood are involvement in serious but not necessarily violent criminal behavior, substance use(risk negatively correlates with age), being male, physical aggression, low family socioeconomic status or poverty, and antisocial parents. During adolescence, the influence of family is mostly supplanted by peer influences. Major risk factors are weak ties to conventional peers, strong ties to antisocial or delinquent peers, gangs and involvement in other criminal acts. Also notable are the easy availability of deadly weapons, the use of dangerous drugs, and above all a much more casual attitude toward violence. Risk factors do not operate in isolation; the more risk factors a child or young person is exposed to, the higher the likelihood that he or she will become violent. Risk markers such as race or ethnicity are frequently confused with risk factors; risk markers have no causal relation to violence. Most young people exposed to a single risk factor will not become involved in violent behavior; similarly, many young people exposed to multiple risks will not become violent. Conversely, protective factors cannot guarantee that a child exposed to risk will not become violent.

Men are more likely to engage in coercive behavior(i.e., psychological as well as physical) to obtain sex. While the sexual scripts(i.e., ways of socially behaving learned implicitly from our culture) that adolescents are exposed to suggest that females should resist a male's sexual advances, males are encouraged to persist. Those who express greater acceptance of rape myths also report greater use of coercive and aggressive tactics. Alcohol is involved in a majority of sexually aggressive incidents among college students.

Anecdotal and correlational studies indicate that pornography may contribute toward violent behavior towards females. Baron and Straus found that the sales rate of pornographic magazines within a state is positively correlated with its rape rate(38). While there has been an increase in the availability of magazines, films, and videos depicting vivid, explicit sexual behavior, nonviolent pornography increases the potential for violence only when restraints that ordinarily inhibit male-to-female aggression are reduced. Pornography that portrays sexual aggression as pleasurable for the victim increases the acceptance of the use of coercion in sexual relations. Crude or violent pornography positively correlates with elevated levels of aggression against females by males.

Is human nature inherently violent? Social Darwinism, a doctrine developed by Spencer, has provided a justification and vindication for some of the most brutal

political developments(e.g., eugenics, racism, imperialism, revolutionary nihilism, terrorism) of the 19th and 20th centuries. The milieu of human society can be characterized as an environment of struggle. However, the assumption that the social arena resembles nature in that those who succeed because they are superior in some way to others, that they deserve to survive more than others because they represent successful adaptations to the environment, is not only a cruel doctrine but an intellectually unsustainable one. Through a process of mutual adjustments, man develops multiple structures of expectations that guide behavior, as in an extended family, among friends and neighbors, or even among antagonists. The idea of the lawless jungle is unsubstantiated(even wild animals follow certain rules of behavior and customs, such as territoriality), as is that of a lawless body of interacting people. Norms and mores develop; rules and customs guide behavior, as though under an invisible government.

Lorenz argued that there is a natural resistance to committing violence among species of all kinds, although he did acknowledge that violence has been a successful evolutionary tool: "It is always favorable to the future of a species if the stronger of two rivals takes possession either of the territory or of the desired female … "(5) Spreading the individuals of an animal species as evenly as possible over the available habitat to avoid conflict has been shown to be expedient. Humans, to optimize their careers, also tend to spread out into areas where they are needed.

The sentinel work of Satten and colleagues concluded that people commit violence(i.e., senseless murders) because they are either permanently or temporarily insane from psychopathology, and therefore they can't be held responsible(39). This influential theory excludes the possibility that very sane people can choose violent behavior to resolve conflict, or that nonviolence may be the real anomaly. Sociologist Athens explains violence as an abnormal developmental process-not psychopathology(40). His "violentization" theory proposes four escalating phases in the acquisition of violent behavior:

1. Brutalization-someone violently dominates an individual, usually a child, the person sees the loved one violently dominated, and the individual is coached that he or she has a personal responsibility to use violence to settle disputes
2. Belligerency-threats, bullying and minor violence occur in a setting of emerging cynicism and contempt (protection by people and institutions from brutalization has failed)
3. Violent performances-a commitment to and use of serious violence has begun for defense purposes
4. Violent criminal acts-unprovoked/minimally provoked acts that are serious

The first three stages are preventable and treatable(Chap. 10). No one has yet found a reliable therapy or treatment to reverse phase four. Such social retardation guides the actions of these people toward themselves and others from the perspective of an underdeveloped, primitive phantom community, which hinders them from cooperating in the surrounding normal larger society. The theory suggests that violence has been a primary adaptive drive throughout human history. It is a universal

mechanism for shaping children to become adults prepared to survive in malignant communities.

Bandura described several ways that we, as aggressors, avoid blaming ourselves and rationalize and reinforce our violent behavior(41):

1. Denial-rationalizing violence through selective memory deficits and desensitization: "He's covered by insurance." "I just roughed her up abit." "They have a big family, lots of resources." "It was only a slap, not real violence." "It's not that big a deal." etc.
2. Desensitization-escalation of violence from verbal to physical assaults(e.g., shove, slap, beating, homicide) in which human life becomes devalued.
3. Pseudojustification(i.e., the cause is good)-violence is often thought of as necessary to stop an evil force("I had the right." "I had no other choice." "I had to." "It was absolutely necessary.")
4. Blaming-victims of robbery, rape or robbery are blamed for the incident(e.g., "She provoked me." "He made me do it." "She just wouldn't shut up." "If he wasn't such a... "). Events like the My-Lai incident during the Vietnam War have happened repeatedly throughout human history
5. Degradation-the victim is portrayed as evil, stupid, animalistic, or greedy, and deserving to die(e.g., ethnic groups subject to persecution and genocide).
6. Crowd behavior(*posse comitatus*)-"I just went along with the crowd"-mobs, riots or gangs exhibit little responsibility
7. Command hierarchies-"I'm just following orders"-soldiers will often use this excuse(e.g., Hitler's SS Troops)
8. Psychological payoff-we can deny our responsibility for our failings and unhappiness through the past events and resentment of others

When we use these tactics to deny our responsibility, we shift the blame through stereotyping, resentment, and dehumanization resulting in scapegoating, elimination and extermination. We view ourselves as the victim(42). But in trying to get rid of something negative, we also lose something positive-our personal power. The truth is that we are in control. Because we are human, we can always choose our emotions, our actions, and our reactions to circumstances or other peoples' behavior. Yet, for some reason, we choose to rationalize by:

1. reacting to others
2. reacting to life's experiences
3. staying in a difficult or destructive relationship
4. allowing ourselves to become angry, abusive or violent

Girard defined such behavior as mimetic in nature, a fundamental mechanism of learning. Unfortunately, it often leads to imitating the desires of others that can escalate into rivalries, conflicts and scapegoating(43).

"Local loyalties condemn the spirit to injustice and overwhelm it with the ignominy of taking sides selfishly, for one's self against everybody else, for one's family, country

party, or religion against all others. Is not political man a fool in his hatreds and a beast in his ambitions?" (Santayana)

While great atrocities are attributed to crazed men(e.g., Mao, Hitler, Stalin, Pinochet, Pot, Hussein, Assad), ordinary people can rather easily become evil enough to discriminate against, hurt, and brutalize others. Thousands of ordinary German citizens, including many educated professionals, rounded up and executed Jews by the millions during WWII. How did this happen? "The people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders...tell them they are being attacked, and denounce the peacemakers for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger"(Goering). We strongly resist thinking of ourselves as potentially mean, but we have no trouble believing that others are immoral. Some psychoanalysts take the unorthodox position that intense human hatred and cruelty to others, such as genocide and racial or religious conflict are part of early and universal childhood development(44). Hate in the form of "altruistic punishment" may have evolved to protect an individual's complex community from the inequitable allocation of resources or a transgression of cultural traditions-all threats to social coherence.

While many of our traits and tendencies are culturally defined, our perspective is fairly contracted because we only really know our own culture, and for most of us it is not very diverse. Some credible researchers in the fields of psychology, anthropology, and sociology believe that culture, a purely human creation, lies at the crux of violence and not a basic instinct. They argue that culture is heavily shaped by men(i.e., rulers, politicians, militarists, lawyers, religious leaders, scientists, the wealthy) who seek power and domination. The message of large, strong states with central governments, mighty armies, brutal security forces, and repressive laws is that human nature is indeed violent, and war is inevitable. A vicious circle of a violent culture begetting violent activity and requiring domineering leaders becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. "Unavoidable" violence from little choice becomes an excuse for many. Structural violence appears when a small elite controls the entry into high status; when people are avoidably starving; when resources, or especially the power to allocate them, are unevenly distributed; when life expectancy is much greater in the upper class.

"The balance between mouths and food will be maintained in the future, as in the past, by famine, pestilence, and war." Thomas Malthus, *Essay on the Principle of Population*.

- ### Terrorism

"What can be said in answer to a man who says he will rather obey God than men, and who consequently feels certain of meriting heaven by cutting your throat?" Voltaire.

There are over 100 definitions of terrorism indicating controversy and lack of universality in the concept. Synonyms include organized crime, revolution and asymmetric warfare. Terrorism is a global phenomenon and part of the culture of violence. It is directed against noncombatants and other symbolic targets perpetrated by a clandestine member(s) of a subnational group or a covert agent(s) for the

psychological purpose of publicizing a political or religious cause and/or intimidating or coercing a government(s) or civilian population into accepting demands on behalf of the cause. Terrorism is premeditated violence against a targeted population for political, social, economic or ideological grievances: "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter." Interestingly, the Boston Tea Party would have met this definition. Modern trends in terrorism are toward loosely organized, self-financed, international networks of terrorists, and ones that are religiously or ideologically motivated(e.g., Salafism).

Terrorists constitute less than 2% of the world's population. While the number of acts declined before the mid-1990s since then the number of incidents and the lethality of attacks has increased(45,46). Root causes include the need to be heard, anger and resentment, fear and hate, a sense of betrayal, victims of violent abuse, globalization, and a revolutionary ideology. It is hardly a new phenomenon, with roots back to the Zealots of 1CE(*Sicari*), the assassins(Islamic Order of Assassins[*hashashin*]) of the eleventh century and the familiar *terrorisme* of the French Revolution, codified by Robespierre, in which the new revolutionary government openly engaged in a brutal, systematic purging of the *ancien régime* and its supporters. The Thugee(Muslims and Hindus) during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the Russian intellectuals, like Lenin, "reinvented" modern terrorism in the nineteenth century. Revolutionary violence has been a virtual monopoly of the relatively privileged. The socialist Johannes Most promoted anarchist terrorism by arguing that the entire elite, including their families and servants, and all who did business with them, were legitimate targets of armed struggle to be killed at any opportunity. Any individual caught in the crossfire was a valid sacrifice for the cause(47).

The process of becoming a terrorist involves a cumulative, incrementally sustained and focused commitment to the group. For the majority of contemporary terrorists, there is an early entrance into the pathway into terrorism-whether religious or secular-with many subsequent "way stations." In particular, there is a continuing reinforcement by manipulative leaders, consolidating the collective identity, as well as externalizing, justifying and requiring violence against the enemy. Terrorists have subordinated their identity to the collective identity so that what serves the group, organization or network is of primary importance. Once a youth is embedded within the group, his extremist psychology will be continually reinforced. The power of group dynamics, especially for the closed group is intense, and once an individual is in the group, it is very difficult to penetrate his psychology and extricate him. Terrorists have been middle class, often upper class, and always educated, but rarely poor. They deeply hold political, economic, cultural or religious beliefs and their actions are thought out and deliberate. They firmly believe that their actions are done for a greater good-a form of twisted altruism. Religion is rarely the root cause of terrorism, but it is used as a tool for recruitment and public communication. Digitalization through social media and the growth in encrypted communications has allowed persuasive radicalization and operational planning to take place entirely online easily. "Lone wolves", while rare, are now growing in number.

Terrorism undermines and erodes the community goods of justice, order and peace, which is secured by *bona fide* political authority, and thus attacks all people, who benefit from them(48,49). Often covert, terrorism, using surrogate forces and death squads, gives a government plausible deniability. Sometimes a nation's antiterrorism response highly resembles a variation of state terrorism. Modern non-state terrorism involves decentralized autonomous, loosely structured networks that are often self-financed. The growth of transnational linkages utilizes the tools of globalization(e.g., the Internet, international travel, and open borders) to communicate and conduct terrorist operations among widely separated cells throughout the world.

Many causes have been identified:

1. Alienation/powerlessness
2. Overpopulation
3. Inequality /injustice/lack of political freedom
4. Humiliation/dehumanization
5. Poverty/deprivation
6. Politicized education/ideologic indoctrination
7. Lack of or weak internal locus of control
8. Frustration/hopelessness/exploitation

The connection with poverty, fanaticism, and illiteracy is indirect and complicated. Is not the question of how terrorist actions relate to the impoverished bottom strata of the world system an interesting one? A direct linkage among these conditions, terrorism born directly out of misery, humiliation, and desperation, cannot be brushed aside but is perhaps not the most relevant in this context, among other reasons because this type of terrorism ("the war of the poor") has limited force. There is, however, also an indirect linkage, which amounts to the fact that some terrorists, moved by alienation which also is a form of poverty, identify with "the condemned of the world." Finally, there is a practical connection between poverty and conflict, namely that many of the most underdeveloped regions in the world are also those most chaotic and violence-stricken, and that these "no-go zones" or 'failed states' constitute a refuge for terrorist and criminal organizations, often working together.

War

Weapons are the tools of violence; all decent men detest them. Weapons are the tools of fear; a decent man will avoid them except in the direst necessity and, if compelled, will use them only with the utmost restraint. Peace is his highest value. If the peace has been shattered, how can he be content? His enemies are not demons, but human beings like himself. He doesn't wish them personal harm. Nor does he rejoice in victory. How could he rejoice in victory and delight in the slaughter of men? He enters a battle gravely, with sorrow and with great compassion, as if he were attending a funeral...
War Is Not a Noble Enterprise. *Tao Te Ching*, Chapter 31

- **Introduction**

"War is organized murder and torture against our brothers." Alfred Adler.

Warfare began with the dawn of human evolution and has affected all societies. From birth to death life on earth is a war: wars within the home, wars at work, wars on our streets, wars in our culture, wars within the heart... wars between nations, between neighbors, religious wars, race wars, prejudice wars, economic wars, drug wars... Star Wars. Language "warisms"(e.g., "life is a battle," "never give in to defeat," "getting dug in," "putting your head above the parapet," "outflanking your rival," "war on poverty" or "fighting disease") are common and help subtly reinforce the acceptability of the concept. The media(e.g., television, movies, artwork, radio, and the press) often censor or sanitize the horrors of war, ennoble the combatants(i.e. "fallen" and "causality" instead of "dead" or "killed", "brothers" instead of "soldiers", "honor" instead of "duty") and romanticize the cause(50). Heroism, courage and the triumph of victory are preferentially shown over the agony of killing and death, defeat and the impact of destruction and loss. In times of actual or impending war ceremonies, flags and parades increase social identity at the expense of individual identity. The enemy is categorized as an aggressor, criminal, anarchist, terrorist and even as a rapist or torturer, reptile, germ, savage or beast to augment hostile feelings towards him through propaganda, stereotyping, prejudice and racism(51,52). He may be portrayed as Satan or as Anti-God, a barbarian, supporting an anti-culture, or as a greedy ogre. By contrast, protagonists view themselves through the lens of war's respectability as righteous and civilized, indeed perhaps chivalrous. The use of weapons and clever statecraft disinhibit the "civilized" person from his beastly kin, setting the stage for genocide, mass murders, and main-force warfare. Thus, killing and destruction of an enemy becomes legitimate, reaffirming one's social solidarity by defending homes, religion, or way of life while at the same time punishing the culpable. Political leaders leverage these issues: "the sound sense of the masses and their intuitive conception of right have never been anything but a democratic legend. For the masses believe, as a rule, every lie that is cleverly presented to them"(53-55). Conscientious objectors are viewed as traitors and cowards.

Vacation packages aimed at veterans, cigarette lighters in the shape of guns, military board games and shell casings used as umbrella stands create war nostalgia. Much of a country's history taught in school is mostly that of wars, conquests and military values(56). Many toys(e.g., weapons, board and computer games), particularly those for boys, introduce children to the idea of war, suggesting that it is a normal activity of society. Personal narratives that both justify and glorify participation("the innocent past") in war reflect memory loss, repression of the horrors or a desire to recapture camaraderie or other nostalgic elements.

Members of highly warlike cultures tend to overestimate the propensity toward war in human nature. The historical record shows that the United States is one of the most warlike societies on the planet, having intervened militarily around the world about 200 times since 1800. Within such a society, not surprisingly, the intellectual traditions supporting a war outlook find a ready audience. Patriotism(love of country that positively improves an individual's social identity and the group's solidarity

through a sense of kinship) and nationalism(traditions and beliefs that promote attitudes of superiority or a need for power over other national groups) are strong. Discrimination, denigration, and aggressiveness are augmented, but a willingness to risk life for one's country is diminished.

Life is warfare: "Is there not an [appointed] warfare and hard labor to man upon earth?" (Job 7:1). The Book of Joshua speaks of the War of God fought by men, a "war of extermination" killing all defeated gentiles after a victory. This war of extermination is called the ban, "herem", or the "law of anathema": "When the LORD your God has delivered them over to you and you have defeated them, then you must destroy them totally. Make no treaty with them and show them no mercy"(Joshua 6:17, 8:26). To place a city under the ban was to commend its occupants to Yahweh for destruction. It is often translated "completely destroyed." For centuries, practices like this were widespread across many cultures, particularly the Greeks, Romans, and Chinese.

There is some evidence that mobile hunter-gatherers may have been less warlike than agricultural peoples(7, 57). Even cultures that are famous for having no warfare at present (e.g., Mbuti pygmies, King Bushmen) did have some warfare in previous eras. The Tasmanian aborigines had extensive warfare. Yet, humans do not readily kill other humans, and in some tribal warfare, killing is often limited, especially in formal battles as opposed to raids and ambushes. The most primitive people on earth, the Tasaday discovered in the Philippines in 1966, have no word for war. The entire tribe discourages inconsiderate behavior and encourages cooperation from an early age. Everyone is expected to serve as a caring role model. How has this occurred without modern education, without great scholarship, research, and books, without powerful governments working for peace, and without any of the world's great religions? Perhaps sociology trumps biology when it comes to warfare.

The fact that warfare has occurred in most cultures and throughout the course of human history is not evidence that it is instinctive. Many cultural traditions are practically universal yet are not "instinctive". Wars remain an acceptable way of solving conflicts due to powerful forces that support its institution(58-60). Lastly, with the increasing impersonality of modern warfare the inhibition against killing may be less critical (e.g., nuclear bombs, carpet/area bombing, defoliants, drones) since the enemy is depersonalized[i.e., unseen, at a significant physical or psychological distance](61).

What is war? How can it be defined? What causes war? What is the relationship between human nature and war? To what extent can humans be said to be responsible for war? Is it ever right to wage war? Should certain acts of war be impermissible? What, if any, should be the legitimate authority to declare war? What is the individual's moral and political relationship to his comrades or countrymen in arms? Are war and peace compatible?

"War is only a cowardly escape from the problems of peace." Thomas Mann.

- **Definition**
        "War is mainly a catalogue of blunders." Winston Churchill.

The word "war" permeates our vocabulary: "dogs of war, great war, war clouds, holy war, war chest, tug of war, war dance, war baby, war game, world war, declare war on..." The briar patch of definitions for war, like any social phenomena, is varied and multiple(42 entries in the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*-11ᵗʰ edition), and often mask a particular political, historical or philosophical perspective(62). For example, the United States has not made a declaration of war since December 8, 1941. How then do we define the events in Korea, Vietnam, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria?

The plasticity and history of the English language incorporates and subsumes meanings in its common definitions of war that are borrowed and derived from other, older languages: the relevant root systems being Germanic, Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit. Such descriptions may linger in oral and literary depictions of war, for we read of war in poems, stories, anecdotes and histories that encompass older conceptions of war. For example, the root of the English word "war", *werre*, is Frankish-German, meaning confusion, discord, or strife, and the verb *werran* means to confuse or perplex. War certainly generates confusion, as Clausewitz noted calling it the "fog of war" and the "province of chance", but that does not disallow the notion that war may be organized initially(63). The Latin root of *bellum* gives us the word belligerent, and duel, an archaic form of *bellum*; the Greek root of war is *polemos*, which gives us polemical, implying an aggressive controversy. The Frankish-Germanic definition hints at a vague enterprise which could equally apply to many social problems besetting a group; arguably it is of a lower order sociological concept than the Greek, which draws one's attention to suggestions of violence and conflict, or the Latin, which captures the possibility of two sides doing the fighting.

Cicero defined war broadly as "a contention by force." Hugo Grotius added that "war is the state of contending parties." Thomas Hobbes noted that war is also an attitude: "By war is meant a state of affairs, which may exist even while its operations are not continued." Denis Diderot described war as "a convulsive and violent disease of the body politic," and Karl von Clausewitz famously observed that "war is the continuation of politics by other means"(63).

Some of the more common definitions are:
1. Violent conflict between organized groups
2. The conditions which permit two or more hostile groups to carry on a conflict by armed force
3. A struggle for control of government within a governed society
4. A clash between major interests that is resolved by bloodshed

The word "war," defined by *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, is "a state of open and declared hostile armed conflict between states or nations, or a period of such conflict." This definition captures a particularly political-rationalistic account of war and warfare(i.e., that war needs to be explicitly declared and occur between states). Rousseau argued this position in *The Social Contract*: "War is not a relation between man and man, but between State and State, and individuals are enemies accidentally"(64). War-making by one state or insurgent group against another state or insurgent group(i.e., civil war) is institutionalized aggression. It is the use of armed

force by a state against the sovereignty, territorial integrity, or political independence of another country that may include:

- blockade of ports or coasts
- invasion or attack by armed forces embargoes
- attack by air forces or naval fleets
- bombardment or use of other weapons

Thus, a fight between individual persons, two gangs, or a feud, riot or rebellion does not count as a war. Similarly, the mere threat of war or the presence of mutual disdain between communities does not suffice as indicators of war. The conflict of arms must be actual and not merely latent. Further, the actual armed conflict must be both intentional and widespread; an isolated clash between rogue officers or border patrols is not war. The onset of war requires a conscious commitment and a significant mobilization on the part of the belligerent communities in question. Most scholars accept a threshold of 1000 battle-related deaths over a calendar year as part of the definition of a war(65).

"In war, there are no unwounded soldiers." Jose Narosky

State-sponsored aggression or war-making requires more than the potential inclination to fight that may involve several individuals. Among other things, war-making requires "a great deal of stimulation of martial ardor playing on vanity, fear of contempt, family attachment, group affiliation and loyalty..." (66). While war is traditionally assumed to be an orderly affair in which states are involved with declared beginnings and expected ends, easily identifiable combatants and high levels of obedience by subordinates, there are some shortcomings of this theory since war often embraces more than politics. It may be the expression of culture, in some societies the culture itself. War is intrinsically vast, communal and deliberately violent. This definition is too narrow or normative to include prestate or nonstate players(e.g., nomads, terrorists) and their warfare (e.g., sieges, pitched battles, skirmishes, raids, reconnaissance, patrol and outpost duties, with each possessing their conventions). Alternatively, the *Oxford English Dictionary*(OED) captures these aspects by expanding the definition to include "any active hostility or struggle between living beings; a conflict between opposing forces or principles." This broader perspective allows the possibility of metaphorical, nonviolent clashes between systems of thought or belief(e.g., religions, trading companies).

A useful and robust definition of the concept that incorporates elements common to all wars is" a state of organized, open-ended collective conflict or hostility." This working definition has the benefit of permitting more flexibility than the OED version. The plasticity is crucial if we are to examine war not just as a conflict between states (i.e., the rationalist position), but also as a conflict between non-state peoples, non-declared actions, and highly organized, politically controlled wars as well as culturally evolved, ritualistic wars and guerrilla uprisings, that appear to have no centrally controlling body and may perhaps be described as emerging spontaneously.

Some types of war are:
1. *Low-intensity conflict*-a form of violence in a shadow area between peace and war(e.g., insurgencies, organized terrorism, paramilitary crime, sabotage)
2. *Limited war*-involving one of the superpowers and a third party that is contained within a well-defined area (e.g., Vietnam, Afghanistan, Korea, Iraq, Afghanistan)
3. *Regional war*-fought within(intra-) or along(inter-) the boundaries of contending states
4. *Civil war*-struggle for power within a state
5. *Total war*-full mobilization of troops and use of all available weapons and technology to defeat the enemy; there is no restraint
6. *Hot war*(commonly called war)-a condition of mutual hostility and active physical engagement through such forms as artillery, missiles, bombs, small arms fire, mortars, flamethrowers, land and sea mines, and hand-to-hand combat etc. Nationalism reigns supreme; the aim is the destruction of the enemy or his surrender by intimidation. The object is to have a winner and a loser
7. *Cold war*-mutual hostility without actual engagement. Intimidation is the sole means of preventing hot war. This condition is characterized by propaganda, war preparations, and arms races-always at the expense of human needs. The object is to have a stalemate where neither side will initiate aggression-nuclear or conventional-because of the overwhelming destructive capability of the retaliatory response
8. *Absolute war*-the deployment of all of a society's resources and citizens into working for the war machine
9. *Clausewitzian war*-a rational and instrumental attempt to bring about a new state of affairs through the artful combination of violence and the promise to cease violence if certain political objectives are met(63)
10. Miscellaneous-international, ethnic, long and independence wars

"Warfare," by comparison, is an asymmetrical, protracted conflict between a state authority and insurgents(non- state actors). It resembles peacetime political struggles in that the end goal is to influence peoples, values, identity, attitudes, and allegiance. "Democide" is the killing of a person or people by their government. It includes death from imprisonment, politicide, genocide, deportation, famine/disease, terror(execution, assassination, torture, disappearance), forced labor, massacre, and other forms of mass murder(67). These activities dwarf battle-related deaths which are excluded. Examples include Mao Tse-tung's Great Leap Forward, Stalin's Great Purge and Hitler's Holocaust.

Since WW II the Geneva Conventions and international law have attempted to refine the concept of conflict. While there is no authoritative definition a distinction is made between international and non-international armed conflict. The determinacy of these dichotomous criteria becomes indistinct and contentious when one considers the nature of belligerents, the means and methods of warfare they employ, the goals pursued by the warring parties, and the international context in which they occur. A

state of flux characterizes these "new" wars(62). The threshold for battle-related deaths in a conflict is generally agreed to be 25 over a 12-month period(68). No one would argue, however, that a significant number of lives, especially non-combatants, have been lost in transnational terrorist activities and other nonstate peripheral activities.

"War is the business of barbarians." Napoleon Bonaparte.

- History

"The written history of the world is largely a history of warfare. War antedates the state, diplomacy and strategy. Warfare is almost as old as man himself, and reaches into the most secret places of the human heart, places where self dissolves rational purpose, where pride reigns, where emotion is paramount, where instinct is king"(69).

Is war an all-pervasive phenomenon of nature? Heraclitus(Chap. 4) thought so: "We must recognize that war is common and strife is justice, and all things happen according to strife and necessity. War is the father of all and king of all, who manifested some as gods and some as men, who made some slaves and some freemen." So also, Plato. Accordingly, battles are mere symptoms of the underlying belligerent nature of the universe in which change (physical, social, political, and economic) can only arise out of a precondition of war or violent conflict. The Roman Empire operated on the philosophy of the military author, Flavius Vegetius Renatus(*De Rei Militari*): "Let him who desires peace prepare for war"(70). Kant(Chap. 4) concluded that social antagonism and war were expressions of nature's will for humanity; war, both real and threatened, catalyzes the development of civilized man and constructs a rational world order. Such a viewpoint suggests a symbiotic relationship between war and man's rational capacity that pushes humanity towards its perfection: the establishment of a law-governed society and "perpetual peace."

Periodically, world warfare has increased in intensity, called revolutionary periods, for an extended period. Such periods breed *status quo* philosophies and involve universalist ideological issues(justice/order) that prevail over we/they(micro) concerns. Changes in technology exacerbate the inequities in society ultimately leading to these eras of reformist wars. The antithetical needs for justice and security cyclically drive humans. Hegel(1770-1831) echoed these sentiments, conceiving history as a progressive struggle of opposites out of which emerges a transcending force. A champion of nationalism, the individual's life has no meaning except insofar as it serves the state's ends and that no principle is left by which the relations between states can be subject to moral criteria. He believed that war was the inevitable catalyst through which history unfolds its purpose. War is not an absolute evil. Men and society must accept the revitalizing/vaccinating force of war as a source of strength or stagnate: "True valour of civilized nations is their readiness for sacrifice in the service of the state, so that the individual merely counts as one among many." This viewpoint explains in part why modern warfare has become increasingly impersonal, being directed against populations. The result is the formation of the "military estate" and the inevitable creation of an enemy. The state is not morally

culpable for using war to revitalize itself because states are individuals and interact as "independent units which make mutual stipulations but at the same time stand above these stipulations."

Further, there is no higher power than that of the state which is the expression of rationality and the universal: "the nation-state is the spirit in its substantial rationality and immediate actuality, and is therefore the absolute power on earth; each state is consequently a sovereign and independent entity in relation to others." Hegel disagreed with Kant's perspective of perpetual peace: "In peace, the bounds of civil life are extended, all its spheres become firmly established, and in the long run, people become stuck in their ways. Their particular characteristics become increasingly rigid and ossified." While Hegel recognized the Holy Alliance(Prussia, Austria, and Russia) as a serious attempt to introduce perpetual peace into Europe, he believed that even a union based on enlightened, republican principles would deteriorate into an authoritarian and intolerant force. His rejection of pacific unions and the recognition of the fundamental differences between them, historical, moral and political, were a conscious acceptance that war is an inevitable part of an international system in which states become and remain independent and sovereign. Interestingly, even Voltaire, the embodiment of the Enlightenment, recognized this perspective: "Famine, plague, and war are the three most famous ingredients of this wretched world...All animals are perpetually at war with each other... Air, earth and water are arenas of destruction."

Arthur Schopenhauer(1788-1860) also saw no hope of lasting peace, and he rejected the idea of the state as the divine expression of justice. He argued that man's egotism and generally evil nature produces the world's injustices. The state is needed to protect man against the effects of his self-interest. Thus war, while inevitable, is not a progressive factor in history but occurs as a result of the immaturity and weakness of the masses and the love of luxury and power of their strong-willed leaders. Friedrich Nietzsche(1844-1900) glorified war and romanticized the dangerous life: "a good war hallows every cause"(*Thus Spake Zarathustra*, 1892). Like Bacon("...war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health; for in a slothful peace, both courages will effeminate, and manners corrupt") Nietzsche's new political morality of the superman(*übermensch*) demanded war as a natural activity, the supreme witness to a superior quality of body, mind and spirit and ultimately, self-fulfillment. In developing the primacy of the will which defines the individual more than reason, virtue, goodness, and truth disappear. He believed that the "slave morality" of Christianity, with its accent on humility, submissiveness, and turning the other cheek represented weakness and denigration. Anger, lust, and hatred become virtuous; war becomes idealized. Modern totalitarian and militarism owe much to him.

European leaders of the nineteenth century believed that war would stimulate technologic progress, exalt the courageous, improve the bloodstock, train nations in the practice of virtue and eliminate the weak. Hitler adopted this philosophy in promoting the Aryan imperium: "mankind has grown great in external struggle and only in eternal peace does it perish." Heinrich von Treitschke(1834-96) championed unlimited functions of the state and the individual's duty to submit to its commands. The state's first duty was to maintain its power in its relations with other states and to

maintain law within its borders; its second duty was to conduct war-the crucible in which the elements of a state's greatness are fused, honor and glory promoted and political idealism fostered. War and statehood were synonymous for Treitschke. All states arise through war, and the protection of their members by armed force remains their primary and essential task. The laws of human thought and human nature forbid any alternative. War nurtures the great strides which civilization makes against barbarism and unreason. Between civilized nations, war validates their claims. The virtue of war brings out the full magnificence of the sacrifice of fellow countrymen for one another while at the same time annihilating weak men. The hope of a world state or permanent peace is vain: "the idea of one universal empire is odious-the ideal of a State coextensive with humanity is no ideal at all." Recognizing the escalating cost of war, Treitschke recommended that wars should be shorter and less frequent. But this did not affect his basic axiom that "war is the one remedy for an ailing nation."

Friedrich von Bernhardi(1849-1930) adopted Treitschke's ideas and used them to foster the militant nationalist mood in which Germany entered World War I: "War is a biological necessity of the first importance, a regulative element in the life of mankind which cannot be dispensed with. But it is not only a biological law but a moral obligation, and, as such, a dispensable factor in civilization." Bernhardi drew on other conservative writers: Heraclitus, Frederick the Great of Prussia(1712-86), whose writings on militarism and nationalism represented war as bringing out man's finest qualities, and Karl von Clausewitz(1780-1831) who described the nation's place in the world as a function of the interplay between national character and military tradition(63). Life being a continual struggle for survival, war is the process by which the truly civilized nations express their strength and vitality. War is an instrument of biological evolution. Unfortunately, when two self-validated communities or states come into conflict with one another, war often results. The unbridled collectivism of nationalism spawns destruction in practice.

The ideology of Marx and Engels considered "peace" part of capitalism and the industrial revolution as nothing but a "peaceful" system of exploitation, poverty and forced unemployment, maintained by the organized violence of the state and imperialist war(*Communist Manifesto*, *Das Kapital*). True peace is illusory. Just as slavery was thought to be morally acceptable in ancient times, under the capitalist system, it is considered legally and morally right for a group of capitalists to enslave millions of men and women to run the economy on the basis of their thirst for profit. For Marxists, then, any consideration of violence starts from the simple, straightforward need for self-defense from dehumanization. War for Marxists is not state-sponsored, but a revolution. The masses(proletariat) go to "war" against the ruling class(bourgeoisie) and possibly even the government to protest their living and working oppression and promote fundamental societal transformation: "The redeeming feature of war is that it puts a nation to the test "(Karl Marx). Thus, the collectivism of socialism placed society above the individual. A just, democratic, egalitarian social order realizes the ideals of the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and emergent socialist traditions, driving modernity to a higher cosmopolitan stage of civilization-a socialist utopia. Interestingly, Marxism rejected terrorism, a tactic viewed as counterproductive as it is barbaric and infantile.

Promoting merciless, continuous violence, Lenin argued that "Peace is a slogan of philistines and priests. The Proletarian slogan must be: Civil War." Yet, he used peace negotiation as a revolutionary tactic since it provides a necessary respite for revolutionary forces to avoid greater losses, consolidate its gains and prepare for further war: "History tells us that peace is a respite for war, war is a means of obtaining a somewhat better or somewhat worse peace." Lenin's legacy led to the death of over 50 million people. In a similar manner, the socialist and military strategist Mao Tse-Tung(1893-1976) advocated revolutionary struggle and guerilla warfare, which he considered just, as a way to achieve class equality and defeat imperialism. "We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun(1938). All wars that are progressive are just, and all wars that impede progress are unjust..."(1939). The Great Leap Forward resulted in the death of over 30 million people.

A crisis of the human spirit exists in our world today. We are capable of destroying all life on earth. The 'military industrial complex' creates and sustains a social fear-mongering ethos and psychic numbing of world consciousness, leading to a dominance of the culture of war-hatred that exploits the brutalities of power, oppression, poverty, and greed. A culture of war pervades public opinion through the powerful legislative lobbies of arms manufacturers. Challenging this thinking is to run the risk of being considered unpatriotic. Political demagogues foster violence through the exploitation of long-standing economic, ecological or political grievances(i.e., resource inequities, availability of weapons, unavailability of essential services and jobs, social inequality, nondemocratic processes) that run counter to the core values of liberty, life, equity, justice, and personal integrity. The despair of many from poverty and oppression, when augmented by the power and wealth of the few, breeds envy and resentment which over time often leads to hatred, rebellion and a cycle of violence and counter-violence. In this milieu, it is counterintuitive to consider a non-violent solution to making or sustaining peace.

"We know more about war than we know about peace, more about killing than we know about living." General Omar N. Bradley.

Demography
"History is littered with wars which everybody knew would never happen." E. Powell.

Figure #1 is a composite of global conflict deaths from 1400 to 2013(71). Between 1400 and 1800 the world had a relatively constant level of wars per century[130 per century ±4%]. War was the heroic undertaking *par excellence* during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. With the advent of the industrial revolution, the number of wars doubled(250 ±2%). This period saw war as an exceptional activity, a means of social regeneration and survival of the fittest, predicated on jingoism, racial hatred and aberrant philosophies(i.e., equating peace with degeneracy).

The frequency of wars through history has been so great that many historians consider war as a "normal state" in international relations. For example, in the 1600s

6.1 million were killed in wars; in the 1700's 7.0 million; in the 1800s 19.4 million; and in the 1900s, the "beastly century", 60-90 million were killed(72, 73). The last century was initially viewed as a new era of science, progress, and peace. It was, rather, the bloodiest epoch in Western history. More people were killed in that century than in all previous five thousand years of recorded human history. Significant twentieth century democides number between 200 and 350 million people (73, 74). Between 1900 and 1987 China alone had a total democide rate of 0.12%/year(75).

Some observers contend that the world has been without war or conflicts for less than a month since 1945. During this period, the incidence of war continually increased: 1945-3 wars, 1955-15 wars, 1975-21 wars, 1985-33 wars, 1995- 43 wars. Their duration(i.e., 41 wars continued for more than ten years, 26 wars for more than five years) and severity(i.e., number of killings and the degree of destruction) also increased. The Peace Research Institute Oslo in Norway, together with Uppsala University in Sweden, lists a total of 416 armed conflicts since 1946, of which 332 are "intrastate," 63 interstate and 21 "extrastate"(a term that covers colonial wars of liberation(75). Anticolonial, self-determination conflicts ended by 1975, while interstate conflicts became rare in the 2000s declining significantly post-Cold War. As a result of this 'new norm' shift, all conflicts in 2009 were intrastate, though nearly a quarter were internationalized. Such conflict has become independent of states and, indeed, privatized. While "privatized" warlike violence once existed before the nation-state era on a large scale, paranational and private players, with mercenaries and networked-linked terror groups, have reemerged as the norm. In 2005 there were 20, of which eight were rated moderate to high-intensity. After a nadir around 2010, the number of conflicts rose again, particularly in the Middle East[Figure #2](75-78). Internal conflicts commonly are fought with conventional weapons and rely on strategies of ethnic expulsion and annihilation.

Some scholars, however, argue globalization, war aversion, and a peaceful era has characterized the 65 years post-WW II with the number and intensity(battle-related deaths) declining significantly(79-82). Others have refuted this position positing that the data is statistically flawed, fails to identify important cofactors, is subject to confirmation bias, ignores the possibility of nuclear war and excludes democide data(83-90).

"War should be the politics of last resort. And when we go to war, we should have a purpose that our people understand and support." Colin Powell.

Altogether, wars alone have accounted for the death of between 25 and 35 million people since 1945. According to the Red Cross, 1 billion people have been directly affected by war in the last 20 years. The proportion of civilian war victims rose from around 50% up until the end of the 70s to 75% in the 80s to almost 90% in the 90s. Only a third of the wars were between states. The remaining two-thirds of wars were between different groups within a society and transnational wars in which local militias, internationally recruited guerrilla groups, global terror networks, and regional warlords waged war against each other.

> "If you live long enough, you'll see that every victory turns into a defeat."
> Simone de Beauvoir.

States that initiate a war seldom achieve success in terms of apparent aims; success rates in starting wars have been falling over time. Democracies succeed more often when starting a war, but still only about half the time. A good moral justification leads to higher success rates in starting wars. The moral values for wars of the twentieth century differ sharply from those of the nineteenth century. Reliable information for war-start decisions is sparse and frequently inaccurate. Leaders have war-making aims that are not the same as those of their people. Thus, decision-making is often irrational and poorly formulated. Unless the wars with a low refight rate are those between sovereign nations that have not fought recently, most are refought within a generational time period. Politically-based conflicts occur but represent fewer than 25 percent of all wars.
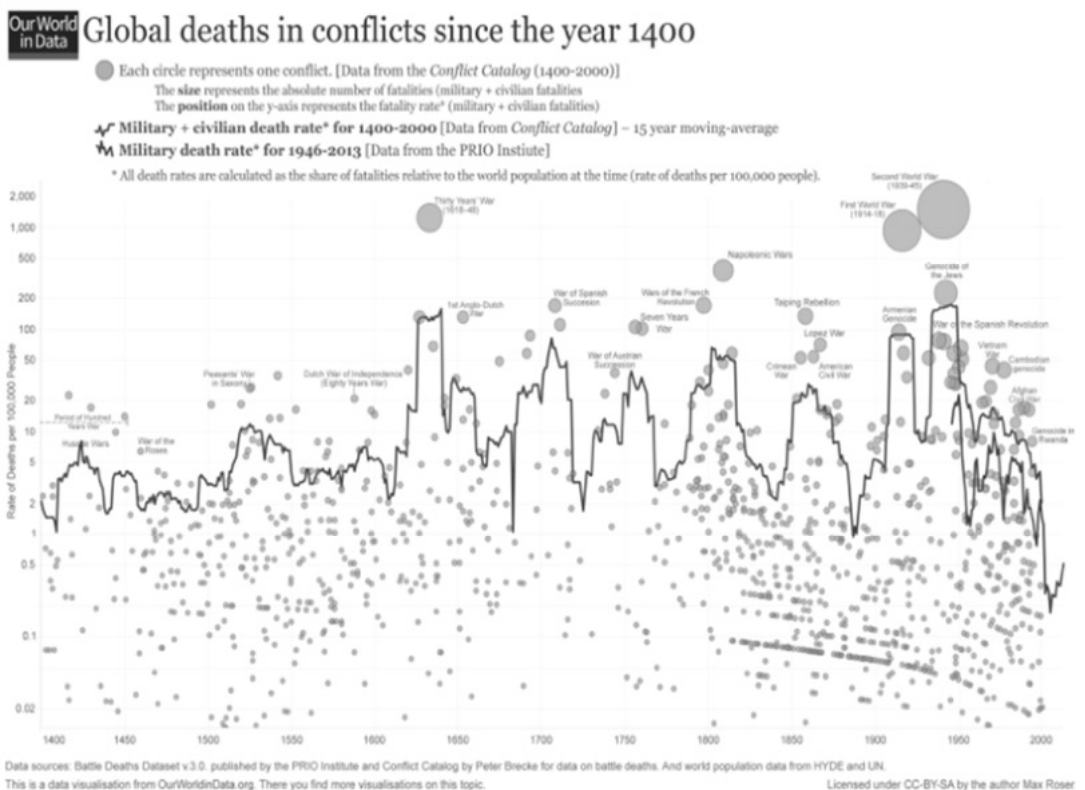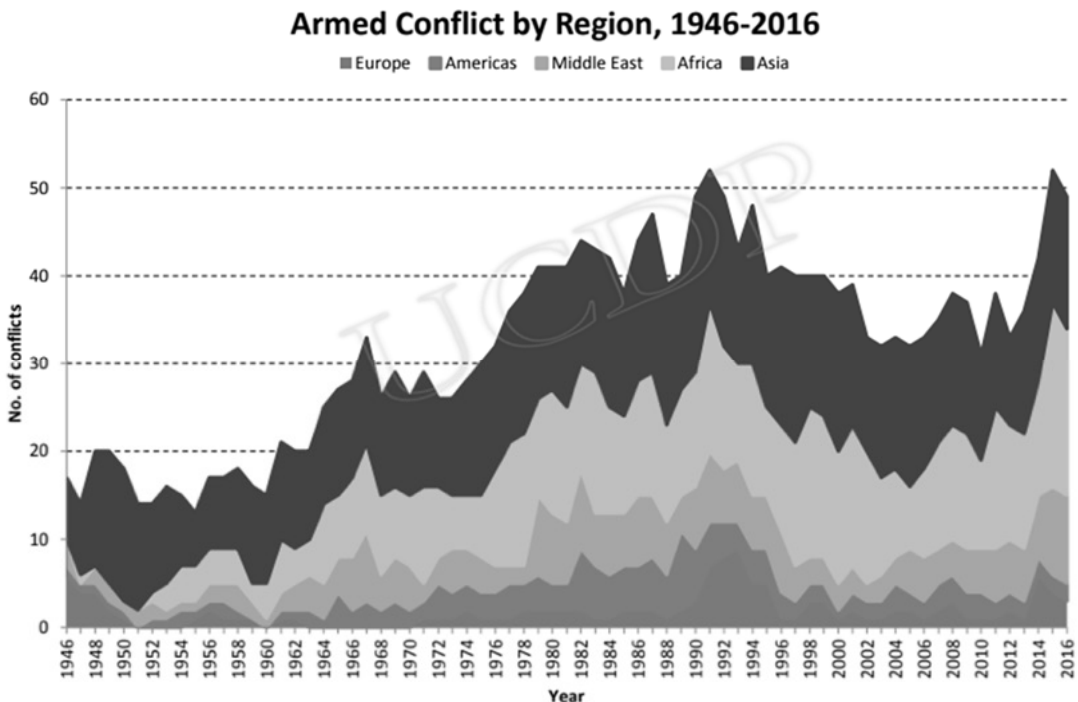
Figure #1(71)

Global deaths in conflicts since the year 1400

Figure #2(75)

Armed Conflict by Region, 1946-2016

■ Europe ■ Americas ■ Middle East ■ Africa ■ Asia

Do religious authoritarianism, dogmatism and fundamentalism contribute to violence and war? While all religions support peace, many organized religions have at one time or another adopted a polarizing attitude of "us *versus* them" or worse still, fueled the institution of war(e.g., Holy Wars, Crusades). Warring countries have used slogans like "Gott mit uns" or "In God we trust" to justify their cause. Does religious faith contribute to peace or war? Although the atheistic governments of the Nazi and Communist regimes exemplified state-sponsored terrorism in the past, today the least violent societies are often those where religion is weakest.

Consider the 2003 internet-based research study of violence, which compared eight "religions"[Figure #3](91). The number of events per religion was calculated with the following ranking by events per million adherents.

Figure #3
Religions Ranked by Propensity toward Violence

Religion	Events	Adherents(Millions)	Violent Events/Million
Judaism	255	14	18.2
Islam	16653	1300	12.8
Christianity	2044	2000	1.02
Buddhism	319	360	0.89
Sikhism	10	23	0.43
Atheism	135	850	0.16
Hinduism	55	900	0.061
Confucianism	12	225	0.053

Monotheisms(i.e., Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) were associated some 22 to 36-fold with violent events compared to the other Eastern religions and atheism respectively. Christianity's ranking would be significantly higher if the Crusades, the many European wars, the Inquisition, and witch hunts were included as would atheism's ranking if the communist revolutions under Lenin, Stalin and Mao were included. The study concluded that monotheistic religions, which are authoritarian in nature, do not assure a peaceful society but may produce aberrant behavior(terrorism) of a few extreme individuals. Religious fanaticism in the setting of nationalism and socioeconomic oppression frequently leads to violence(e.g., Salafism).

"When you think of the long and gloomy history of man, you will find more hideous crimes have been committed in the name of obedience (to a national or religious cause) than in the name of rebellion." C. P. Snow.

Samuel Huntington predicted that future conflicts would arise over cultural and religious values rather than economic or political issues(92-94). Part of the irrational processes involved in going to war relates to the war tradition. The military-industrial-scientific complex is a fundamental instrument for supporting war efforts to reach group objectives. If unrestrained, it is self-enhancing and self-perpetuating, leading to greater arms production and greater emphasis on the acceptability and respectability of war. It is a multibillion-dollar big business that ultimately thrives on war. Dying for one's group or nation is accepted and glorified at its inception and perhaps on into its execution if success is evident and sacrifices not excessive. "Proof" of innate

superiority and courage of one's people follows an array of nationalistic beliefs and exposés: "the nationalist not only does not disapprove of atrocities committed by his own side, he has a remarkable capacity for not even hearing about them"(George Orwell). Leaders making concessions or failing to protect national honor, even into hopeless battle, are frequently reprimanded, in the extreme as cowards or traitors. Thus, warfare is often turned to with less hope of success than out of desperation of seeing no alternative.

"Governments have never learned anything from history, or acted on principles deducted from it." Hebbel(1813-1863).

More civilians are killed than soldiers, and belligerents often use strategies and tactics that deliberately target women, children, the poor, and the weak(95). Despite high failure rates warfare often remains the ultimate conflict management technique of choice and is accepted as such. Terrorism has become an increasingly common factor in wars and reflects globalization conflicts between the strong and the weak. State issues(e.g., territory, trade, alliance and empire building) have been declining in warfare; people issues(e.g., self-determination, kin sympathy, and ideologies) have been growing for two centuries. Civil wars are up sharply in frequency during the past fifty years. New technology produces a pronounced evolution of associated beliefs and values regarding warfare and social system design that relates to world levels of wealth, health and education. Economic and health technology changes have modified the warfare tradition. Balance of power issues are declining overall as a factor in warfare, but remain roughly constant when large sovereignties are involved. Wars involving large powers are declining as a percent of all wars, with wars in Europe in a sharp decline in recent years due to war fatigue and prosperity.

"War settles nothing." Dwight Eisenhower.

After extended periods of revolutionary warfare, particularly if it has been costly or unsuccessful, people seek stability and reduction of warfare(96). War fatigue limits the application of the tools of violence. This fatigue lasts at most only one or two generations. Leaders can only manipulate people up to their war tolerance level, and citizens can push democratic leaders up to a similar point.

With the development of democracies in new states, plunder wars have declined sharply, reducing the overall frequency of wars in the world(97). Between 1816 and 1991 there were 353 wars of which none involved democracies fighting against democracies: 198 involved non-democracies fighting against non-democracies and 155 involved democracies fighting against non-democracies. Overall, democracies exhibit the least severe amounts of foreign violence and war, severe domestic (collective) violence and hardly any domestic democide. By contrast, totalitarian regimes make the most severe wars on each other and have the most severe forms of foreign violence and war, severe domestic (collective) violence and domestic democide. It is highly significant that there has never been a war among genuine democracies, but there have been countless wars among totalitarian and authoritarian

states. And while there have been wars between democracies and dictatorships they are most often in defense of democratic values or in response to overt conflict.

"Don't talk to me about atrocities; all war is atrocity." Lord Kitchener.

- **Causes**

"All war is based on deception." Sun Tzu(98).

Like aggression and violence, the causes of war may be divided into three main groupings: man's biology, his faculty of reason, and culture(99-101). While individual causes simplify understanding, it must be recognized that they are complexly interrelated(62). The notion that war is biologically determined lacks evidence. "When one country attacks another country, this doesn't happen because people in the country feel aggressive toward those in the other," explains Harvard University biologist Richard Lewontin. "If it were true, we wouldn't need propaganda or a draft: All those aggressive people would sign up right away. State 'aggression' is a matter of political policy, not a matter of feeling"(102). Yet, human biology can influence thinking and accordingly affect cultural developments, and in turn, cultural institutions can impact biological and rational developments (e.g., how strangers are welcomed determines a group's isolation or integration and hence its reproductive gene pool). An emphasis on man's reason as the cause of war is apt to ignore deep cultural structures that may perpetuate war in the face of the universal appeal to peace, and similarly may ignore inherited pugnacity in some individuals or even in some groups. Nonetheless, belief in one's reality, a principle of Descartes that is pervasive in Western thought, can be a potentially destructive tendency since it may deny the existence of everything and everyone else.

"We used to wonder where war lived, what it was that made it so vile. And now we realize that we know where it lives, inside ourselves." Camus.

Rationalists proclaim war to be a product of reason (or lack of): "war means blind obedience, unthinking stupidity, brutish callousness, wanton destruction, and irresponsible murder"(attributed to A. Berkman). To some this is a lament-if man did not possess reason, he might not seek the advantages he does in war, and he would be a more peaceful beast. Locke believed that reason is the means to transcend culturally relative differences and concomitant sources of friction, and its abandonment is the primary cause of war. Proponents of the mutual benefits of universal reason have a long and distinguished lineage reaching back to the Stoics(Chap. 4) that echoes throughout the natural law philosophies of medieval and later scholars and jurists. It finds its best advocate in Immanuel Kant and his famous pamphlet on *Perpetual Peace*(103).

Many who explain war's origins in man's abandonment of reason also derive their thoughts from Plato, who argued that "wars and revolutions and battles are due simply and solely to the body and its desires." That is, man's appetite sometimes or perpetually overwhelms his reasoning capacity, which results in moral and political

degeneration. Echoes of Plato's theories abound in Western thought, resurfacing for example, in Freud's cogitation on war (*Why War*) in which he saw war's origins in the death instinct, or in Dostoyevsky's comments on man's inherent barbarity:

> It's just their defenselessness that tempts the tormentor, just the angelic confidence of the child who has no refuge and no appeal, that sets his vile blood on fire. In every man, …, a beast lies hidden-the beast of rage, the beast of lustful heat at the screams of the tortured victim, the beast of lawlessness let off the chain, the beast of diseases that follow on vice, gout, kidney disease… (*Brothers Karamazov*, ii.V.4, "Rebellion").

Apart from the social insects, no other species has been clever enough to invent war-an institution optimally configured to benefit its society. And humans have recently optimized dominance hierarchy(e.g., corporate, political, military, religious, academic) structures so that the "alphas"(usually older men) send lower ranking "betas and gammas"(generally younger males) out to fight and die, while secluding themselves in comfortably safe locations, often where young women dwell.

"War creates peace like hate creates love." David L. Wilson.

The causes of war often reflect an acceptance of broader philosophical issues on the nature of determinism and freedom(104,105). For example, if it is claimed that man is not free to choose his actions (strong determinism), then war becomes a necessary and unavoidable fact of the universe. Man is not responsible for his actions and hence not responsible for war. Causation has been attributed to unknown laws of the universe, certain astrological signs, the four humors(i.e., earth, air, water, fire), genetics etc. In a modified form of determinism, theorists claim that man is a product of his environment, but he also possesses the power to change that environment. Philosophers have debated the issue of how much control humankind has over his circumstances and tendencies(Chap. 4). Others, who emphasize man's freedom to choose, claim that war is a product of choice and hence is ultimately his responsibility(106).

However, the collective nature of war produces a considerable discussion about these issues at the level of citizen, society, and government. Such concerns trip into moral issues (to what extent is a citizen "morally" responsible for war?), but as to war's causation, if man is responsible for the actual initiation of war it must be asked on whose authority is war enacted? Who has the legal authority to declare war, and does that authority have or should have legitimacy? For example, one may consider whether that authority reflects what 'the people' want (or should want), or whether the authority informs them of what they want (or should want). Are the masses easily swayed by the ideas of the élite, or do the élite ultimately pursue what the majority seeks? Here, some blame aristocracies for war (e.g., Nietzsche extoled their virtues in this regard) and others blame the masses for inciting a reluctant aristocracy to fight. "As for the peoples, they are nothing at all except common fodder. No government ever…hesitated to deceive them, [each government] took it for granted that they [average citizenry] would let themselves be butchered in unlimited quantities when the

game of power politics[included] war"(107). Ronald Reagan commented: "People do not make wars; governments do."

"All ideologies end up killing people…structures that are not initiated by justice and love have no liberating or reconciling force, and are never sources of life." Jean Goss.

The causal factors that increase the likelihood of aggression and violence between individuals are not the same as those that raise the possibility of group violence or war between states; the processes are dissimilar even though they can be described in similar words. Most analyses of the causes of war focus on societal, sociocultural or economic and psychological factors[Table 1](43,66,108).

Table 1
Factors and Conditions Making Societies Prone to Warfare

- Threatening regional relationships
- Sudden economic and political shifts
- Lack of resources
- Weak, corrupt, or collapsed states
- Illegitimate or repressive regimes
- Discrimination against ethnic or other social groups
- Mismanaged religious or ethnocultural differences
- Religious communities that promote hostile and divisive messages
- Political and economic legacies of colonialism or the Cold War
- Large stores of weapons and ammunition
- Widespread illiteracy, disease, and disability

In 1918 Randolph Bourne commented in his essay *The State* that "war is the health of the state"(109). Why? He described a herd sense – an irresistible series of forces leading to collective uniformity and unity of sentiments among men that sanctifies them by sanctifying the State, the diplomatic-military ideal: "this gregarious impulse is the tendency to imitate, to conform, to coalesce together, and is most powerful when the herd believes itself threatened with attack." Bourne emphasized that "the State's chief function is war". He astutely observed that the people are not consulted for the initiation of war; "democratic control" even in the most of modern democratic nations means that foreign policy is sequestered in private hands of the government's executive branch. Thus, the State is in a continual state of latent war in which diplomacy is a "disguised war"(110). The psychology of war focuses on its inevitability:" It is a rationalization for accepting war as a system of resolving human conflict"(111). Treating any behavior as inevitable sets up a self-fulfilling prophecy. By assuming we are bound to be aggressive, we are more likely to act that way, thus confirming the assumption and unlikely to oppose a particular war.

"No matter what political reasons are given for war, the underlying reason is always economic." A.J.P.Taylor.

An imbalance among sociocultural forces(i.e., differences in *Weltanschauungen*) seated in the meaning, values, and norms of states creates war after which a new field equilibrium is established, a process that is painfully slow(43). Interrelated causes and conditions of conflict, therefore, operate situationally or contextually within this social field. Survival and competition for jobs, resources(Malthus), and political power and policies may set off sectarian ethnic violence as may an economic depression or a change in political leadership, religious intolerance and nationalism. Threats to survival, general physical well-being, personal identity or freedom, preoccupation of states to defend, maintain or extend interests and power, unmet needs, incompatibility, lack of participatory access can lead to the use of force. When political demagogues exploit long-standing grievances, the scene is set for violence. "The flag follows trade, the politicians follow the flag, the propagandists(including mainstream clergy and media) follow the politicians, and the people follow the propagandists"(112).

War is rarely the product of one cause or a group of causes operating independently. The promoters(necessary and sufficient causes) for war are:
- Nonlibertarian party(ies)
- Expectation of success
- Opposing sociocultural interests and capabilities
- Balance of powers change
- Will-to-war(offensive or defensive)
- Contact and status of the parties(i.e. awareness)

Disruption of the *status quo* is both necessary and sufficient for war. Such disruption will not occur unless the requirements for war are present. While all conditions for war may be present, war may still not break out. Additionally, the war that does occur can be a short, intense confrontation on a border, a full-scale war between the parties or a general war in which many states are involved.

"The more bombers, the less room for doves of peace." Nikita Krushchev.

Aggravating conditions for war include:
- Sociocultural state dissimilarity
- Cognitive imbalance
- Status difference
- Power disparity(strong coercive state power[anti-*status quo* power] or weak *status quo* power
- Generalized intervention(e.g., allies)
- Honor and credibility differences
- Class conflict

These conditions tend to destabilize the *status quo*, increase the likelihood and intensity of its disruption. While power dissimilarity can lead to hostility, power parity or a sufficient equality of coercive power and forces such that each side believes that it can successfully oppose the power of the other is also an aggravating condition. Honor and credibility issues tend to make a conflict situation more explosive, more intense and more difficult to resolve. But, singly or collectively, these aggravating conditions will not in general cause war by themselves. The necessary causes must be present, and the *status quo* must be disrupted. Trade and class conflicts are, for the most part, no longer a cause of war. Greed and plunder remain the second or third most common root of political violence but change form as political values change; in an unstable political entity, one can fight for office with plunder as a covert objective. Anarchy is an important tertiary cause of war overall; it is secondary among big power wars. Conflicts can endure because losers still live in poverty.

"If my soldiers were to begin to think, not one of them would remain in the army."
Frederick the Great.

War inhibitors include:
- Sociocultural similarity
- Cognitive balance
- Status similarity
- Cross-pressures
- Libertarian political system
- World opinion
- Power disparity(decentralized or weak, coercive state power[anti-*status quo* power] or strong *status quo* power)

No single inhibiting factor necessarily prevails. War still may occur, despite gross inequality in military forces and resources. Other factors, such as honor, credibility, assistance from allies, survival, or determination may make the difference(e.g., the Vietnam and Israeli-Arab Wars). Shared domestic concerns, cross-pressures, restraints, and ideologies preclude war among libertarian(liberal democratic) states.

"In war, truth is the first casualty." Aeschylus.

Conclusion
"War remains the decisive human failure." John Kenneth Galbraith.

War and its cousins are a serious, urgent and perennial problem for humanity. As part of our evolutionary heritage, we do kill one another. Whether one believes that overall war starts and fatalities are currently up or down, violence and aggression innate or acquired they are a product of our human condition. However, there is a growing body of scientific, as well as empirical evidence that they need not be inevitable or preordained. Indeed, the complex interrelated factors that underlie violence and

conflict need to be clearly understood in order to seek meaningful short and long-term peace solutions. We need to confront such myths as the majority of deaths during conflicts are soldiers. And we must guard against the complacency that characterized the end of the nineteenth century or the Cold War. Both were followed by periods of deadly peace.

"It is only those who have neither fired a shot nor heard the shrieks and groans of the wounded who cry aloud for blood. War is hell." William Tecumseh Sherman.

Questions and Problems:
1. Do you think mankind is inherently violent? Why or why not?
2. How do you explain the recent acts of mass killings? Is society becoming more violent? Why or why not?
3. Compare and contrast the levels of violence associated with democracies, autocracies, and regimes in transition.
4. Define aggression, violence, conflict, and war noting similarities and differences.
5. What are the causes of aggressive behavior for individuals versus societies?
6. Is conflict an inevitable part of human existence? Provide reasons for why or why not.
7. Critique the following: "the least socialized are disproportionately involved in individual violence, whereas the best socialized are the foundation of intergroup violence."
8. Pick a recent war and describe the benefit-to-ratio basis for the conflict.
9. Discuss the quote: "War can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun."
10. The security systems for transportation, power, and finance of Gondour have been breached causing mass chaos. You have been advised that the likely perpetrator is the distant fiefdom of Haxburry and that retaliation is appropriate. Discuss the applicability of the Just War Criteria. Distinguish cyber espionage from cyber sabotage, denial of service and open warfare.

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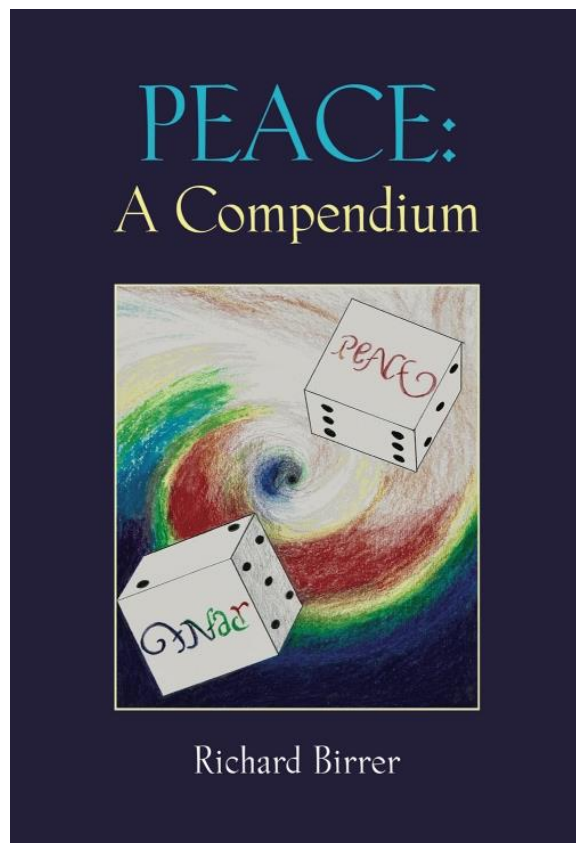112. Grattan CH. *Why We Fought.* NY: Vanguard Press, 1929.

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"War is organized murder and torture against our brother." Alfred Adler

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