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CULTURE OF PEACE: REDISCOVERY OF HUMAN INNATE POTENTIAL AND CAPABILITY
FOR PEACEABLENESS: CULTURE OF PEACE AND VIOLENCE IN THE UNITED STATES

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Summary

In this thesis, I aim to explore how we can rediscover our innate human potential and capability for peaceableness. The contributing factors to our disbelief in our human potential and capability for peaceableness may be found in culture of violence in the United States. They are manifested in the forms of militarism and the U.S. Military Industrial Complex. Also it may be seen in violent philosophical heritages of the United States and its lethal political traditions. There are some major challenges faced with in a process of rediscovering our innate human potential and capability for peaceableness in the realm of human nature. This contributes to a strong disbelief in our innate potential for peaceableness because violence in the U.S. is socially learned and politically and culturally reinforced, and is thus deeply embedded in the minds of people.

The purpose of this thesis is to explore and provide a new set of universal values contributed by the early work of Adam Smith's *The Theory of Moral Sentiment* that could bring people of different countries, cultures, religions and politics together to move to overcome the devaluation of human lives and disbelief in our own innate potential for peaceableness. This will be necessary for the revitalization of society moving away from militarism and the worship of a culture of war and violence. The process of rediscovering our belief in our innate human potential and capability for peaceableness holds the key to realizing a culture of peace.

As much as this thesis emphasizes the rediscovery of the innate potential and ability for peaceableness, that is not enough to realize and maintain a culture of peace.

CHAPTER 1: Toward a Culture of Peace and a Rediscovery of the Innate Potential for Peaceableness

Introduction

“That since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed.”
(Preamble of the UNESCO Constitution)

The 20th century was a “Century of War” where various wars, civil wars, World Wars, ethnic conflicts, religious wars, and regional wars were fought and hundreds and millions of precious lives lost. The history of how wars have come about has been told many times, yet humanity seems not to have learned from its past. Not only are wars still fought but also there is still mass chaos when we look at the reality of the world. Has humanity found the causes of this widespread injustice? Can it simply be due to a handful of leaders who make the policies? War is not something that comes completely from outside of us; rather it starts within. Minds of war and injustice hide within our own heart. The roots of all the wars in the past thus go back to the minds of people who started them.

In the Preamble of the UNESCO’s constitution, it states:

“That ignorance of each other’s ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war.” (Preamble of the UNESCO Constitution)

It should be a top priority of humanity to transform our enmity to harmony and conflict to coexistence. It must be our foremost mission to renew our faith in the infinite potential of humanity and bring forth the capacity of all people to create a world of peaceful coexistence for all humanity-- a culture of peace.

In this thesis, I aim to explore how we can rediscover our innate human potential and capability for peaceableness in order to help develop social structures that strive to realize and maintain a culture of peace. I hope to find ways to overcome disbelief in our human potential and capability for peaceableness by exploring origins of culture of violence. My case study focuses particularly on a culture of violence in the United States.

There are some major challenges faced with in a process of rediscovering our innate human potential and capability for peaceableness in the realm of human nature. This contributes to a strong disbelief in our innate potential for peaceableness because violence in the U.S. are socially learned, politically and culturally reinforced thus deeply embedded in the minds of people.

As humanity seeks to survive and thrive in this moment of our time, in this “global war against terrorism” (George W. Bush, March 3, 2005), we face tremendous challenges towards realizing a culture of peace and rediscovery of the innate human potential for peaceableness. There now exist an urgent need for revolutionary value transformation of elaborate principles of peace and human dignity in order to rediscover peaceableness and move toward a Culture of Peace.

In the aftermath of September 11, 2001 and the wake of the new fight against terrorism, the U.S. population has been confronted with heavy militarization of events and circumstances surrounding the “global war against terrorism” that push our society more towards hysteria. We have witnessed the massive rise in the U.S. military defense budget, leading huge weight mostly to the militarist elements in our society.

The U.S. government make use of the following definition of terrorism: “The unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a

government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.” (FBI, 28 C.F.R. Section 0.85) Under such definition, the media is complicit in organizing in a virtual information war by defining terrorism in a way that leaves the majority of U.S. citizens living in constant fear and thus also in support of the vast outlays for military expenditure.

How can we rediscover and believe in our innate human potential and capability of peaceableness holds the key to realizing a culture of peace. The purpose of this thesis is to explore and provide a new set of universal values that were contributed by the early work of Adam Smith in *The Theory of Moral Sentiment* that could bring people of different countries, cultures, religions and politics together for moving beyond the devaluation of human lives and disbelief of our own innate potential of peaceableness. This will be necessary for the revitalization of society away from militarism and the worship of a culture of war and violence. This leap of belief being necessary for the revitalization of society in its movement away from militarism and the worship of a culture of war and violence, towards a culture of peace and peaceableness.

Challenges in Realizing a Culture of Peace

One of the major challenges in realizing a culture of peace in the United States is to oppose the spread of U.S. military bases, military clients, intense military spending, and a celebration of war at a time when the economic conditions of the vast majority of the population have worsened. The U.S. military spending will exceed \$2 trillion by 2008. (Korb, March 27, 2005) According to the *Economist* journal review, the U.S. Media propounds misleading information of a recovering economy when in fact the majority of low-income population has difficulty meeting their basic needs, basic health

care, and do not have access to good quality education (Economist, 2002). As Dwight Eisenhower predicted and warned how weapons manufacturers who had begun shaping domestic, foreign, and diplomatic policies in the United States, has created a military industrial complex that has become a pillar of supporting the very nation of the U.S.

Although working people can no longer survive on one income in a household, military spending has continued to rise. It is upon the backs of the majority of poor working population that the military subsidizes its spending and appeals to a patriotic sacrifice. Politicians are also seduced into supporting their military industrial complex.

Another aspect of the violent culture of the United States is found in the evidence that the United States is ranked as number one in arms sales, at the very apex of the global armaments culture (Defense Monitor, 2001). This culture is self-reinforcing and in many respects self-defeating for the majority of humanity. It is a system of beliefs, values, understandings, practices, and institutions that legitimizes the massive military budget of the United States, the trillion-dollar expenditure on weapons of mass destruction, and the massive deployment of U.S. troops all around the globe for the preparation and launching of war. This culture serves a definite purpose within the United States by magnifying the fears, and anger towards enemy images that they are often times used to manipulate mass population.

Toward a Culture of Peace: Valuing Human Life and the Goals of Rediscovery

Martin Luther King, Jr. called for a revolution of values in order to bring justice and fairness to the U.S. political system. Massive military expenditures and the development of the U.S. Military Industrial Complex are but manifestations of the denial of our innate human potential and capability of making peace. Forces dedicated to

rediscovering the innate human potential and capability of making peace accelerate the transformation of society and develop our human potential for self-emancipation. How this is possible and what the institutional implications of rediscovering our innate potential and capabilities for peaceableness have become the core of my thesis, showing that the multifaceted transformation for a culture of peace must be promoted at all levels.

This thesis has five chapters, which consists of the introduction of a culture of violence and a culture of peace; disbelief of our innate human potential and capability for peaceableness which has been embedded and practiced politically, culturally, socially and institutionally; the exploration of Adam Smith's political philosophy that offers a new set of universal values to rediscover human potential and promote social transformation; a conclusion, and recommendation.

Chapter One—Introduction of the Thesis

This chapter provides an overview of the thesis. It covers the background, the purpose and importance of this study, as well as its findings and contributions to the future.

Chapter Two—Culture of Violence: The United States Military Industrial Complex

This chapter explores the U.S. Military Industrial Complex; how it became the muscle of the U.S. economy, commonly believed myths of war economy, the evolution of the Military Industrial Complex, dangers arising from future war costs of the U.S. and how power and profit facilitated by the U.S. Military Industrial Complex stifles the potential for helping and developing a culture of peace.

Chapter Three—Philosophical Heritages of the United States: Culture of Violence and Culture of Peace

This chapter explores challenges faced in rediscovering our innate human potential and capability for peaceableness, specifically addressing human nature, lethal political traditions and how violence in the U.S. is socially learned, and politically and culturally reinforced. It also explores how we may believe and realize that humanity possess innate peaceableness within.

Chapter Four—Futures of Culture of Peace

This chapter aims to explore institutional implications that promote a rediscovery of the human innate potential for peaceableness by taking a look at peaceful political philosophies that have become the basis of a new set of universal values to help promote cultural transformation, involving a new culture based on revealing the peaceful potential of humanity. Also, by identifying various existing systems and institutions that are moving in the direction of a culture of peace, I hope to examine how they may be enhanced and maintained. In conclusion, I envision new systems and institutions that do not presently exist but may help us achieve a culture of peace.

Chapter Five—Conclusion

This chapter summarizes the proposal of my thesis. It consists of conclusions and recommendations towards a realization of a culture of peace.

CHAPTER 2: Culture of Violence: The United States Military Industrial Complex

Social Value Transformation: The Key to a Culture of Peace

A culture of peace, which has made great strides over the last years, vies with the culture of violence. In the United States, this malicious culture of violence has also developed strongly, as is demonstrated by the strength of the U.S. Military Industrial Complex. Yet, even this overtly violent factor, dominated by the lust for power and profit and facilitated by the U.S. Military Industrial Complex, has a potential for helping and developing a peace culture. Inner resources generated by the development of peace education as well as social value transformation, could dissolve the forces of violence in time to avoid the devastating catastrophes of war and military expansion.

The way in which the culture of peace can be realized is found only in one way-- through a transformation of social values, which can be found in Adam Smith's *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Thus the development of peace education will, more than ever, play a vital role in the process of transforming social values.

Daisaku Ikeda, the founder of a network of educational institutions based on value-creating educational principles of Tsunesaburo Makiguchi have said:

“Education has the power to enrich the inner landscape of the human spirit, to build within people’s hearts what the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) refers to as ‘the defense of peace.’ True education summons forth the innate goodness of humanity—our capacity for nonviolence, trust, and benevolence. It enables individuals to reveal their unique qualities and, by encouraging empathy with others, opens the door to the peaceful coexistence of humanity. This kind of humanistic education is crucial if we are to foster global citizens.” (Ikeda, ix)

Tsuneshaburo Makiguchi (1871-1944), a renowned Japanese educator developed the idea of an educational process rooted in, and starting from, the local community and extending its scope of concern to the national and ultimately the global level. Makiguchi rejected both narrow-minded nationalism and the kind of globalism that lacks concrete content. Makiguchi stressed that the education of global citizens must start at the level of the local community and extending outward from there. (Ikeda, p.15)

A major struggle of developing peace education in the process of realizing a culture of peace in the United States is to shift national interests and values of expanding its Military Industrial Complex and the intense military spending into what has been termed instead, “the defense of peace”—fostering global citizenship at the community level and extending outward. Thus, education naturally becomes the only and the most fundamental form of national defense.

The Military Industry: The Muscle of the U.S. Economy

In this chapter, I investigate U.S. military spending, myths of war economy, the evolution of the Military Industrial Complex and dangers to arise from future war costs.

The military industry is a dominant player in the U.S. economy. According to the America's Defense Monitor, military orders drive America's manufacturing sector (ADM, 1998). More than one-third of all engineers and scientists in the U.S. are engaged in military-related jobs. Several sections of the country and a number of industrial sectors, particularly shipbuilding and aerospace, are greatly dependent upon military spending or foreign arms sales. Still the military industry is a dominant player in the US economy and has become its backbone and muscle. Military orders drive America's manufacturing sector. More than one-third of all engineers and scientists in the U.S. are

engaged in military-related jobs. Several sections of the country and a number of industrial sectors, particularly shipbuilding and aerospace, are greatly dependent upon military spending or foreign arms sales. The Department of Defense (DOD), together with top defense corporations, and the military-industrial complex, controls the largest coordinated bloc of industry in the U.S.

In 2001, after taking into account the emergency anti-terror funding and supplemental appropriations to finance the war in Afghanistan, the Pentagon's budget amounted to some \$375 billion. In addition to the rising annual Defense budget, military spending also eats up much of the budgets of the Department of Energy and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. At present, it consumes about 55% of the federal government's discretionary expenditures. Roughly 75% of federal research and development expenditure is devoted to military projects. (Center for Defense Information, p.2) The top aerospace and defense corporations, consisting of 11 companies, employ 901,258 people, indicated in the table below. (The Defense Monitor, p.5) These corporations rely mostly on DOD contracts. Most of these companies are also among the top defense corporations in the whole world.

Top US Corporations in Aerospace and Defense, 2001 (in \$ million)

Revenues	Profits	Rank	Employees (2000)	
Boeing	51.321	2.128	15	198.000
United Technologies	26.583	1.808	64	153,800
Lockheed Martin	25.329	(519)	69	126.000
Honeywell Int'l	25.023	1.659	71	125.200
Raytheon	18.321	141	111	93.696
Textron	13.090	218	150	71.000
General Dynamics	10.359	901	180	43.300
Northrop Grumman	8,287	608	232	39.300
BF Goodrich	5.532	326	322	26.322
Sequa	1.773	24	773	11.550
Precision Castparts	1.674	85	809	13.090

*Top 1,000 revenues rank

(Fortune One Thousand, 16 April 2001)

It is not surprising, therefore, that many Americans and their elected representatives support continued Pentagon spending. The military industry has become a huge and untouchable jobs program employing directly and indirectly a large number of blue-collar workers and a rising number of technical professionals. Defense workers are kept in line by the fear of job loss and ensuing economic crisis. This threat is also used to frustrate efforts to scale back military production or to convert it to socially useful purposes.

On the other hand, the economic conditions of the vast majority of the population have worsened. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, poverty rose for the third straight year in 2003, with nearly 36 million people, or 12.5 percent of the population, living at or below a subsistence level. These figures vastly underestimate the real poverty rate, since the official poverty level for a family of four, \$18,660, is absurdly low. People living at or below this income level are not simply poor, but destitute. For a single parent with two children, the official figure is \$14,824, and for a single person under 65 years old, \$9,573.

The bureau also reported that the number of Americans without any medical insurance had reached 45 million. The statistics reveal that 2003 was the third year in a row in which the number of people living in poverty in the US increased by at least 1.3 million. The number in poverty and the poverty rate, respectively, have risen from 31.6 million or 11.3 percent of the population in 2000, to 32.9 million or 11.7 percent in 2001, to 34.6 million or 12.1 percent in 2002 and, finally, to the figures noted above in 2003. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003)

Children under 18 accounted for about half the increase in poverty last year. For children, the poverty rate and number rose from 16.7 percent to 17.6 percent, and from 12.1 million to 12.9 million, respectively. Some 378,000 more families now live below the official poverty line, an increase of 4 percent to 7.6 million families. Of the 41 million people living in single-mother families, 30 percent, or 12.4 million, are living in poverty. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003)

While the poverty rate is rapidly growing, left unchallenged, military spending in the United States will exceed \$2 trillion in the next two years. (Hellman, 2002) Despite the media's misinformation, which insists on a recovering economy, the majority of low-income population have great difficulties meeting their basic needs, lack adequate health care, and do not have access to relevant education.

The Bush Administration and a "New Kind of War"

How much is the Bush administration spending to wage its war on terrorism? The increases in military spending, security assistance, and homeland security in the wake of the September 11th terrorists attacks has been outrageous, while the war on terror continues rapidly.

Spending on national defense is nearing \$400 billion for FY 2003. (FY 2003 Report, 2003) This is up from \$329 billion when the Bush administration took office. Spending on the related budget category of homeland security has increased dramatically from \$19.5 billion in FY 2001 to \$37.7 billion in FY 2003. (FY 2003 Report, 2003) In addition to the rapid increases in its yearly budget, the Pentagon has been the biggest beneficiary of the \$68.9 billion in emergency and supplemental spending approved since the September 11th attacks (FY 2003 Report, 2003). The Pentagon has been receiving \$30 billion via this route. Billions more of the supplemental funds have gone to the State Department for military assistance for allies and nations supporting the war on terrorism, as well as to the various agencies that have been targeted for inclusion in the Bush administration's proposed Department of Homeland Defense.

As the dollars continue to flow, the scale of the anti-terror efforts has been growing as well. U.S. arms, training, and military personnel have been dispatched not only to Afghanistan but also to Pakistan, India, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Georgia, the Philippines, and Yemen (FY 2003 Report, 2003). Forward bases for U.S. forces have been established or expanded at thirteen sites in nine countries, and administration policy-makers has now been taking aim at a new adversary, Iraq. Left unchallenged this expansion of U.S. global military presence and military commitments will generate tens of billions of dollars in additional costs for decades to come.

U.S. National Defense Budget (\$ billions)			
	FY 2001	FY 2002	FY 2003
DOD	\$309.9 billion	\$329.9 billion	\$378.6 billion
DOE/other related budgets	\$16.05 billion	\$17.73 billion	\$18.18 billion
Total National Defense (050)	\$329.0 billion	\$350.7 billion	\$396.8 billion
Emergency Supplemental Spending Bills	Public Law 107-38 ⁱ \$20 billion total → \$13.8 billion went to DOD	Public Law 107-117 ⁱⁱ \$20 billion total → \$3.4 billion went to DOD	Public Law 107-206 ⁱⁱⁱ \$28.9 billion total → \$14.4 billion went to DOD

Budget Authority By Function (\$ billions)							
	FY 01	FY 02	FY 03	FY 04	FY 05	FY 06	FY 07
National Defense	\$329.0	\$350.7	\$396.8	\$405.6	\$426.6	\$447.7	\$469.8
International Affairs	\$18.7	\$22.3	\$23.9	\$24.8	\$25.6	\$26.3	27.2

Source: Department of Defense, March 2002, Table 1-1, NATIONAL DEFENSE BUDGET SUMMARY, page 12

<http://www.dtic.mil/comptroller/fy2003budget/FY03GBpdf.pdf>

As the U.S. Military Spending, Fiscal Years 1945-2008, proves the Bush Administration has successfully raised the level of funding for military forces from high peacetime levels during the Cold War to the even higher levels of the Korean and Vietnam conflicts. Despite a substantial change in the nature of threats from war between superpowers to terrorism, the trends in relative spending and brute strength between the United States and the rest of the world continue to grow as they have seen since the end

of the Cold War. See Figure 1: U.S. Military Spending, Fiscal Years 1945-2008.

(Defense Monitor, p.1) The United States strives to maintain and even increase massive superiority in conventional military capabilities and funding compared to the rest of the world. See Figure 2: Relative Size of U.S. and the Other Armed Forces. (Defense Monitor, p.2) Although military spending is not a direct measure of military strength or capabilities, global military spending comparisons in 2002 show the military spending of the United States, potential adversaries, allies and other nations of interests. See Figure 3 Strengths of U.S., Allied, and Selected Other Armed Forces 2003, and Figure 4: Global Military Spending Comparisons 2002. (Defense Monitor, p.3-4) Both Figure 1, 2, 3 & 4 prove that the United States maintains a massive superiority of conventional military capabilities. Total military and military-related spending, 2002-2004, indicates that official national defense spending figures undercount the full cost of military forces and wars. The figure does not include the additional tens of billions of dollars of military-related spending each year for interest payments on the federal debt, a large share of which is attributable to past military spending but is not estimated by the government. Total interest on the federal debt in Fiscal Year (FY) 2003 was approximately \$328 billion. See Figure 5: Total Military and Military-Related Spending, 2002-2004. (Defense Monitor, p.5) As Figure 6, U.S. Discretionary Spending, Fiscal Year 2003 shows military spending accounts for about half of all discretionary spending (49.5 %). The federal government spent approximately \$2.2 trillion dollars in FY 2003, including “discretionary” and “mandatory” spending. (Defense Monitor, p.6)

Discretionary spending pays for activities that we commonly think of as government programs, such as building roads, protecting the environment and enforcing the law.

Mandatory spending includes payments to individuals, such as Social Security, Medicare, food stamps, and federal pensions, and also interest payments on the national debt.

Military spending also dwarfs spending in other areas of national security and foreign policy. The entire spending for the Department of State and other foreign affairs agencies amounted to a mere \$8 billion in 2003, less than 2 percent of the military total. Economic development aid, which President Bush has acknowledged is a useful tool in countering terrorism, totaled less than \$9 billion. The discretionary budget for all homeland security programs excluding the Defense Department was only \$32 billion. See Figure 6: U.S. Discretionary Spending, Fiscal Year 2003. (Defense Monitor, p.6) With all these facts, there is no doubt that the United States is the biggest military spender in the world. These increases would bring US military spending to more than half of all discretionary spending.

The largest defense corporations are also based in the United States. In arming the US, the so-called "Globocop"(Lobe, 2003), corporations derive the most benefit because they are lavished with billions to come up with lethal weapons, surveillance equipment, tanks, submarines, ships and airplanes designed for a seemingly never-ending war.

While many sectors in the US are suffering from the economic crunch, top weapons manufacturers are awaiting new orders, hiring new people, looking for new investments and gaining attention on the stock market.

The bond between the US military establishment and defense corporations brought into existence the military-industrial complex.

Evolution of the U.S. Military-Industrial Complex

War brings prosperity. War is widely thought to be linked to economic good times. World War II is often said to have brought the world out of depression, and war has since enhanced its reputation as a spur to economic growth. This widely thought idea was drawn from World War II economy. Some suggest that capitalism needs war in order to drive and sustain its future development. Others even argue that waging a war is the only role of democratic governments for its sustainable development. In particular, I began to believe one of the primary functions of the Bush administration was to wage war in order to benefit from a war-economy. These arguments indicate that war is strongly linked to economic prosperity. War-economy produces prosperity for the nation-state. This is still a widely believed phenomena in the United States as its military expenditures show. As Dwight D. Eisenhower once said,

“Throughout the America’s adventure in free government, our basic purposes have been to keep the peace; to foster progress in human achievement, and to enhance liberty, dignity and integrity among people and among nations.” (Eisenhower, p.1038)

When the United States, the world hegemonic power, changes its course, it will have enormous impact on the rest of the world.

The U.S. Military Industrial Complex

Dwight D. Eisenhower gave his famous warning against "the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex." (Eisenhower, p.1038) In his speech, he stressed the novelty of the large, permanent

defense establishment, which had been created to fight World War II and then expanded because of the Cold War, and the open-endedness of its potential effects.

"This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience," he said. "The total influence economic, political, even spiritual--is felt in every city, every State house, every office of the Federal government."
(Eisenhower, p.1039)

One of his principal budgetary concerns was the military itself, its allied contractors, and the appropriators in Congress, which all shared an interest in trumpeting potential perils and then building weapons to offset them. He warned, "The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist." (Eisenhower, p.1036)

Eisenhower's warning against "potential power misplacement" (Eisenhower, p.1036) exploded upon the pronouncement of President Bush's vow to fight terrorism - to "win the first war of the 21st century". (Kozaryn, p.3) President Bush pledged, "Whatever it takes, whatever it costs." (Kozaryn, p.4) Some predict that in just a few years the costs will near a half-trillion dollars a year. The impacts of the September 11th attacks followed by the war on terrorism, strikes against Afghanistan and recent military attacks in Iraq are nothing new to a U.S. economy heavily dependent on war. Today's war economy has its roots deep in World War II and post World War.

Seymour Melman indicates how the war economy during World War II led to economical prosperity in the United States.

"The ten-year pall of massive unemployment and economic decline was dramatically lifted by fresh opportunities provided by the large scale industrial expansion needed to supply the Allied war effort. Employed Americans numbered 46 million in 1939 and 53 million by 1945. Simultaneously, the armed forces were swiftly enlarged from 370,000 to 11,400,000 persons, absorbing a sizable segment of the employable population." (Melman, p.148)

The operation of a war economy in the US from 1945 on required the decisions of political leaders, and also the enormous support of the American people. Thus, war economy soon became a part of the ordinary American person's life. Melman explains the phenomena as follows;

“Businessmen, industrial workers, engineers, government employees, intellectuals and all joined in the confident assessment that war economy on a sustained basis was not only viable but economically desirable.”
(Melman, p.153)

This was due mainly to the fact that big military budgets meant more jobs and prosperity in their lives. Thus, soon, war economy became and remained popular and the U.S. military budget from 1950s until today showed not a decline but an increase year after year.

Billions of \$

1950	13
1961	47
1972	80
1973	87
1980	144
1982	211
1984	265
1985	322
1988	411
1990	488

(U.S. Bureau of the Census, p.240)

Recent military expenditure re-affirm us how heavily reliant the Unites States is on a war economy.

Today, it has been proven that a war economy does not in fact provide security or stable economic growth. As we continue to increase budgets on military expenditures more than ever, the Gulf War of 1991 demonstrated that wars could actually be bad for economy, yet we don't seem to have learned from this lesson.

Myths of War Economy

So what are some myths, clichés, and paradoxes of the U.S. war economy that keep us haunted? The most popular myth that keeps us blinded by a war economy is the possibility of becoming an economically prosperous state. The Commerce Department announced that the economy grew at a torrid 7.2% in the third quarter. This is one of the dangers of a war economy. Specifically, the danger is that a quick raise and boom in economy is in equal high risk of a quick fall in economy; and when the economy falls, its impacts are uncalculusy enormous.

The impact of the September 11th attacks led to a 14.4 percent drop in stock prices in the first week and a collapse in sectors related to travel and leisure; notably airlines, hotels, and resorts. (Farrell, p.2) As these events cascade through the economy, they will weaken fragile household balance, and steeper cuts in consumer spending. This in return, will deepen layoffs and depress economic activity. The ensuing recession could even be severe. This vicious cycle of a war economy is but the peak of an iceberg. Also, estimates by Levy Institute show that unemployment has to rise to 7.4 percent just to bring household expenditures into line with income. Unemployment could rise as high as 9.0%, if household expenditures returned to normal post-World War II saving levels. (Levy Institute, p.11)

A second myth is that military spending contributes to economic activity as much as does any other public or private spending thus leading to better living standards.

The paradox of this myth is that a war economy does not contribute to a higher living standard. Military spending puts money into circulation by taking tax dollars from the whole community and redistributing them to the military-serving parts. In return, people of the military economy deliver goods and services, which have no economic use to ordinary citizens. This absence of functional economic usefulness contributes to the danger of a quick fall or a burst of a war economy.

A third myth of a war economy is that money spent on the military makes more jobs and boosts the economy. Spiro Agnew, then Vice-President, claimed in a speech during his 1972 Presidential campaign.

“While he [Senator George McGovern] has gone around the country deploring present rates of unemployment, he is apparently oblivious to the fact that his defense proposals would throw an estimated 1.8 million Americans out of work. But I am sure the people of St. Louis and the employees of McDonnell-Douglas are not unaware of that fact, especially since the Senator has specifically stated that he would cancel the F-15 as part of his defense cutbacks.” (Spiro, 1972)

The reality of this myth can be very tricky. There can be no objection to the fact that an increase in military spending directly helps employment in a military industry, and certainly enhances the sales of those military industries and firms. Also, military products are counted in the money-value gross national products for that year, thus swelling the figure. Melman argues this is the danger of a war economy because, “the calculation do not take into account the inexorable trade-off process by which civilian parts of national income are reduced by military spending.” (Melman, p.201) Not only because of this factor, but also because a war economy induces reductions in the

productivity of capital, which depresses productivity and job growth for the civilian economy as a whole. A proof of this argument, we can look at current job opportunities in the U.S. One of the biggest issues for the U.S. economy and the Bush administration is actually creating jobs.

According to the Economic Policy Institute, the U.S. economy under Bush lost 2.4 million jobs since the March 2001 recession began. "This is the largest sustained loss of jobs since the Great Depression." (Economic Policy Institute, 2003)

A fourth myth of a war economy is the belief that a war economy solves problems of surplus capital and surplus labor. The reality is far from this myth. In addition to the depressing fact aforementioned, almost nine million people are presently unemployed in the U.S. today. Of these, two million have been unemployed for twenty-seven months or more. According to JobWatch.com, 2.3 million more are not even included in the unemployment statistics because they are too discouraged to look for work. (Job Watch.com)

A fifth myth of a war economy is that spending on military has something for everyone. The reality is what Dwight Eisenhower warned us about. A sustained operation of the military economy has produced a massive concentration of income flows in limited industries and occupations. Thus only the limited military industries and firms enjoy the fruits of war economy.

President Bush's Vision for Boosting the Military-Industrial Complex

Long before these Anti-Terrorism efforts, President George W. Bush has already planned to boost the position of the US military-industrial complex. Clear evidence of

this argument may be found in his speech on September 23, 1999. Bush delivered his comprehensive defense policy wherein he set three ambitious goals:

- 1) To "renew the bond of trust between the American President and the American military";
 - 2) To "defend the American people against missiles and terror";
 - and 3) To "begin creating the military of the next century."
- (Petty, p.1)

President Bush proposed to invigorate trust by increasing military pay and benefits and by clarifying the mission of U.S. forces to "deter...and win wars," and not to undertake "vague, aimless, and endless deployments." (Bush, p.1) The latter phrase supposedly shows the new administration's reluctance to send U.S. forces on open-ended peacekeeping missions like the deployments in Bosnia and Kosovo. Bush gave few specifics on his second promise but indicated that as President he would make substantial new investments in anti-terrorism efforts and "deploy anti-ballistic missile defenses" at the earliest possible date. (Bush, p.1)

He also promised "an immediate, comprehensive review of our military" designed to "challenge the status quo and to envision a new architecture of American defense for decades to come." Bush urged the replacement of existing programs "with new technologies and strategies" aimed at creating forces that would be "agile, lethal, readily deployable and require a minimum of logistical support." (Bush, p.1)

Defense companies are naturally resisting the idea of abandoning current programs and the military-industrial complex would not allow such a thing to happen. While at first it created a ripple of misgiving among defense contractors, Bush's vision of high-tech defense systems has in fact given the military industry much to look forward to.

Danger Arises from the Future War Costs of the United States

"At the end of the Cold War, Americans said yes to military power. The skepticism about arms and armies that pervaded the American experiment from its founding, vanished. Political leaders, liberals and conservatives alike, became enamored with military might. The ensuing affair had and continues to have a heedless, Gatsby-like aspect, a passion pursued in utter disregard of any consequences that might ensue. Few in power have openly considered whether valuing military power for its own sake or cultivating permanent global military superiority might be at odds with American principles. Indeed, one striking aspect of America's drift toward militarism has been the absence of dissent offered by any political figure of genuine stature. . . The new American militarism . . . manifests itself through an increased propensity to use force, leading, in effect, to the normalization of war." (Bacevich, April 21, 2005)

"Profound changes have been taking place in American foreign policy, reversing consistent bipartisan commitments that for more than two centuries have earned our nation greatness. These commitments have been predicated on basic religious principles, respect for international law, and alliances that resulted in wise decisions and mutual restraint. Our apparent determination to launch a war against Iraq, without international support, is a violation of these premises. As a Christian and as a president who was severely provoked by international crises, I became thoroughly familiar with the principles of a just war, and it is clear that a substantially unilateral attack on Iraq does not meet these standards." (Carter: March 9, 2003)

Enormous military expenditure not only contributes to unstable economic growth but also poor public services as well as unstable international relations. On the other hand, increases in spending on public health services, education, transportation, and other areas are absolutely needed. For the past year, we have not seen any increase expenditures in these aspects.

The United States' enormous military expenditure also leads to international political instability. Bush's commitment to fiscal prudence means that much of the war costs must be offset by cuts elsewhere. Investment in education, health, research, and environment will almost inevitably be crowded out. The United States will be poorer, both

now and in the future. If the United States continues to rely on a war economy, it will see the fall of its political and economical power domestically and internationally. Thus, a war economy does not contribute to prosperity, but rather contributes to national, regional and international political and economical instability.

Contributing to Build a Culture of Peace

As Kenneth Boulding once said, "what exists is possible." (Boulding, p.172) It is possible for a Culture of Violence in the U.S. to grow, expand and transform its energies that have gone into violence and warfare into creative new social institutions and human activities. By shifting the direction of technologies and communication, which has primarily been developed based upon a culture of war, into the welfare and development of humanity instead, it can lead to a true realization of a culture of peace.

CHAPTER 3: Philosophical Heritages of the United States: Culture of Violence and Culture of Peace

“Power of the spirit is stronger than any atomic bomb. To transform this century of war into a century of peace, we must cultivate the limitless inherent power of human life.” Mahatma Gandhi

“A great human revolution in just a single individual will help achieve a change in the destiny of a nation and further, will enable a change in the destiny of all humankind.” Daisaku Ikeda

Denials of Human Capabilities of Peaceableness

Rediscovery of our innate human potential and capability for peaceableness is the key in transforming social values leading to a realization of a culture of peace.

Is a Culture of Peace possible? According to Glenn Paige, a renowned nonviolent political scientist and the author of *Nonkilling Global Political Science* (2002), many of us see a culture of peace as impossible and unthinkable mainly due to three basic reasons: human nature, economic scarcity, and sexual assault. These three issues are processes and systems that instead contribute to a culture of violence. They are nothing but manifestations of the denial of our innate human potential and capability for peaceableness in the human subconscious.

The series of catastrophes humanity has endured throughout the 20th Century and into the beginning of the 21st century has left deep scars in the hearts of every individual in its denial of our innate potential for peacefulness. It has clouded our hearts with darkness and delusions that humans are incapable of making peace as it denies our innate potential of peaceableness.

One of the most commonly made arguments against human capability and potential for peaceableness is that man is a dangerous animal capable of killing by nature. Lorenz, Storr and Ardrey, among many other scholars, have maintained that human

nature is incurably violent. We are dangerous social animals always liable to use the violence and urge to kill.

Lyall Watson (1994) in his book, *Dark Nature: A Natural History of Evil* (Watson, p.103), compared events of the recently described battles between troops of chimpanzees to war atrocities in Rwanda and at Auschwitz. Animal examples of ruthless murder and sexual emasculation forced this author to conclude that all animal and human behavior is the result of biological determinism.

“Evil is a force of nature, a biological reality.” He continues: "If good can be defined as that which encourages the integrity of the whole, then evil becomes anything which disturbs or disrupts such completeness. Anything unruly or over the top. Anything, in short, that is bad for the ecology."

(Watson, p.195)

Robert Ardrey (1961) in his book, *African Genesis* argues about how man is naturally an aggressive animal.

“Human warfare comes about only when the defensive instinct of a determined territorial proprietor is challenged by the predatory compulsions of an equally determined territorial neighbor.

...the territorial drive brings about the conditions-not the motives- that give rise to war: the separation of men into groups, the alliance of men and territory, and the latent capacity for the enmity code to dominate the most civilized man in his relation to a hostile neighbor. But it is the other side of the territorial coin that may provide the foundations for a philosophical revolution. It is the hidden, unread, animal cipher stamped on the metal of our nature that may resolve the dilemma of a [Herbert] Spencer, the doubts of a [Charles] Darwin, or the despairs of contemporary man. The command to love is as deeply buried in our nature as the command to hate.

(Ardrey, p.173)

The second most commonly made arguments against human capability and potential for peaceableness is that there will always be a scarcity of economic resources that, in turn, will lead to violence. These arguments stem from a socially accepted belief that violence is an accepted course of action because of human nature and social reality.

A typical response is “we know that human beings are not violent by nature, but...” In modern social science, the belief is that conflict is integral to social reality; that human beings are not violent by nature, but must fight in self-defense. In order to resolve conflict, violence is generally regarded as a practical, effective and thus, rationally justified means. When this justification of human nature prone to violence and the practical and effective rationale for conflict resolution are combined, violence is transformed from being merely a means of conflict resolution to a normal course of action and the possibility of violence being questioned is dangerously limited. The danger of this concept is that once violence is accepted as normal, it is naturalized.

Third, violence may be used in the case of self-defense or defending loved ones. A typical answer to the question is, “I’ve never thought about the question before...” This is a typical response when you are asked some questions that you’ve never given a careful thought to. This type of answer fundamentally stems from a lack of creativity in exploring the seemingly impossible questions in modern education and academic discipline.

Lethal Political Traditions

In addition to these three points, the lethal political traditions are also found in the United States’ Political Philosophy. They are Plato’s *Republic*, Machiavelli’s *The Prince*, Thomas Hobbes’s *Leviathan*, John Locke’s *Two Treatises of Government* that put emphasis on a readiness to kill, which is deemed essential for the creation and defense of the good society.

In Plato’s (427-347 B.C.E.) ideal *Republic*, philosopher rulers (Guardians) recruited from the warrior class (Auxiliaries) rule over Producers and Slaves by coercion

and persuasion. Furthermore, as Leon Harold Craig notes, “An unprejudiced observer can scarcely avoid concluding that war must be regarded as the fundamental fact of political life, indeed of all life, and that every decision of consequence must be made with that fact in mind.” (Craig 1994, p.17)

In Aristotle’s (384-322 B.C.E.) *Politics*, in preferred politics, whether ruled by one, few, or the many, property owners bore arms, and armies were essential to keeping slaves in submission and preventing enslavement by enemies. Neither Plato nor Aristotle questioned the permanent presence of military lethality.

In Machiavelli’s (1469-1527) *The Prince*, he contributes explicit justification for rulers to kill to maintain their positions of power and to advance the virtue, fame, and honor of their states. It is better to rule by the craftiness of a “fox”, but when necessary rulers should not shrink from the bold lethality of a “lion”. He prescribes citizen militias to strengthen the power of the republican state.

Thomas Hobbes (1688-1679) in *Leviathan* provides further justification for killing by governments to secure social order and victory in war. Since humans are killers, unorganized life in a state of nature results in murderous chaos. But since humans are also survival-seekers, they must consent to obey a central authority empowered to kill for their security, while reserving themselves to the inalienable right to kill in self-defense. Hobbes stops short of justifying armed rebellion.

In Thomas Hobbes’s political writing, *Leviathan*, he attempted a radical rebuilding of the idea of power and sovereignty. Fundamental to Hobbes’ thought is the idea that sovereignty has to be absolute if peace is to be ensured. In *Leviathan*, again and again he emphasized the danger of civil war and everything he wrote was intended to

avert this danger through absolute sovereignty. In Hobbes's eyes, human agents are free in the sense that their activities are not under constraint from anybody else. There are, of course, minor physiological differences among us, but these are not considerable. Thus, Hobbes argues that we have no reason to complain about the strict determination of the will as long as we do not interfere from outside ourselves. As Hobbes acknowledged, this type of human nature emphasizes our animal nature, leaving each of us to live independently of everyone else, acting only in his or her own self-interest, without regard for others. In absence of government everyone has a relatively reasonable hope to attain his or her desires. However, if two persons desire the same thing then this will bring them into conflict and they will use any means necessary to overcome or even destroy each other in order to attain the goals. Thus, Hobbes argues that, this eventually produces the "state of war", a way of life that is certain to prove "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short". (Hobbes, 1651)

"During the time men live without a common power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called war; and such a war, as is of every man, against every man.....every man is enemy to every man; the same is consequent to the time, wherein men live without other security, than what their own strength, and their own invention shall furnish them withal." (Hobbes, Chapter 13 p. 236)

He continues,

"To this war of every man, against every man, this also is consequent; that nothing can be unjust. The notion of right and wrong, justice and injustice have there no place. Where there is no common power, there is no law, no injustice." (Hobbes, Chapter 13 p.237)

Hobbes argues a severe consequence of this is that no prosperity or stability will be possible because there will always be those who are prepared to try to take over others. Even for those who would only keep what they need it is necessary to prepare for conflict, either as defense against one's enemy or as a pre-emptive attack against anyone

who may later become one. As a result, in the State of Nature everybody will at all times either be engaged in a conflict or in the anticipation of conflict.

How then did, Hobbes seek to achieve peace in the State of Nature? Hobbes argues the only escape is by making promises or entering into contracts with each other, which are mutually beneficial agreements to surrendering our individual interests in order to achieve the advantages of security that only a social existence can provide. In the State of Nature, we all have an equal right to all things, but this eventually leads to conflict, and so we use contracts or covenants that transfer certain of our rights to each other to remove the grounds for conflict.

A covenant, in Hobbes eye, is dependent upon the future action of one of the agents. If a covenant is formed in the State of Nature the agent who acts first cannot be confident that the other will fulfill his side of the bargain. Without coercion our first agent might be reasonably sure that the second will not fulfill his side of the bargain. Having received the benefits of the covenant, his natural drive for self-preservation will make the second prefer to keep what he promised rather than hand it over if no disadvantage will accrue to him. But if the first agent can reasonably expect that, then he cannot honestly make the covenant for to do so would violate his own drive for self-preservation. This seems to make a covenant almost impossible in the State of Nature.

Hobbes argues in order to ensure peace; it needs to be arranged to the extent that in disadvantage will accrue to any who break their covenants. This would need to be a coercive power that could punish anyone who would break his covenants. This would mean that anybody would not dare to break covenants since the resulting punishment would be greatly against his self-preservation interests. In this way, it would be possible

for people to form covenants without reasonable fear of the other party breaking it, and if this is so then peace and prosperity may be ensured.

How could such a power come about since it would not exist in the State of Nature, where nobody is sufficiently powerful to impose themselves as that power on everyone else?

Hobbes' answer to this question is to form a special covenant with each other to give over their sovereignty over themselves to a supreme authority. This idea can be seen in his idea of commonwealth in *Leviathan*.

Commonwealth is the legitimate body, which has control over contracts. It embodies a network of associated contracts and creates a new artificial person to whom all responsibility for social order and public welfare is entrusted, which Hobbes calls the '*Leviathan*'. In commonwealth, Hobbes argues we "submit their wills, everyone to his will, and their judgments, to his judgment." (Hobbes, Chapter 17 p.348) This is more than consent or concord. Thus, Hobbes defines a commonwealth as, "I authorize and give up my right of governing myself, to this man, or to this assembly of men, on this condition, that thou give up thy right to him, and authorize all his actions in like manner." (Hobbes, Chapter 17 p.350)

Another important concept of Hobbes in commonwealth is Sovereign. Sovereign involves someone who makes decisions on behalf of this new whole 'commonwealth' and that person will be sovereign. Hobbes defines a sovereign as, "he that carrieth this person, is called sovereign, and said to have sovereign power; and everyone besides, is subject." (Hobbes, Chapter 17 p.354) It is his notion of 'subject' that holds the significant key. He argues every government is created and sustained by the mutual

recognition of its subjects. Men can only create a sovereign by giving over their absolute right of self-governing completely, and they cannot place any conditions on the gifts. In Hobbes view, even in a case when subject might have no respect for this particular sovereign, subjects are still bound by their contract with fellow-subjects to be governed by a single authority. Hobbes knows subjects can withdraw their recognition of a sovereign, but believed that this would only lead to “return to the State of Nature, which often bloody civil wars.” (Hobbes, Chapter 17 p.358)

Hobbes argues the consequences of institution of government as follows.

1. The Subjects cannot change the form of government.
2. Sovereign Power cannot be forfeited.
3. No party to the social contract can protest if he does not like the party or person to whom the majority has entrusted power.
4. No subject can accuse the sovereign of any injustice.
5. No sovereign can be punished for any crime.
6. The Sovereign is the sole judge of what is necessary to sustain the peace. This includes what doctrines are to be allowed in the commonwealth.
7. Sovereign can make any and all rules concerning the rights and properties of the subject.
8. He may act a judge in all controversies.
9. He alone can decide when to make war, and when to make peace.
10. He may choose whatever counselors and ministers he wishes.
11. He may decide whom to reward, and whom to punish. Where he has declared no rules, he may do so arbitrarily.
12. He may dispute all titles of honour and order between men.

Hobbes argues that all these rights of the sovereign are permanent and indivisible.

Thus, in Hobbes sense, sovereign is absolute.

Why, though, would this power need to have absolute sovereignty? To understand why Hobbes argued the necessity of a sovereign being absolute to ensure peace, we need to understand his arguments on non-absolute sovereignty.

Hobbes provides a variety of examples of the flaws of non-absolute sovereignty that non-absolute sovereignty of the ruler would lead back to the State of Nature. He even

argues that if sovereignty was divided and shared by an executive, then human nature would inevitably lead to conflicts between these entities. Unless there is some sort of supreme and absolute authority to control, then the only one way of resolving conflicts would be through war, thereby returning to the State of Nature. In Hobbes' eye, human nature requires that we have a coercive power set over us that is able to enforce our covenants. This is necessary in order for us to escape from perpetual warfare and achieve a state of peace. Thus, Hobbes also argues that the sovereignty of this power would need to be absolute.

Although, it is not clear whether Hobbes' argument on having non-absolute sovereignty would lead us back to the State of Nature. First, the covenant to create a sovereign power is qualitatively different to other covenants, with the sole purpose of that covenant is being as a means to make all other covenants binding to secure our self-preservation. Secondly, the main reason why people will not break covenants when there is a power capable of enforcing punishment with absolute or non-absolute power is because to do so will be contrary to their drive for self-preservation.

To secure peace and harmony in commonwealth, Hobbes argues that the sovereign should be absolute. This absolute sovereign decides whether or not he will continue in power, which remains permanent. The subjects in the commonwealth empower an authority by accepting and obeying his punishment commands in exchange for peace and security. Their obedience, they decide, must be in their best interests and their welfare. Thus, a sovereign who is created by the people does not decide for them the fundamental questions of acceptance of and obedience to his commands. Therefore, an authority only holds power as long as his subjects obey his punishment commands. The sovereign does

not determine the question of obedience to his commands, because that ultimately lays in the hands of his subjects based on their assessments of their best interests and welfare. It therefore makes sense that the very existence of the sovereign is dependent and determined solely by the people as he calls them subjects. Considering all these conditions, a sovereign can never be absolute and also peace and security in commonwealth can never be secured and guaranteed by an absolute sovereignty.

In John Locke's (1632-1704) in *Two Treatises of Government*. Locke agrees with Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, and Hobbes that political rule necessitates readiness to kill. He goes further to justify revolutionary lethality. When the sovereign authority becomes tyrannical and violates inherent rights to property, liberty, and life, oppressed citizens have the right and duty to destroy it. Just as a murderer may be killed in a state of nature, citizens in civil society may destroy a despotic ruler.

The Hobbes-Locke double justification for ruler-ruled lethality is extended into economic class warfare by Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) in *The Communist Manifesto*. *Propertied* classes can be expected to defend and extend their interests by lethal force. But when material and social relations reach a critical stage, exploited classes can be expected to rise in violent rebellion to change the economic and political structure of society.

In Jean-Jacque Rousseau's (1712-1778) *The Social Contract*, he presents the theory of a social contract as the basis for political organization of the state. Citizens collectively constitute both the sovereign authority and subjects of the state. They commit themselves to obey a ruling authority that makes and administers laws derived from the general will. Under the contract the states claim the right to war and conquest,

and traitors can be executed, and criminals can even be killed. The ruling body can order citizens to sacrifice their lives for the state:

“When the ruling authority has said to a citizen: It is expedient for the State that you should die, he must die; since....his life is no longer only a benefaction from nature, but is a conditional gift from the State.”
(Rousseau, Chapter V)

Ultimately, Rousseau’s democratic social contract is a compact with lethality.

In the 20th century, Max Weber (1864-1920), influential German political economist, in his *Politics as a Vocation*, categorically dismisses the idea that politics can be a nonviolent profession. For Weber, “the decisive means for politics is violence.” Historically all dominant political institutions have arisen from violent struggles for power. Consequently Weber defines the modern state as “a human community that successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory.” (Weber, p.165) Therefore, “he who seeks the salvation of the soul, of his own and that of others, should not seek it along the avenue of politics, for the quite different tasks of politics can only be solved by violence” (Weber, p.170)

All these lethal political philosophies has been made the foundation of the United States of America today, in which the legal use of violence is accepted and even justified. Furthermore, this lethal philosophical tradition strongly reinforces the deep denial of innate human capabilities for peaceableness.

The third most commonly made arguments against human capability and potential for peaceableness is found in the “ever-present possibility of rape that requires male readiness to kill to defend related females”. (Paige, p.3)

Needles to say, it is this fundamental denial of our own innate peaceableness that has led to the rise of massive lethal capabilities of killing and violent force “throughout the land, sea, and air space of the planet by means of the most destructive weapons yet devised by the lethal ingenuity of humankind.”(Paige, 8) The U.S. has spent, conservatively calculated, more than 5,821 trillion dollars on its nuclear weapon program alone between 1940-1996. (Schwartz, 1998) The United States has more armed regular forces, overseas bases, military alliances, and war training and aiding foreign forces than any other country. It is without a doubt that the United States has become the world’s largest military power just as the declaration of independence in 1776 proclaimed itself as “the world’s only military superpower and the world’s leading economy.” (President William J. Clinton, State of the Union Address, February 19, 1993)

Blinded by Practices of Lethality in Our Daily Lives

Violence in the United States is socially learned, and politically and culturally reinforced. Formally, or informally, legally or illegally, people in America are taught how to kill. Violence in the United States is often times politically created by its leaders.

In the UNESCO Charter it is written, "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that we have to erect the ramparts of peace". (UNESCO) Indeed, the relations between states and people have been regularly accompanied by mutual misunderstanding, tension, suspicion, and even hostility. Such emotional responses have always been the source of suffering and bloodshed throughout the course of human history.

Enemy Images

The price that humankind has paid for violence has always been high. Even today, in the midst of fear of terrorism, it has become unacceptable because of the unprecedented threat of unpredictable terrorist attacks. In the face of this threat, it is extremely dangerous to exaggerate suspicion. Such an attitude makes international relations even more unstable; it triggers irrational and irresponsible behaviors. Rick Smith, in his article, "Propaganda for the Masses: Reflection on Hitler's Use of Emotions In Order to Manipulate Reason and Public Opinion", notes that we are easily manipulated by external forces and our emotions can be used to control reason and action. (Smith, 2001) In such circumstance public opinions are swayed by enemy images that are often created by politicians. Rick Smith further argues,

"In the wake of the economic collapse in Germany and the humiliations heaped upon the Germans after World War I, Hitler was able to use the emotions that emerged from these events to manipulate public opinion, and ultimately, to lead his people into a terrible and destructive war. Where emotions was lacking, such as in the case of the Jewish question, events were staged or phony stories planted in order to fire people's emotions in the direction that the government wanted to do. That a tyrant like Hitler was aware of and effectively used such knowledge should put all of us on guard." (Smith, 2001)

We should remember that propaganda is used as much as it was then and perhaps even more today. Some politicians manipulate the masses quite consciously and deliberately that they always have and perhaps always will. Thus, it is a task of extraordinary importance to let go of ignorant ideological and psychological prejudices and stereotypes. It is our urgent need to work out realistic perceptions of each other. This is especially important for the world today.

First of all, the reason why we need to pay more attention to enemy images is because, according to Jack Levy in his article “Misperception and the Causes of War”, misperception certainly becomes one of the contributing causes of war. (Levy, p.82) On the same note, Jervis argues that in determining how he will behave, an actor must try to predict how others will act and how their actions will affect his values. The actor must thus develop an image of others and of their intentions. (Jervis, p.460)

Herrmann and Fischerkeller use five images to represent a diverse set of possible perceived relationships. They are enemy images, ally images, degenerate images, imperialist images, and colony images. (Herrmann, p. 420)

According to Herrmann and Fishcerkeller, enemy images construct a picture of the target that justifies killing the target and removing or controlling the threat and that gives the general public some reason to believe they will be successful if they demonstrate will and resolve. Typically this is done by portraying the target as an evil. A good example of this is in 1942, when Germany and Japan were enemy of the United States, the first five adjectives used by Americans in public opinion surveys to describe the enemies included “warlike”, “treacherous”, and “cruel”. None of these words appeared among the first five describing the Soviets, who at that time were allies of the United States.

In 1966, when the Soviet Union was no longer an ally, among the first five adjectives describing the Soviets were warlike and treacherous. These adjectives also were applied to the Chinese, but had disappeared from the lists of adjectives applied to the Germans and Japanese, who by then were allies of the United States. "... 'we' are

trustworthy, peace-loving, honorable, and humanitarian; 'they' are treacherous, warlike, and cruel."(Keen, p.104)

They argue, if leaders describe the target in enemy terms, they infer that political leaders see a threat from an actor to be comparable in capability and culture. On the other hand, if they describe the target actor in terms similar to colony stereotype, then they infer that political leaders see an opportunity to exploit that is seen as weaker and culturally inferior.

Jack S. Levy argues in "Misperception and the Causes of War",

"We know much about the sources of misperception, but less about their consequences. Misperceptions are commonplace; but little attention has been given to the question of what kinds of misperceptions are most likely to lead to war, and to the specific theoretical linkages through which they operate." (Levy, p.85)

Herrmann and Fischerkeller also failed to consider consequences of the image of the enemy on internal implications. Enemy images are very dangerous for the stability and security of international relations and also lead to highly negative consequences for the domestic life of countries as well. This happens because the hysteria surrounding the outer threat is often used as justification for secrecy and suspicion, covert actions and policies creating mobilized societies and artificial national unity. By providing the blame for these on the enemy, each side protects its own self-esteem from the realization that it has been unable to solve its own problems.

Series of Violence in Day to Day Life

One doesn't have to have knowledge in a political lethal tradition and the practice of it in order to be convinced and believed that a culture of peace is unthinkable and even impossible when killing and that violence in everyday life firmly confirms it.

For instance, over 24 million military veterans are graduates professionally trained for lethality. About one in four adult males are veterans, private militia train for combat, street gangs socialize for killing, magazines for mercenaries teach techniques of combat, computer games engage youth in simulated killing from fighting to land, air, and space combat, employing high levels of lethality.

As President Clinton's State of the Union Address on January 22, 1998 proves "Violent crime is turning our country from the land of the free to the land of the fearful". The United States witnesses series of violence and killing in day to day life. More than fifteen thousands Americans are murdered by other Americans each year (15,533 in 1999; 5.7 per 100,000 people, up from 1.2 in 1990). Reported murders do not include "justifiable killing" by police or private citizens (294 and 188 in 1999). Total homicides since WWII (estimated to be at least 750,000) exceed battle deaths in all the nation's major wars (650,053). (Sivard 1993:20-1)

News media and politics contribute to the reinforcement of violence and lethality to American public daily. Two heavily armed boys at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado killed thirteen classmates, wounded 28, and then committed suicide. During 1996-99 alone, school students, aged 11 to 18, killed 28 fellow students, two teachers, three parents, and wound 65 others. (Sivard 1993:21-2)

No other people in the 21st Century other than Americans have had so many lethal images imprinted upon their brains. In such a context of primal beliefs, philosophical heritage, patriotic socialization, media reinforcement, cultural conditioning, and global bloodshed by the military super power, it is not surprising at all that it emphatically denies our innate capability and potential for peaceableness.

Culture of Peace

How then, may we realize and believe that each and every one of us possess the innate peaceableness within us and have this as an essential core gearing humanity towards a Culture of Peace?

A culture of peace is not something that humanity can immediately realize, but This does not mean that its future feasibility is to be dismissed.

Historical Background

The Culture of Peace promoted by the United Nations provides a set of norms that manifests a high potential for being the world's standardized norm.

The concept of a culture of peace flows out of UNESCO's work on how different societies develop a diversity of cultural arrangements to solve the problem of how people can live with one another and cope with environmental challenges. The preamble of the UNESCO constitution observes,

“A peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and secure support of the peoples of the world, and that peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.” (UNESCO, 1945/2002:7)

A cultural arrangement that resolved conflicts with nonviolence as opposed to violent means, a 'culture of peace' that was contrasted with a culture of war and could be developed thru educational initiatives, was first described by MacGregor (1986). The Seville Statement came about after examining the arguments based on evolution, genetics, animal behavior, brain research, and social psychology; world-renowned scientists drew the conclusion that biology does not predestine us to war and violence. In fact, our biological legacy of aggression is the basis of our capacity for righteous

indignation against injustice. The Seville Statement on Violence concluded that biology does not condemn humanity to war and observed that 'the same species who invented war is also capable of inventing peace' (Adams, 1989: 113).

Together, these works became the fundamental basis for discussions at the 1989 UNESCO International Congress held in Yamoussoukro, Cote d'Ivoire. The Congress recommended that UNESCO 'help construct a new vision on the universal values of respect for life, liberty, justice, solidarity, tolerance, human rights and equality between men and women' (UNESCO, 1989: 51) Since then, the Culture of Peace has come a long way over the years. This vision, then, appealed to Federico Mayor, the UNESCO Director-General, who observed that 'it might provide the needed solidarity, both intellectual and moral, to unite people working around the world for justice and peace and to inspire hope and persistence for the common task' (Adams & True, 1997: 215). Promoted by UNESCO, the concept of a culture of peace eventually became the fundamental basis for the General Assembly declaration.

Today, a culture of peace is no longer seen as the absence of neither conflict nor an affair of and between states. A culture of peace is above all "a question of values, attitudes, individual and collective behavior that give rise to and incarnate the spirit of peace," says Françoise Rivière, who heads UNESCO's Culture of Peace Unit.

UNESCO's efforts to build and strengthen this idea have been so fruitful that the culture of peace has become a guiding beacon for the entire United Nations system, attested by the General Assembly's proclamation of the Year 2000 as the "International Year for the Culture of Peace" and of the Decade 2000-2010 as the

"International decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World". (UNESCO)

What exactly does it mean by a "Culture of Peace"? Though there are many definitions on a Culture of Peace, the one developed by Elise Boulding best it.

"Peace culture is a culture that promotes peaceable diversity. Such a culture includes life ways, patterns of belief, values, behavior, and accompanying institutional arrangements that promote mutual caring and well-being as well as quality that includes appreciation of differences, stewardship, and equitable sharing of the earth's resources among its members and with all living beings. It offers mutual security for humankind in all its diversity through a profound sense of species identity as well as kinship with the living earth. There is no need for violence. In other words, peaceableness is an action concept, involving a constant shaping and reshaping of understandings, situations and behaviors in a constantly changing lifeworld, to sustain well-being for all."

(Boulding, p.1)

This raises a question of "What kind of method would be needed to bring out our innate peaceableness to realize a Culture of Peace?"

Evidences of Human Capability of Peaceableness

Precisely because we seem to have such overwhelming evidence of a human inclination toward violence and war from the very century that was supposed to be an end to war, it is of the utmost importance that we take a fresh look at the human experience over time, to see if violence is indeed inevitable.

One of the most commonly misleading images of human incapability of peaceableness is that man is a dangerous animal capable of killing by nature. Humans by nature are not compelled to kill. We are endowed with consciousness, reason and creativity that enable us to reject lethality. Glenn Paige argues, "most humans do not kill." (Paige, p.25) Even amongst military personnel, only a minority of them directly kills. "War is an environment that will psychologically debilitate 98% of all who

participate in it for any length of time. And the 2% who are not driven insane by war appear to have already been insane—aggressive psychopaths—before coming to the battlefield” (Grossman 1995: 50.), Lieutenant Colonel Dave Grossman explains reluctance of male to kill in war. This thus stands in contrast to the image and assumption that humans are natural born killers. Lieutenant Colonel Dave Grossman continues that the principle task of military training is not learning how to kill but “to overcome the average individual’s deep-seeded-resistance to killing.” (Grossman 1995: 295)

We can also find other evidence of innate human capability and potential for peaceableness in the human family level. If human beings are by nature killers, then the family in its various forms would not and could not survive and exist. If human beings were naturally killers, fathers would kill mothers; mothers, fathers, parents, children; and children, parents. All of these we have witnessed but they do not prove a natural law of lethality that human beings are naturally killers. Even if it were so, the world’s population would have gone extinct along time ago. Despite its widely accepted image of human beings as natural killers, the human family has continued to create and sustain life on an unprecedented scale. “The percentage of killers in specific societies, of course, may vary greatly according to culture and era” (Keeley, p.76), but very the survival and multiplication of humankind testifies to the dominance of vitality over lethality in human nature.

Confidence in innate human capability and potential for peaceableness are present in the spiritual tradition of humankind. These precepts can be found in all world spiritual faiths. Jainism and Hinduism share the precept of *ahimsa paramo dharma* (nonviolence

is the supreme law of life). The first vow of Buddhism is to “abstain from taking life.” Judaism, Christianity, and Islam share the divine commandment “*Thou shall not kill.*” (Exod. 20:13) One of the most ancient Jewish teachings is “Whosoever preserves the life of one person, it is as though he saves a multitude of men. But he who destroy the life of one person, it is as though he destroy the world.”(Eisendrath: 144) In all societies murder is disapproved and in spiritual and humanist traditions as well.

We will never get to rediscover our innate capability and potential of peaceableness within by religion alone. The way in which to realize it is to empower each individual to rediscover their innate peaceableness within themselves.

The ultimate purpose and mission of social institutions, political institutions, spiritual institutions, economic institutions, security institutions, research institutions, problem-solving institutions, communication institutions, and educational institutions must evolve around rediscovering the innate human potential and capability for peaceableness.

CHAPTER 4: Futures of a Culture of Peace

What are the institutional implications of rediscovering our innate potential and capabilities for peaceableness? Is there any philosophical backbone that could offer universal values in order to bring people together? What does it imply for people, for varied institutions needed to bring about a culture of peace, starting from the family to the local community and extending its scope to nationally and ultimately to global levels? What kind of institutional reformations need to be instituted in order to enable humans to rediscover their utmost potential and capabilities for peaceableness? The attainability of a culture of peace implies an urgent need for institutions devoted to the rediscovery and revelation of our innate potential and fostering of peaceableness.

In this chapter, I focus to explore institutional implications that promote a rediscovery of the human innate potential for peaceableness by taking a look at peaceful political philosophies that have become the basis of a new set of universal values to help promote cultural transformation, involving a new culture based on revealing the peaceful potential of humanity. Also, by identifying various existing systems and institutions that are moving in the direction of a culture of peace, I hope to examine how they may be enhanced and maintained. In conclusion, I envision new systems and institutions that do not presently exist but may help us achieve a culture of peace.

By doing so, Jim Dator, a renowned futurist argues that it focuses in identifying;

“Future problems and possibilities at their earliest possible emergence, rather than waiting until they are fully formed and powerful trends. Identifying trends is important, but seeing things in their first emergence is more useful.”(Dator, p.9)

Social institutions, political institutions, spiritual institutions, economic institutions, security institutions, research institutions, problem-solving institutions,

communication institutions, and educational institutions should aim its end result towards contributing and rediscovering the innate human potential for peaceableness and fostering ability of sustaining them.

Just as democracies are made by democrats who understand what they are and who know how to make it work, and are motivated to make it work, a Culture of Peace and institutions will be made by peaceful people. There are many paths to a Culture of Peace and none can be prescribed for all. The vast historical and contemporary evidence of human capacity to make peace commitments should encourage each of us to discover our own transformational capabilities.

Adam Smith “The Theory of Moral Sentiment”: A New Basis for Universal Value

First and foremost having a value basis which brings all people together plays a vital role. These need to be universal, encompassing all cultures, religions, ideologies, and races. These seemingly impossible universal moral values can be found in the early work of Adam Smith’s, *The Theory of Moral Sentiment*. Here, Adam Smith attached great importance to justice and other moral virtues that limit the pursuit of self-interests. Smith gives moral theory to the virtues of justice, selfishness and altruism, sympathy, propriety or appropriateness of feeling, purpose and cause, conscience, conscience and benevolence, moral rules, and usefulness.

In *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* Adam Smith tries to develop an ethical theory based on a theory of human nature. The leading principle is not self-interest but sympathy. Objectivity is established by our propensity to try to see ourselves and our conduct as we would seem to some other impartial human being who knew all the relevant circumstances.

The Theory of Moral Sentiments is a contribution to both psychology and ethics. Its purpose is to find a basis for ethical judgment in human psychology. The psychology is in terms of "propensities" found in human nature: a human being placed in a certain situation has a propensity to act or react in certain ways. These propensities include:

- sympathy--a disposition to experience certain feelings when we see another person in a certain situation;
- a tendency to want others to feel towards us in a way that harmonizes with our feelings about ourselves;
- a disposition to want to be worthy of the approval of others.

In Smith's theory the immediate standard of right and wrong consists of these feelings of human beings.

Selfishness and Altruism

He begins:

“How selfish soever man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature, which interest him in the fortunes of others, and render their happiness necessary to him, though he derives nothing from it, except the pleasure of seeing it. Of this kind is pity or compassion, the emotion we feel for the misery of others, when we either see it, or are made to conceive it in a very lively manner. That we often derive sorrow from the sorrows of others, is a matter of fact too obvious to require any instances to prove it; for this sentiment, like all the other original passions of human nature, is by no means confined to the virtuous or the humane, though they perhaps may feel it with the most exquisite sensibility. The greatest ruffian, the most hardened violator of the laws of society, is not altogether without it.” (Smith, p.11)

He continues:

“As we have no immediate experience of what other men feel, we can form no idea of the manner in which they are affected, but by conceiving what we ourselves should feel in the like situation. Though our brother is on the rack, as long as we ourselves are at our ease, our senses will never inform us of what he suffers. They never did, and never can, carry us beyond our own person, and it is by the imagination only that we can form any conception of what are his sensations. Neither can that faculty help us to this any other way, than by representing to us what would be our own,

if we were in his case. It is the impressions of our own senses only, not those of his, which our imaginations copy. By the imagination, we place ourselves in his situation.” (Smith, p.12)

Smith argues that it is this sympathy that arises from an innate desire to identify with the emotions of others that can lead people to strive to maintain good relations with their fellow human beings and provide the basis for both specific benevolent acts and for the general social order.

Smith argues that all human beings innately have something he calls a desire for “mutual sympathy” of sentiments. What Smith means is that each of us gets pleasure on seeing our own sentiments echoed in others. It gives us pleasure. Smith thinks it is simply a fact about human nature that we find this mutual accord, or concordance of sentiments—what Smith terms “sympathy”—pleasurable. When Smith uses sympathy, it means harmony or concord with any emotion whatsoever. It does not mean only pity or compassion, in fact, he thinks this pleasure is one of the finest that human beings experience.

Since everyone finds this pleasurable, everyone seeks it out; and this mutual seeking-out of sympathy of sentiments becomes, for Smith, the engine of social cohesion and the centripetal force, as it were, of human communities. It encourages people not only to enter into groups, alliances, and communities with others so that they have opportunities to achieve the much-sought-after mutual sympathy of sentiments, but also to form associations of like-minded people. It increases the chances of actually achieving such sympathy.

Adam Smith rejects the thesis of Hobbes that human beings are totally selfish. Smith tries to sort out the notion of "self-interest" or "self-love". He points out that besides self-

love in the sense of a general desire for one's own happiness there are and must be particular desires for this or that external thing or good, for honor, power, and so forth, and unless we desired such things there will be no way for self-love to pursue happiness. These particular desires are, he insists, for those external things; attaining them is a means to happiness, but it could not be that unless we really did desire those things for themselves and not merely as a means to our own happiness. The particular things we desire can include, and generally do include, the happiness of other persons. Thus we really do desire the happiness of others for their sake, even though it is also true that furthering the happiness of others may further our own happiness--we desire it not simply as a means to our own happiness, but as desire in itself. There is no more inconsistency between love of self and love of others than there is between love of self and love of any of the other particular goods that we get satisfaction from. We don't value them simply because they give satisfaction. They give satisfaction because we value them. Thus when Smith says, "though he derives nothing from it [the happiness of others] except the pleasure of seeing it", the reference to "the pleasure of seeing it" doesn't mean that we do after all care about others only as a means to our own pleasure--rather, we get pleasure from seeing the happiness of others because we do really care about their happiness, and not merely as a means to our own.

This notion of Smith's desire for mutual sympathy will help us rediscover our innate potential for building a community upon mutual respect. It help us create a safe and nurturing environment in which everyone participates and to which everyone belongs. Nurturing mutual respect among each other becomes the basis for creating a positive living environment.

What is the mechanism of Smith's argument? One desires mutual sympathy of sentiments with others, which leads one to moderate his/her sentiments to the level that he/she thinks, based on his/her past experience, others are likely to enter into. Others, in contrast, because they desire the same thing, also moderate their sentiments to the level they think, based on their past experience, he/she is likely to enter into. Over time this process trains our sentiments to gravitate toward mutually acceptable levels.

Smith next argues that the development of personal moral standards, of a conscience and the impartial spectator procedure, and of the accepted moral standards of a community all depend on the regular associations people make with one another. It is in these associations, in the daily intercourses people have with one another, that they encourage each other to discover and adopt rules of behavior and judgment that will lead to mutual sympathy. Without such interactions with others, Smith argues, people would have no occasion to pursue such rules, and hence they would not. In that case moral judgments would not be made at all.

Sympathy

Smith rejects the hypothesis that human beings are simply selfish. Smith argues that when we see one person injuring another, even if we are not threatened ourselves, we share the "uneasiness" of the person injured--"we partake of their uneasiness by sympathy"; indeed "we naturally sympathize with others in the sentiments they entertain of us".

How does 'sympathy' work in Smith's argument? He argues, "As we have no immediate experience of what other men feel, we can form no idea of the manner in which they are affected, but by conceiving what we ourselves should feel in the like

situation." (Smith, p.11) We do not directly sense the feelings of others. I do sense what is being done to you; I must then **imagine** how I would feel if that were being done to me, and as a result of imagining this I **feel for you**.

As he says in the following paragraph,

“Pith and compassion are words appropriated to signify our fellow feeling with the sorrow of others. Sympathy, though its meaning was, perhaps, originally the same, may now, however, without much impropriety, be made use of to denote our fellow-feeling with any passion whatever.”
(Smith, p.13)

He uses ‘sympathy’ in a broad sense, to mean not only compassion but fellow feelings of any sort, as for example we might be said to sympathize with someone's joy when we feel happy for them.

I may feel for you feelings you do not have yourself. Sympathy is a feeling in me caused by seeing you in a certain situation and imagining how I would feel if I were put into the same situation. The feelings in me may be different not only in intensity but also in kind; and indeed I may feel for you when you have no feeling in relation to your situation. As he says,

"Sympathy, therefore, does not arise so much from the view of the passion, as from that of the situation which excites it. We sometimes feel for another, a passion of which he himself seems to be altogether incapable; because, from the imagination, though it does not in his from the reality. We blush for the impudence and rudeness of another, though he himself appears to have no sense of the impropriety of his own behaviour; because we cannot help feeling with what confusion we ourselves should be covered, had we behaved in so absurd a manner.”
(Smith, p.15)

Smith’s notion of sympathy helps us rediscover our innate capability of affirming the dignity and value of each person.

Propriety or Appropriateness of Feeling

Propriety means the proper or appropriate relationship between one's feelings and the situation that evokes them. If we say, in modern language, that someone has "over-reacted" to a situation, we are saying that the degree of feeling behind that person's words or actions is more intense than the situation justifies. As Smith says, the person's passions are "unsuitable to the causes which excite them".

Smith says that the spectator's feelings, when he imagines himself in that person's place, are the measure of the appropriateness of that person's feelings. Later on he will modify this. If I am especially afraid of spiders, I may feel great horror when I see a spider on you; but I may recognize that my horror is excessive, and that yours is too--on reflection, I may recognize that we are both over-reacting. Smith is arguing that the only standard available to one for judging the appropriateness of your feeling is our own feeling. If, when we consider situations of others, we feel for them the feelings they seem to be having, then we must regard their feelings as appropriate. Smith argues,

“To approve of another man’s opinions is to adopt those opinions, and to adopt them is to approve of them. If the same arguments which convince you convince me likewise, I necessarily approve of your conviction; and if they do not, I necessarily disapprove of it: neither can I possibly conceive that I should do the one without the other. To approve or disapprove, therefore, of the opinions of others is acknowledged, by every body, to mean no more than to observe their agreement or disagreement with our own. But this is equally the case with regard to our approbation or disapprobation of the sentiments or passions of others.” (Smith, p.21)

Sometimes we may judge other’s feelings not by comparing them with our own sympathetic feeling but by applying general rules. These rules are empirical generalizations telling us how we would feel if we took the time and trouble to imagine ourselves in their situation.

This notion of propriety or appropriateness of feeling helps develop personal connections and an interdependence of all life around us. It helps us rediscover ways to link personal stories, feelings, perspectives, and experiences to others which in turn helps us develop personal relationships with each other.

Purpose and Cause

Smith distinguishes between cause and effect, propriety and merit.

“The sentiment or affection of the heart from which any action proceeds, and upon which its whole virtue or vice must ultimately depend, may be considered under two different aspects, or in two different relations; first, in relation to the cause which excites it, or the motive which gives occasion to it; and secondly, in relation to the end which it proposes, or the effect which it tends to produce.” (Smith, p.22)

He continues,

“In the suitability or unsuitability, in the proportion or disproportion which the affection seems to bear to the cause or object which excites it, consists the propriety or impropriety, the decency or ungracefulness of the consequent action.” (Smith, p.22)

He further argues,

“In the beneficial or hurtful nature of the effects which the affection aims at, or tends to produce, consists the merit or demerit of the action, the qualities by which it is entitled to reward, or is deserving of punishment.” (Smith, p.22)

Smith argues that when we judge propriety we are not considering purpose or effect or tendency but origin: what caused or motivated this reaction, and is the reaction proportionate to the cause? Some argue that virtue is a quality of character that is useful to mankind. Smith’s answer is that usefulness to mankind pleases us because we do care, to some extent, about the welfare of other people.

Harmony and Sentiment

Social life requires some sharing or correspondence of sympathy. If two people cannot sympathize they cannot live together. This is same for world peace. Thus, people control their feelings to bring them into line with the likely sympathetic feelings of the people they associate with.

He states,

“There may be some correspondence of sentiments between the spectator and the person principally concerned, the spectator must, first of all, endeavor, as much as he can, to put himself in the situation of the other, and to bring home to himself every little circumstance of distress which can possibly occur to the sufferer. He must adopt the whole case of his companion with all its minutest incidents; and strive to render as perfect as possible, that imaginary change of situation upon which his sympathy is founded.” (Smith, p.26)

He continues,

“A passion somewhat analogous to what is felt by the sufferer, hinders them from conceiving any thing that approaches to the same degree of violence. The person principally concerned is sensible of this, and at the same time passionately desires a more complete sympathy.” (Smith, p.27)

Smith’s notion of harmony and sentiment unlock our innate potential for appreciating diversity. Exploring our own sympathetic feelings towards one another help us move from tolerance to genuine regard, appreciation, and acceptance of people who are different from each other. This notion of harmony and sentiment through development of sympathy towards others helps us rediscover our innate capability to become allies with others, and contribute to building a positive relationship with one another.

Justice

Smith argues,

“We do not thoroughly and heartily sympathize with the gratitude of one man [B] towards another [A], merely because this other has been the cause of his good fortune, unless he has been the cause of it from motives which we entirely go along with. Our heart must adopt the principles of the agent, and go along with all the affections which influenced his conduct, before it can entirely sympathize with, and beat time to, the gratitude of the person who has been benefited by his actions. If in the conduct of the benefactor there appears to have been no propriety, how beneficial soever its effects, it does not seem to demand, or necessarily to require, any proportional recompense.” (Smith, p.85)

For Smith, merit or demerit depends on beneficial or harmful effects. If A does something that harms B, B may resent A's action and attempt to inflict punishment. How then, do we judge whether the punishment would be deserved? Smith suggests:

“But when to the hurtfulness of the action is joined the impropriety of the affection from whence it proceeds, when our heart rejects with abhorrence all fellow-feeling with the motives of the agent, we then heartily and entirely sympathize with the resentment of the sufferer. Such actions seem then to deserve, and, if I may say so, to call aloud for, a proportional punishment; and we entirely enter into, and thereby approve of, that resentment which prompts to inflict it. The offender necessarily seems then to be the proper object of punishment, when we thus entirely sympathize with, and thereby approve of, that sentiment which prompts to punish. In this case too, when we approve, and go along with, the affection from which the action proceeds, we must necessarily approve of the action, and regard the person against whom it is directed, as its proper and suitable object.” (Smith, p.86)

By considering the propriety of both the feeling of resentment that prompts B's attempt to punish A, and also the feelings or motives that prompted A to do the act that B now resents: that is, whether A's motives were appropriate to the original situation, and whether B's desire to punish is an appropriate reaction to A's action. We do not judge

whether punishment is deserved by considering whether inflicting punishment would have good effects.

Similar remarks apply to gratitude and reward. Smith argues that the upholding of justice serves good purposes. But it is not in view of these purposes that we uphold justice. Our judgments of merit and demerit are instinctive. According to Smith, purpose is to be attributed to the person who makes the thing, not to the thing itself.

This notion of justice helps us rediscover our ability to solve problems through cooperation and collaboration and manages to resolve conflict effectively and constructively.

Conscience

We judge our own actions as we judge the actions of others, by imagining ourselves looking on and seeing whether we can go along with the motives of the act, in this our own motives of our own act. We try to see our own acts from the viewpoint of a fair and well-informed spectator. This imaginary spectator is what Smith mean by conscience.

In saying that we must judge the appropriateness of others' motives and feelings by comparison with our own sympathetic feelings Smith did not assume that our feelings will necessarily be appropriate. Here he suggests a way of correcting them. I sympathize with you by imagining myself in your place: I correct my sympathetic feelings by imagining the reaction of an impartial spectator who puts himself in your place.

According to Smith, we do not only wish to be praised, but we also wish to be worthy of praise: and we wish for worthiness not only because of the praise the worthiness is likely to bring but for its own sake.

"It is by no means sufficient that, from ignorance or mistake, esteem and admiration should, in some way or other, be bestowed upon us". Also, "it often gives real comfort to reflect, that though no praise should actually be bestowed upon us, our conduct, however, has been such as to deserve it", (Smith, p. 115) Smith argues Nature, [God], has made us to desire not only to be praised, but to deserve praise. This is what makes us concerned about what an impartial and well-informed spectator would think and feel about what we are doing, and not just about the reactions of actual spectators.

Smith sometimes refers to conscience as "the man within". There can be an appeal from the verdict of actual spectators to that of the imagined ideal spectator, who knows what the actual spectators may not know and is free from bias. This is the real standard of propriety.

This notion of conscience helps us rediscover and deepen our own social responsibility. Not only helping us rediscover our innate ability to act on our own conscience in ways that make a positive difference for oneself and others but also help us to redevelop the convictions and skills to shape a more just and peaceful world. Also, this notion of conscience helps us rediscover our ability to sympathize with others; the ability to put ourselves in others shoes and think from a different perspectives.

Conscience and Benevolence

"The great empire of China, with all its myriad of inhabitants, was suddenly swallowed up by an earthquake, and let us consider how a man of humanity in Europe, who had no sort of connexion with that part of the world, would be affected upon receiving intelligence of this dreadful calamity. He would, I imagine, first of all, express very strongly his sorrow for the misfortune of that unhappy people, he would make many melancholy reflections upon the precariousness of human life, and the vanity of all the labours of man, which could thus be annihilated in a moment. He would too, perhaps, if he was a man of speculation, enter

into many reasonings conering the effects which this disaster might produce upon the commerce of Europe, and the trade and business of the world in general. And when all this fine philosophy was over, when all these humane sentiments had been once fairly expressed, he would pursue his business or his pleasure, take his repose or his diversion, with the same ease and tranquillity, as if no such accident had happened. The most frivolous disaster which could befall himself would occasion a more real disturbance. If he was to lose his little finger to-morrow, he would not sleep to-night; but, provided he never saw them, he will snore with the most profound security over the ruin of a hundred millions of his brethren, and the destruction of that immense multitude seems plainly an object less interesting to him, than this paltry misfortune of his own. To prevent, therefore, this paltry misfortune to himself, would a man of humanity be willing to sacrifice the lives of a hundred millions of his brethren, provided he had never seen them?" (Smith, p.157-8)

Here Smith argues about what keeps us in the right way is not benevolence or love of mankind but conscience, consciousness of, and concern for, the judgment of an ideal spectator, knowledgeable and impartial. To try to imagine what an impartial spectator's sympathies would be is Smith antidote to our tendency to favor ourselves and our friends over the rest of mankind.

Moral Rules

"The man of real constancy and firmness, the wise and just man who has been thoroughly bred in the great school of self-command, in the bustle and business of the world, exposed, perhaps, to the violence and injustice of faction, and to the hardships and hazards of war, maintains this control of his passive feelings upon all occasions; and whether in solitude or in society, wears nearly the same countenance, and is affected very nearly in the same manner. In success and in disappointment, in prosperity and in adversity, before friends and before enemies, he has often been under the necessity of supporting this manhood. He has never dared to forget for one moment the judgment which the impartial spectator would pass upon his sentiments and conduct. He has never dared to suffer the man within the breast to be absent one moment from his attention. With the eyes of this great inmate he has always been accustomed to regard whatever relates to himself. This habit has become perfectly familiar to him." (Smith, p.169)

Sympathetic feeling is the only standard by which we can judge others' feelings and actions, but our own feelings may be inappropriate and may need to be corrected. One correction is to adopt the practice of imagining the reactions of some impartial person. But to imagine reactions takes time. Another correction is by the general rules of morality, which are based on the ideal impartial spectator's reaction to common types of situations. Smith's impartial spectator judges by whether he can sympathize with the feelings that cause actions of the type. This notion of moral rule help us rediscover that each one of us are involved in shared decision making one way or another. This help us to consider consequences and implications of choices before making any judgment.

Usefulness

The effort required to get wealth is generally not justified by the extra happiness wealth may bring. "Power and riches are enormous or oporose machines contrived to produce a few trifling conveniences", (Smith, p.192)

If we consider the real satisfaction which all these things are capable of affording, by itself and separated from the **beauty of that arrangement** which is fitted to promote it, it will always appear in the highest degree contemptible and trifling. (Smith, p.193)

Nature brings forth good from ordinary people from the passion some have for wealth, a passion deriving not from the advantage wealth will give them but from their enjoyment of the neat adaptation of a means to an ends: they love the adaptation more than they love the end.

According to Smith, we approve or disapprove according to whether or not we sympathize with the feelings that prompt the action or are characteristic of such a type of

person. This is forgotten by those who view things in an abstract way, at a distance, without close attention to particular examples.

Order in Benevolence

Part VI of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* is a discussion, reminiscent of Aristotle's *Ethics*, of various virtues, especially prudence, benevolence, and self-command. Prudence is concerned with one's own happiness, benevolence with the happiness of others. Under the heading of benevolence the main topic is the order in which Nature recommends individuals and societies to our care and attention.

The same unerring wisdom, it will be found, which regulates every other part of her [Nature's] conduct, directs, in this respect too, the order of her recommendations; which are always stronger or weaker in proportion as our beneficence is more or less necessary, or can be more or less useful.
(p. 218)

Thus Nature directs us first to take care of ourselves, then of members of our family and household, and so on. Similarly Nature prompts us to have care of our own country before others. Every nation is divided into "orders and societies", and it is natural to care most about the order or class to which one belongs.

Smith's *The Theory of Moral Sentiment* offers us new universal values, which help rediscovering our innate human potential for peaceableness. It promotes rediscovering the human potentials of building community and mutual respect; a shared decision making ability; democratic participation; social responsibility; an appreciation for diversity; affirmation and acceptance; personal connection with one another; caring and effective communication; and cooperation and collaborative problem solving.

Culture of Peace is Possible

It is our top priority to create institutions that focus on supporting a culture of peace. As a futurist Jim Dator states,

“while sincere efforts should be made to change people’s minds about ‘assuming responsibility for their rose’ so that people will understand and support extraordinary efforts at planetary management, it is equally, if not more, important that institutions be created that make such behavior easy, and perhaps necessary per se, and not to rely upon moral persuasion and/or laws and enforcement.” (Dator, p.11)

He continues with an example of how the structures of the society in which we live shape and override our deep desire to do what we believe to be good for the humanity.

“I have been convinced that recycling paper, glass, and aluminum cans is good. I very much want to do that. But I happen to live in a community that not only does not even require by law, but also actually makes it extremely difficult for me to recycle things. On my own volition, I must collect and clean the items, package them appropriately, and then transport them many kilometers to some distant place I would not otherwise go for further processing. Indeed, the powers that be in my community argue that because of our small size and remote location, it is more economical for us to continue to waste than to recycle. So I am made to feel a fool (if not in fact a net energy-waster) if I recycle on my own.” (Dator, p.11)

Given the example of speeding issue, Dator continue to argue how structure matter. Though moral suasion helps to reduce speeding issue, it is devise structures that matter the most. Dator argues structure matters.

“...what really cuts down speeding are speed bumps in the road, and ‘roundabouts’. Both require people to drive more slowly than they would otherwise—or they want to. And that is the point—devise structures that require people to behave as they ‘should’ regardless of how they want to behave.” (Dator, p.11)

“While will matters also, structure matters even more. If we want to help people ‘assume responsibility for their rose’ we not only must convince to

do so, but we must imagine and create institutions that make it easier for them to assume, rather than to avoid, that opportunity.” (Miles at all 2002).

What types of institutional structural reformations need to be implied to encourage humans to rediscover their utmost potential and capability for peaceableness is our next question. How, then, may we create such structure that generate sympathy of sentiments with others?

“We are not helpless. We have at our fingertips an incredible storehouse of wisdom and knowledge from the past and new knowledge, new wisdom, new science and technology from our discovery-minded present that, together, offer great resources from the rebuilding of peaceful lifeways for the planet as a whole.” (Boulding, p.4)

This is why Elise Boulding argues that we still have hope. She continues, “Sometimes the peace culture has been a hidden culture, kept alive in the cracks of a violent society. At other times the peace culture has predominated, and violence has receded to a minimum. Given how destructive war has become in this century, we are lucky that we have living peace cultures to look to and to build on in this transition era for the human race. They can help us move away from global destruction and toward a world alive with a great diversity of peaceable lifeways.” (Boulding, p.28) A Culture of Peace is completely possible.

In the following sections, I aim to identify critical factors in the three categories. One, existing beliefs, processes, and systems that stand in the way of realizing a culture of peace. Second, existing processes and systems that are moving in the direction of a culture of peace and how they can be enhanced and maintained. This is because the proof and evidence of our innate potential for peaceableness may be found through

exploring the existing various systems and institutions. Three, new processes and systems not presently existing that can contribute to a realization of a culture of peace. This is because as Dator says, “everything in the world about you is a social invention. Someone had to think it up, help create it, and help preserve it over time.” (Dator, p.3)

One of the existing belief that stand in the way of realizing a culture of peace is that most of the people continue to believe violence and war are inevitable, that it is “part of human nature; always part of human experience; impossible to eliminate.” (Dator, p.3) Also, economic scarcity will always cause competition, conflict and killing. Lastly, ever-present possibility of rape requires male readiness to kill to defend related females. (Paige, 2002)

Humans by nature are not compelled to kill. They are endowed with consciousness, reason and creativity that enable us to reject lethality. Second, economic scarcity must not be used to justify killing. Scarcity can be overcome thru creativity, productivity, and equitable distribution. Third, rape should not be used as a basis for the rejection of nonkilling. Rape can be eliminated by education and provision of a proper social atmosphere.

The human family further evidences a human capability for peaceableness. If human beings are by nature killers, if even half of humanity were inescapably homicidal, then the family in its various forms could not exist. The human family has continued to create and sustain life on an unprecedented scale.

Peaceable precepts may be found in all world spiritual faiths and traditions which intent to seek plant profound respect for life in the consciousness of humankind. For

instance, Hinduism shares the precepts of *ahimsa paramo dharma* (nonkilling is the supreme law of life); Buddhism “abstains from taking life.” Judaism, Christianity and Islam share the divine commandment, “Thou shall not kill”; Jewish teaches “whosoever preserves the life of one person, it is as though he saves whole world”; Confucianism says “when morality among rulers prevails, no death penalty will be needed.”(Fung, 1952: p.62) Taoism states “when humans live simply, spontaneously, and in harmony with nature, although there might exist weapons of war, no one will drill with them.” (Fung, 1952:p.160)

Emile Durkheim, a founder of modern sociology, urged attention to “salient outcroppings” (Durkheim,1951) of social life related to questions of a theoretical interest. Rediscovering innate potential and capabilities of human peaceableness stem “naturally” out of historical and contemporary experience. Among salient manifestations of innate potential and capabilities of human peaceableness are public policies, institutions, culture expressions, political struggles, and dedicated individuals.

One of the examples of political decisions and systems tending toward a realization of a culture of peace is found in countries that have abolished the death penalty, countries that have no armies, and countries that recognize the right of conscientious objection to killing in military services.

Countries and territories without death penalty are as follows:

Andorra, Angola, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Canada, Cape Verde, Colombia, Costa Rica, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, East Timor, Ecuador, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Kiribati, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Macedonia, Marshall, Mauritius, Micronesia, Moldova, Monaco, Mozambique, Namibia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Palau, Panama, Paraguay, Poland, Portugal, Romania, San Marino, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Slovak

Republic, Slovenia, Solomon Islands, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkmenistan, Tuvalu, Ukraine, United Kingdom, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Vatican City State and Venezuela. (Amnesty International, April 2002)

In addition to the above, there are 14 States that have abolished the death penalty for ordinary crimes while retaining it for special circumstances of martial law or war:

Argentina, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Brazil, Israel, Mexico, South Africa, and United Kingdom. 23 states retain the death penalty in law but had not executed anyone for ten or more years; Albania, Brunei Darussalam, Congo, Papua New Guinea, Senegal, Sri Lanka, Turkey, and Western Samoa. (Amnesty International, April 2002)

These 73 countries represent the immense potential and capability of human beings and are nothing short of remarkable implications of future universal realizations of a Culture of Peace. Despite oscillations between pros and cons, the global trend toward the abolition of the death penalty by governments emerging from traditions of violence reaffirm the attainability of rediscovering our innate peaceableness.

There are twenty-seven countries without armies.

No Army: *Costa Rica, Dominica, Grenada, Haiti, Kiribati, Liechtenstein, Maldives, Mauritius, Nauru, Panama, Saint Vincent and Grenadines, Samoa, San Marino, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Vatican*

No Army (Defense Treaty): Andorra (Spain, France), Cook Island (New Zealand), Iceland (NATO, USA), Marshall Islands (USA), Micronesia (USA), Monaco (France), Niue (New Zealand), Palau (USA) (Amnesty International, 2001)

The absence of armies often times can be surprising in countries where they are deemed to be indispensable for national identity, social control, defense, and offense. But even though these countries are relatively smaller nation states, they represent a great possibility of nonmilitary statehood that convinces us that nonmilitary statehood is absolutely possible.

Even in countries that do have armies, state recognition of conscientious objection to military conscription provides further evidence of a culture of peace society potential.

47 countries and territories recognizing a conscientious objection to military service.

(Amnesty International) These facts signify and demonstrate the possibility of nonmilitary statehood in the 21st century. A culture of peace is not unthinkable.

Countries and Territories recognizing conscientious objection to military service:

Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belgium, Bermuda, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus (Greek-Cyprus), Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Guyana, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Moldova, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Suriname, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Yugoslavia, Zimbabwe. (Horeman and Stolwijk, 1998)

Institutions approximately appropriate in or functional for a transition to future culture of peace already have appeared in various parts of the world. They provide further evidence of systems that are moving in the direction of a culture of peace as well as the human capacity for peaceableness. When these scattered institutions were creatively combined and adapted to the needs of any single society, it is even now plausible to envision a society without killing that is not the product of hypothetical speculation but is based upon demonstrated human capacity and experience. Thus, the following social institutions provide further evidence of the human capacity for rediscovering innate peaceableness.

Another existing processes and systems that are moving in the direction of a culture of peace may also be found in various religious institutions inspired by peaceable faiths throughout the world. Among them are the Jains of the East, Quakers of the West, the Universal Peace and Brotherhood Association of Japan, and the International Fellowship of Reconciliation in 1919, etc.

There are also political parties that committed to contribute to a culture of peace, including an electoral political party called the Fellowship Party of Britain, founded by Ronald Mallone, the Green Party founded by Petra K. Kelly, and nonviolent movements associated with Gandhi and MLK, Jr.

Another existing processes and systems that are moving in the direction of a culture of peace may also be found in various economic institutions. They are economic institutions; include a capitalist mutual stock fund that will not invest in war industries (Pax World Fund) and a labor union inspired by Gandhian and Kingian nonviolence (United Farm Workers of America founded by Cesar Chavez).

Existing processes and systems that are moving in the direction of a culture of peace may also be found in various educational institutions.

In regard to the possibility of basing an entire university upon the multifaith spirit of nonviolence in service to human needs is in Tamil Nadu, India. Shanti Sena (Peace Corps). Some of the university's founding principles involved combining disciplinary studies and community applications political science and village decision-making, physics and radio repair, biology and well cleaning and arts and creative child development. Second, requiring problem-solving theses by every graduating student. Third, teaching trilingual language competence with Tamil for local needs; and fourth engaging all in labor for campus maintenance and services without janitors, grounds keepers and cooks.

Existing processes and systems that are moving in the direction of a culture of peace may also be found in various training institutions. They provide peaceful training for social change, conflict zone interventions, social defense, and other purposes also

rapidly appearing. Experienced trainers are also increasingly in demand within and across national boundaries and are contributing to a growing confidence in the human ability to replace violent means with nonviolent methods of problem solving. To note a few organizations, the G. Ramachandran School of Nonviolence; Peace Brigades International, Florida Martin Luther King, Jr. Institute for Nonviolence with LaFayette and Associates and the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence.

Existing research institutions are also moving in the direction of a culture of peace. They play an important role in the process of nonviolent social change. They are Albert Einstein Institution (Cambridge, Massachusetts) founded by Gene Sharp, carries out research on nonviolent struggles for democracy, security, and justice throughout the world. The Gandhian Institute of Studies (Varanasi, India), founded by Jayaprakash Narayan, conducts social science research to support nonviolent social change, United States Institute for Peace (USIP).

Examples of institutions dedicated to solving problems on nonkilling principles include Amnesty International's defense of human rights and abolition of the death penalty, Greenpeace International's defense of the environment and abolition of nuclear weapons, and the war Resisters International defense of conscientious objections for war are evidence of another existing processes and systems that are moving in the direction of a culture of peace.

The possibility of communication media that informs and comments upon local and global conditions from a culture of peace perspective is illustrated by the work of the pioneering journalist Colman McCarthy of "Day by Day" which is a monthly press, arts,

and sports review of Britain's pacifist "Fellowship Party", Bangkok's Buddhist "Seeds of Peace", and the international Peace News "For nonviolent Resolution" and so forth.

Nonviolent cultural resources are creations of art and intellect that uplift the human spirit and inspire advances toward the realization of a culture of peace. These include folk songs "We Shall Overcome", Opera "Satyagraha", Novels "Lay Down Your Arms", and poetry "Jonny's song" etc.

Peaceable Institutional Implications

Institutions are taken to be configurations of purposive social relationships that arise in response to human needs and aspirations.

All the following proposed institutions, departments, universities, and organizations object from a sense of common purpose, to eliminate violence and to contribute to emergence, maintenance and creativity of a culture of peace.

This section is to identify new processes and systems not presently existing that can contribute to a realization of a culture of peace.

United Nations Nonviolent Organization (UNNO) The main focus of this new organization will be to envision as a basis for a culture of peace.

The world affairs should be handled by the world people under democratic procedures, so nongovernmental organizations and societies become the natural core of UNNO and the main forces to maintain world peace. I envision UNNO to take the following actions.

The purposes of UNNO are to unite nongovernmental forces of all countries to cease violence and call for a practice to solve conflicts both domestic and international through dialogues and negotiations. Also to make an effort to promote people's livelihood and the

level of economy de developing both market and private economy.

Along with the creation of UNNO,

Universities for Peace

The transition to a culture of peace implies a requirement for knowledge and skills beyond the capabilities of any single discipline or university department. The common purposes of a University for Peace are to eliminate violence and to nurture character and skills needed for realizing and maintaining a culture of peace. It implies a need for entire universities devote to peaceable services to life in local, national, international, and global communities.

University of Shanti Sena (Peace Corps)

It is a training ground for members who will be trained for nonviolent conflict resolution and reconciliation, community security and civilian defense, paramedical life-saving, disaster relief, and constructive service in response to community needs. Participation parallels and complements academic work nurturing character and skills of leadership. The Shanti Sena can be called upon to serve in times of crisis on and off campuses and provides a pool of leadership talent for other social institutions. (Almeida, 1986)

Department of Peace at Universities

Again the department originates from a sense of common purpose: to eliminate violence with no support to technologies for violence, and their lethal correlating from global life. Students are vividly confronted with the lethal legacy of human history and invited to take up the challenges of removing killing from the human condition, as students of peace and nonviolence. A next step is to review major contemporary

challenge to problem solving engagement, violence, economy, human rights, environment, and cooperation. In addition to these is the most recent knowledge related to the logic of peaceable analysis and principles of action that can contribute to present decisions to realize a culture of peace features.

Peaceable Political Parties

Applied non-lethal political science implies services by peaceable political parties that participate in need-responsive processes of societal problem solving for the well being of all. The goals of peaceable parties are to contribute to the realization of a culture of peace, locally and globally. They need to be different from past parties in that they are not class-based but seek to aggregate and express the interests of all.

Peaceable Training Institutions

As consciousness about pervasive threats of violence and needs for constructive nonviolent alternatives intensify, there are increasing demands for training in skills of nonviolent leadership for conflict resolution and nonviolent social change. Also they are to provide skills in nonviolent and peaceable leadership for conflict resolution and social change.

Research and Policy Analysis Institution

Just as private institutes are established to advise governments and the general public on matters ranging from international security policies to all matters of political, economic, social, and cultural life, peaceable policy institutes are needed to provide information and analysis to assist societal decision making.

Peaceable Media Communication

Peaceable media of communication are needed to provide information, news and

commentary to assist individuals and public policy decision-making. This does not presage media that overlooks human capacities for violence but ones that do beyond the conventional media message that killing is inevitable, often laudable, and even entertaining.

Peaceable Memorial Holidays

To recover and celebrate the peaceable heritage of civilization, memories to individuals, groups, organizations, and countries should be recognized and celebrated. To be celebrated are all those who have refused to kill and have contributed to the long march toward a culture of peace.

Zones of Peace

This implies civil society institutions are peaceable zones of peace ranging from organizations through rural and urban communities to national and international agreements. The identification of, networking among, and introduction of supportive peaceable institutions into such varied zones of peace for mutual support and diffusion is a major peaceable institutional development challenge.

Tasks of transition call for creatively integrative centers for global nonviolence committed to understanding and facilitating responsiveness to peaceable needs for all. The strength of peaceful social institutions derives from mutually supportive individuals.

Timeline for Realizing Proposal

The timeline toward a realization of a Culture of Peace can be categorized into two; things that almost certainly will happen between now and 2010 and things that move in cycles.

2000-2010: United Nations Decade for Culture of Peace

The vision of education and public awareness has been further developed, enriched and reinforced by the major United Nations Conferences dealing with different aspects of sustainable development, beginning in 1992 with Rio (environment and development) and followed in 1994 by Cairo (population), in 1995 by Copenhagen (social development) and Beijing (women), and in 1996 by Istanbul (human settlements), as well as the nineteenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly (1997). The action plans of these conferences, as well as the special work programme of the UN Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) adopted in 1996, are to be implemented by national governments, civil society (including non-governmental organizations, youth, enterprises and the educational community), the United Nations system and other international organizations. Education for Sustainable Development is the main mechanism through which UNESCO responds to the recommendations of all the United Nations Conferences concerning education, information and public awareness related to sustainable development.

Below are things that move us toward a realization of a culture of peace. First and foremost, national governments play a key role in defining and promoting global strategies for realizing peaceable societies. Second, institutions and organizations of the United Nations System are endeavoring to work closely together with national authorities in implementing the recommendations of the various international conferences that have pointed the way towards developing a culture of peace. Thirdly, the media, from the most modern to the most traditional, are engaged in explaining the purposes and goals of the programmes and in making the public aware of government plans and actions.

Fourth, civil society at all levels, especially national levels, should express its support for vigorous action aimed at advancing towards realizing a Culture of Peace.

CHAPTER 5: Capabilities for a Culture of Peace

“There is no simple formula for humanitarianism. Rather, all activities, whether of a political, military or economic nature, should be conducted in conformity with the principles of humanitarianism. What is important is to set aside egotistical motives, striving to protect and improve not only one's own life, but also the lives of others. One should do things for the sake of others, because by benefiting others, we benefit ourselves. This means to engage consciously in collective life.” (Tsunesaburo Makiguchi, p.399)

“Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful committed people can change the world; indeed, it is the only thing that ever has.”

(Margaret Mead, 1973)

Positive Images of Culture of Peace

The positive images of the future play a critical role in empowering action in the present. We have the challenge to imagine the further evolution of attitudes, values, behaviors, and institutional patterns that can sustain creativity, peaceableness, and human caring. This imagining is called on as humankind faces the problems of a heavily armed planet with nuclear and other weapons that have grown beyond the carrying capacity of the planet. If we fail in our imagining capacity, the future appears doomed. Solutions to the many problems we face do not lie in any other place but in the human heart.

Purposes of Thesis

The thesis presented here is that a culture for peace is possible and that rediscovering human innate potential for peaceableness is the key to realize it. The case for the realizability of societies that promote a culture of peace rests upon at least seven grounds. First and foremost, education is the best form of defense. Secondly, most humans are not killers but by nature peace loving people. Third, powerful human

peaceableness resides in the course of human history. Fourth, various public policies such as the abolition of the death penalty have been adapted to many nation states. Fifth, various social institutions based upon principles of a culture of peace exist that in combination already constitute functional equivalents of a culture of peace societies. Sixth, roots of rediscovering human innate peaceableness in political philosophy can be found in Adam Smith's *The Theory of Moral Sentiment*. Seventh, futures of culture of peace are bright only if we rediscover our innate potential for peaceableness.

Prototypical components of a Culture of Peace society already exist in past and present global experiences. They are not the products of utopianism. Spiritual, political, economic, social, and cultural institutions and practices based upon innate human potential principles can be found in human experiences. The role of political sciences thus naturally formulate towards inquiring into the causes of violence, the causes of peaceableness the causes of the transition from political lethality to rediscovering peaceableness, and the characteristics of the future of a culture of peace. Such knowledge is needed to envision a future of a culture of peace and empowerment for each individual.

Education: The Best National Defense

Education plays a significant role in carrying out such knowledge seeking and transformative tasks. Education holds the key to reforming social values. Education has the power to enrich the inner landscape of the human spirit, to build within people's hearts what the Constitution of the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) refers to as the defenses of peace. It is only through rediscovering our innate human potential and capability of peaceableness that enables

each of us to summon forth the innate goodness of humanity, our capacity for nonviolence, trust, and benevolence. It enables individuals to reveal their unique qualities and by encouraging sympathy with others, opens the door to the peaceful coexistence of humanity. This kind of rediscovery becomes crucial if we are to realize a Culture of Peace.

Education in the 21st century must foster people of character, people who are richly endowed with qualities of peaceableness. Its aim must be to form global citizens committed to an indivisible solidarity of human happiness, one that embraces all. Sympathy is the ability to perceive the interdependence of all life; it is the courage to respect one another's differences of culture, nationality, and race and; it is the ability to emphasize with and share the pain of every person and all of life.

“A culture of peace will be achieved when citizens of the world understand global problems; have the skills to resolve conflicts constructively; know and live by international standards of human rights, gender and racial equality; appreciate cultural diversity and respect the integrity of the Earth. Such learning cannot be achieved without international, sustained and systematic education for peace.”
(Hague Appeal for Peace, 2001)

However hard it may be to believe; each of us is infinitely powerful. We have the power, individually and collectively, to change the world. As Nobel Peace Laureate Jody Williams had said together the so-called “ordinary citizens” of the world are a superpower. We the people are the new superpower.

President Kennedy clearly rejected pessimism about peace when he said,

“We need not accept that view. Our problems are manmade. Therefore, they can be solved by man... No problem of human destiny is beyond human beings.” (John F. Kennedy, 1963)

Every war has started in the human heart. And so has every great act that has changed the world for the better. Mahatma Gandhi was, in his own words, an “irrepressible optimist.” (Gandhi, YI, 25-12-1926, pp78-79) But his hope was not based on an objective analysis of the conditions that faced him. Rather, it was based on his absolute faith in the “infinite possibilities of the individual.” In the same way, the great dream of equality and human dignity that possessed Martin Luther King, Jr., was a dream upheld by the force of diamond-like faith and will.

The power of imagination is the wellspring from which hope flows. It is the power of imagination, the power to imagine different realities that frees us from the mistaken notion that what exists now is all that will ever exist, and that we are trapped inside our problems. Since everything changes, the real question is whether it will change for the better or for the worse. And that, finally, is up to us. If our hearts are filled with hatred and despair that is the world we will create. If our hearts are filled with hope and compassion, we can without fail create a better, more peaceful world.

The power of imagination is also the power of sympathy. It is the ability to imagine the willingness to feel the pain of others. The scale of our sympathy, reaching out to those in distant places, to people whose lifestyles and language may be different from our own, is the scale of our humanity. Our capacity to feel the pain of others is perhaps the surest gauge of where we stand in that ongoing effort.

Conclusion

In this dynamic process of rediscovery of our innate potential and capability for peaceableness flourishes and stretches to the greater self, recognizing the essentiality of our interdependence. It is only through rediscovering our innate human potential and

capability for peaceableness enable each of us to summons forth the innate goodness of humanity, our capacity for nonviolence, trust, and benevolence. It enables individuals to reveal our unique qualities and by encouraging sympathy with others, opens the door to the peaceful coexistence of humanity. This kind of rediscovery is absolutely crucial as we strive to realize a culture of peace. As much as I emphasize on the rediscovery of the innate potential and ability for peaceableness, that is not enough to realize and maintain a culture of peace. If the rediscovery of the innate peaceableness is hardware, the structure that support, sustain and maintain is software. Just like a computer needs both hardware and software to operate, we need the cooperative contributions of both personal peace as well as social and structural changes in order to attain a culture of peace.

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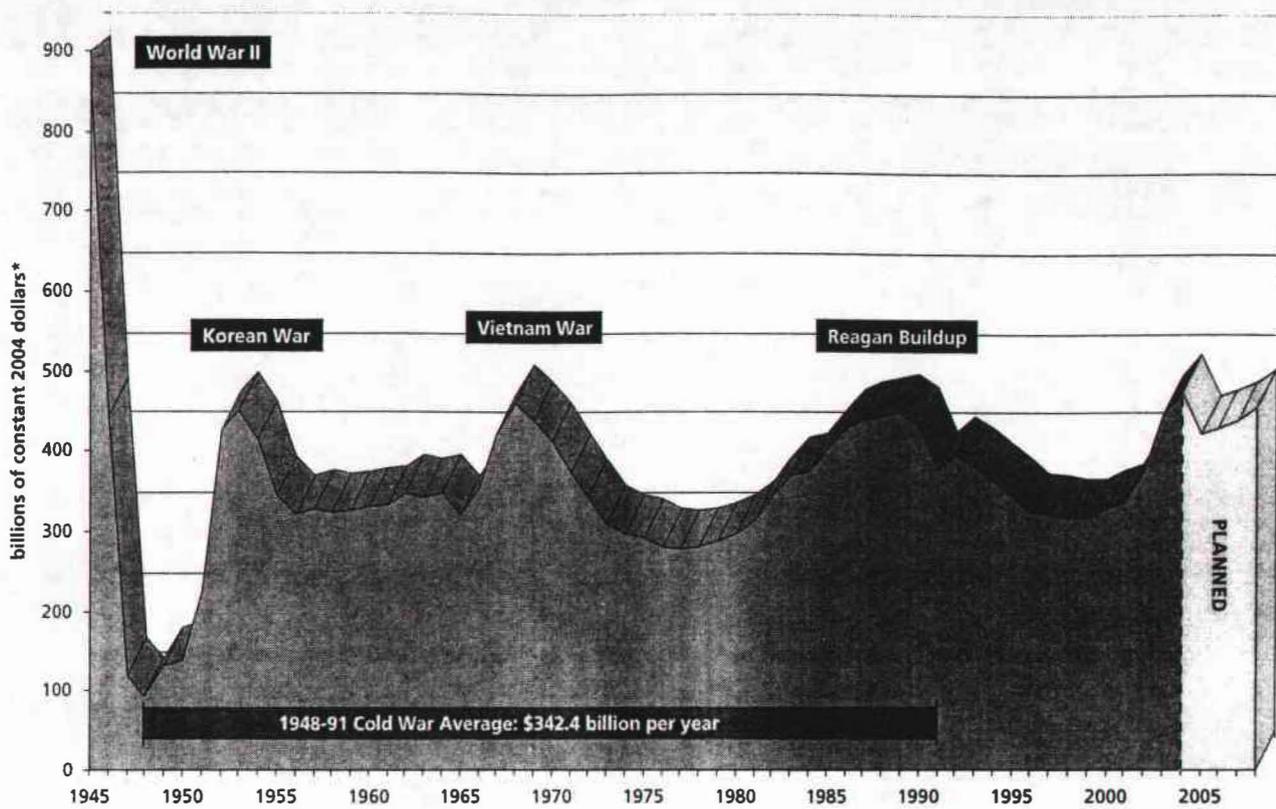
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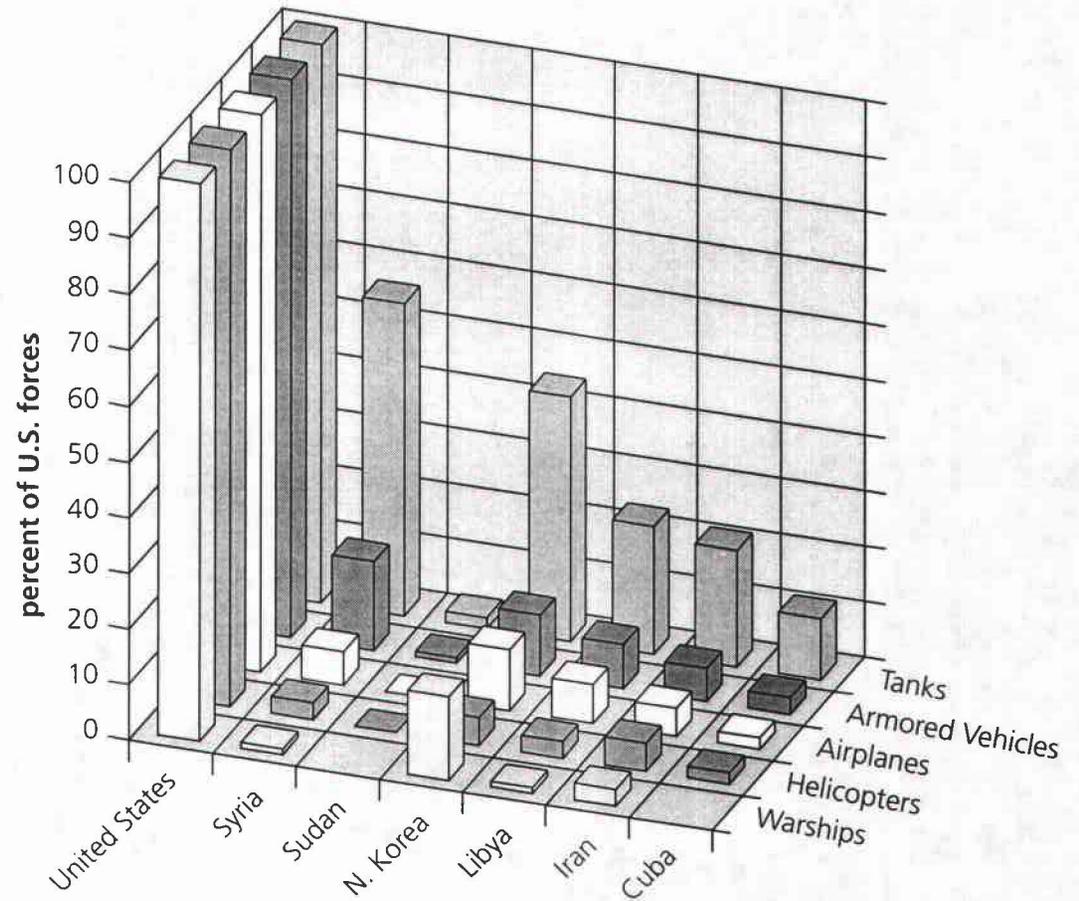
FIGURE 1: U.S. MILITARY SPENDING, FISCAL YEARS 1945-2008



* Figures are in constant dollars, which removes the distortion caused by inflation.

Sources: Tables 7-2 and 5-9, *National Defense Budget Estimates for FY2004*, Office of the Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller), March 2003. Table 6, *Mid-Session Review, Fiscal Year 2004*, July 15, 2003, Office of Management and Budget.

FIGURE 2: RELATIVE SIZE OF U.S. AND OTHER ARMED FORCES



Source: *The Military Balance 2003-2004*, International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2003.

FIGURE 3: STRENGTHS OF U.S., ALLIED, AND SELECTED OTHER ARMED FORCES, 2003

U.S. & ALLIES

	Active Duty Personnel	Reserve Personnel	Heavy Tanks	Armored Infantry Vehicles	Airplanes	Helicopters	Warships	Major Amphibious, Mine, & Support Ships
U.S.	1,427,000	1,237,700	8,023	23,661	10,646	5,772	190	186
France	259,050	100,000	614	4,084	1,291	581	34	53
Germany	284,500	358,650	2,398	5,378	658	657	25	61
U.K.	212,660	272,550	543	4,753	953	647	49	51
Other NATO*	1,538,110	1,963,380	11,027	21,448	4,640	2,198	172	377
Australia	53,650	20,300	101	619	294	134	17	22
Japan	239,900	47,000	1,020	900	779	626	70	66
South Korea	686,000	4,500,000	2,390	2,520	756	490	59	41
Total	4,700,870	8,499,580	26,116	63,363	20,017	11,105	616	857

COUNTRIES WITH POOR U.S. RELATIONS

Cuba	46,000	39,000	900	700	198	90	-	7
Iran	540,000	350,000	1,655	1,420	532	264	6	39
Libya	76,000	40,000	1,840	1,945	706	165	2	14
North Korea	1,082,000	4,700,000	3,500	2,500	1,151	306	29	40
Sudan	104,500	-	200	316	51	27	-	-
Syria	319,000	354,000	4,500	3,800	616	181	2	12
Total	2,167,500	5,483,000	12,595	10,681	3,254	1,033	39	112

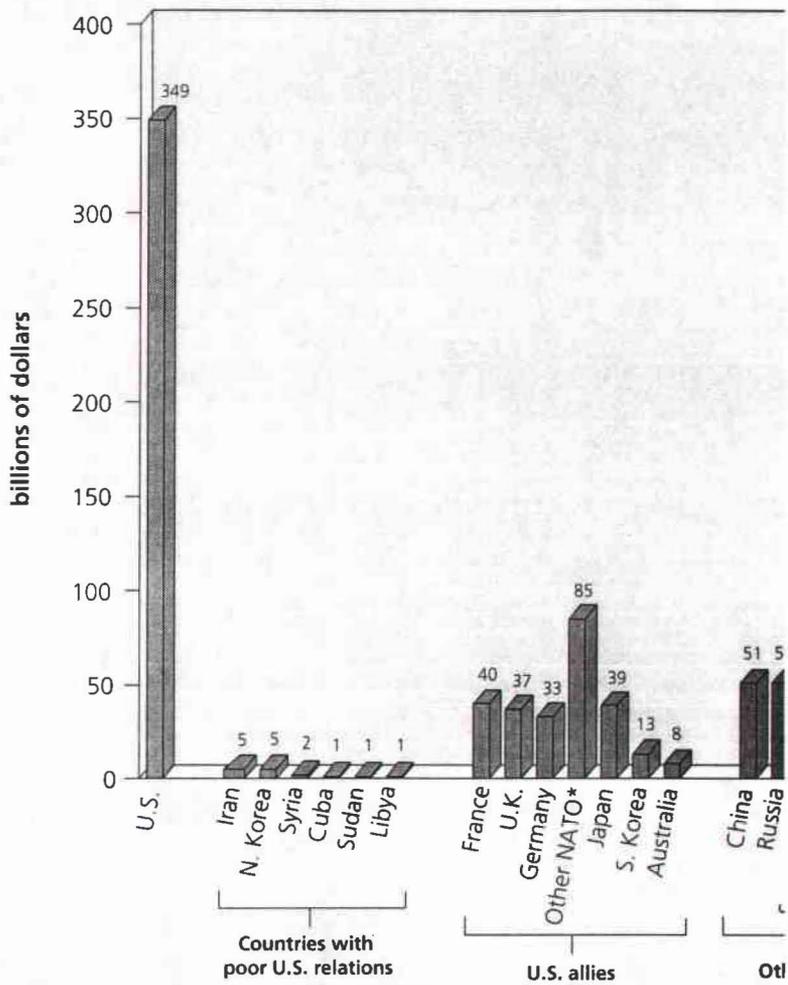
OTHER COUNTRIES

China	2,250,000	600,000	7,180	4,560	3,398	478	132	258
India	1,325,000	535,000	3,938	1,917	1,388	406	48	57
Israel	167,600	358,000	3,950	12,670	575	291	3	-
Pakistan	620,000	513,000	2,368	1,251	631	169	18	12
Russia	960,600	2,400,000	22,380	32,005	5,432	1,870	85	518
Saudi Arabia	124,500	75,000	1,055	5,700	531	193	8	14
Taiwan	290,000	1,657,500	926	1,325	593	275	36	50
Vietnam	484,000	4,000,000	1,315	1,680	259	75	8	46

* Other NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) includes Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Spain and Turkey

Source: *The Military Balance 2003-2004*, International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2003.

FIGURE 4: GLOBAL MILITARY SPENDING COMPARISONS

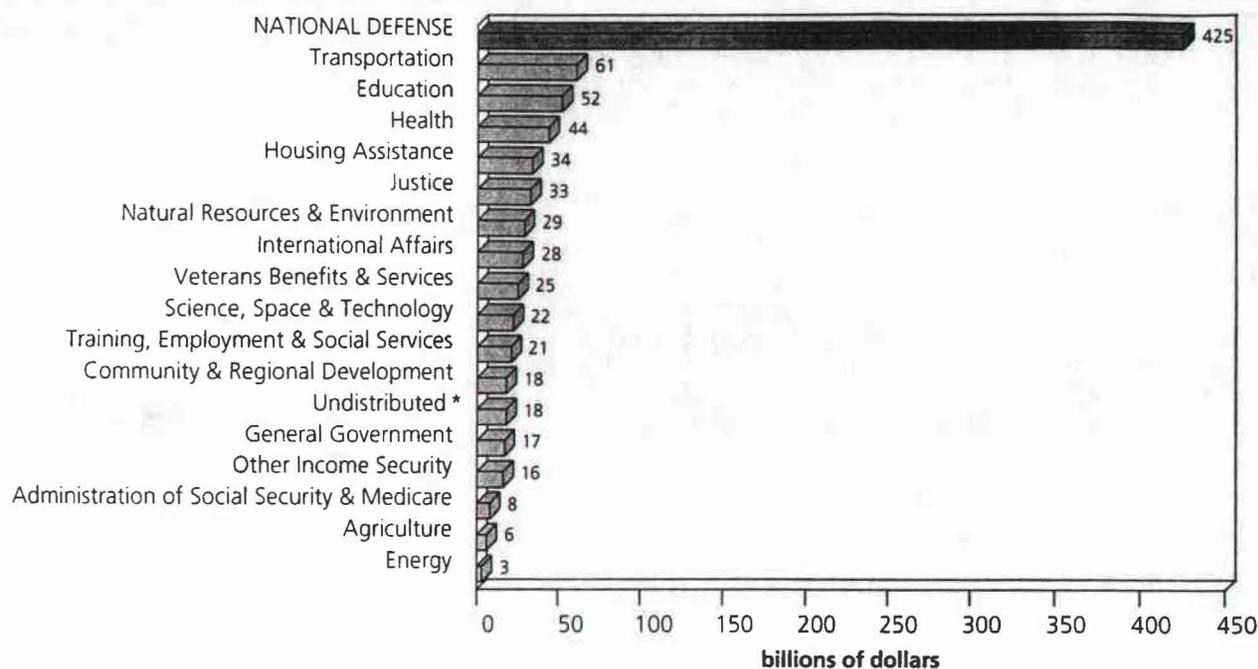


* Other NATO includes Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Sources: *The Military Balance 2003-2004*, International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2003. *Budget of the United States*, Management and Budget.

FIGURE 5: TOTAL MILITARY AND MILITARY-RELATED SPENDING, 2002-2004

MILITARY	billions of dollars		
	Fiscal Year 2002 actual	Fiscal Year 2003 estimate	Fiscal Year 2004 projected
Department of Defense			
Pay	86.8	92.7	98.7
Operating and Maintenance Costs	130.0	136.3	133.1
Weapon Purchases	62.5	63.2	67.9
Weapon Research	44.4	52.8	58.2
Construction	5.1	6.0	6.1
Other	3.2	7.1	6.7
Subtotal	332.0	358.2	370.7
Supplementary Spending*		48.8	65.6
Department of Defense Subtotal	332.0	407.0	436.3
Nuclear Weapon Programs	14.9	16.3	17.1
Defense-related activities	1.7	1.8	2.6
"National Defense"	348.6	425.1	456.0
MILITARY-RELATED			
Foreign Military Aid	7.9	6.8	7.3
Military Retirement Pay	35.1	36.0	36.8
Veterans' Benefits	51.0	57.1	62.0

FIGURE 6: U.S. DISCRETIONARY SPENDING, FISCAL YEAR 2003



* Supplemental nondefense discretionary spending, estimated by OMB in its mid-session review, but not broken down by category.

Sources: Tables 8.7 and 3.2, *Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 2004, Historical Tables*, Office of Management and Budget. Table S-2, *Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 2004*, Office of Management and Budget. Table 6, *Mid-Session Review, Fiscal Year 2004*, July 15, 2003, Office of Management and Budget.

FIGURE 7: TEN LARGEST U.S. WEAPON PROGRAMS

Weapon	Type	Total Cost (billions of constant 2003 dollars)	Quantity	Cost per Item (millions of constant 2003 dollars)
Ballistic Missile Defense	Missile Defense	744.7	-	-
F-35 Joint Strike Fighter	Fighter-Bomber	163.6	2,457	67
SSN-774 Virginia class	Attack Submarine	74.1	30	2,470
F-22 Raptor	Fighter-Bomber	73.3	278	264
DDG-51 Arleigh Burke class	Guided Missile Destroyer	68.8	62	1,110
C-17 Globemaster III	Transport Plane	65.1	180	362
F/A-18E/F Super Hornet	Fighter-Bomber	50.0	552	91
V-22 Osprey	Tilt-Rotor Transport Aircraft	46.6	458	102
Trident II	Nuclear Missile	42.5	568	75
RAH-66 Comanche	Helicopter	34.6	650	53

Sources: *Selected Acquisition Report*, Department of Defense, Dec. 31, 2002. *The Full Costs of Ballistic Missile Defense*, Economists Allied for Arms Reduction and Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, January 2003.