





*Towards a Nonkilling World:*  
*Festschrift in Honor of Prof. Glenn D. Paige*



***Towards a Nonkilling World:  
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# Introduction

This book is an offering.

An offering to a great pioneer, a great teacher, a thinker and activist, a practical visionary and above all a fine human being — Prof. Glenn D. Paige who has completed eighty glorious years of active life in service of humanity, a new humanity where Nonkilling and nonviolence will guide the destiny of this universe.

Two of the silent but major developments that would have far reaching influence on the course of human history are (i) the publication of the book *Nonkilling Political Science* by Prof. Glenn D. Paige and its subsequent translations into 24 world languages and (ii) the establishment of Centre for Global Nonkilling at Honolulu in Hawaii. That Professor Glenn D. Paige, a silent Crusader and Prophet of a Nonkilling, Nonviolent world has been able to influence contemporary history considerably through these confident initiatives is a fact and those who share his optimism are convinced beyond any shadow of doubt that the world cannot ignore what Professor Paige has been espousing passionately during the several decades.

In a violence-abetting socio-political climate and killing-glorifying cultural milieu a violence free-society or a killing-free society would appear to be a distant dream to many. Professor Glenn D. Paige is the first thinker and peace activist in known history who advocates and passionately strives to promote his conviction that a nonviolent and a Nonkilling society will be possible if courageous and sustained efforts leading to fundamental changes both in the thinking and behavioral pattern of human being are followed. By doing so he has caused both a sort of revolution and disquiet at the thinking of a considerable segment of thinkers, peace, activists and others in several parts of the world. Still there are many who view the ideas of Prof. Paige as dangerous.

To many of them a Nonkilling society and Nonkilling Political Science are disturbing propositions.

Notwithstanding the indifference and opposition from such segment of influential political leaders and academia Professor Paige has been able to convince an appreciable number of people who care for human survival. They are convinced that he is not a wild dreamer but a practical visionary. Prof. Paige has also been successful in persuading several influential and widely respected thinkers and activists over the world that if nonviolence has to percolate into our lives serious efforts need to be undertaken. It should continue to become a major aspect of serious human concern and concerted efforts need to be undertaken to propagate and realize it.

On the occasion of the 80th Birthday of Professor Paige some of his colleagues and admirers felt that as a mark of their appreciation and respect to the extraordinary contribution made by him to humanity in several areas particularly to the promotion of the seminal concept of Global Nonkilling Political Science a Festschrift in honour of Professor Paige be published and the present volume is the result.

On behalf of the panel of editors, I would like to express our gratitude to friends like Greg Bourne, Karen Cross for their suggestions.

Sri Radhakrishnan, the proprietor of Harikrishnan Printers and my young friend K.L.Ajith who helped me with admirable support at the computer and my wife Smt. K.S.Vimala Devi deserve a word of appreciation for their help and support.

We are confident that this book will help readers everywhere who share the vision of Prof. Paige that a Nonkilling and Nonviolent future is an achievable goal for humanity.

Let us march towards that goal singing resolutely the freedom song of Martin Luther King (jr), “ We Shall Overcome...”

Gandhi Bhavan, Thiruvananthapuram  
30 January, 2012

N.Radhakrishnan

# **Prof. Glenn D. Paige – A Life Sustaining Inspiration**

**Dr A.T. Ariyaratne**

It was a case of falling in love at first sight. This was what happened to me when I saw and was introduced to Prof. Glenn D. Paige in the University of Hawaii may be over three decades ago. His serene face, smiling eyes and a warm hug with all the warmth of his heart captivated my entire soul as a life sustaining inspiration. Here was an inspirer I was looking for to reaffirm my unshaken belief that we can build a society where violence is no longer known. After that I have been with him on several occasions both at his home in Hawaii as well as at my home in Sri Lanka in addition to many other meetings we attended. Glenda his wife, life long partner and colleague in peace-building by his side he conquered the minds and hearts of thousands of non-violent revolutionaries like me around the world.

I consider his political thesis on “Nonkilling Global Political Science” to be a unique contribution to contemporary political theory and practice. When most nations believe in the need for organized violent instruments of force such as armed forces to maintain good governance here comes a scholar who brings in scientific, historical and pragmatic facts to prove the opposite and which cannot be

dismissed as a kind of wishful thinking. His courage to challenge all those philosophers and scholars from the times of Aristotle to those in modern times who upheld the use of violence to kill or threat to kill as an essential factor for good governance is a highly admirable quality. I was happy to be instrumental in getting this ground breaking treatise translated and published in Sinhala also.

In his opening Chapter (1) itself titled ‘Is a nonkilling society possible ? ’ Prof Glenn Paige reveals startling facts and figures about the costs to human lives and irreparable damage to every sector of civilized human society caused by the barbaric thought to kill and threats to kill and its deliberate implementation by rulers throughout history. Any sensible human being reading this chapter alone will become an instant believer that it is thinkable and possible to build a society where nonkilling and no threat of killing are accepted as inviolable principles.

Having pursued paths of non-violent social transformation for over fifty years through the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement of Sri Lanka I know how easy it is under the existing educational, historical, political, religious and economic milieu for elite classes to condition the minds of ordinary public that , to resolve certain social problems resorting to killing and threatening to kill are indispensable. It is said to be necessary to sustain good governance and maintain law and order. The political and economic establishments, organized religious bodies, political regimes, media lords, and even higher educational institutions in general perpetrate this evil thought. Not much research is needed to discover that all these elite groups benefit by wars and use of violence. I think man’s craving, greed and selfish nature is the root cause of the perpetration of this idea. This is why I stated that it is much easier for a spiritually motivated person, one who is striving to overcome one’s greed, ill-will and ignorance, to comprehend the idea of nonkilling.

For those of us who believe in non-violence and do implement numerous social, political and economic programs in our own national situations, Prof. Glenn Paige’s arguments are intelligible, understandable and practicable. The secret is our starting point for all our work is spiritual development. We engage ourselves in all the

constructive and peace work because we believe that such external services we render to the world nourish our inner spiritual life to awaken our personality to its fullest potential. It is no surprise that those individuals who do not believe in spiritual awakening of themselves but only playing an egoistic role over the lives of others and claim they are working for the so called good of the majority strongly advocate the use coercive instruments of violence as indispensable for maintaining law and order and for peace keeping in society.

Age is no barrier for him when it comes to carrying his message across the globe. It is more than a mere promotion and propagation of a great idea but a life long commitment to a mission to inculcate into the minds and hearts of people that life is sacred and under no circumstances is should be harmed or threatened to be harmed. The idea needs to be translated into action and Prof. Glenn Paige made contacts with like-minded individuals, research institutions and peace and development organizations to create an international network. The Center for Global Nonviolence in Honolulu, Hawaii is his creation which he believes can serve as a significant contributor to leadership for nonviolent global transformation. I am grateful to Prof. Glenn Paige for enrolling me as an Associate of the Center.

In our own work in the Sarvodaya Movement of Sri Lanka we have followed the Nonviolent Scientific Revolution that Prof. Glenn Paige advocates in his book. He mentions seven interdependent sub-revolutions, namely : Normative, Factual, Theoretical, Educational and Training, Applied, Institutional and Methodological revolutions. Transforming millennia old thinking, practices and institutions is an arduous task which may take generations. Yet a beginning can be made right now harnessing all the available resources at our disposal. The encouragement and recognition that he gives to every person and organization globally who are attempting to do this nearly impossible task is a great source of strength to all of us.

Is a nonkilling global society possible ?

Our Dear Professor Glenn Paige, With One Voice We Say YES.

# Glenn Paige: A Prophet of Nonkilling

David Krieger

Glenn Paige is a man who in midlife re-created himself and his purpose on the planet. At the age of 44, he shifted from being an academic Cold Warrior to a man dedicated to nonkilling. He later described to me his transformation in this way: “It finally just came to me in three silent surprising words: ‘No More Killing!’ Technically it might be called the result of ‘cognitive dissonance’ when values and reality are perceived to clash. But it was nothing rational...and was definitely related to many years of study of Korea and involvement in relations with it, South and North. My book, *The Korean Decision*, justified war. The results finally sunk in to me – neither peace nor freedom.”

I asked Glenn to describe in a more detailed way what had happened when he experienced the words, “No More Killing.” He replied: “The words/idea ‘No More Killing’ specifically came in an instant from the Korean experience – and was simultaneously generalized to the whole world, not just war, but all forms of killing. The first thing I did was write a book review of my book on the Korean War.... Then I applied the same critique to the entire discipline of political science. Now he is applying the same critique to the world.



I first knew of Glenn in the late 1960s. He came to the University of Hawaii in 1967 as a professor in the department of political science as I was finishing up my Ph.D. in the department. I would leave Hawaii in 1970, a few years before Glenn would experience his transformation in 1973. At the time, Glenn had the reputation for being a Cold Warrior, having served as a soldier in the Korean War and then writing a book in which he justified the US involvement in the war. I was strongly opposed to the Vietnam War, which was increasing in intensity and body counts at that time, and I had little tolerance for someone who had built his career on justifying any war. I was neither open-minded about war, nor tolerant of those who supported it. I felt that war was a way of misdirecting the lives of young people by propaganda and putting them in the untenable situation of having to kill or be killed. In that regard, I have changed my views very little over the years, but Glenn changed very much.

Glenn is a well educated Ivy Leaguer, who received a B.A. from Princeton and an M.A. from Harvard before being awarded a Ph.D. from Northwestern. He had carved out a place for himself in academia with his study of the political decision of US leaders to enter the Korean War. He had taught for six years at Princeton before accepting a position at the University of Hawaii. He didn't seem like a strong candidate for transformation, but something mysterious happened, perhaps something latent in his character asserted itself with, as he described it, "three silent surprising words: 'No More Killing'

Glenn transformed himself from an establishment academic who studied political leadership into a man who envisioned a peaceful, nonviolent world and was prepared to lead by example and personal commitment in attaining such a world. He publicly recanted the conclusions he had earlier reached and written in justification of the Korean War, and he went on to renounce killing and to establish a Center for Global Nonkilling.

How rare is that in academia? It is so rare as to have an impossibly small probability of occurring. Glenn's initial path in academia was one that was bringing him considerable academic success. He had been well received by the foreign policy establishment in the United States, and his studies promised a comfortable academic career. However, his work prior to his transformation offered only the conventional "truths" that are deeply embedded in a culture of militarism. It justified one war, which helped build a foundation for the next one. It perpetuated the myth that wars are necessary and therefore glorious, the lies that induce new generations to submit to following orders and being willing to both kill others and sacrifice their own lives in war. His earlier work, in short, was consistent with adding academia as a third institutional leg to the Military-Industrial Complex that Eisenhower warned against.

Glenn's transformation was so rare, in academia or any other profession, as to appear as a miracle, a change not easily explicable by reference to experience in our society. There are few modern day examples of such transformation. Glenn is walking in the path of champions of nonviolence like Thoreau, Tolstoy, Gandhi, Schweitzer and King. Like Nobel Peace Laureate Mairead Maguire, he is a prophet of nonkilling, which in my view goes even beyond nonviolence. It puts into tangible practice Schweitzer's concept of reverence for life. It holds humanity to a higher standard. Glenn left the safety and comfort of the academic cloister to envision and help forge a better path for humanity.

In the future, I think people who seek a better world will look back with awe on Glenn's life and transformation. I don't mean to imply that Glenn is a saint. He is far too human and grounded for that. But I do mean to state strongly that he is a most honorable man who is deserving of great respect for his transformative shift of course and what he accomplished following that shift. Glenn became a leader in battling against our cultural acceptance of militarism with its all-to-easy reliance upon the use of force for domination and empire. Should we

ever arrive at a day when nonkilling becomes our societal norm, Glenn will certainly be revered for his commitment, eloquence and leadership toward achieving this end.

Glenn once wrote me a humbling note: “I can only bow in reverence for the focused, successful mobilization of action for nuclear disarmament by the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation under your leadership. I believe it is the most effective nuclear disarmament movement in the world.” Of course, I was more than pleased to receive such a positive affirmation. In reflecting on Glenn’s words, I realize that making such affirmations is one of the tools of a good peace leader. Glenn is such a leader.

Glenn Paige has done the very best that one can do with his life. He has stood for truth and human decency. He has radically transformed himself from an academic proponent of conventional wisdom in a society dominated by militarism to become a powerful voice and force for compassion, decency, nonviolence and nonkilling. He has focused on nonkilling, a goal that to some may seem so distant as to be impossible. But to envision the impossible and to work to make it a reality is another important characteristic of a great peace leader.

Glenn has worked to bring the future we must achieve into the present. He gives me and, I’m sure many others, hope that a better world, a better future, is possible. He has demonstrated to other academics that the future is far more important than footnotes. He has lived the truths of peace and nonviolence that he discovered on his life journey, and he has shown by example that each of us can do more with our lives than may seem possible. In leading by example, he has shown a central trait of a strong peace leader.

Thank you, Glenn, for cutting away the tangled intellectual underbrush to forge a path toward a Nonkilling Political Science and

nonkilling societies. Thank you for envisioning and building an institution that will work toward these ends. Thank you for your compassionate and impassioned leadership aimed at achieving a world in which the killing of other human beings is taboo. Thank you for being you.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

# Glenn Paige: The man who stole my friend

Jim Dator

## Glenn Paige, the Futurist

Glenn Paige is one of a handful of people to whom I owe the deepest debts of gratitude for helping me see the world and my role in it from a perspective uniquely their own. First of all, Glenn has always been an inspiration as a futurist. When I arrived at the University of Hawaii in 1969, Glenn had already been appointed as the conference program chairman of the Advisory Committee for the Hawaii Governor's Conference on the Year 2000. Knowing that I had come to Hawaii primarily to teach futures studies (and Japanese politics) in the Political Science Department, where Glenn also taught, he immediately involved me in the work of that Committee. That was no trivial thing. The Hawaii 2000 activities that Glenn spearheaded along with George Chaplin, Editor in Chief of the *Honolulu Advertiser*, were the first and still the best efforts towards what Alvin Toffler called "Anticipatory Democracy" that the world has ever seen. Certainly no locally-based, citizen-driven, futures-focused activity has involved more people, in all walks of life, all ages, ethnicities, classes, interests, and localities than Hawaii 2000. Being a part of that process gave me a

chance that few scholars have—of testing out my ideas in the crucible of real experience; of engaging large numbers of people with many different perspectives in an exercise of imagining and inventing their own future. That experience of praxis profoundly shaped my understanding of “futures studies”, helping me understand that it must stand on three legs of professional futurists, governmental and economic decision-makers, and futures-oriented citizens.

Unfortunately, too much of futures studies still teeters precariously on only two legs. It has become an insider’s game between futurists and decision-makers—especially since big business has come to understand the great value of proprietary futures research—and so “the future” has been increasingly captured and colonized by special interests, against the commonweal. Although a great deal of talk and false starts have occurred, and in spite of a current flurry of interest in governmental foresight, for the most part Toffler’s vision of Anticipatory Democracy has not been realized anywhere in the world. The Hawaii experience, conceived and animated by Glenn Paige, still remains the model that others should study, update and follow [George Chaplin and Glenn Paige, eds., *Hawaii 2000: Continuing experiment in Anticipatory Democracy*. University Press of Hawaii, 1973].

One of the many consequences of the Hawaii 2000 activities was the creation by the Hawaii State Legislature in 1971 of the Hawaii Research Center for Futures Studies at the University of Hawaii. I was appointed director of that Center by the governor who had been responsible for the original Hawaii 2000 activities, John Burns, and have remained as director ever since. That platform proved to be enormously useful to me in doing futures research in Hawaii, the Pacific region, and eventually worldwide, especially when the Center hosted the Secretariat of the World Futures Studies Federation during the 1980s, and I became Secretary General and eventually President of the WFSF. That enabled me to travel to a large number of nations in every part of the world and to see what the futures look like from many different cultures.

For all of that, I can only thank Glenn Paige a thousand thousand times.

### **Glenn Paige, the student of political leadership.**

Glenn Paige was also one of the early founders of the study of political leadership. He taught classes about leadership at the University of Hawaii, and also chaired several panel discussions on leadership at world conferences of the World Futures Studies Federation. But I must admit that this was one area where Glenn and I disagreed. In part because I was enthralled by anticipatory democracy and the possibilities of electronic direct democracy, and mainly because I felt that many—if not most—political and economic leaders suffered from pathologies of power, I was quite skeptical. Of course, it was Glenn’s intention to create leaders without those pathologies, but I tended to feel it was inherent in the job as currently structured, whether governments be so-called “democratic” or “totalitarian”.

Glenn’s major contribution to this field is his book, *The Scientific Study of Political Leadership*, published in 1977 by *The Free Press*, an excellent scholarly publishing company of the time. In it he showed that while most political scientists consider leaders and leadership to be foundational to their field, and there are a few hoary works such as the writings of Machiavelli that everyone refers to, there were very few serious studies of leadership. It was his intention to correct that by laying out the basic questions that need to be addressed in the new specialty of political leadership. While his scholarship was meticulous, quoting and analyzing everyone remotely concerned with the issue, and while he presented tables and matrices containing different styles and other aspects of leadership, I do not believe that he ever problematized the concept of “leadership” *per se*. He seemed to assume the necessity of leaders and leadership as a given, wanting only to advance the scientific study of it, while clearly also desiring to make leaders both more effective and more humane. He did not seriously imagine governments without leaders as far as I can ascertain.

But he soon did something even more daring: imagine governments without killing.

**Glenn Paige, the inventor and activist of nonkilling governance.**

It is as a visionary inventor and dogged activist for a nonkilling world that Glenn is without peer—though he has also inspired generations of young scholars and activists to pick up the challenge and carry it forward. As anyone reading this volume knows, Paige defines a “nonkilling society” as “a human community, smallest to largest, local to global, in which there is no killing of humans, and no threats to kill; no weapons designed to kill humans and no justifications for using them; and no conditions of society that depend for maintenance or change upon the threat or use of lethal force. There is neither killing of humans nor threats to kill.” He goes on to make clear that “This does not imply that such a society is conflict-free, but only that its structure and processes do not depend upon killing.”

For many years, I have taught undergraduate and graduate courses on political design—imagining and creating new forms of governance. When I first began my graduate political design courses, I was obsessed with two “complaints” that I had against governments. The first is that all governments are fundamentally undemocratic, thwarting participation of some, while favoring other, groups and individuals. All governments also are unfuturistic, severely discounting the needs and wants of future generations while favoring some people and groups in the present. As soon as I encountered Paige’s dream of a nonkilling society, I immediately added a third complaint to the other two: all governments are murderous, both using and causing killing as legitimate in the exercise of their power. Over the years, I have added three other complaints: that all governments are bureaucratic, placing the convenience of the governors over the needs of the governed; that they too nationalistic, privileging the nation-state over both smaller and



larger units; and that they are patriarchal, insisting on a gender dichotomy that privileges men and violent masculinity, while marginalizing or oppressing other preferences. The goal of the class, therefore, is to invent and design systems that overcome these six complaints as well as other undesirable features of particular concern to the students.

This is an enormously difficult task. Very few graduate students in the humanities and social sciences have been taught to think of themselves as, and have learned to become, social inventors. And yet that is what futurists should be. Futures studies is modeled to some extent on architecture. Architects are trained to envision things that do not exist in the present, and to bring them successfully and sustainably into existence. Similarly, futurists imagine preferred human behavior, and the institutions that will facilitate it, and so should be able to build, test, simulate, improve and eventually implement new social institutions. I am in a department of political science. All structures of government are based on technologies and cosmologies over two hundred years old. There is no more obsolete and dysfunctional social institution than government. Commerce, communications, transportation, religion, education, even the family are structurally and functionally vastly different from what they were 200 years ago. But all current institutions of governance—even the newest—still are based on the assumptions and processes of the first modern government, that of the United States, as created by the “Constitution” of 1789.

When given a chance to create a new government (and there have been many such opportunities—the reconstruction of Germany and Japan and the breakdown of colonial empires and the creation of new nations after the second world war; the creation and then dissolution of communist nations at the end of the 1980s; the creation of a European Union now; and many more), we simply modify to some extent the form of the original US constitution while keeping its foundational Newtonian cosmologies and technologies intact.

I want my students to do better. I urge them to rely on new or renewed cosmologies and technologies to envision, test, and create new forms of government that are not undemocratic, bureaucratic, patriarchal, unfuturistic, murderous, and dependent on the nation-state system. I can assure you this is not easy. Try it yourself, please.

Students struggle with all six complaints, but none is more challenging to most of them than is the idea that it is possible to establish a successfully functioning system of governance that is not somehow fundamentally based upon the right to kill. This is by far the most difficult complaint for them to even imagine, much less to incorporate fully and successfully in their design. Regardless of where in the world they have been born, raised, and educated, by the time I see them they have been convinced that killing is necessary. Most don't like it (though a few do see killing as ennobling), but none come ready to agree that a nonkilling world is possible.

In order to help them consider the possibility of nonkilling governance, I rely entirely on the work of Glenn Paige and his colleagues. Sometimes, I start out by asking students to discuss the following issues in small groups:

1a. List five reasons why (or conditions under which) a world without war is possible.

1b. List five reasons why (or conditions under which) a world without war is impossible.

We then discuss the reasons the students offered. Generally their reasons why nonkilling is impossible are more nuanced than their reasons why it is possible. Then I ask the same small groups to discuss the following:

2a1. How many people have you killed so far in your life?

2a2. How many people have you tried to kill but were unsuccessful?

Why were you unsuccessful?

2b1. How many people have tried to kill you?

2b2. Why were they unsuccessful?

So far, no one has admitted to having killed or tried to kill anyone, and very few say their own life has been threatened—unless they were in the military or some military-like position. That is, with very few exceptions, they are likely to have had their life threatened only if they threatened the lives of others.

I then tell my students of my experience of having never killed or had my life threatened (I have never been in the military), and that in spite of having gone to or lived in many very “dangerous” parts of the world (such as Southwest Washington DC in the 1950s and to the USSR and North Korea during the worst days of the Cold War), I have always found people helpful, and not harmful, since I did not present myself as a threat to them.

At this point, I refer to Paige’s work where he points out that we need to know why most people do not kill and never seriously try to kill, while others do kill. We need to see that killing is in fact rare, and caused, and not widespread and inevitable. We need to see that much killing is done only because it is valued and institutionalized as an essential activity of all governments, but that nonkilling governance is possible. But how can we create a transition between our present killing-accepting world to a world that does not accept killing of humans under any circumstances?

First and foremost, we need to believe that a nonkilling society is desirable and then that it is possible. We must start with that vision. If we do not really believe a nonkilling society is desirable and possible, then it is not possible. But if we will but believe it is possible, then it can be achieved by engaging in the other activities that Paige says are necessary. It is a question of vision, faith, commitment, and then a lot of hard work.

In order to get students willing to believe that the “impossible” world of nonkilling is in fact possible, I again may divide the class into different small groups. I give each group a card that has one of the following statements on it. They are to discuss their answers to the questions:

Is slavery justified? Is it OK for a person to own another person, and for people to be bought and sold in the market place?

Why do you feel that way?

Are women inferior to men? Are men rational, but women not rational, so that men should rule over women?

Why do you feel that way?

Are black people inferior to white people? Should only white people, and not black people, be given the right to vote in a democracy?

Why do you feel that way?

Are Asians inferior to Europeans? Should Europeans rule all Asian countries?

Why do you feel that way?

My point of course, which I emphasize after the small group interaction, is that once upon a time, and often for many thousands of years, all of these questions were answered in the affirmative. Slavery was considered natural, inevitable, good, and in accordance with God’s will. God created women, blacks, and Asians as inferior to white men. Now, those views are no longer accepted as correct, and there are national and international laws against them. Although there may still be practices of slavery and gender/ethnic discrimination, they are no longer legitimate and praised as they once were.

If these once-inevitable, long-standing practices can be made illegal and rare, then so also can and should killing by governments be imagined as wrong, and made illegitimate. Fortunately, even today, there are governments without armies and some without armed police.

## *The man who stole my friend*

Unfortunately, all of them ultimately rely on the threat or use of killing force from some other source to come to their aid if necessary. Nonetheless, it is a first step.

I then briefly review Paige's five "revolutionary steps": 1. Believe it is possible and good to have nonkilling governance. 2. Gather empirical evidence of nonkilling. 3. Develop and test scientific theories about the causes of killing—what are the biological, cultural, linguistic, and institutional factors underlying killing and nonkilling? 4. Imagine and create institutions fostering nonkilling (this is very important: structure matters. We cannot rely on good intentions and "changed minds" only.

Unless there are institutions encouraging nonkilling and thwarting killing, a nonkilling society cannot be sustained). 5. But obviously education is necessary. At least as much effort and money needs to be put into education for nonkilling as is put into killing now.

I should mention in passing that these five steps are very similar to the steps Paige laid out earlier as paths towards the scientific understanding of political leadership, again demonstrating the logical, thorough, fact-and-vision-based way in which Glenn thinks, writes, and acts.

There are often people in the class who will say, What about abortion? What about euthanasia? What about suicide? As important as those issues are, I have learned that discussion of them will prevent consideration of the fundamental issue and thus should be postponed until a later time. Focus only on killing by governments.

Since my students need to solve six complaints and base their governance designs on new cosmologies and technologies, we cannot go as deeply into nonkilling as we should. By no means do all students at the end of the class agree nonkilling governance is possible. But some do—many more than if Glenn Paige had never done his pioneering envisioning, writing, and activism.

And so a nonkilling world gets closer and closer.

Glenn Paige, the thief.

There is one final story I need to tell. Shortly after coming to Hawaii, I became friends with Glenda Saito—an intelligent, caring, vivacious person. She was one of a group of University of Hawaii students who met and talked about politics and the futures with the passion and optimism that was possible in the so-called “60s”. One day, she told us she had fallen in love with a person she called “Joe.” I was crestfallen. I knew what was going to happen next. As the old song goes, “Wedding Bells Are Breaking Up That Old Gang of Mine”. Glenda was an important part of our “old gang”, and now this person named “Joe” showed up, and we would seldom see her again. Glenda even told us that we knew “Joe” very well, but she would not tell us his real name.

A few days later, I left for a trip to Europe—to Bucharest, Romania, and a conference of the World Futures Studies Federation there. Bucharest was an interesting place to visit in 1972, and long way from Honolulu. The opening session was held in an old and extremely ornate building in Bucharest the night I arrived from Honolulu, groggy and jet-lagged. As I was mounting the stairs and about to enter the room where the reception was being held, over the threshold from the reception area came a couple. At first I could not see who they were, and then I could not believe my eyes. Was I hallucinating? There, beaming down at me were Glenda and Glenn Paige, arm in arm and radiant. Glenda and “Joe”.

I am not exactly sure what lesson I learned from that, but it should be pretty clear from what I have written that Glenn has always been well ahead of me in every aspect of love and life, while I have followed belatedly—but nonetheless followed—in his path.

★★★★★★

# **Professor Glenn D. Paige: A 21<sup>st</sup> Century Nonkilling Global Society Pioneer**

**Balwant Bhaneja**

After my retirement from Canadian Foreign Service in March 2003, I took up the honorary Senior Fellow position at the University of Ottawa. As a political scientist, I was interested in finding out about the status of non-violence in social sciences. I felt that researching peace and non-violence in a university setting may be one way to learn about the nature of teaching of Ahimsa at tertiary level in Canada and abroad.

I had not realized how little attention was given to the subject in academic circles. There was hardly any discussion of the topic beyond Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. etc. There was little recognition of scholarly contributions of peace researchers and teachers such as Gene Sharp and Johan Galtung. Prevalent view about peace in academic circles was that it was a “soft” topic that fitted well in the Department of Religion or as a Civil Society Movement sub-set of political science department. In fact with wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the word peace studies had gotten rapidly replaced by new government funded centres of military and security studies in the universities.

An Australian professor colleague Brian Martin with whom I had shared the pages of the journal, *Philosophy and Social Action* pointed me to Glenn D. Paige, Professor of Political Science at University of Hawaii, Honolulu. He described him to be the best person in political science who shared similar interests. Professor Paige's pioneering work, *Nonkilling Global Political Science*, had been just published. Later on I came to know that Professor Paige's work was based on his life's experience as a veteran of the Korean War. After serving in the Korean War, he wrote a definitive book on how the U.S. decision to enter the war was made, *The Korean Decision: June 24-30, 1950*. It was studied at U.S. and foreign military institutions and in political science departments. Then he completely changed his orientation and started looking at the ways on how to avoid all wars.

Though I had been corresponding with him for over a year, I met him for the first time in person at the Ahimsa conference at Kellogg University campus in Pomona, California in June 2004. It was he who had suggested that I attend the Pomona conference as it would be a good venue to meet with other like-minded peace champions. The conference organizer Professor Tara Sethia had invited a good combination of scholars and workers in the field of nonviolence from around the world for the meeting.

Those whom I met included Dr. Ariyaratne of Sarvodaya from Sri Lanka, Professor Sulak Sivaraksa from Thailand and many others. Glenn Paige after his retirement from the University of Hawaii, where he still retained the title of Professor Emeritus, had founded the Center for Global Nonviolence and was its President.

We met in the morning at the entrance of the Pomona Executive Centre. It was a sunny California spring morning with the mist clearing off the hills surrounding Pomona. Silver haired, Paige had an impish smile. We shook hands under the bluish jacaronda tree in front of the terracotta building on the hill. At 75, Paige was intellectually alert and active. Despite his slow walking that had resulted from his heart bypass



surgery a couple of years ago, he was putting himself through a grueling schedule. Pomona, California was his third halt where he was stopping for the conference on his way back from Medellín, Colombia.

In Colombia, he was invited to the launch of his book's translation in Spanish. He had been there a year earlier along with civil rights trainer and activist Bernard LaFayette and others to join Governor Gaviria in his peace march to curb violence and promote dialogue with FARC rebels. Governor Gaviria in that procession had been kidnapped by the rebels and one year later was tragically assassinated. Paige had over the past few months with other colleagues spearheaded an international campaign of support to continue the non-violent struggle that Governor Gaviria had initiated. He was convinced of Governor Gaviria's courageous leadership that proved that nonviolence was not just a tool used by weak and poor, but could be effective as a tool of those on top to bring about peaceful change. Things are long way from that yet in Colombia but Governor Gaviria's sacrifice resulted in laying the seeds of peace for a nonviolent movement in Colombia.

I was highly impressed by Paige's book, *Nonkilling Global Political Science*. Reading it, at once I wrote to him to say that if he needed a "Shanti Sainik" or a "Khudai Khidmatgar", the Gandhian terms used in the book for "foot soldiers of peace", I was there to do all I could in promoting this paradigm of Nonkilling Global Society. His landmark book was in fact a culmination of work of many years, combining theory with praxis. The large body of pioneering work questioned the "lethal philosophical tradition" with a scholarly rigour of behavioral scientist without pandering to any religion or ideology.

The word "nonkilling" is not in everyday use and not yet found in the Oxford English Dictionary. It is a term coined by Paige who defines a "nonkilling society" as (*italics mine*): *a human community, smallest to largest, local to global, in which there is no killing of humans, and no threats to kill; no weapons designed to kill humans and no justifications for using them; and no conditions of society*

*that depend for maintenance or change upon the threat or use of lethal force. There is neither killing of humans nor threats to kill. This may extend to animals and other forms of life, but nonkilling of humans is a minimum characteristic (p.1).* He adds that the essential characteristic of a nonkilling society is that the structure of such a society does not depend upon lethality. There are no social relationships that require actual or threatened killing to maintain or change them. No relations of dominance or exclusion—boundaries, forms of government, property, gender, race, ethnicity, class, or systems of spiritual or secular belief—require killing to support or challenge them.

Paige points out that, *“This does not imply that such a society is unbounded, undifferentiated, or conflict-free, but only that its structure and processes do not depend upon killing. There are no vocations, legitimate or illegitimate, whose purpose is to kill. Thus life in a nonkilling society is characterized by no killing of humans and no threats to kill; neither technologies nor justifications for killing; and no social conditions that rely upon the threat or use of lethal force (p.2).”*

Paige does not hesitate to lay out a road map for a large-scale reconstruction of a global society, albeit a nonkilling one. In a chapter on Implications for Political Science, the author proposes changes that might accompany a shift towards non-lethality in the areas of political philosophy, political theory, leadership and polity, policy studies, comparative politics, and international politics. It calls for the comparative study of nonviolent versus violent political leadership. One may ask why has the study of successful leadership in conflict resolution without military intervention remained neglected? For example, there is a long list of Nobel Peace Prize recipients over the past 50 years who dared to take the non-violent route for complex regime-change in their respective countries. These leaders among others include names such as Mikhail Gorbachev, Jimmy Carter, Vaclav Havel, Shimon Peres, Lech Walesa, Anwar Sadat, Nelson Mandela, Desmond Tutu

and Aung San Suu Kyi. Their accomplishments, leadership styles, strategies, ideologies, and skills remain waiting to be examined and analyzed.

Pomona conference was significant as Glenn and I got to spend three days exchanging views on several common areas of interest, including his plans to establish an elaborate Nonkilling Global Political Science Foundation with plans for research and training younger generation in nonviolent political action. In the interim, he asked me if I would be interested in taking on the Facilitator's role for Communications and Outreach for the Center. He felt that my diplomatic experience would be useful for that. From then on, I was his Center's Associate and got to meet in person or through correspondence other volunteer fellow Associates.

The book was getting rapidly known internationally for its original thinking which was not a spiritual plea of religionists but grounded in evidence-based behavioral sciences. The concept described by Paige was open-ended and measurable. The book from which American publishers had shied away, now because of its originality and potential transformational value was being read by people from all over the world. In spontaneous reaction to the book, without much solicitation, requests were coming for its translation from unexpected sources. Due to shunning of the book by mainstream and academic American publishers, Paige owned the copyright and was able to grant translation and publication rights without fees or royalties. In 2011-12, the book had been published in 24 languages. (*In chronological order*): [2004] Tamil, Hindi, Sinhala, Spanish; [2005] Urdu, Russian, French, Mongolian; [2006] Galizan, Portuguese (Brazilian); [2007] Arabic, Filipino, Kiswahili, Malayalam, Korean; [2009] Thai, German, Italian, Haitian Creole, Ijaw, Ogoni; [2010] Italian, Portuguese (AO); [2011] Farsi. Of 20 more translations, 10 translations are completed *awaiting publication*: Amharic, Armenian, Azerbaijani, Bahasa Indonesia, Bengali, Bhojpuri, Central South Slav (Bosnian-Croatian-Montenegrin-Serbian), Japanese, Sundanese,

Spanish. And for other 10 pledges for translations have been made by scholars from various countries. Pledged 10 are: Bulgarian, Catalan, Chinese Mandarin (Beijing-simplified), Chinese Mandarin (Taipei-standard), Gujarati, Hungarian, Kinyarwanda, Kirundi, Kurdish, Lingala.

In the fall of 2004, two years after the publication of the book, a subsection on ecological and transformational politics of the American Political Science Association awarded him its Distinguished Career Award for his “combined excellence in teaching and scholarship in the service of transformational politics over a lifetime”. This was followed in January of 2005 by another commendation, the Hawaii Lifetime Peacemaker Award of the Church of the Crossroads which highlighted his achievements in integrating into his academic work the critical question of the role of ethic and morality. It read:

*“During the fifty years since the Korean War, Dr. Paige’s commitment to nonviolence has engaged him as professor, author, speaker, and visionary. His books and numerous articles have been recognized internationally. His works, translated into many languages, promote the theme that peace is possible, nonviolence an achievable alternative to the madness of killing.”*

Dr. Paige is a visionary educator who in order to promote his ideas through debate and discussion has shown tenacity and courage in defining new grounds and expanding horizons of the discipline. His landmark book is in fact a culmination of work of many years, combining theory with praxis. In this, he not only provided provocative and creative ideas, but also a new lexicon by identifying and defining a field which will have immense opportunities for future exploration on possibilities for global and human security, and most likely impact disciplines beyond political science.

On his 76<sup>th</sup> birthday in 2005, while recovering from a small surgery while I forwarded to him a comment made by a Korean Professor on his book, he responded saying that:

*“You might be interested to know that on June 24 I had scheduled heart surgery to implant a stent in a blocked artery and came home on June 25. Since it was the 55th anniversary of the Korean War, I read *The Korean Decision* from cover to cover over the next two days. It was the first time I had read it in full in 37 years. I was surprised by three impressions. First, how careful the scholarship was. Second, how similar the basic pattern of American war-fighting policy then seems to be now in the Bush war on Iraq. Third, that we need studies of decision making on how to disengage from lethal crisis decision engagements. As you well know, after 55 years (actually 60 since 1945), the United States Government has not found a way to disengage from Truman’s war-fighting Korean decision. In my view that failure has brought too much suffering to too many Koreans for far too long.*

*That is we need systematic disengagement (nonkilling) decision making studies to help us liberate ourselves from engagement (killing) decisions. Only after re-reading *The Korean Decision* did this become clear. Maybe we could explore this hypothetically by reversing some of the variables in the original analysis.”*

I think that was a very insightful comment on his part. This is the kind of information the warmonger politicians and military leaders refuse to concentrate upon all over the world before abusing the valued human and material resources getting a nation into military ventures abroad.

It was the kind of comment that reminded me when in 1977 he had chosen to demolish his own PhD dissertation by a robust critique of his own magnum opus, publishing it as book review in *The American Political Science Review*. The landmark review entitled: “On Values and Science: *The Korean Decision Reconsidered*” was an eye-opener for me as to what constitutes a true scholar.

Paige has been relentless in pursuit of his ideas on political behavior, leadership, and nonkilling over the past five decades, interacting and debating with foremost experts in the field on both sides of the question serving as colleague, collaborator, and mentor to the most notable among them. His friends and supporters, leading scholars in their own right, on both sides of a question can be found on every continent including Nobel Peace laureates in chemistry and peace as well as a former president of the Republic of Korea and former prime ministers of India and Jordan.

In the short period since the book was published, the impact of Professor Paige's work keeps growing. It can be seen in an expanding group of volunteering supporters inspired by his enthusiasm and courage that has led to unimaginable number of projects including the establishment of a Center for Global Nonkilling in 2009; the creation of a web-based School of Nonkilling Studies; a Wikipedia page devoted to Nonkilling and its founder; expanding number of books and papers on the nonkilling thesis; holding of symposia and conferences; and establishment of nonkilling affiliates in Haiti, Nigeria, and Burundi-DR Congo-Rwanda; and initiatives seeking national nonkilling transformation in Germany, India and the Philippines. The seeds of inspiration are many and so widely spread that I would suggest readers to look at [www.nonkilling.org](http://www.nonkilling.org) website to see for themselves the breadth and depth of the Nonkilling movement that is evolving.

At the November 2007 First Global Nonkilling Leadership Forum held in Honolulu, which was attended by 40 distinguished peace workers, activists, and scholars, the *Affirmation of the Global Nonkilling Spirit* describes such a broad and inclusive vision of Professor Glenn D. Paige. On his 80th birthday those who share that vision express our deep gratitude and salutations to him by reminding ourselves of that *Affirmation* which reads as follows:

#### **AFFIRMATION OF THE GLOBAL NONKILLING SPIRIT**

In remembrance

of all who have been killed

of all the killers  
of all who have not killed, and  
of all who have worked to end killing;  
Guided by the Global Nonkilling Spirit  
taught by faiths and found within,  
We pledge ourselves and call upon all  
to work toward the measurable goal  
of a killing-free world  
with infinite creativity  
in reverence for life.

We call upon all leaders and everyone in the World to join in affirming the Global Nonkilling Spirit and each to become a Center for Global Nonkilling to bring about a killing-free world.

This is Professor Glenn Paige's vision that all of us who attended the Forum endorsed by our signatures at the end of the above document. On his 80<sup>th</sup> Birthday, this Nonkilling Affirmation is the best tribute I can think of for Dr. Glenn's life work.

I remember the first message received from Glenn in his letter that was signed off in his unusual inclusive way "Om Aloha Allah, Shanti Love Shalom". That inclusive prayer of love and peace totally drew me to him and his work forever. Over several years I would see various versions of the above in different forms in his messages to me. I reciprocate here those greetings in my Indian Ahimsa tradition of a 'foot soldier of peace', wishing him on this special occasion a prayer for good health and fulfillment of the vision that he has gifted us.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

# **Glenn Paige's influence on Burundi, DR Congo and Rwanda**

**Bishop MABWE Lucien**

The immense contribution to humanity of Professor Glenn Paige crowned by the book “Nonviolence, Non-murder: towards a new political science” was indeed a light gushing in the region Pays des Grands Lacs Africains.

Indeed the history of these three countries (Burundi, DR Congo and Rwanda) is marked in various forms of violence, killings and massacres. The antagonism and hatred that engage local tribes Hutu and Tutsi of Burundi and Rwanda have led to massacres ring (For the 1965 Burundi, 1969, 1972, 1988, 1993-2004 and Rwanda in 1959, 1963, 1992-1994).

For the DR Congo, the exploitation of “Tutsi” from the 90 years has brought this country in the violence also cynical and unfair. By themselves, these countries hold the sad record of more than 5,000,000 deaths since 1970.

These murders and killings are committed by men in uniform (government or militia), but also entire populations that have socialized, rooted in their murder. These people have “objectification” murder that has become an act whatsoever and banal.



It is in this context of widespread fear of death that lurks, that we decided to liberate people from the theme of living without killing or being killed.

Admittedly, the book “Nonviolence, Non-murder: towards a new political science” by Professor Glenn Paige is scientific fact for scholars and political scientists.

- How should it help illiterate peasant who seeks to kill his neighbor?
- These ideas could be practical in order to be accepted by bloody people?

It was necessary to select the main ideas, explaining them slow, basic and convincing that illiterate high mountains or simply an individual from the plain to understand. The training plan is simplified in the analysis of the lethal local society, the capacity of a non-lethal, the necessary transformations and the need or even to become a Center for Nonviolence.

This approach was new and revolutionary. Nobody in the region had heard these ideas. What surprised people in the clarity and the clarity of ideas!

But these people were also eroded by famine. Times were hard, farming activities were abandoned. Hunger can plunge them into dark nights of violence, the humanist Glenn Paige understood. Twelve villages brinkmanship, Burundi, Rwanda and DR Congo have received seeds, tools, clothes and agricultural implements.

The impact of the teachings of Professor Glenn Paige is enormous. They have transformed the region.

Among the 1,100 participants who attended the training room, the hands of assassins were lifted to renounce killing and become centers of non-violence.

The trainers have passed in 1100 in the villages and cities of lessons

learned and more than 30,000 people work for a non-lethal.

The 4,500 books already distributed in the region are searched and read and burn solidify the lessons of change.

Evidence of living and the renunciation of violence are visible: Baraka, Bibokoboko-DR Congo through Makamba-Burundi-Rwanda at Gisenyi on the percentages recorded zero violence. Spaces are the current non-lethal since 2005 are the most peaceful of the country where Hutu and Tutsi together smoothly.

In 23 towns and villages in Burundi, DR Congo and Rwanda are parties where the teachings of the possibility of a non-lethal and the need to become a center for non violence, happy and gentle waves radiating through 4500 and distributed books, have watered the desert murderer. It is this water that has high fertilizer peacefully in a water tower to Kazimia in “ *Glenn Paige Nonkilling School*” to emerge from the arid soil under non-lethal seeds for future generations and that suffocates the mind killer. In short, peace and freedom today in Burundi, DR Congo and Rwanda are inseparable from the ideas and actions of Professor Glenn D Paige, *a Son of Humanity*.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

# Glenn Paige, A Man Who Can Make People Change

Tatiana Yakushkina

I was introduced to Glenn Paige in 1999 at the Center for Biographical Research in Honolulu. It was my first trip to Hawaii, where I came as a participant of the Junior Faculty Development Program. Everything I saw seemed unusual and wonderful to me: University of Hawaii at Manoa campus, exotic birds and plants, and, of course, the magnificent ocean.

Glenn also seemed almost exotic when we first met. I was baffled by his question –*Is a nonkilling society possible?* However, the answer seemed obvious to me – of course, not. War and violence have been part of European and Russian history since time immemorial. We started a discussion, and it went on till we became almost frustrated with each other. Glenn tried to make me look at the issue from a different perspective. He eventually succeeded, because I couldn't get the question out of my head.

When I came back to Russia, I decided to conduct a survey among my students and asked them to answer Glenn's question. Only two of them gave a positive answer, adding that this kind of society might come into existence only in a very distant future. I sent the

questionnaires along with my comments to Glenn. This is how my cooperation with the CGNK started.

Later Glenn initiated the translation of his book *Nonkilling Global Political Science* into Russian. The title of the book in the Russian version was changed to A Nonkilling Society - Is it Possible?). In such interpretation, the title sounds like Glenn's question addressed to all Russians.

Eleven years have passed since we met first, but Glenn, a Hawaiian Don Quixote, still remains an unusual and exemplary man to me. He is ready to fight alone against the giants of human misconceptions and prejudices, convincing people that killing is against their nature. I feel fortunate to have met such a person. I am inspired by Glenn's energy, vigor, adherence to human values, and the ability to bring people together. These wonderful qualities combined with his perseverance have yielded palpable results; Glenn Paige's name is known in 34 countries and is inseparable from the idea of a nonkilling society, while the idea itself is gradually winning acceptance.

Thinking about Glenn, I realize that he has impacted my life in many ways. I began studying the history of the nonviolence concept in Russia, and I am looking for its followers in the country. I have made some presentations on Glenn's book, and it makes me happy to think that I was able to help bring its Russian-language version into existence. As the years go by, what once looked naïve and utopian now seems quite possible. Looking back at my own experience, I realize how difficult it should be for people to accept Glenn's idea. My personal example, though, makes me believe that it is possible.

You can make people change. It is a unique quality. Thank you for it, Dr. Paige.



# **A tribute to a great pioneer**

**Alan Nazareth**

It is with profound admiration and gratitude that I write this tribute to Prof. Glenn Paige. I have had the privilege of knowing and being in constant contact with him for almost fifteen years. We have been fellow Trustees of Sarvodaya International Trust for over ten years.

Prof. Paige is exceptional in everyway. His contribution in bringing the precious legacy of Mahatma Gandhi to the world and in irrefutably establishing that a nonviolent, nonkilling, peaceful world is actually possible is truly monumental.

It was through his 1990 Gandhi Memorial lecture titled 'Gandhi's contribution to Global Nonviolent Awakening' that I first became acquainted with Prof. Glenn Paige. A sentence in this lecture "Without any doubt Gandhiji, supported by those who made his work possible is the principal contributor to global nonviolent awakening in the 20th century" has been indelibly embedded in my mind since then. I have also been greatly struck by his subsequent insightful affirmations that by fashioning Satyagraha as a "profoundly

spiritual” tool and titling his autobiography as “*Experiments with Truth*” Gandhi on the one hand inspired diverse religious groups and non-religious humanists to delve into their respective nonviolent spiritual resources so as to utilize them for inducing nonviolent global change, and on the other hand opened up possibilities of “pursuing nonviolent global transformation as a subject for interdisciplinary scientific investigation” as the May 16, 1986 Seville ‘Statement on Violence’ issued by twenty distinguished anthropologists, ethologists and psychologists did. The statement had declared “ We conclude that biology does not condemn humanity to war. . . . Just as “wars begin in the minds of men”, peace also begins in our minds. The same species who invented war is capable of inventing peace. The responsibility lies with each of us.”

Having succeeded, against all odds, in establishing the Centre for Global Nonviolence at Honolulu in 2000, Prof. Paige thereafter embarked on his next, even more ambitious project of formulating a ‘Nonkilling Global Political Science’. His book thus titled and published in 2001, surveys the evolution of political philosophy from Plato to the present day, lists the many successful non-violent struggles in recent decades and envisions a non-violent global community with “no killing, no threats to kill and no weapons specifically designed to kill”. Prof. William Smirnov, Vice President, Russian Political Science Association & International Political Science Association has averred “The basic ideas in this unique book can and should be accepted as the basis of common values for humanity in the 21st century as well as a program for their realization”.

Prof. Glenn Page’s exceptional erudition and dedication to promoting Gandhi, nonviolence and nonkilling is equalled by his most gracious generosity. I have striking proof of this. When I sent him the final transcript of my *Gandhi’s Outstanding Leadership* book and requested his assessment of it, he lauded it as “a marvellously instructive contribution to understanding the principles, practices and significance

of Gandhi's leadership to India and the world - past, present and future" and separately listed every error in spelling, grammar and punctuation so that it might be corrected before it went for printing.

I can therefore emphatically state Prof. Paige (Glenn to me !) is the most erudite, inspiring, gracious, generous and supportive friend I have ever been privileged to have. May God bless him abundantly with good health, happiness, longevity and fulfillment of all his aspirations.

★★★★★★



# **Glenn D. Paige - Messenger of Nonkilling World**

**Koozma J. Tarasoff**

With his seminal conception of nonkilling, Glenn D. Paige has had a remarkable impact on my life and times.

In 2002 Dr. Paige wrote me a letter, part of which I included in my book *Spirit Wrestlers: Doukhobor Pioneers' Strategies for Living*, p. xi: 'When we know more about nonviolent cultures, warts and all, we will be much clearer about possibilities for liberating ourselves from violence at home and throughout the world.'

It was a pleasure to include those words of wisdom in the Preface of my book and especially to hear more about the Center for Global Nonviolence in Honolulu which he founded and which later became the Center for Global Nonkilling. Paige's ideas and his book *Nonkilling Global Political Science*, 2002, were a breath of fresh air. They provided me a new way of looking at the world, especially at my ancestry the Spirit Wrestlers/Doukhobors.

It was in June 1895 that the Russian Doukhobors burnt their guns in a mass demonstration against the institution of militarism and wars. My ancestors based this act on the spirit of love and God in

each of us — therefore, making it wrong to kill another human being. This was an idea whose time had come; it was an idea that their mentor, the Russian writer and moralist Lev N. Tolstoy, had pioneered in his book *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, 1894.

Although Tolstoy and the Doukhobors used the word ‘nonviolence’ in their approach to society, their real meaning was nonkilling. And here I give credit to Glenn Paige for gifting me this insight. Indeed, nonkilling encompasses the broader notions of love (esp. Love thy neighbour as thyself), including compassion, universal humanity, and world citizenship.

In the Fall of 2007, Paige invited me and my wife Kristina to participate in *The First Global Nonkilling Leadership Forum* held in Honolulu, Hawaii where I presented a paper on Tolstoy and the Doukhobors. As a source of guidance in educating and training future leaders, Lev Tolstoy was included with such profound activists as Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr. The Forum reviewed and reaffirmed the thesis that, viewed globally, human beings can stop killing each other and that everyone can be a center for Global Nonkilling.

In marking 100 years since the death of Lev N. Tolstoy, I officially opened the 39th season of the Doukhobor Discovery Center in Castlegar, British Columbia, Canada in April 2010 by speaking on the legacy of Tolstoy, the man known as ‘the conscience of humanity’.

As we look at the second decade of the 21st Century, where wars are still waging in Afghanistan and Iraq while terrorism and gangsterism create an unstable society worldwide, let us remember that Tolstoy absolutely condemned all wars. His way was a manifestation for nonviolence and nonkilling. This approach was later reflected in Martin Luther King Jr’s 1967 speech, a call to conscience in a stance against the war in Vietnam. King, like Tolstoy, challenged the whole architecture of war now. It was also reflected in Glenn Paige’s

view of a new world. King, Tolstoy and Paige have something important in common: their struggle was and is for a new paradigm, a new world with a vision of nonkilling.

That's why one hundred years after the death of Tolstoy, humanity again turns to his legacy for our survival today. The five Big questions that I raised in my recent talk directly or indirectly also relate to the wisdom of Glenn Paige, as follows:

- 'Are we prepared to use "nonkilling" as the new mantra or guiding star in our society? Not everyone believes in this, but the new Center for Global Nonkilling in Hawaii has been established to implement this new way of thinking. Here Tolstoy's legacy has helped inspire the creation of this Center.'
- Would not a Department of Peace serve our society better than a Department of War (or 'Defence' as it is commonly known)? Do we really need the Military Industrial Complex and its sinister military bases abroad to pump our economic wells? Is it not a dismal statement of our modern times when money dictates or encourages the creation of wars?...
- Should education and health care be taken as a human right rather than as a privilege?
- Is the church as an institution serving the spiritual needs of its parishioners? Especially today?
- Pollution of the earth is another serious problem. Do we need the help of the Tolstoyan magic Green Stick to save our Planet Earth?' The Green Stick was essentially a metaphor — a search for happiness which combined love, peace, and harmony for people, animals and the environment.

Those are some of the Big questions of our time. Those are questions that Lev Tolstoy raised over one hundred years ago and they are questions that Dr. Glenn Paige is concerned with today as he

prods us to be responsible, loving and caring human citizens on Planet Earth.

My deep thanks to Teachers of Life such as Lev Tolstoy, Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr. and Dr. Glenn Paige. As wrestlers for Truth, our main challenge today is to grow a good harvest (without killing and exploiting our fellow beings) and not allow it to be trampled down. Let's do our part to ensure that this spirit of wisdom will be distributed far and wide throughout the world. Let's give wings to the good ship of Love called *Global Nonkilling!*

★★★★★★

# **Glenn D Paige- A harbinger of change**

**Bae Ho Hahn**

Professor Glenn D. Paige and I first met at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, in the fall of 1958. It was my first year as graduate student and Glenn was ABT(all-but-thesis) fellow nearly completing his Ph.D. dissertation under Professor Richard C. Snyder. It was published later as *The Korean Decision*. Glenn left Northwestern in 1959 for teaching at Seoul National University. The Department of Political Science at North Western then was aspiring to become a center of behaviorally-oriented political science in the mid-West. This was the era when a few dominant figures in The American Political Science scene, in the name of “behavioral revolution”, tried to upgrade political science as an applied science.

By virtue of being a graduate student working for degree, I was invariably initiated into this new approach, an approach that stressed to distinguish between facts and values and emphasized empirical and positivistic as opposed to traditional and normative one. I was not very enthusiastic about it although I liked the idea of taking interdisciplinary approach for studying politics. Glenn did

not strike me as committed to behavioralism but seemed favorably inclined to rigorous methodological training in political science.

I am saying this because this would throw some light on the intellectual path trodden by Glenn over the years, first as the author of *The Korean Decision* and, years later, as the author of very creative and pioneering work, *The Scientific Studies of Political Leadership*, and finally the culmination of all of his creative thinking over several decades in the truly original book, *The Nonkilling Global Political Science*. In all these books, one can detect the depth and breadth of training and intellectual orientation he had acquired not only at Northwestern but previously at Princeton and Harvard. His training combined both traditional as well as behavioral approach to the study of history and politics. That encompasses training in a few foreign languages, emphasis on rigorous methods based on empirically valid facts as well as liberal values that embrace love and affection for fellow human beings and concern for human dignity.

I am far from being qualified, and space does not permit, to make any substantive comments on his works which are so numerous. James Robinson's "introduction" in the *Nonkilling Global Political Science*, best sums up the significance this book represents as a creative attempt to provide alternative ideas and policy options to both scholars and practitioners engaged in further evolution of nonkilling ideas, institutions, and practices around the world. It goes without saying that the Nonkilling book is unique and original enough to be viewed as highly stimulating intellectual work worthy of serious scholarly appraisal by members of political science community around the world.

The enormous impact made by this book is apparent in the number of the countries on the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have their versions of the book in their native languages. The number is large and still growing. Glenn's conviction

and hope that “nonkilling society is possible” has truly struck response cord among many who have been struggling to protect men and women from all kinds of violence and outright violation of human rights. Glenn’s vision has truly become invaluable source of inspiration and encouragement for them.

On more personal note, friendship between Glenn and I goes back to 1958-exactly half a century ago. Our lasting friendship and collegial fellowship stems not just from our time together at Northwestern. Rather it was Korea that had served as a strong bond linking us all this time.

Glenn frequently attributed to Korea for inspiring him to think of political leadership as a major theme for considering the issue of political change in terms of decisive roles of leaders in north and south Korea. He presented this view at a conference in Korea in the early 1970s. How a country which was culturally homogeneous and economically underdeveloped could evolve into two diametrically opposed, heterogenous societies, and then later develop into two rapidly industrializing societies? He maintained that political leadership represented by Park and Kim in the two Koreas was instrumental in bringing about such change. I think the publication of his very original work, *the Scientific Study of Political Leadership* was the fruit of his long years of effort to demonstrate the importance of role political leaders play in bringing significant changes in both developed and developing world.

I suspect that Korea also meant to Glenn the country that taught him many imaginative ideas- among them the seminal idea of reconciliation and even nonkilling. He personally witnessed in the Korean War tragedy and atrocities and sufferings of the Korean people. But what made Glenn so distinguished as a scholar-scientist was that he did not choose to study issues of war and peace like many American scholars who had similar war-time

experiences. Nor had he decided to engage in sophisticated studies which would help prevent outbreak of war. Instead Glenn took an intellectual leap by undertaking the radical step of exploring why human beings kill each other, and to offer ideas and means for creating nonkilling societies. This was truly a thought-provoking idea and a courageous intellectual venture. And after spending a number of years working to prove he is right, Glenn is now surrounded by followers and supporters of his vision and belief that “nonkilling global society is possible.” Knowing him and having been his friend and colleague for so long has been my great pleasure and privilege.

★★★★★★



# **Solving The Conflicts: There Is No Alternative**

**Johan Galtung**

USA/NATO is involved in many conflicts. The focus here is on possible solutions for four of them: Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and Terrorism. But first some words on the difference between conflict dynamics, and conflict resolution and transformation.

Conflict dynamics is crucial. Conflicts have a tendency to broaden in domain by adding more actors, and deepen in scope by adding more goals. Conflicts align actors by polarization into blocs (alliances) pitted against each other, and align goals by fundamentalization under labels like freedom, faith. Conflicts escalate, broadening and deepening the violence. Thus, terrorism (civilians killing civilians) and state terrorism (military killing civilians) are added to wars (military fighting military) and guerrillas (civilians fighting military). These are awesome processes that should be met with peace-building, depolarization, humanization of the other side, de-escalation.

But even more crucial is solving the conflicts, or at least transforming them into conflicts that cover basic aspects of the original conflicts. Toward this end conflicts must be understood in

terms of the actors (almost never only 2!), their goals and the clashes among goals and actors. Then comes the sifting of illegitimate from legitimate goals, and—the difficult part—the efforts, through dialogue, to bridge the gaps between legitimate goals: Constructively, Concretely, Creatively. The 3 Cs.

There is a basic problem from the very beginning: US goals, and the means used to realize them. The goal “national interest” is as such legitimate, but to realize it at the expense of other nations’ interests, human interests, nature’s interests and world’s interests is not. It is at best counter-productive because of the resistance it creates, at worst illegitimate, even in the sense of illegal (like the attack in and on Iraq).

But that does not imply that goals like human rights and democracy in Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and the Middle East in general are illegitimate, even if the way of realizing them, through war and violence in general, are. If democracy implies decision-making by everybody affected by the decision, then to go to war is the epitome of being anti-democratic. And, if the most important human right is the right to life, then killing indeed infracts human rights. This applies to terrorism as much as to state terrorism, to guerrillas as much as to wars. There is the idea that in an imperfect world a small war may settle big problems, but that clearly does not apply to the four cases. There are other ways, and they also pass through deep dialogues about the meaning of all these goals in non-Western societies.

From this it does not follow that quitting, pulling out of one, two, three or all four wars is the solution. That is only de-escalation, a useful necessary condition. To be against the wars is morality, not policy, not conflict resolution. It only changes the goal from winning to not losing. Stay vs Quit is a very poor conflict menu.

More than quitting is needed, some X. What follows are efforts to spell out X, all based on extensive dialogues with many parties.

## **I. AFGHANISTAN**

Pull out and facilitate such processes as:

[1] A ceasefire with no winner and a coalition government, with Talibans, after a process of negotiation.

[2] A high level of autonomy to all major parts of Afghanistan, possibly as an Afghan federation.

[3] Priority to the basic needs of the people, food, housing, clothing, health and education.

[4] A Conference, later an Organization, for Security and Cooperation in Central Asia, OSCCA, with all neighboring Muslim countries, in the longer run as a Central Asian Community, possibly as a confederation.

[5] All belligerent foreign troops out, basing security on the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) in cooperation with the UN Security Council (UNSC) with its legitimacy deficit having four Christian and one Confucian country as veto powers.

[6] An ongoing dialogue on gender between Qur'anic readings, as opposed to tribal and fundamentalist practices.

## **II. USA-UK/IRAQ**

Pull out and facilitate X1-X9:

**X1: A Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Middle East**, CSCME, modeled on the Helsinki conference 1973-75, with Iraq, Iran, Kurdistan, Israel/Palestine on the agenda; all inextricably linked. A ceasefire is not a condition to get started, but would be helpful.

**X2:** The UN Security Council alone cannot keep Iraq secure and stable given the absence of Muslim veto powers, and inhuman

sanctions against Iraq. OIC, parliamentary democracies like Turkey and Indonesia, European non-belligerents—France-Germany-Spain-Belgium—and India might help.

X3: Iraq is fact and fiction, with centripetal and centrifugal forces. Iraq as a unitary state is not a goal in itself. A federation, or even confederation, an “Iraqi Community”, would be more realistic.

X4: Iraqi Kurds should be free to develop their relations with Kurds in Syria, Turkey and Iran, with human rights and some autonomy in all four, and as open borders as possible. The totality of these autonomies could be “Kurdistan”. Guarantees for Turkmen are essential, with Turkish cooperation.

X5: Iraqi Shia Arabs should be free to develop their relations to Shia Arabs in Iran (Khuzistan), with a similar flexible model.

X6: Iraqi Sunnis (4 out of 18 provinces, but all are mixed) might be supported internationally, given insufficient oil revenue and deeply rooted conflicts with both Kurds and Shias.

X7: Self-determination serves better than borders imposed by foreigners, and autonomy forces will only grow if resisted.

X8: A process of Truth and Reconciliation, with a fact-finding commission broadly composed, not only USA-UK and Iraq.

X9: The USA-UK should summon the decency  
-to apologize unconditionally for the attack and its aftermath;  
-to compensate for civilian and military, coalition and Iraqi, human and material, damages due to the war. Waiting for this miracle the task passes to the decent elements of the world.

To stay the present course in Iraq and Afghanistan exacerbates the situation at great costs to US national interests. The costs in changing the course are minor relative to the gains. To call that unrealistic” because the USA disagrees is like calling the advice to quit smoking unrealistic because the smoker objects.

### **III. USA-UK vs IRAN**

The keys are in subtexts rather than texts.

[1] Texts highlight uranium enrichment and IAEA inspection might be helpful. But why should Iran submit when Israel, India and Pakistan have enriched up to weapons grade and gotten away with it? Unless USA reverses its Israel-India policy, demanding inspection also of itself, like it did during the 1962 Cuba crisis by the tit-for-tat of taking US missiles out of Turkey.

[2] The spiritual poverty of the West shows up in Bush and Blair not acknowledging the CIA-MI6 1951-53 overthrow of an elected prime minister with 25 years support of Shah autocracy; calling for a fact-finding historical commission to prepare an apology. Nor did Bush-Blair accept the invitation by then Iran president Khatami to a high level open dialogue, also using the Spanish-Turkish-UN Alliance of Civilizations. Recognition of some truths is needed to clear the past before turning to the pragmatics of a cooperative future, eg about alternatives to fossil fuels.

[3] Exchange [1] for [2], and negotiations might also open for what kind of Israel Iran might recognize, like the Israel of 4 June 1967, like the present tit-for-tat with North Korea.

The onus is on the West. Only the weak cannot admit mistakes. Is Anglo-America strong enough?

### **IV. "TERRORISM": ANGLO-AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY vs ARAB ISLAM**

Underlying the 9/11-07/07-11M violence in New York-Washington, London and Madrid are

[1] integration problems for Muslims in the West; the general wars/conflicts with Arabs/Muslims in Iraq and Palestine calling for

[2] cessation of war and

[3] for mediation;

[4] the special conflicts, like for Spain over Ceuta-Melilla; colonial traumas 1945 (Saudi Arabia with the USA)-1916 (Arabia with the UK and France)-1925 (Morocco with Spain) calling for

[5] conciliation and

[6] civilization problems West vs Islam.

Spain worked on 4 of the 6 (USA on 0 and UK on 0), legalizing close to half a million Moroccan immigrants if they could prove employment; withdrawing the army from Iraq and mutual killing as a factor in the conflict; visiting King Mohammed VI of Morocco no doubt also over Ceuta-Melilla (like Hong Kong, one flag down, one up, one garrison out, another in, the rest remaining as it was?), organizing, with Turkey, the first dialogue West-Islam in Madrid 28/10/2005. No known mediation in Iraq and Israel/Palestine, nor conciliation for the past; but a brilliant model. More attacks in Spain seem unlikely; more attacks in USA and UK highly likely.

What could be four feasible implications of this for the UK?

[1] As to integration: agenda-setting, opinion-production, policy-making; free and public debate about all issues. Give them a voice.

[2] As to the situations in Iraq and Israel-Palestine: stop killing and torture-start negotiating in Helsinki Conference type settings.

[3] As to past conflicts/traumas: appoint a Royal Commission on 1916 -17 and the consequences, with UK and Arab historians. History did not start on 9/11, nor 07/07, nor 11M. Give history a voice. [4] As to Christianity-Islam: let 1000 public dialogues blossom.

What could be feasible implications of this for the USA? In principle all four, with a Commission focusing on 1945 (US-Saudi).

But the UK may have to show the way as it once did for slavery.

The four conflicts are related. Solving I-II-III will do miracles for IV. Afghanistan will have to find its own form, so will Iraq; for Iran there is a tit-for-tat. For all of them: clear the past through conciliation to enter the future together; conciliation over the past being as important as mediation for the future.

★★★★★★

# **The Scientific Nature of the Nonkilling Attitude**

**Antonino Drago**

## **Abstract**

Gandhi claimed that his own attitude was scientific in nature. The present paper supports this claim by introducing a new viewpoint on past scientific legacy; it is obtained from a comparative analysis of those scientific theories which apparently are alternative theories to the dominant one, i.e. Newton's mechanics. These alternative theories are characterised through a list of basic features; I will show that all they pertain to nonkilling worldview too; which is thus qualified as a well-defined scientific theory of conflict resolution.

### **1. An alternative scientific tradition inside Western science**

In 20<sup>th</sup> Century Indian people, although dominated by the greatest colonialist empire, conquered without weapons national independence. The leader, Gandhi, was inspired by a notion, non-violence, which led him to reject all offensive means. Surprisingly, often Gandhi reiterated that his life experimented this notion in a scientific way, so much that his method has to be qualified as a very science. He apparently intended natural sciences.<sup>2</sup>

Western scientists never recognised a science as being in agreement with Gandhi's non-violent method. They considered science a so abstract social product to reject as inappropriate any attempt for correlating it with a personal involvement, as instead Gandhi's claimed. On the other hand, even a follower of the non-violent attitude would be perplexed in qualifying his attitude as a scientific one, because the science apparently lacks any ethical and religious components.<sup>3</sup> Was Gandhi's claim an effort for improving a mutual understanding with Western people through a naïve appeal to a value of dominant culture?<sup>4</sup> Or, alternatively, do it represent a wise view on science? In the following I will support the latter alternative.

Actually, Gandhi, although claiming to be applying a scientific method, charged Western natural science and technology to be one of the structural violences exported by Western civilisation. Hence, his claim apparently refers to an alternative viewpoint. Which viewpoint?

I performed an accurate analysis of the history of natural science. I showed that since the 18<sup>th</sup> Century natural science included a relevant minoritarian tradition. Indeed, it is not difficult to recognise that the foundations of classical chemistry are at variance with the foundations of that theory which dominated the whole science along two centuries, i.e. Newton's mechanics and its improved versions. Moreover, let us inspect not only this dominating formulation of mechanics, but also their different formulations, in particular, L. Carnot's mechanics; its foundations are at variance with the foundations of the dominating Newton's mechanics. The longer list of the alternative theories includes classical chemistry, L. Carnot's calculus, geometry and mechanics, S. Carnot's thermodynamics, Lobachevski's non-Euclidean geometry.<sup>5</sup>

These alternative theories are commonly ignored since some of them are considered as mere variations of the more known formulations of respectively calculus, geometry, mechanics, thermodynamics, non-Euclidean geometries; others (e.g. classical



chemistry, S. Carnot's thermodynamics, etc.) are charged to be "phenomenological", "immature", Baconian (that is, lacking of advanced mathematics) theories. Yet, in 1905 Einstein's originated an acute crisis in the dominating theoretical physics since even the foundations of his theory, i.e. special relativity, were at variance with those of Newton's mechanics. This variance is just similar to the previous ones.<sup>6</sup> By a mutual comparison of all the above mentioned theories I will show that they share common foundations, which are apparently different from Newtonian ones.

In a previous, long paper<sup>7</sup> I presented a scientific framework for seeing Western science in an entirely new way. In alternative to the long tradition of Western philosophy of knowledge, which conceives a monist representation of the science as an application of the unique Reason to real world, I presented a new view on theoretical science as a pluralist enterprise. In the present paper I want to reiterate previous result in a direct, short way. Gandhi's claim will receive a full justification from this short presentation of the new view on science.

Notice that in the following, I will equate the nonkilling imperative, when it is considered in its full generality, to the non-violence principle, which belongs to the millennial Indian tradition and then was renewed by Gandhi; in other words, I will consider the nonkilling imperative as the Western version of the Eastern nonviolence principle as it is intended in modern times.

2. The common foundations of the alternative scientific theories.  
The nonkilling scientific foundations

*i) Each of the above-mentioned theories* rather to be organised as in Newton's theory, - i.e. as an apodictic system, whose truth flows from few, abstract axioms by means of a purely deductive development -, is organised by focussing the attention on *an universal problem concerning a given field of scientific subjects*; e.g., in 19<sup>th</sup> Century, classical chemistry declared the problem of discovering by which elements matter is constituted; L. Carnot's mechanics dealt

with the problem of which quantities stood unvariant during an impact of bodies; L. Carnot's calculus dealt with the problem of the reality of the infinitesimals; L. Carnot's geometry dealt with the problem of calculating all elements of a given figure which is known through some elements only; S. Carnot's thermodynamics dealt with the problem of the maximum efficiency when producing work from heat; Lobachevskii's theory dealt with the problem whether more than one parallel line is possible in geometry; Einstein's theory dealt with the problem of 'conciliating' the principle of relativity in theoretical mechanics with the constant velocity of light in electromagnetism.<sup>8</sup>

Let us remark that both *Freud and Marx* did not make appeal to idealised notions from which to draw their theories. The scientific theory of the most intimate conflicts, i.e. Freud's psychoanalysis, shares the previous feature: it dealt with a problem, i.e. *how to cure a deep trauma in a patient*.<sup>9</sup> Also Marx' theory of social conflicts dealt with a problem, i.e. *how to overcome capitalism* in mankind's history.<sup>10</sup>

Remarkably, there exist some theories which are capable to argue on the lot of factors involved in the most tremendous conflict, i.e. a *war*. The case of strategic theories is interesting because *some strategists* did not theorise how efficiently apply a brutally, destructive force, rather they dealt with the universal problem, i.e. *how manage a war by linking at the best arms' power with given political aims*. By reading their books it is apparent that each of such theories do not suggest a technical solution composed by a list of orders imparted to subordinate people. This theoretical attitude in strategic theories characterises at least the three following strategists: Sun Tzu, L. Carnot and Clausewitz.<sup>11</sup>

Notice that also *the theory of nonkilling* cannot be drawn from self-evident principles; rather, it tackles the problem *how in the interpersonal relationships a conflict may be solved* through a final agreement with the opponent.

ii) Each of the above mentioned theory *induces from the commonly shared knowledge a new method*, which is capable to solve the previously stated universal problem. Such a feature is apparent in classical chemistry; chemists, although lacking of direct evidence on matter's elements, introduced an excellent method of investigation which combined together the analysis and the synthesis of common substances; by this method alone they obtained an accurate list of all the microscopic elements. Similar notes apply to the remaining above theories. In particular, Einstein started his celebrated paper by introducing a new method for measuring time by means of the usual clocks but by taking in account the finite value (c) of the signals mutually transmitted by two observers.

Notice that, both *Freud and Marx* referred to the common knowledge which is shared by a wide public, in order to discover *new methods*; respectively, a *new curative method* consisting in a specific kind of dialog, and a new method for both forecasting and *planning the social revolution*.

The above-mentioned *strategists* started their theories from common knowledge so that their books on strategy were addressed to laymen. They explain to soldiers too, why each war has to be fought by following *a specific method, to be discovered case by case*, except for some general guide-lines, just those suggested by that strategists.<sup>12</sup>

Likely, *the theory of nonkilling* leads a man involved in a conflict to perform a patient and clever analysis on the common shared experience of human relationships in order to recognise inside the opponent's personality an acceptable aspect, suggesting how to construct *a new, specific method*, capable to achieve a common agreement which solves the given conflict.

iii) Two centuries ago, the core of the general method of organising a scientific theory in such a way, was qualified in semi-formal terms by L. Carnot in order to improve the old "synthetic method". He obtained this general method by interpreting infinitesimal analysis, i.e.

the most powerful advancement in the history of modern mathematics.<sup>13</sup> He remarked that its genius consists in the following sequence of moves. One introduces ‘*adjunctions*’ to a given system in order to generalise this system so that the search for a solution of the problem at issue is made easier. Once the solution is obtained, the auxiliary variables are suppressed in order to reduce the system to the initial system. For instance, in the ancient infinitesimal analysis one adjoins - to a mathematical system to be solved - some auxiliary variables, called infinitesimals, which, after having obtained the solution, are “suppressed” through some mathematical trick (e.g. by evaluating them as too small quantities to be appreciated; more currently, by a limit process; etc.). In his mechanics, L. Carnot adjoined “geometrical motions”, which in the simplest case represent changes of the reference frame; since these motions constitute a group of transformations of the mathematical formulas representing the physical system, in fact Carnot started the first mathematical group theory. By applying the different groups of geometrical-temporal transformations, he obtained the classical invariants of the motion.

In *Freud’s* psychoanalysis a patient “adjoins” his *dreams* to his personality in order to offer to the analyst a clarification of his psychical “system”. *Marx* considered as a trigger eliciting the wanted change in the mankind history, the adjunction of the suitable *historical consciousness* to the proletarian class, oppressed by the capitalist “system”.

Among the *strategic theories*, *L. Carnot’s defensive one* is expressly based upon the notion of ‘*adjunction*’. When a besieged of a stronghold is threaten by a besieger applying a step-by-step strategy for approaching with impunity the stronghold, then the besieged, in order to break the besieger’s strategy has to ‘adjoin’ to his inside defensive activity some quick outside sorties.

In the *theory of nonviolence*, *Aldo Capitini* – the first European, nonviolent activist – independently offered a philosophical basis to the method of adjunctions. He considered the whole

development of Western philosophy. As it is well-known, Kant recognised that human reason unsuccessfully attempted to know the essence of a beings of the external world (*noumenos*); however Kant suggested that one can achieve reality through an ethical move, characterised as an “adjunction”.<sup>14</sup> The subsequent Hegel’s philosophy translated this notion in an idealistic one, i.e. the *Aufhebung*, which is an Absolute Spirit’s move for transcending the historical reality. Instead, Capitini considered the ‘adjunction’ at no more than a personal level; it is aimed to rise up the level of an even distressing situation of interpersonal relationships, and hence to achieve a higher viewpoint, which makes easy to envisage a “choral” solution.<sup>15</sup> According Capitini, this process constitutes *the essence of the nonviolence*.

Indeed, in Gandhi’s conception of nonviolence this notion is substantiated by at least a prayer; or, as an intermediate action, a fast; or, as his maximum effort, his own sacrifice to death.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, the process of nonkilling solution of a conflict can be modelled by attributing to the notion “adjunction” the same role it plays in scientific theories.<sup>17</sup>

3. A formal interpretation in logical terms sophisticated notions). In fact, *all the above theories follow non-classical logic*. In classical logic the law of double negation holds true; it is commonly stated as follows: “Two negations affirm” (e.g., the statement: “It is not true that  $2+2$  is not 4” is equivalent to the statement: “ $2+2=4$ ”). But this law may fail; e.g. a Court’s judgement of “lack of guilty evidence” is not equivalent to its corresponding positive judgement of “honesty”. According to recent studies in mathematical logic,<sup>18</sup> this failure characterises almost all kinds of non-classical logic.

An inspection on the original texts by the authors of the above-mentioned scientific theories shows that they include a lot of double negated sentences, whose corresponding positive sentences are not true for lack of scientific evidence (DNSs). Some instances of DNSs are the following ones: “It is impossible that matter is divisible in a not finite way” (Chemists of 19<sup>th</sup> Century); “The infinitesimals are not

chimerical (= not real) beings” (L. Carnot); “It is impossible a motion without an end” (L. and S. Carnot); “It is not true that heat is not equal to work” (S. Carnot); “It is not contradictory the hypothesis of two parallel lines to a given straight line.” (Lobachevskii); “... we can attribute no absolute (= not relative) meaning to simultaneity.” Each of the above statements is not equivalent to the corresponding positive statement, since the latter one lacks of scientific evidence in experimental terms.

Let us remark that even the scientific theory of the most intimate conflicts, i.e. *Freud’s psychoanalysis*, shares the same features. A *Freud’s* celebrated methodological paper illustrates how the analysis of patient’s diseases starts. When a *patient, by telling to* the analyst his dreams, says a negated statement: “I did not want to kill my mother”, then, the analyst has to *add a second negation to this statement*: “It is not true that he did not want to kill his mother”. In such a way he obtains a hint for recognise a patient’s trauma.<sup>19</sup>

It is well known that *Marx* wanted to shape his entire theory by means of a “new dialectical logic”, where the synthesis between thesis and anti-thesis is obtained by a “negation of the negation” of the starting thesis.

The original texts about the above-mentioned *strategic theories* present a great number of DNSs. For ex., the main goal of each strategic theory is not to win all wars, but (Sun Szu) to result to be an invincible Army. L. Carnot’s main statement may be considered: “it is not true that war work is not civil work [to build stronghold]” Moreover, the most celebrated Clausewitz’ statement is “War is nothing else diplomacy through different means” (never he wrote the corresponding positive statement, which is wrongly attributed to him by almost all scholars).

*Also nonkilling thinking* is essentially merged in non-classical logic, since its same word, nonkilling, is not one negation, but two negations - being of course killing a negation of life; the same holds true for the word “non-violence”.<sup>20</sup> In fact, this double negation cannot

be appropriately replaced by a concrete, positive word. According to Gandhi the best candidate for this replacement is the word *sathyagraha*; yet, this word sublimates the original meaning of non-violence in abstract words (in particular, the word “Truth”), overhanging human life. Hence, both words nonkilling and non-violence are DNSs. As a consequence, any typical slogan which is consistent with the nonkilling attitude is appropriately expressed by two negations: e.g., “Do not harm”, “Never more [nuclear bombing] Hiroshima!”. Two more crucial words in Gandhi’s thought were two DNSs: *aparigraha* (non-possession) and *advaita* (non-disunity).<sup>21</sup> Christian people commonly think that the positive word ‘love’ is equivalent to – and even more meaningful than – both “nonkilling” and “non-violence”; yet, ‘love’ it is a fuzzy and multi-purposed word, as it is proved by the social history, actually full of wars, of Christendom.<sup>22</sup>

Let us notice that human rights may be viewed as a forcing in the corresponding affirmative versions some DNSs, say the last five commandments (the social ones). In particular, the commandment “Thou do not kill” has been forced in “Right of survivance”, “Right to develop his own life”, “Right to have access to life resources”, etc.. The examination of this short list tell us that, in order to exhaust the meaning of a DNS by translating it in affirmative sentences, one has to produce a lot of them. It is not a chance that UN declaration of human rights results to be unsatisfactory to several people, that want to add to the list of this declaration the second, third, fourth, . . . generations of rights. Hence, both nonkilling and non-violence are not equivalent to a whatsoever finite set of affirmative sentences.<sup>23</sup>

v) The dichotomy between the two kinds of logic enjoys a noble philosophical origin. Leibniz sketched a ‘Science of Science’,<sup>24</sup> whose two basic principles are the principle of non-contradiction and *the principle of sufficient reason*; the latter one, being in itself a DNS (“Nothing is without a reason”) constitutes the best principle for arguing according to non-classical logic – i.e. in an inductive way - inside an alternative theory.<sup>25</sup> In fact in each of the above theories one recognises

the translation of the latter Leibniz' principle in a particular DNS, which in the theory plays the role of a specific methodological principle. Respectively: "No efficient calculus without reason", that is: "The infinitesimals are not chimerical (= not real) beings" (L. Carnot's calculus); "Nothing is without parts", that is the previously quoted sentence: "As an element we call any substance which is not still decomposed" (A.-L. Lavoisier). "No parallelism without a proof", that is: "We will call parallel line any straight line which by means of a least deviation intersects the base-line" (Lobachevskii's non-Euclidean geometry); "No motion without a reason", that is: "It is impossible a motion without an end" (S. Carnot's thermodynamics).

In *Freud's* theory: "No patient's negation without a reason". In *Marx's* theory: "No capitalism's move without a reason". In *strategic* theories: "No move in a war without a reason".

In conflict theory the principle of sufficient reason may be applied almost directly: "No evil is without a reason." It leads to directly think which positive reason may be recognised in the opponent.

vi) Some of the above-mentioned theories present one more feature which proves that DNSs play an essential role inside an alternative theory; *the mere sequence of DNSs* recognised inside an original text *faithfully summarises the core of the respective theory*. This occurs in S.Carnot's booklet on thermodynamics,<sup>26</sup> Lobachevsky's new geometry,<sup>27</sup> Freud's psychoanalysis,<sup>28</sup> the above strategic theories.<sup>29</sup> This fact gives evidence for the essential role played by the DNS in the development of each of the above theories.

Also Gandhi's arguing, aimed to positively solve conflicts, includes a great number of DNS. For instance, his celebrated book develops through DNSs.<sup>30</sup>

vii) A comparative analysis of the above theories shows that the non-classical arguing by means of double negated sentences achieves results by means of *ad absurdum* theorems:<sup>31</sup> the best instance



of them is in thermodynamics the celebrated S. Carnot's theorem which also at present time is taught to the students of Physics and Engineering.

In *Marx*' theory several *ad absurdum* arguments are included in his works. An example: "He [the capitalist] is unable to understand that, if really existed one thing as the value of the work and if he really payed this value, [absurd consequence] no capital would exist and his money would not change in capital."<sup>32</sup>

Also the *strategic theories* end by *ad absurdum* arguments. In his main strategic writing, L. Carnot presents three *ad absurdum* arguments. The main one is the following one: "Because, if the enemy is robustly placed on the paths leading to the stronghold, it would be absurd to go to present to him the fight together with a garrison which on the contrary one has to preserve so much as it is possible."<sup>33</sup> Clausewitz presents several *ad absurdum* arguments; e.g. the following one: "in their actual notion, the wars are *nothing else than ad absurdum* manifestations of the politics itself, as we showed in the above. Thus, it would be absurd to subordinate the political views to the military viewpoint, because *the politics generated the war; the former one is the intelligence, whereas the war is is nothing else the instrument*; the opposite would go [*absurdum*] against the common sense. It remains nothing else to subordinate the military viewpoint to the political one."<sup>34</sup> The eventual result of the *non-violent method* is obtained by reducing an argument *ad absurdum*; e.g. "It is absurd that my opponent is not my brother, otherwise God does not exists", or otherwise universal brotherhood is impossible". Gandhi often argued in such a way; for ex. the well known sentence: i.e. "Eye for eye (= the law of the vengeance) makes blind the world"; that is "The vengeance is absurd; hence has to be rejected". He was so rooted in this way of arguiong that he claimed "There is no God but Truth"; in other words: "In the absurd, no God".<sup>35</sup>

viii) The final argument of the theory achieves, again by means of an *ad absurdum* theorem, a universal evidence concerning all

problems at issue, i.e. the universal DNS  $\neg\neg UT$ . Owing to its universal nature the author feels himself justified in changing it in the affirmative predicate  $T$ , which then is assumed as *a new hypothesis* from which to draw all possible derivations. This move, changing both logic and the theory organisation, is apparent in both S. Carnot's thermodynamics (after this theorem, he changes the resulting DNS ("The efficiency of no reversible heat engine is less than the efficiency of an irreversible heat engine") on the maximum efficiency about all heat transformations in work in a hypothesis ("The efficiency of a reversible heat engine is the maximum one") from which he draws new laws on specific heats and gas) and Lobachevsky's theory (after his main theorem, prop. 22, he changes its result about all straight lines and all triangles in the hyperbolic hypothesis from which he draws all geometrical consequences).<sup>36</sup>

In *Freud's* paper, the DNSs concerning patient's trauma is directly stated as an affirmative sentence "hence, it is the [relationships of the patient with] his mother [the cause of the trauma]", from which the analyst tries to draw all the consequences on the present patient's personality.

Moreover, *ad absurdum* theorems close both *L. Carnot's and Clausewitz's* strategic theories. Previous *ad absurdum* argument may be considered Clausewitz's final argument; the final quoted sentence is the universal sentence  $UT$  concluding the theory.

It cannot be overemphasised the fact that some of the above scientists, although unaware of non-classical logic, almost consistently built their theories through both DNSs and *ad absurdum* theorems till to follow a common model of organisation of a scientific theory.

In the *theory of conflict resolution* this last move corresponds to the change from the inductive arguing about which may be the key for understanding opponent's personality, to draw from this key a first initiative, e.g. to launch a mutual dialog for peace. In the case of the above quoted Gandhi's DNS about Truth, after having claimed that

“There is no God but Truth”, he then changed it in his celebrated sentence: “Truth is God”.

In conclusion, by linking the foundations of conflict resolution with the foundations of some scientific theories, we have characterised in a scientific way both the kind of logic and the alternative organisation of a theory of nonkilling. Two more facts support this connection; already in 17<sup>th</sup> Century Leibniz exploited his theory of impact of bodies - where his notion of elastic body interprets a possibly disastrous impact in an exchange of common quantities (i.e. momentum, momentum-of-momentum and energy)<sup>37</sup> - for constructing a theory of interpersonal conflicts where the corresponding notion of a flexible attitude may lead the opponent to recognise common values.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, L. Carnot’s celebrated strategy paralleled his general theory of machines (that theory which originated the modern discipline of technical physics); i.e. he conceived a stronghold as a machine whose laws about the work’s balance may suggest how theorise the principles for the stronghold defence.<sup>39</sup>

#### 4. A formal interpretation in mathematical terms

*ix)* Let us remark that no one of the above scientific theories use actual infinity, through say infinitesimals or differential equations.<sup>40</sup> In philosophical words, their infinity is the potential one only; say, the numbering of the natural numbers; which usually excludes the existence of a maximum number, since it is a manifestly idealistic notion<sup>41</sup>. Yet, scientists introduced in Mathematics and in theoretical physics too, the actual infinity (e.g., the extreme points of a straight line, although no one went at this infinite points; or the classical divergences in the central point of a force field, say the gravitational field; or the words: “All body...” in the statement of Newton’s inertia principle, although we will never exhaust the list of all bodies in the world). Whereas the former notion of infinity leads us to see the universality as an unlimited addition of ever more units, the notion of actual infinity obtains the universality by a jump to an extreme result, which is detached from

any approximation, first of all, a jump in logical terms, e.g. by using the word “all” which is the equivalent to the total quantifier. The former notion leads to proceed by a step-by-step process of calculation or construction, the latter one leads to proceed by guessing ever more idealistic notions, provided that their consequences successfully apply to the reality.

In the former attitude never one says “All...”, but “No man excluded...”; nor “There exists...”, but “One is enabled to construct an instance...”. Also the nonkilling attitude can be characterised through its choice for constructing interpersonal relationships involving even more men, rather than possibly mythical ideas or institutions, or worst, material beings. In particular, it leads to say: “No one is an enemy”, rather than “All men are brothers”.

By adding this option on the kind of infinity to the above one on the kind of organisation, *one obtains two dichotomic variables which generalise the two dichotomic variables sketched by Galtung* as generating the notion of four models of development;<sup>42</sup> these models according again to Galtung, characterise a non-violent political theory.<sup>43</sup>

## **5. Conclusions**

The reader may be surprised that a socio-psychological theory for approaching conflictual relationships, i.e. nonkilling theory, have been linked with scientific natural theories.

From a general viewpoint, one can justify this link by remarking that in the above we argued contrarily to the common myth, according to which which science is an unitarian, monolithic worldview; this myth makes each scientific sentence an abstract and absolutely sure truth of an essentially unitarian scientific thinking.<sup>44</sup> Instead, in previous. We recognised inside classical physics an essential conflict between at least two incommensurable traditions. In the 20<sup>th</sup> Century the new physical theories enhanced this divergence; an incompatibility between relativity and quantum mechanics occurred and even at present time is

unresolved. Moreover, a conflict is evenly apparent inside the foundations of economy, social sciences, medicine, etc..

On the other hand, the connection of nonkilling theory with scientific theories holds true also in the opposite direction. Indeed, even a scientific experiment is essentially a conflictual process. The outcome may be called a successful scientific result only when an agreement is reached between the positive answers by the experimental data and researcher's previous hypothesis. All the above substantiates Gandhi's words on both his experiments with truth and the scientific nature of the non-violence.

When science is conceived as including an essential conflict, its abstract and sure nature collapses in the nature of a merely human initiative, which therefore may be analysed in connection with the interpersonal relationships.

In the past, Western civilisation led people to conceive in an unitarian framework all scientific theories on "reality" and at the same time to consider as an inescapable necessity - at least, in extreme circumstances -, to judge some conflicts as essentially impossible to solve, so to consider enemies as evil to be suppressed. At present, nonkilling attitude leads us to turn up this attitude; i.e. we have to maintain that the several systems of scientific thinking are mutually incommensurable (likely religions' beliefs); and rather, to consider as ethically inescapable to conciliate conflicting persons, by viewing all them inside the organicistic unity of the universal brotherhood, as constituting the only true reality.

This change translates in theoretical terms what in philosophy Capitini had already suggest as the conversion of the human mind to an ethical attitude.

Hence the nonkilling attitude is at the same time an ethical attitude and a scientific attitude, provided that for 'scientific' one means *the alternative methodology and philosophy of science*.

## End Notes

2. It is enough to recall the title of his celebrated book, *M.K. Gandhi: An Autobiography, or the Story of my Experiments with Truth* (1909), Navajivan, Amedhabad, 1927-1929.

3. It is the basic criticism to the whole Western civilisation by Gandhi himself. See *M.K. Gandhi: Hind Swaraj*, (1908). Amhedabad (censored).

4. A similar appraisal is given by G. Sarton: "Experiments with Truth by Faraday, Darwin and Gandhi", *Osiris*, Vol. 11, (1954), 87-107.

5. A. Drago: "Nonkilling science", *op. cit.*; "What science for Peace?", *Gandhi Marg*, 7 (1986) 733-742; *Le due opzioni. Per una storia popolare della scienza*, *La Meridiana*, Molfetta Bari, 1991. The paper by N.M. Singh: "From Cartesian-Newtonian mechanistic model to Einsteinian-Gandhian holistic conscioussness", *Gandhi Marg*, 17 (1996) 478-481, illustrates a similar philosophical viewpoint, which however lacks of a formalisation.

6. This is the main point missed by previous Sarton's paper; it concludes by the following words: "... there is no freedom of thought concerning that body of scientific evidence." Notice that Einstein's theoretical revolution occurred at the same time (1905) of the beginnings of Gandhi's revolution (1906).

7. A. Drago: "Nonkilling science", in J.E. Pim (ed.): *Toward a Nonkilling Paradigm*, Center for Global Nonkilling, Honolulu, 2009, 289-323.

8. A. Drago: "History of the relationships Chemistry-Mathematics", *Fresenius J. Anal. Chem.* 337 (1990), 220-224; "Erratum", *ibidem*, 340 (1991) 787; "A Characterization of Newtonian Paradigm", in P.B. Scheurer, G. Debrock (eds.): *Newton's Scientific and Philosophical Legacy*, Kluwer Acad. P., 1988, 239-252; "The alternative content of Thermodynamics: Constructive mathematics and problematic organization of the theory", in K. Martinas, L. Ropolyi, P. Szegedi (eds.): *Thermodynamics: History and Philosophy. Facts, Trend, Debates*, World Scientific, Singapore, 1991, 329-345; A. Einstein (1905): "Zur Elektrodynamik bewegter Koerper", *Ann. der Phys.*, 17 (1905) 891-921.

9. S. Freud (1925): “Die Vereinung”, *GW*, XIV, 11-15.

10. K. Marx: *Das Kapital* (1884).

11. Sun Tzu: *The Art of War*, a.350 B.C.; see e.g. R.D. Sawyer: *The Art of War*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1994; L. Carnot: *De la défense des places fortes*, 1811, in J.-P. Charnay: *Lazare Carnot. Révolution et Mathématique*, La Herne, Paris, 1985, vol. II, 23-97; K. Von Clausewitz: *On War* (1838), Princeton U. P., Princeton, 1984.

12. This point is illustrated by the following papers. E. Angelillo and A. Drago: “Nuova interpretazione della strategia di Lazare Carnot mediante la logica non classica”, in A. Drago (ed.): *Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding*, Qualevita, Sulmona, 1997, 237-250; G. Covone and A. Drago: “L’Arte della guerra in Sun Tzu”, *Quaderni Asiatici*, n. 52, genn.-marzo 2000, 47-62; A. Drago and A. Pezzella: “Logica e strategia. Analisi della teoria di K. von Clausewitz”, *Teoria Politica*, 16 (2000) 164-174.

13. L. Carnot: “Note”, in *Réflexions sur la métaphysique du calcul infinitésimal*, Courcier, Paris, 1813, 217-253. He was a scientist, a strategist and one of the leaders of French revolution. In particular, L. Carnot’s strategy was aimed to the defence only, through the least loss of human lives; he was the first political man favourable to the conscientious objectors for political reasons. A book on his scientific activity is C.C. Gillispie: *Lazare Carnot Savant*, Princeton U.P., Princeton, 1971. A more recent and complete book is J.-P. Charnay (ed.): *Lazare Carnot ou le savant-citoyen*, P. Univ. Paris-Sorbonne, 1990.

14. I. Kant: “About the common dictum”, 1793.

15. Among the several writings by A. Capitini on this subject, the shorter and more appropriate one is: “L’avvenire della dialettica”, in G. Cacioppo (ed.): *Il Messaggio di Aldo Capitini*, Lacaita, Manduria Lecce, 1973, 187-194. A short synthesis is in R. Altieri: *The Non-violent Revolution: The Italian who Embraced Gandhi’s Satyagraha to Oppose Fascism and War, An Intellectual Biography of Aldo Capitini*, Vijayaa Press, Madurai, 2008, ch. 2

16. Also Sartre remarks this point by stressing that Gandhi “was always ready to be the scapegoat of India.” (p. 97)

17. A. Drago: *Storia e Tecniche della Nonviolenza*, Laurenziana, Napoli, 2007, sect. 2.7. One may improve this joint theory by considering the theory

*of impact of bodies as a theory of conflict resolution. "When history of Physics teaches non-violence: The shock of bodies as a metaphor of conflict resolution", Nonviolence and Spirituality, n. 3, 1996, 15-22.*

18. *D. Prawitz and P.-E. Malmnaass. "A survey of some connections between classical, intuitionistic and minimal logic", in A. Schuette et al. (eds.): Contributions to Mathematical Logic, North-Holland, Amsterdam, 1968, 215-230; M. Dummett: Principles of Intuitionism, Claredon, Oxford, 1977. D. van Dalen and A.S. Troelstra: Constructivism in Mathematics, North-Holland, 1988.*

19. *S. Freud: "Die Vermeidung", Imago, (1925) 217-221. Actually, Freud was no so explicit. However his crucial statement "the negation is a way to get knowledge of the removal", attributed by him to the patient, holds true for also the analyst. A. Drago and E. Zerbino: "Sull'interpretazione metodologica del discorso freudiano", Riv. Psicol., Neurol. e Psichiatria, 57 (1996) 539-566.*

20. *Since 1986 L.R. Horn, in his classical book (The Natural History of Negation, U. Chicago P., Chicago 1986, p. 84), stressed this characteristic feature of the word "non-violence".*

21. *For some instances, see M.K. Gandhi: All Men are Brothers, Unesco, Lausanne, 1958 ch. 4, no.s 8, 43, 52, 76. However, some more crucial Gandhi's words, as Bramacharya, are positive words. Hence, Gandhi was not ever consistent with the formally inductive way of arguing. In this sense one may remark both "a confusion" (p. 100) and a "zigzag" (p. 91), which however Sartre enlarge to the entire Gandhi's thinking.*

22. *I illustrated this point in the end of the paper: "Teaching History in the Framework of a Problem-based Peace Education", Gandhi Marg, 14, 1992, 232-243.*

23. *This point is one of the first results on the comparison between classical logic and non-classical logic. It was obtained by K. Goedel: Collected Works, Oxford U.P., Oxford, 1986 1932, 1933f.*

24. *A. Drago: "The modern fulfilment of Leibniz' program for a Scientia generalis", in H. Breger (ed.): VI Int. Kongress: Leibniz und Europa, Hannover, 1994, 185-195.*



25. A. Drago (2001): "The birth of an alternative mechanics: Leibniz' principle of sufficient reason", in H. Poser et al. (eds.): *Leibniz-Kongress. Nihil Sine Ratione, Berlin, vol. I, 322-330. La riforma della dinamica secondo G.W. Leibniz, Hevelius, Benevento, 2003.*
26. A. Drago and R. Pisano (2000): "Interpretation and reconstruction of the *Réflexions* by Sadi Carnot through the non-classical logic" *Atti Fond. Ronchi, 57 (2002) 195-215.*
27. A. Drago and A. Perno (2004): "La teoria geometrica delle parallele impostata coerentemente su un problema (I)", *Per. Matem., ser. VIII, vol. 4, Oct.-Dec., 41-52*; A. Drago: "There exist two models of organisation of a scientific theory", *Atti della Fond. G. Ronchi, 62 n. 6, 2007, 839-856.*
28. A. Drago and E. Zerbino (1996): "Sull'interpretazione metodologica del discorso freudiano", *op. cit.*
29. See the papers in the footnote no. 12.
30. A. Drago: "Hind Swaraj: The Birth of a Universal Ethics in Structural Terms", in S.K. Joseph B. Mohandays (ed.): "Reflections on Hind Swaraj", *Inst. Gandhian Studies and Gandhi International, Wardha, 2011, 73-143.*
31. An *ad absurdum* argument concludes by means of a DNS, i.e.  $\neg\neg T$ . Classical logic can translate it in the positive sentence *T*, by applying just that law of double negation which in non-classical logic fails. In a theory arguing through DNSs, the last DNS works as a methodological principle for the next argument; hence, the classical logic is not necessary for advancing lucid and formal arguments according to non-classical logic.
32. K. Marx: *The Capital, op. cit., the end of I book, sect. XVII. Freud' short paper does not present ad absurdum arguments. However, two facts are relevant; an entire page dedicated to the principle of reality, that is non-absurdity; the conclusion of the paper is that "no "not" comes from unconscious", that is the principle upon which his entire paper relies on; and which could play the role of the principle from which obtain the absurd, i.e. "it is absurd that the unconscious suggests a "no"".*
33. L. Carnot: *De la défense des placefortes, 1811, in J.-P. Charnay: Lazare Carnot. Révolution et Mathématique, La Herne, Paris, 1985, vol. II, 23-97, p. 32; emphasised in the original text.*

34. K. von Clausewitz: *Der Krige*, book VIII, vi b); *emphasis in the original text*.

35. *Some more instances of this kind of argument in ch. 4, no.s 8, 43, 52, 76 of M.K. Gandhi: All Men are Brothers, Unesco, Lausanne, 1958.*

36. N. S. Carnot: *Réflexions...*, *op. cit.*, 50ff.; N.I. Lobachevskii: *Geometrische Untersuchungen ueber der Theorien der Parallelelineen*, Finkl, Berlin, 1840 (as an Appendix to R. Bonola: *Non-Euclidean Geometries*, Dover, New York, 1950).

37. *His theory was an alternative to Wallis' and Newton's theory of the impact of bodies as based on the idealisation of a perfectly hard body, so that it does not bounce. By translating this physical notion in the interpersonal relationships, it is easy to recognise in it a macho attitude.*

38. G.W. Leibniz: *Letter to Lambert van Velthuysen, May (1671)*. A. Drago: "When history of Physics teaches non-violence: The shock of bodies as a metaphor of conflict resolution", *Nonviolence and Spirituality*, n. 3, 1996, 15-22. *As A further verification, let us remember that recently a similar – since it is a global and conflictual - viewpoint on scientific theories has been reached by seeing all them from a historical viewpoint. Koyré, Kuhn and some other historians stressed that history of science is essentially conflictual in nature.<sup>1</sup> A. Koyré: From the Closed World to the Infinite Universe, U. Maryland P., Baltimore, 1957. T.S. Kuhn: The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, Chicago U.P., Chicago 1969. By generalising the categories by both Koyré's and Kuhn's historiographies, I obtained new categories for a new historiography which is capable to faithfully represent the above illustrated conflict inside science (see my book *Le due opzioni*, *op. cit.* and my papers: "Interpretazione delle frasi caratteristiche di Koyré e loro estensione alla storia della fisica dell'ottocento", in C. Vinti (ed.): *Alexandre Koyré. L'avventura intellettuale*, ESI, Napoli, 1994, 657-691, and "The several categories suggested for the "new historiography of science": An interpretative analysis from a foundational viewpoint", *Epistemologia*, **24** (2001) 48-82. Conversely, the conflictual theories of the history of science suggest a general theory of conflict resolution, whose main methodological principle is "Thou do not kill", and which moreover results to include the non-violent theory (A. Drago: "A paradigm-shift in conflict resolution: War*

and peace from a history of science viewpoint”, comm.. to 19<sup>th</sup> Int. Wittgenstein Symposium, P. Koller, H. Puhl (eds.): *Current Issues in Political Philosophy*. Kirchberg, 1996, 106-114; “Galtung’s theory of conflict resolution and beyond”, *Asteriskos*, nn. 3 e 4 (2007) 17-31); it results also to generalise Galtung’s theory. *J. Galtung: Ideology and Methodology*, Eijlers, Copenhagen, 1976, ch. I, 2; *Peace by Peaceful Means*, Sage, London, 1999.

39. A. Drago and A. Sasso: “Entropia e difesa”, in A. Drago and G. Stefani (eds.): *Una Strategia di Pace: La Difesa Popolare Nonviolenta*, Fuorithema, Bologna, 1993, 153- 162.

40. A specific inquiry on Einstein’s paper on special relativity shows that the first differential equations can be translated with impunity in mere difference equations.

41. This conflict in the foundations of mathematics, i.e. between the constructive one and the classical one, is illustrated by the “Manifesto” in E. Bishop: *Foundations of Constructive Mathematics*, Mc Graw-Hill, New York, 1967, 1-10.

42. J. Galtung (1976): *Ideology and Methodology*, Eijlers, Copenhagen, ch. I, 2. The two dichotomies we have recognised agree with Gita’s teaching about human knowledge, as constituted by two irreducible chords, i.e. the Unity and the Infinity. Lanza del Vasto, a disciple of Gandhi (called by him Shantidas): “Conversion de la Connaissance, du Coeur et du Corps” (1954), in *Le Grand Retour*, Rocher, Paris, 1993, 16-41, p. 18-19. In my view, Unity represents a positive choice on the option on the kind of the organisation of the theory at issue, or equivalently on the kind of logic; and Infinity[to God] represents a positive choice on the option of the kind of infinity, or equivalently on the kind of mathematics of the theory at issue. On this subject see references in footnote no. 3. Let us remark that Lanza del Vasto was capable to masterly criticise science through two Christianity’s holy texts: *Les Quatre Fléaux*, Denoel, Paris, 1959, ch. 1.

43. A. Drago: “The birth of Non-violence as a Political theory”, *Gandhi Marg*, 29 no. 3 oct.-nov. 2007, 275-295.

44. So sure to be capable to solve any conflict provided that we are able to formalise it in a scientific expertise.



# **A people who have eliminated killing**

**Peter M. Gardner**

## **Introduction**

Many have dreamt of a day when peace would reign over our planet and optimists have worked toward this end. In 1962, I began studying Paliyans, a hunting and gathering tribe in South India. It was soon apparent that, although they experienced normal human feelings such as anger and jealousy, they insisted upon respecting others — even members of other societies. It had become their traditional way of life. They not only avoided physical violence by this means, they had achieved a way of living in which there appeared to be no murder. What better way to honor Professor Glenn D. Paige, founder of the Center for Global Nonkilling, than by saying a few words about what underlies this Paliyan accomplishment.

Paliyans are refuge-area hunter-gatherers in relatively dry forested hills in Tamil Nadu, South India. I conducted general ethnographic research on their culture in 1962-64, followed-up by brief visits in 1978 and 2000-01 (Gardner 1966, 1991, 1993, 1995, 2000a, 2000b, 2004). Paliyans may be aloof, but they are not actually isolated (Gardner 1978, 1982, 1985, 1988). They appear to have had at least 1800 years of tangential contact with members of Tamil society

(a vigorous society that traded with the Roman Empire in the second century AD) because classical south Indian poetry refers to familiar sounding yam and honey collecting people in the very hills Paliyans now occupy. We can at least say with certainty that Paliyans have engaged in sporadic trade in forest products with Tamils for centuries (Grierson 1903: 46).

### **The Paliyans and their Environment**

Paliyans dwell in a patchy environment on the lower slopes of ranges that rise to 2555 m. Somewhat wetter northern faces of the hills support a tropical moist forest with some bamboo; elsewhere, on the slopes facing east, the main vegetation includes thorny trees and bushes or even cactus at lower elevations and tropical dry evergreen forest above (Puri 1960: 147-150, 175-184, 246-248). Whether wet or dry, the lower forest abounds in diverse small game and several species of dioscorea yam (*D. oppositifolia* and *D. pentaphylla* in particular), their staple foods. It should be said that both sexes dig yams and, in small bands or work parties, women may be integral to hunts in which hardwood digging sticks double as lances. Normally people collect just for their own households. Self-reliance is expected. Only when people work cooperatively in killing a big deer or pig, or in netting a large run of fish, is there any sharing of the take by members of the work party. And adults are also quick to share food with siblings or other close kin who are ill or disabled.

Some Paliyans camp deep in quiet wooded valleys in settlements of 18 to 30 individuals, the inhabitants of which tend to come and go on a weekly basis. Others live near the edge of the forest in slightly larger communities, where enterprising or specially licensed people from Tamil society, or forestry staff, can make contact with them and obtain their help in collecting more than 60 forest products, including honey, condiments, medicinal plants, sandalwood, and toiletries. They are paid for this labor with machete-like “bill hooks,” cloth, tobacco,

and rice (the rice intended to compensate them for gathering trade goods in place of their own foods).

Initially I saw these two kinds of settlement as being less acculturated and more so. Only after my initial fieldwork concluded did I appreciate the idea that groups dwelling for years in deep forest appeared to be Paliyans who had retreated there fairly recently due to difficulties with Tamils. Members of one such shy, reclusive band (to whom I had been able to pay a brief visit in the company of a trusted friend of theirs) confided about losing three members to a violent honey contractor several years before. He had become so enraged when they, his customary workers, refused to collect honey for him that he shot two of them and kicked another to death. Subsequent reexamination of all band movements bore out this hunch; isolated groups lived simply, but they were not significantly less acculturated than their fellows. The apparent dynamics of Paliyan movements toward and away from their frontier with Tamils resembled those of the well documented 2000-year-old oscillation Lattimore has mapped out for Mongols in their relations with Chinese in China's inner Asian borderlands (Gardner 1985; Lattimore 1951).

### **Paliyan Social Life**

Several distinct aspects of Paliyan social interaction bear mention. Paliyan society is strictly egalitarian, by gender as well as by age. There is not even a subtle difference in rights or responsibilities. Quite early in my fieldwork I, with my very sexist family upbringing, heard a 75-year-old man speak to others about his 10-year-old stepdaughter using terms indicative of great respect. I asked him in private later about why he had chosen the words he did. He failed initially to grasp the point of my question. Then, when he finally got what I meant, he grinned broadly and, with an exuberant flourish of his hands, said he did so "because she is a person!" Husband and wife have precisely the same rights as one another in regard to property, the fruits of their labor, divorce, sexual freedom, and so on. And each shows respect

for the other by never uttering the spouse's name. Marital relations are symmetrical right down to the details. There is also occasional playful cross-dressing of spouses, at work or during evening dances, that makes light of gender distinctions (Gardner 2006: 53-54). As for age, a child also has rights that must be protected by anyone handy, if its mother or anyone else behaves in an unacceptable way toward it. I have previously covered all this in print and have described, as well, the ways in which children are groomed for both self-reliance in dealing with problems and independent decision-making at an early age (1966: 391-393; 2000a: 226).

Because many societies have, since the 1940s, been termed "individualistic" or "atomistic," with considerable emphasis on traits such as self-reliance and suspiciousness (Hallowell 1946; Honigmann 1946; Mason 1946; Rubel and Kupferer 1968), it is important to make clear that there is much warmth in personal interaction amongst Paliyans. People joke and tease amiably within work parties during rest breaks. There can be spirited male or female circle dances or dances between married couples under the full moon, with all participants and onlookers smiling. The quiet tone of normal life is anything but ominous. In sum, they bear no resemblance to the self-centered Ik of East Africa (Turnbull 1972) or the isolated and socially alienated individuals in early Ingmar Bergman films.

Although most bands have one to three men or women who are said to have "good heads," and who are able to step forward voluntarily to help when there is tension over social or ritual matters (such as when a god fails to respond to a shaman's call). They use word play, clowning, or soothing speech to distract and calm their fellows. They are not "heads" in the sense of holding authority. Indeed, no husband, parent, kin group elder, or anyone else holds a position of authority. We have here a smoothly functioning anarchy in the original Greek sense, with society "lacking a head,"<sup>2</sup> and it is far from being anarchic in the more recent sense of being chaotic.

### **Paliyan Conflicts**

As quiet as their settlements are, Paliyans are not without conflicts.

During 202 days when I had 24-hour contact with the two main bands I studied, 31 cases of interpersonal difficulties were witnessed and I was able to ascertain the causes and the handling of all but two. That sounds like a substantial amount of conflict, so just how “wild” and undisciplined *are* these hunter-gatherers whom our anthropological ancestors would have called “savages”? To begin with, let me emphasize that, rather than being undisciplined, they are highly restrained when upset. Some of the difficulties in my list were so minor that they would not be noticed in most Western communities, not even in well-monitored school playgrounds. Over a third of the cases were merely instances of adults, usually mothers, expressing annoyance at frustrating, tantrum-prone children and scurrying after them, swatting in the air with handfuls of soft shrubbery or grass. Other instances include mild blows between young playmates or verbal tiffs between spouses. All these cases have been summarized elsewhere (Gardner 2000a: 225-228, 2004: 62-65). Even counting the mildest episodes of conflict, there was only about one every six or seven days. Twenty-one of the 31 cases eventuated in nothing more than the offended or “injured” party keeping silent or sobbing quietly, or else the persons in conflict going their separate ways. In the remaining 10 cases there was a rejoinder of some sort: four spouses who had been offended by their partners talked back briefly; four youngsters struck back lightly at age mates who had bothered them; and, in the two remaining cases, adults struck blows, once quite seriously.

These last two events warrant description. In both instances, a man expressed his concern inappropriately for his sister or for his wife and unborn child. In the first case, a man asked another, “Where did you go with my sister?” When the second man snapped back, “Why do you ask?” a brief fight broke out and, before it was over, the philanderer also threatened the woman’s interfering brother. It was the brother who was out of line, for the alleged tryst should have been none of his business. No injuries were sustained.

In the second case, a man learned that his very pregnant wife had



fed their four children and him without holding back any food for herself. He upbraided and struck her for starving herself and the unborn child. Upset to the point of tears, he struck his own mother and a neighbor, both of whom ran in to see the reason for the altercation. Trembling, acting as if he felt overwhelmed, he picked up a billhook, chased newcomers out of the house, and stood in his doorway with the blade upraised. His wife's brother asked a child to run and fetch me. Knowing virtually nothing about the cause of the disturbance, but theorizing that a distressed Paliyan could not actually swing the instrument at anyone, I told him calmly that the billhook was not needed and wrapped my fingers around its blade. Still weeping, he released it at once and treated me like an ally as he led me into their house to show me the empty pot.

Competition for women has been shown to be a major source of violence in simple societies in South America, New Guinea, Africa, etc. (Gusinde 1961 [orig. 1937]: 988; Knauff 1987: 477; Lee 1984: 93). Although some of the Paliyan difficulties between spouses had to do with suspicions that the wife or the husband had an ongoing extramarital affair or hoped to establish one, this did not result in noticeable difficulty between supposed rivals. At most, the offended husband or wife might voice objections or simply walk out of the marriage. On the other hand, if the new relationship was more serious than a fleeting affair, some spouses just kept quiet and accepted being members of polygynous or polyandrous unions. I observed two Paliyan men opting to make the best of such a situation and going along with polyandrous arrangements, rather than terminating their marriages (as two other men had done just before my study). There was actually a bit of cooperation between the co-husbands in one of those households and quite harmonious relations in the other. When the senior male in the first case talked about his wife's other sexual activities and said, "It is not my business," I went back over all my data on marital relations and came to the realization that neither spouse *owned* the other in this society. The same was true of children, for they made their own decisions and parents never behaved as if they owned them, or sought to exert control over whether they made cooking fires at age five, whether they chose to move to an aunt's house at six, or whether they married a particular person as they approached puberty. If one does not own

one's spouse or child, and if all people are deemed to have the right to plan independently the course of their own actions, it is quite clear that this ought to interfere with seeing the spouse's lover or the child's preferred housemate as a rival.

## **Learning about a key value**

Paliyans are extremely taciturn. In the morning, when people sat warming up in groups in small patches of sunlight, an hour might go by with fewer than 30 to 40 quiet words being spoken within the camp. This was not an expression of aloofness, however. The very sitting together was a measure of their feelings of emotional closeness. And, after a few minutes, they commonly moved on silently to sit with another little group. Chatter is not only unnecessary in the establishing of contact, it is undesirable. Proximity speaks in its place. Several times, I have seen one of the elders pack and leave a band without a word being said to his or her close relatives about the reason for the departure or the intended destination. These are personal matters that do not necessarily warrant discussion. If Paliyans in general speak little, those over 40 years of age are yet quieter. Can people get by with almost no utilization of casual or ritual farewells? Apparently they can.

You can understand that my formal interviews were neither liked nor tolerated at first. So, for weeks on end, I resorted to learning in the same way that their children do, simply by watching.<sup>3</sup> Soon, though, I began going to work all day with collecting parties (pooling my take with the family that took me along — as if I was their child) and participating in the whole spectrum of non-subsistence activities such as games, dance, and chasing venomous snakes. In these varied settings it seemed natural to them to guide my actions and provide me with at least some verbal explanations of what we were seeing and doing. It was through hundreds of hours of this watching, participating, and listening that I eventually gained my first insights about possible rules behind the behavior. As it was a number of months before I heard them put more abstract matters, such as their values, into words, I had, by that time, a preliminary sense of what those values were. As Paliyans were not prone to exaggeration when they did speak, this technique meant that I did not have to deal with the usual discrepancies between words and actions. I had gained a grasp on actualities.

The key Paliyan value is that one should avoid what I was eventually

to hear them call “*tarakkoravaa*,” a word that can be translated roughly as “disrespect.” It actually refers to people being placed on different levels, with one lordling over another person or becoming a dependent burden. Only children, the aged, and the infirm can be legitimate dependents but, when they are, this status is granted graciously. Disrespect, then, is a breach of equality, and it hurts. What were referred to earlier in this chapter (etically) as “conflicts” might more accurately have been phrased (in Paliyan emic terms) as “disrespectful acts and their results.”

### **Heading off Escalation**

What does it take to actually eliminate violence from a society such as theirs? Life amongst humans eventually generates the whole range of negative emotions, whatever society we are talking about. Members will in time feel annoyance, resentment, hurt, envy, jealousy, and anger just by virtue of exposure to the behavior of others. How is it possible to cope with these emotions peacefully? I have seen business meetings in the Society of Friends (Quakers) becoming like overly stressed pressure cookers as members, all of whom were thoroughly committed to peace, tried to cope amicably with minor disagreements within their little community. In just the same way, the equally peaceful Paliyans become tense as they attempt to flex with the unwelcome acts of their fellows, and yet more tense when social problems are caused by outsiders. They may even grit their teeth when under pressure. In one memorable instance of the latter sort, a uniformed junior forestry officer ordered a Paliyan child to go over to a raggedy Paliyan elder (with whom I happened to be sitting and talking at that moment) and fetch something for him to chew. It was not phrased as a request; it was a blunt demand. The old man gave the child what the officer had so brusquely asked for and, audibly gritting his teeth, said, “Tell him anything I own is his.” Negative feelings may lurk almost unnoticed behind nice words, but they are definitely there.

So, when I state that people who have had long and intimate contact with Paliyans in their work (a high ranking forestry officer, a teacher at a tribal school, and me) say with one voice that there is no murder within this society, how can I account for this achievement? The answer may well be by virtue of Paliyan adherence to the belief

that one owes respect to all others. It is a key value for them. A disrespectful act by another person is no excuse for responding to it in a manner that is, in turn, disrespectful. As they themselves view it, to reply in an irritated manner is to create a situation in which two people are misbehaving. Paliyans hold that they accomplish nothing good by acting in such a manner, for it only aggravates the problem.

Looking at the Paliyan way of handling feelings from a tactical perspective, it is possible to see that, by refusing to talk back, or by walking away from an offensive community member or outsider, a person heads off escalation. A bad utterance does not give rise to a yet sharper one, or a clenched fist, or the act of picking up a weapon, or actual use of that weapon. Although “avoiding escalation” is not how a Paliyan would express the outcome of behaving properly, from an objective viewpoint that clearly is the actual result.

Some cultures harbor mutually contradictory values, an example being a culture in which religious leaders are praised for speaking in public about the value of loving or respecting one neighbors, but in which people go out next morning seeking to establish themselves as valuable, respected members of the community by reaping all the profit they can from those very neighbors. With such battling values, almost any behavior could be regarded as justified. There was no obvious Paliyan value that countered valuing the avoidance of disrespect. That may help give it the degree of influence it has over behavior.

We have to appreciate what is going on from a Paliyan perspective. If spouses, close kin, and neighbors all handle their interpersonal problems this way, no Paliyan is going to interpret walking away as “backing down” or “being submissive”; those pejorative labels are ours. It is appropriate to view a Paliyan turning away from offensive actions, rather, as completely proper and socially approved behavior. There is no cost; there is no humiliation. That may be difficult to appreciate for those who have grown up in societies in which it is proper to defend oneself or else face a charge of cowardice. The Paliyan style of walking

away from conflict *within their own egalitarian society* has an altogether different quality; it is an unambiguous act of strength, strength in controlling oneself.

Paliyans' neighbors are loud, vigorous, competitive Tamils who live in a stratified society in which it is normal to be aware of who rightfully occupies a superior position. Even twins have uneven statuses, depending on which was delivered first. A 64-year-old Tamil friend of mine would not smoke in front of his 67-year-old brother, even though both were dignified senior teachers. He had to take a subordinate stance in order to express his respect for his senior. Power is one of the four aims of life in Hinduism, so that control and domination of subordinates is part of the social blueprint. If only in their loud, pushy style of speaking, Tamils prove to be the most difficult possible neighbors for the peaceful and egalitarian forest dwellers. It is almost as if Paliyan culture is the direct opposite of that of south Indians.

Returning to the idea that values can do much to shape behavior, there remains the question of how the values came into existence. Years ago, I suggested that being subject to interaction with powerful and bullying neighbors might explain why enclaved peoples are among the world's notable individualists (Gardner 1966). Others have put forward similar arguments regarding the consequences of perennial acculturation pressure and humiliation (Horney 1937; Gillin 1942; James 1961; Orans 1965). Whether or not any of their theories prove testable in the long run, it appears to be clear that values that guide Paliyan actions are at least a proximate cause of their avoidance of escalation of human conflict.

## Notes

1. This paper is a slightly modified version of one that was contributed to a volume on Nonkilling Anthropology, to be published in 2010 by the Center for Global Nonkilling. The research was supported, during 1962-1964, by a fellowship from the Ford Foundation (administered

by the Joint Committee of Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies), then an extension of that fellowship; and, during 1978, by a Faculty Summer Fellowship from the Research Council of the University of Missouri plus a travel grant from the American Institute of Indian Studies. The author takes sole responsibility for all statements of fact and interpretation in this paper.

2. I follow here the usage of Birket-Smith (1929: 260), Labouret (1931: 215), Evans-Pritchard (1940: 5-6), Lowie (1948: 11, 14, 21), and Hoebel (1954: 294).

3. There is a large literature on such “social learning” among hunter-gatherers in Africa, Australia, India, and in the North American Subarctic (for instance, Gardner 1976: 463; Gould 1968: 48, 1969: 87; Hewlett 1991: 37; Hewlett and Cavalli-Sforza 1986: 929; Naveh 2007: 86-95; Nelson 1973: 9-10).

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# Building a Political Creed of Nonkilling

Ralf Summy

*Man (sic) began with a 'tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye' but that proved anti-social in result. Man moved from that crude position to 'thou shalt not kill.' That was not enough. 'Thou shalt not hate' was a better substitute, as it is hate which leads to killing. Now the positive injunction 'thou shalt love' is the only savior.*

**R. R. Diwakar**

It is indeed an honor to be asked to pay tribute to the life of Glenn D. Paige. He is a man whom I call brother and love as such (philia), though at the universal level we all need to love each other as brothers and sisters (agape) in order to prepare the groundwork for a nonkilling world. Despite my warm affection for Glenn, I still find it possible to step aside in the role of colleague and objectively appraise his contribution to the understanding of politics. He has played a pivotal role in taking the subject to another dimension — a level one hopes will one day gain worldwide acceptance.

His recent book, *Nonkilling Global Political Science* (translated into 24 languages — German, Tamil, Hindi, Sinhala, Spanish, Urdu, Russian, French, Mongolian, Galizan, Portuguese, Arabic,

Filipino, Kiswahili, Malayalam, Korean, and Thai), and the organization he has founded, the Center for Global Nonkilling (coordinating research, education and action programs on nonkilling) epitomize a life's journey dedicated to eradicating killing and other forms of violence. He begins with the empirically verifiable premise that nonkilling is natural to the human condition. Although he resorts to a teleological approach, his arguments are always very carefully constructed and researched. His mission is extremely critical to the welfare of every human being because it is aimed at the long-term survival of the species, increasingly threatened by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) which might more properly be called weapons of mass extermination or genocide (WMEs) — with the emphasis on people rather than property. World leaders denounce the violence these weapons generate while at the same time stockpiling them in their hundreds and thousands. When they do talk about disarmament, it is really about arms control and retaining the 'security' of a reserve supply. Seldom do negotiations progress to discussions about reducing WMEs down to zero, and, when they do; proceedings never advance beyond rhetoric to actuality.

To counter this dangerous mode of waging politics, a radical *volte face* is required. New thinking, along the nonkilling lines proposed by Glenn and the votaries of principled nonviolence, provides the indispensable tools with which to start the process. It remains now for future generations of scholars and political actors to accept the challenge, modifying and advancing Glenn's ideas if necessary, but working basically from the analytical paradigm that he and his colleagues have constructed.

From the beginning of his professional career as a political scientist Glenn demonstrated outstanding scholarship, applying the decision-making approach of his academic mentor to a narrative and analytical study of the Truman Administration's decision on June 30th, 1950 to respond militarily to North Korea's crossing of the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel into the Republic of Korea. As the subject of his doctoral dissertation,

the work was expanded for publication in 1968 with the addition of two chapters: on “Evaluation” and on “Action Implications”. The book was highly acclaimed by the academic community and the political elite — and accepted as part of the orthodoxy of the day — but those final two chapters foreshadowed a radical revision taking root in his thinking.

At the stage of life when a brilliant career had been well established, he began to question some of the basic premises that underlie political science and render it an inadvertent contributor to the world’s violence. Despite often the best of intentions at peacemaking, political scientists seem unable to recognize the special problems that arise in a conflict when the opponent’s fundamental needs are at stake. Although an opponent’s overt violence might be crushed, and the conflict seemingly won, new forms of violence are apt to sooner or later emerge from the festering of suppressed ontological needs. For instance, following the formal cessation of military action in Korea, the South Koreans still felt insecure. They faced the constant threat of an attack from North Korea and its powerful ally China; and within South Korea itself a succession of dictatorships infused the society with multiple forms of domestic violence. Glenn subsequently (1993) tellingly described the problematic that the discipline needed to transcend, if genuine peace, or what he reduced to ‘nonkilling’, were ever to gain a foothold:

My undergraduate and doctoral studies in the 1950s were pursued in a still-prevailing climate that can be termed ‘violence-accepting’ political science. That is: while violence is regrettable, it is an inescapable part of the human condition. The best that can be done is to minimize it. Politically, one of the best things that can be done to ensure domestic and international peace and security is to be willing and able to kill. This orientation is deeply rooted in the classics of political philosophy. . . .

The challenge that Glenn was posing was how to reorient political science's conceptualization towards positive peace where the focus is centered on developing structures and cultural values that meet peoples' ontological needs. Metaphorically speaking, instead of attempting to extinguish fires after they have broken out or are about to break out, measures are taken well beforehand to create the conditions that will prevent life-threatening fires from erupting in the first place. Like certain uncontrollable fires, there are conflicts that will persist unless their root causes are extirpated and replaced with proactive programs. This is the condition of positive peace where the universal basic needs of physical security (food, clothing, shelter and safety), sense of well-being and identity, and the right to dignity and freedom of action are secured — all done within a framework of respect for the basic needs of the universal other.

Most political scientists and almost all politicians are still projecting a quite different agenda. At best they tend to wait for the needs-based violence to erupt before proposing counter-action (negative peace). On occasions, they may even contribute to world violence through their advocacy of negotiating from strength, their focus on deterrence rather than disarmament, their endorsement of arms build-ups and the sale of weaponry to other countries, their elevation of the national interest to a sacrosanct level beyond criticism, their subtle — but sometimes blatant — parading of militarism and patriotism as virtues, and their fascination with the exercise of strategic power as exemplified in the current expansion of security and strategic studies. In short, as summed up by Glenn, they foster a climate of 'violence-acceptance'. Only rarely do they work to build institutions and values that will prevent violence and generate nonviolence. They latch on to the word 'peace,' but in the phrase 'peace through strength,' meaning 'power over' or 'my supremacy.'

As a fellow political scientist, Glenn speaks to me directly. From what he says and from the lessons of experience, I readily comprehend the barriers to peace that the discipline throws up, and

the way that it conceives the exercise of power as ‘power over’ and ‘power to’ (domination and authority). While the subject of power is certainly a legitimate and important focus of analysis, its application raises many normative questions that need to be centrally addressed: For instance, who has the power? How is it exercised? Who benefits? What kind of policies flow from the existing arrangements? Are there feasible alternative modes of power distribution that deliver more just outcomes? And how can they be introduced in practice? Or can they simply be dismissed as ‘utopian dreams?’ Due largely to the influence of Glenn’s work, I have been inspired to attempt to put together a major research project that compares the power constructs of political scientists and politicians with the way power is conceived and practiced in the two main types of nonviolence — namely, pragmatic and principled nonviolence or respectively the Sharpian and Gandhian perspectives. More questions immediately come to mind: Can the gaps that the comparisons reveal be bridged to effect a more peaceful world society? If not, what realistic changes can be prescribed and carried out?

My thanks go out to Glenn for the impact he has had on my professional career. However, I would be just one of many colleagues and students that his writings and enthusiasm have inspired. On his 80<sup>th</sup> year we stand as legions indebted to him for taking a leading role towards freeing the world of killing and the threat of killing. In the coming decades may my brother enjoy good health, much happiness, continuing productivity and the full richness of life’s subtleties. He will never grow old if he continues to live out the ancient adage, “A man is not old until regrets replace dreams.”

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

# **Glenn Paige and Nonkilling National Security**

**Hidekazu Sakai**

My meeting with Dr. Glenn Paige was not just an encounter with a person propagating nonviolence; it was also an encounter with a great personality. His unlimited passion toward the realization of a nonkilling world has blended to such an extent with his character that it serves as a fitting example of the fact that in order for us to be able to bring about constructive changes in our outer world, it is equally important that we first make appropriate changes to our inner selves. In other words, our quest for peace is dependent on the extent to which we are able to make the transition from the meek acceptance of violence to the complete denial of it. Dr. Paige has demonstrated this fact throughout his life-long study of the concept of nonkilling, and our generation would do well to emulate his example. In fact, I am convinced that doing so would be the only feasible way of advancing our scholarship on the development of global politics. This essay will describe how I happened to meet Dr. Paige and how this chance meeting was to have such a deep impact on me that it completely transformed my personality. I will also describe my current research in relation to the nonkilling world.

My first real meeting with Dr. Paige took place in the fall of 1994. At that time, I was a doctorate student at the University of Hawaii's department of political science. I happened to be in one of the Porteus Hall (now known as Saunders Hall) elevators with Dr. Paige. We got talking and he asked me about the topic of my dissertation. I replied saying that I was researching on Japan's national security for my dissertation. His next words were completely electrifying: "If you write a dissertation on Japan's nonviolent national security, it would be a truly original one." The term "nonviolent national security" that he mentioned was quite a startling concept for me as it had never hitherto occurred to me, and it somehow stayed in my mind for quite a while afterward.

In the summer of 1995, a year after my abovementioned meeting with Dr. Paige, I decided to participate in his directed reading seminar course. The classes conducted as part of this course have no structured format but comprise private one-to-one sessions. I requested him to conduct my classes over the telephone as a special favor. He was initially reluctant because at the time, he was busy working on his own project that was later published as *Nonkilling Global Political Science*.<sup>1</sup> However, after I expressed my interest in the subject of nonviolence, he said, "I am actually reluctant to do this, but I am unable to refuse on account of your having uttered the magic word 'nonviolence'!" We thus started with the classes in the fall of the present year.

This class, which was held on the campus cafeteria premises, was my first foray into the world of nonviolence. In the introductory session, Dr Paige said, "Today is August 15, the day President Bill Clinton is visiting Pearl Harbor—the site that Japanese Imperial Navy once attacked—to attend the ceremony commemorating the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II. In his address to the American soldiers, Clinton has said that the United States must retain the world's strongest military forces toward defending liberty and democracy. On the same day, an old American scholar and a young Japanese student

have started their dialogue toward the construction of a nonviolent world. Today is truly a significant day!”

Dr. Paige commenced our directed reading series with Mohandas Gandhi’s *Autobiography*. We then moved to Gandhi’s political philosophy, Adam Roberts’ civilian defense, Gene Sharp’s tactics for nonviolent actions, Alex Schmid’s criticism of civilian defense, and Robert Burrowers’ structural change of nonviolence. This approach was entirely new for me, and provided me with the chance of studying international politics from an “alternative” angle. This angle encompassed the views of people at the grassroots level, as also their creative methods for national defense. The most striking part of the above reading exercise was that it led to my realizing that nonviolence is not just an idea, but can comprise creative strategies for national security. My own “nonviolence journey” started at this time.

Dr. Paige soon became the chairman of my dissertation committee, and I was able to study “nonviolent politics” under his guidance. Although this period was an invaluable time in my life, it was also the hardest one in terms of my producing theoretical work on nonviolent national security. I gradually learned that even today, nonviolence is a significant field of study that has, for the major part, been ignored by political scientists and practitioners. I personally learned this fact through a small experience I had during my visit to Japan in 1997. There, I had the chance of interviewing a national security adviser of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). Toward the end of the interview, I asked him, “Do you think it is imaginable to think about national security in terms of nonviolent methods?” He instantly replied, “Are you crazy?”

Several years after this incident, I was able to successfully pass the oral defense of dissertation, was conferred with a doctorate degree, and returned to Japan in 2000. However, my return did not signify the end of my nonviolence journey; rather it marked its beginning. Seventeen years has passed since I met Dr. Paige, and my quest for nonviolence still continues. My current challenge is to devise an



international relations theory that is based upon nonviolence. In particular, the concept of security community that was proposed by Karl Deutsch in the 1950s has really caught my attention.<sup>2</sup> I have been researching the security relations between Japan and the United States against the backdrop of Deutsch's framework for several years now,<sup>3</sup> and hope to extend the purview of this study to East Asia in the near future. There have been international communities that have proved these community members share common identities and war among them is highly unimaginable.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, I am convinced that Deutsch's concept of security or of a non-war community carries within it Dr. Paige's call for the possible construction of a nonkilling society. Dr. Paige has posed this question to people around the world: "Is a nonkilling society possible?" I would say this in reply: "Yes, it is.. and I will prove it".

### *End Notes*

1. Glenn D. Paige, *Nonkilling Global Political Science* (Philadelphia, PA: Xlibiris, 2002).
2. Karl W. Deutsch, *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957).
3. Hidekazu Sakai, *From an Adversary to an Ally: The Origin of the U.S.-Japan Alliance as a Security Community*, paper presented at the 41st Annual Conference of Asian Studies on the Pacific Coast (ASPAC), the University of Hawaii, Honolulu, June 15–17, 2007; Hidekazu Sakai, *Constructing Transpacific Community: Matured Stage of U.S.-Japan Alliance*, paper presented at the 50th Annual Convention of International Studies Association (ISA), New York, February 14–17, 2009.
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# Toward a Nonkilling Paradigm Shift

*Joám Evans Pim*

“Anything that exists is possible.”

----- Kenneth Boulding’s 1<sup>st</sup> Law

## 1. Introduction

The underlying ideas behind “nonkilling” are certainly not new. As Marvin Harris (1990:438) explains, “Zoroastrianism, the religion of ancient Iran, is the oldest nonkilling faith of which any historical record exists”, dating back to sometime between the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE. According to Harris, Jainism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Christianity would also be described as “nonkilling religions”, each having a common background of state failure to deliver “worldly benefits” (1990:444)<sup>1</sup>. Principles of nonkilling are also present in other spiritual traditions such as Confucianism, Taoism, Islam, Judaism, Voodoo, Cheyenne, Mâori, etc. (see Smith-Christopher, ed., 2007; Paige, Evans, eds., 2008). Individual leaders such as Emperor Ashoka of India, who included the notion of nonkilling in his Edicts (approx. 238 BCE)<sup>2</sup>, Mâori leader Te Whiti (c. 1815-1907), Sheik Ahmadou Bamba in Senegal (1853-1927), and other relatively well know figures such as Leo Tolstoy, Mahatma Gandhi, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, and

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Martin Luther King, Jr. (see Adolf, 2009), all have embraced the principles of nonkilling throughout history in a variety of cultures.

Even though the word has not appeared as frequently as would be expected, nonkilling has an increasing presence in Western scholarly traditions. This growth in usage goes beyond the discussion of oriental philosophy (in this case, see, for example, Eby, 1944:46)<sup>3</sup>. The introduction of nonkilling as a wider worldview and strategy for social change occurred together with nonviolence, especially after its success in India. Nevertheless, it appears as nonviolence, rather than nonkilling, apparently because it is better suited to the Western intellectual taste for more abstract concepts. As Collyer reminds us, the “familiar word, nonviolence, is almost comforting in its generality” while nonkilling “confronts and startles us with its specificity” (2003:371). In his 1963 essay *Disciplines of the Spirit*, civil rights leader and scholar Howard Thurman explains how “[n]onviolence and nonkilling mean [...] essentially the same thing” as in effect they both oppose the “logic of hate [which] is to kill”:

It is to translate the willing of the nonexistence of another into the literal deed of his extermination. Men who war against each other, if they are to be effective in their undertaking, must hate. They must will the nonexistence of each other (1963:115)<sup>4</sup>

Recently, the term has gained increasing presence, notably with the publication in 2002 of the essay *Nonkilling Global Political Science*, authored by Glenn D. Paige Professor Emeritus, University of Hawaii. Significantly, translations of this book have been published in 17 languages<sup>5</sup>, leading to numerous projects and initiatives in the countries where released and beyond<sup>6</sup>. In this case, a concise definition<sup>7</sup> is offered, where nonkilling refers to the absence of killing, threats to kill, and conditions conducive to killing in human society (2009 [2002]:1). In analysis of its causes, nonkilling would encompass the concepts of peace (absence of war and conditions conducive to war), nonviolence (psychological, physical, and structural), and ahimsa (noninjury in thought, word and deed) (Paige, 2005).

The perspective of nonkilling offered by Paige provides a distinct approach characterized by the measurability of its goals and the open-ended nature of its realization. While the usage of other terms such as “nonviolence” and “peace” usually follows a classical form of argument through abstract ideas that often leads to passivity (Drago, 2009), killing (and its opposite, nonkilling), can be quantified and related to specific causes by following a public health perspective (prevention, intervention and post-traumatic transformation toward the progressive eradication of killing) (DeGue, Mercy, 2009; also see the World report on violence and health, published by the World Health Organization in 2002). In actuality, it is killing that uses a negation principle, it means taking the life of another person. Nonkilling, using fundamental ancient syllogisms, therefore is the affirmation of the act of not taking the life of another person. This shift in point of view is dramatic and often uncomfortable.

On the other hand, as presented by Paige, nonkilling does not set any predetermined path for the achievement of a killing-free society in the same way some ideologies and spiritual traditions that foster the restraint from the taking of life do. As an open-ended generative systems approach it appeals to infinite human creativity and variability, encouraging continuous explorations in the fields of education, research, social action and policy making, by developing a broad range of scientific, institutional, educational, political, economic and spiritual alternatives to human killing (Paige, 2005).

In spite of its specific focus, nonkilling also tackles broader issues that account for structural killing and nonkilling. In relation to psychological aggression, physical assault, and torture intended to terrorize by manifest or latent threat to life, nonkilling implies the removal of their psychosocial causes. In relation to killing of humans by socioeconomic structural conditions that are the product of direct lethal reinforcement as well as the result of diversion of resources for purposes of killing, nonkilling implies removal of lethality-linked deprivations. In relation to threats to the viability of the biosphere, nonkilling implies absence of direct attacks upon life-sustaining resources as well as

cessation of indirect degradation associated with lethality. In relation to forms of accidental killing, nonkilling implies creation of social and technological conditions conducive to their elimination (Paige, 2005).

In the same year Paige published *Nonkilling Global Political Science*, John Kavanaugh also pointed out how “[t]he principle of nonkilling is not a recommendation of passivity”, as the “primary commitment to the inherent dignity of personal life requires us to intervene on behalf of the defenceless or the victim” with the only moral limit of “the direct intended killing of the aggressor” (2002:123). Moving beyond, Paige argues that nonkilling is not only about the rejection of killing, but also implies constructive engagement in societal transformation:

This means unequivocal engagement in abolition of war and its weapons, abolition of poverty, nonkilling expression of human rights and responsibilities, proactive promotion of environmental sustainability, and contribution to problem-solving processes that respond to human needs and evoke infinite creative potential in individuals and in humankind as a whole (2009:102).

Such a deep transformation of those societal premises rooted in the widespread acceptance of lethality (in all of its forms) and lethal intent, trespasses the limits of an ideology for social change entailing a new scientific model based on the refutation of lethality-accepting science. Certainly, all theories that were the catalysts for significant paradigm shifts were previously dismissed as “utopian”, “idealistic” and “unrealistic” (Kuhn, 1962), in this case by the institutionalized lethality-accepting scholarly communities that challenge its scientific status, credibility and viability.

As Ibáñez explains, “majority science” always operates as a selective filter of reality, in such a way that “only the portion that dominant ideology provides goes through” (1985:33). Alternative approaches such as nonkilling tend to be considered deviant, if not simply unnoticed. Following this logic, Ibáñez distinguishes between dogmatic, sedentary or majority science and critical, nomad or minority science.

While the first assumes the mainstream position of power and unity; the latter adopts the multiple views of those who resist from the base of the hierarchical system. While the first approach does not challenge the existing reality; the latter seek its transformation. While the first is responsible for reproducing and maintaining the knowledge that has been previously generated; the latter constantly creates alternatives on the fringes of sedentary science (that eventually takes control over them adopting these views as their own). While the first considers the later “prescientific”, “subscientific” or “parascientific”, the later considers the first as “meta-scientific” and hylomorphic, as “all passivity is on the side of matter” and “no production exists beyond reproduction” (1985:38-39).

Following society’s general orientation toward the belief that affirms the inevitability and legitimacy of killing in human relations, most scientists could be accordingly labelled as “killing-” or “lethality-accepting”. Using the gradual taxonomy suggested by Paige, a different perspective would describe a spectrum of orientations:

prokilling—consider killing positively beneficial for self or civilization; killing-prone—inclined to kill or to support killing when advantageous; ambikilling—equally inclined to kill or not to kill, and to support or oppose it; killing-avoiding—predisposed not to kill or to support it but prepared to do so; nonkilling—committed not to kill and to change conditions conducive to lethality (2009:77).

But as Sponsel (1996:113-114) points out, the “natural and social sciences may be on the verge of a paradigm shift—to include nonviolence and peace as well as violence and war as legitimate subject for research”, countering the “historic and current systemic bias of the disproportionate amount of attention given to violence and war”. Sponsel calls for considering nonkilling and nonviolence seriously, systematically and intensively: “you cannot understand or achieve something by ignoring it” (1996:14).

This paper focuses on the current development of this new nonkilling paradigm. First, applicability of the theoretical framework for paradigm shifts and scientific revolutions as portrayed by Kuhn (1962) is noted. Secondly, the nature of a nonkilling paradigm shift following the notions brought forward by Paige (2009 [2002]) is described. Thirdly, interdisciplinary findings regarding cumulative evidence and applicability of nonkilling theory are explored, to support a case for such a shift. Finally, the current status of what commentators, activists and scholars see as a transformational shift is discussed and a variety of future perspectives are offered.

## **2. On Paradigm Shifts**

The concept of paradigm shift was introduced by Thomas Kuhn in *The Scientific Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962) as a theory to explain epistemological change through history. In spite of its flaws and setbacks, successive debates and modifications have led to a widely accepted model on the mechanisms that shape scientific revolution (see Lakatos; Musgrave, eds., 1970; Kordig, 1973; Fuller, 2000), which, in Kuhn's terms, is "a noncumulative developmental episode in which an older paradigm is replaced in whole or in part by an incompatible new one" (1962:91).

According to this approach, normal science is based on the unprecedented and open-ended scientific achievements that are acknowledged by a scientific community, constituting a paradigm (1962:10). Paradigms determine which issues are subject to inquiry, what are the appropriate questions and what methodology must be applied to solve them. Paradigms also serve as instruments for endo-culturalization and doctrinal training within the scientific community. Acceptance of defined doctrine by students is required as part of their initiation thus creating consensus on the basic rules and standards. These standards are consecrated through a series of institutional instruments as professional societies or academic journals, and—eventually—the general understanding that the bases of the paradigm no longer need to be discussed (as they are already enshrined in textbooks).

As a paradigm reaches its position as normal science it will focus its efforts on the reinforcement of its theoretical and experimental foundations, leaving no space for the analysis of anomalies or the development of new theories, as it is “directed to the articulation of those phenomena and theories that the paradigm already supplies” (1962:24). But anomalies that can not be understood within an existing scientific framework still appear, creating discrepancies between theory and facts. Kuhn assumes that anomalies exist in all paradigms, even though they tend to be considered as acceptable margins of error or, more often, simply ignored and excluded from the focus of debate (1962:64). In the history of science there have always been points in which the excess of significant anomalies have jeopardized the prevailing scientific paradigms bringing them into a state of crisis (see Chapter VII).

These inexorable anomalies, together with changes in socially constructed knowledge and belief systems and growing academic criticism, seed the ground for scientific revolutions or paradigm shifts (transition from normal to extraordinary science). A paradigm is not limited to dominant theories but encompasses the worldview of the scientific community at a certain point in time. Understandably, the change of the scientists’ worldview is not a simple consequence of the accumulation of adverse anomalies within a discipline, but, moreover, a result of deep alterations of social, historic and cultural conditions and possibilities.

A paradigm shift is thus a long social process that implies significant changes on how disciplines function, slowly modifying views on what is thinkable or unthinkable, altering intellectual strategies for problem-solving and modifying terminology usage and conceptual frameworks in a different universe of discourse. When anomalies become more generally acknowledged, explicit discontent, new articulations of the paradigm and new discoveries proliferate. As Kuhn expresses it, “a scientist’s world is qualitatively transformed as well as quantitatively enriched by fundamental novelties of either fact or theory”



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(1962:7). At this stage new ideas or those who had previously been consigned to the margins of academic thought are brought forward and engage the previously accepted theoretical framework in an epistemological challenge.

Followers of the institutionalized paradigm that has started to be questioned will close ranks until a new alternative emerges and gains acceptance. Conversion from one paradigm to another is not necessarily immediate or spontaneous but, according to Max Planck, can be more the result of a generational turnover: “A new scientific truth does not triumph by convincing its opponents and making them see the light, but rather because its opponents eventually die, and a new generation grows up that is familiar with it” (apud Kuhn, 1962:151). On the contrary, Kuhn does believe in conversions, that “occur not despite the fact that scientists are human but because they are” (1962:152). When a paradigm reaches its crisis and consensus within the established framework (“normal science”) ceases to exist a period of “revolutionary science” arises, as the bolder members of the scientific community start to point out weaknesses and explore alternatives for the previously unchallenged assumptions. Challenging a paradigm certainly requires audacity, as desertion will initially be framed as the exclusion from scientific practice, as defined by the dominant paradigm (1962:34).

Any scientific community will encompass both conservative and more ‘daring’ individuals. The first will harshly resist any theoretical change brought forward by the latter elements, and a period in which both paradigms co-exist—in a troubled relation—will occur. During this initial period the emerging paradigm (still precarious and incomplete) will be highly criticized for being unable to solve apparent anomalies, only replacing the previous one (and thus completing the shift) when it has overcome its inconsistencies and gained unity. The result of this process is not simply a different or improved theoretical model or, in other words, “handling the same bundle of data as before, but placing them in a new system of relations with one another by giving them a different framework” (1962:85), but a

completely altered worldview (thus the incommensurability of old and new paradigms presented in the Kuhnian approach). Allegiance to a new paradigm is not based exclusively on its past achievements (usually still immature) but rather on “which paradigm should in the future guide research on problems many of which neither competitor can yet claim to resolve completely” (1962:157).

As Kuhn believed problem-solving is the basis of science, the success of a new paradigm ultimately depends on its ability to “resolve some outstanding and generally recognized problem that can be met in no other way” (1962:168). Or, summarizing, being able to resolve more problems and resolve them better than its predecessor. A new paradigm implies a redefinition of science itself as problems that were previously considered trivial or nonexistent become focal points of scientific development (1962:103). The emerging paradigm will initially have a small number of supporters (who will be disqualified and considered suspect by the mainstream scientific community) who will be responsible for improving their proposal, exploring its possibilities and persuading others to join. As the number of aligned scientists increases so will the quantity of books, articles, instruments and experiments. If successful and appealing, a spiral process will be unleashed through which the emerging paradigm will enter its phase of normal science. In this sense, paradigm shifts share parallels with the diffusion of innovations theories where new inventions and discoveries are described on an innovation curve where there is often initial resistance, innovators, then early adapters, late majority, then laggards (Rogers, 1995).

### **3. A Nonkilling Paradigm Shift**

In his essay *Nonkilling Global Political Science* (2009 [2002]), Glenn D. Paige envisions what kind of science would emerge if the scientific community would replace the assumption of lethal inescapability with the premise of nonkilling potentiality or, in other words, if it would shift from the predominant killing-accepting perspective to a nonkilling perspective (2009:73):

What values would inspire and guide our work? What facts would we seek? What explanatory and predictive theories would we explore? What uses of knowledge would we facilitate? How would we educate and train ourselves and others? What institutions would we build? And how would we engage with others in processes of discovery, creation, sharing, and use of knowledge to realize nonkilling societies for a nonkilling world? (idem).

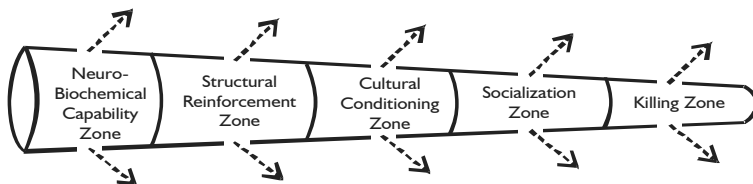
In a “disciplinary shift to nonkilling creativity”, Paige argues, the acceptance of killing as a social, cultural, political, economic, biological, technological, etc. imperative becomes unthinkable or, at the very least problematical, as both approaches are, using Kuhnian terms, incompatible and incommensurable. Certainly, if killing is considered inevitable or acceptable within the scientific community little effort will be conducive to deepening our understanding of this phenomena and possible alternatives that will remove the conditions behind lethality. As the criteria for determining legitimate problems and solutions also changes, Paige calls for a greater emphasis on the understanding of killing within the framework of a four-part logic of analysis. This focus is on the causes of killing; causes of nonkilling; causes of transition between killing and nonkilling; and the characteristics of killing-free societies (2009:73).

This causal approach is crucial, as each case of killing and nonkilling must be analysed seeking to understand the underlying “processes of cause and effect, however complex and interdependent” (2009:74). Not only is it necessary to know “who kills whom, how, where, when, why and with what antecedents, contextual conditions, individual and social meanings, and consequences” but also why and how so many in human history have chosen life over lethality when confronted with the most adverse circumstances and why and how collective or individual transitions and oscillations from killing to nonkilling and vice-versa have occurred (an irreversible linear progression is not assumed), taking into account every variable from individual decision-making processes to structural killing and nonkilling determinant factors (idem).

Interestingly, the fourth item in this framework implies the need to understand how killing-free societies actually look. Recalling Kenneth Boulding’s 1<sup>st</sup> Law (“Anything that exists is possible”), Paige (and contemporary anthropological evidence) reminds us that nonkilling societies do exist in spite of having passed largely unnoticed to most in the scientific community. Following its open-ended nature, no specific model is proposed but rather a call to human inventiveness and infinite variability, appealing to “progressive explorations of ethically acceptable, potentially achievable, and sometimes hypothetically envisioned conditions of individual, social, and global life” (2009:75). Empirical demonstrations of historical and contemporary experiences “need to be extended in explorations of “pure theory” to identify desirable characteristics of killing-free societies and plausible processes of realizing them from present conditions” (idem).

In his proposal, Paige also identifies five zones (portrayed as a “funnel of killing” and a “unfolding fan of nonkilling alternatives”) in which practical transformative alternatives must be developed in the process of applying the theoretical knowledge derived from nonkilling analysis<sup>9</sup> the killing zone (the place of bloodshed); the socialization zone (where people learn to kill); the cultural conditioning zone (where acceptance of killing as unavoidable and legitimate is predisposed); the structural reinforcement zone (providing socioeconomic relations, institutions, and material means predisposing and supporting killing); and the neurobiochemical capability zone (comprising physical and neurological factors that contribute to both killing and nonkilling behaviors). The focal point of nonkilling scientific research resides on the need for effective transformative applications in the scope of this “funnel of killing”.

**Figure 1.** Unfolding fan of nonkilling alternatives



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For the emergence of these alternatives a normative and empirical shift from the killing imperative to the imperative not to kill must occur through a cumulative process of interacting ethical and empirical discoveries. As Kuhn stated, a scientific revolution does not come about simply through accumulation, but rather through transformation, altering the foundational theoretical generalizations (1962:85). Paige points out that this inevitably requires normative, factual, theoretical, applied, educational, institutional and methodological nonkilling revolutions. Normative ethical progression would have to move from “killing is imperative,” to “killing is questionable,” to “killing is unacceptable,” to “nonkilling is imperative.” In parallel, an empirical progression should shift from “nonkilling is impossible,” to “nonkilling is problematic,” to “nonkilling is explorable,” to “nonkilling is possible.” [see Figure 2] (2009:75-79).

Figure 2. Process of Normative-Empirical Nonkilling Paradigm Shift

<b>Normative shift</b>	<b>Interaction Process</b>	<b>Empirical shift</b>
killing is imperative	↔	Nonkilling is impossible
↓	↓	↓
Killing is questionable	↔ problematic	Nonkilling is
↓	↓	↓
Killing is unacceptable	↔	Nonkilling is explorable
↓	↓	↓
Nonkilling is imperative	↔	Nonkilling is possible

As a factual shift, nonkilling deepens into the gathering of evidence for nonkilling human propensities and capabilities, usually discarded or ignored by killing-accepting “normal science” that sees them as trivial or nonexistent anomalies but that are extremely significant in the context of nonkilling fact-gathering. As a theoretical shift, nonkilling faces the challenge of articulating normative and empirical theories that can effectively tackle the problems from the range of phenomena it confronts. As an applied shift, nonkilling must assist global transformation toward killing-free societies designing ways where theoretical knowledge can relate to the problem-solving needs of the “unfolding fan of nonkilling alternatives”. As an educational shift, nonkilling has to challenge the authority of killing-accepting academic traditions; unless the horizon of rules and standards within the scientific community is widened to include nonkilling alternatives and competencies for research, teaching, consultancy, leadership, civic action and critical reflection, disagreement over lethality is not likely to occur. As a methodological shift, nonkilling must overcome not only the conceptual and theoretical framework that limits the understanding of nonkilling capabilities but also instrumental and methodological impediments that condition selection, evaluation, criticism and analysis of necessary data on killing and nonkilling. Finally, an institutional shift foresees the establishment of nonkilling as normal science, designing new organizational outlines for disciplines, subdisciplines and interdisciplinary relations, not only focusing on the academic arena but moreover on the field of social practice (Paige, 2009: 79-85).

#### **4.. Interdisciplinary Bases for a Nonkilling Shift**

In 1986 twenty scientists from a range of disciplines gathered in Seville to produce what would be known as the “Statement on Violence”<sup>10</sup>. This document, formally adopted by UNESCO’s General Conference two years later, firmly refuted “the notion that organized human violence is biologically determined”. Criticising “violent pessimism”, the document labelled common beliefs as those that affirm that humans have an instinctive tendency to war, a “violent brain”, or that violent behaviour is

genetically programmed into human nature are “scientifically incorrect”. In his chapter “Nonkilling Human Biology”, Piero P. Giorgi (2009) expands this notion, showing consistent evidence that rejects nature as a primary determinant and shaper of aggression.

For example, studies among the pygmy chimpanzees (the bonobos), one of the animal species closest to humans, revealed that levels of aggression both in the wild and in captivity are not even comparable with current levels of violence among humans. Among the bonobos, sexual behaviour would operate as a form to avoid and reduce group tensions (Giorgi, 2009). Other notable primatologists have systematically challenged the “man the hunter” and “man the warrior” myths, offering counterarguments for alleged human biological propensity to violence and killing (see Sussman, ed., 1999; Hart; Sussman, 2009). As the “Seville Statement” suggests, violence would rather be a product of the human mind. But is it?

Psychologist Rachel MacNair (2002) coined the term ‘Perpetration-Induced Traumatic Stress’ (PITS) to describe a subcategory of Post-traumatic Stress Disorder that expresses the common symptoms of those who have been active participants in causing trauma, including soldiers, executioners, police officers, and abortion or euthanasia practitioners. Facing early arguments that defended the existence of a natural aggression instincts, the findings behind PITS suggest “that the human mind, contrary to certain political ideologies, is not only not well suited for killing, but that the mind tends to find it repulsive” (MacNair, 2009). As this author points out, “[n]onkilling is not merely a good ethical idea” but it “is necessary for mental health” (idem). Curiously, this view is widely shared by scholars in the military establishment, where human resistance to killing can be rather problematic and has been studied with great detail. As Lt. Col. David Grossman (1995:295) explains, one of the military’s most challenging tasks is to train recruits “to overcome the average individual’s deep-seated-resistance to killing”.

Giorgi (2009) suggests the global transition from nonkilling to killing societies would have been a “purely cultural accident happened about 8,000 years ago”. Killing of fellow human beings would have supposed an interruption of “90,000 years of a well established nonkilling human tradition”, a contradiction we have tried to solve “by convincing ourselves that human being are violent by nature and have been killing each other from the very beginning”. Following a biocultural evolution approach, our brain would still be suited for a hunter-gathering culture that, as Sponsel (2009) suggests, would “epitomize Paige’s attributes of a nonkilling society”. So what happened?

In contrast with the alleged biological imperative that would confirm the Hobbesian view of human nature, new anthropological findings seem to be more inclined to support Rousseau’s idea of the peaceful “noble savage”. Hunter-gatherer societies not only tend to have relatively nonhierarchical and egalitarian social structures but are also “grounded in an ethos of routine cooperation, reciprocity, and nonviolent conflict resolution”, as the San, Mbuti or Semai illustrate (Sponsel, 2009; also visit the online Encyclopaedia of Peaceful Societies<sup>11</sup>). Considering humans lived exclusively as hunter-gatherers for roughly 99% of their existence (Hart; Sussman, 2009), Margaret Mead’s claims (1940) on the relatively recent appearance of warfare (during the Neolithic) and the even more recent establishment of military-like institutions (jointly with the state, approximately 5,000 years ago), seem to support Rousseau’s point after all <sup>12</sup>.

This is certainly not to say that humans should return to hunter-gathering, but it certainly supports the bases for nonkilling human capabilities through revised socio-cultural heuristic models. As Sponsel explains, in many occasions “peace appears to be elusive not because relatively nonviolent and peaceful societies are so rare—they are not—but instead because so rarely have nonviolence and peace been the focus of research in anthropology and other disciplines” (1996:114). This same bias also affects other disciplines across the social sciences



and humanities, including history, sociology, geography, economics, education, or law studies (see Evans, ed., 2009).

But challenges to the “self-fulfilling prophecy” have also emerged from the field of humanities. Comins Mingol and Paris Albert (2009), for example, make the case for a “nonkilling philosophy”, that should be “committed to the recuperation of and the recognition of human potential for peace”, both “working to construct and reconstruct discourses that legitimize and promote nonkilling” and “visibilizing and removing the veil of cultural killing, with its discourses that marginalize, exclude and ultimately serve to legitimize structural and cultural killing”. Friedrich and Gomes de Matos (2009) defend the development of “nonkilling linguistics”, arguing how in “a nonkilling society, language must play a pivotal role as a tool for peace as it needs to be widely engaged”.

In similar terms, D’Ambrosio (2009) emphasizes the nature of mathematics as “an instrument to deal with the human pulses of survival and transcendence”. In the model he proposes, a critically and historically grounded “nonkilling mathematics” would need to favour semantics over syntax as a means to “resist cooptation and be prone to be used for humanitarian and dignifying purposes”. In the realm of physics, Drago (2009) counters some violence-prone logic associated to Newtonian mechanics through L. Carnot’s notion of greatest efficiency by acting in a reversible manner (“never perform an action that cannot be subsequently reversed without loss of work”). The application of this notion resulted not only in the development of thermodynamics, where the greatest efficiency means the minimum of the entropy change ( $\Delta S = \min$ ), but also in various off springs in the fields of conflict resolution and defence (for example, the concept of alternative defence or *Soziale Verteidigung*), with special significance for nonkilling, as “the death of a human being is the most irreversible process” (Drago, 2009). As Mihai Nadin (2009), scholar in the field of anticipatory systems, pointed out, nonkilling science and technology “would have meant not the abolition of stones or knives, but of all the reasons for killing in the first place”.

Another field with a huge responsibility and that has made great progress in the shift toward nonkilling is certainly that of public health. Significantly, in 2002 the World Report on Violence and Health, published by the World Health Organization, labelled violence as a “preventable disease” (Krug; Dahlberg; Mercy; Zwi; Lozano, eds. 2002). The Report not only documents the nature and scope of violent deaths (including homicides, suicides and war-related deaths) but also analyses the economic costs of the loss of human life in fields as health care, law enforcement and judicial services, and reduced productivity (issues that, on the other hand, are being increasingly explored by economists<sup>13</sup>). This document also offers a wide range of primary preventions strategies (preventing killing before it occurs) following the social-ecological model. As De Gue and Mercy (2009) explain, killing is a multifaceted problem “resulting from the complex interaction of biological, psychological, environmental, and social factors” and requires a wide “array of interventions targeting potent risk and protective factors at each level of the social ecology” for its effective reduction. Nevertheless, “the creation of nonkilling communities is the ultimate goal of the public health approach”.<sup>14</sup>

## **5. Final Remarks**

Kuhn presented an analogy between the framework of scientific revolutions leading to paradigm shifts and political revolutions leading to social transformation (see Chapter IX). Considering both imply an alteration of the worldview held by communities, it is not odd to see how political and scientific revolutions are sometimes closely linked in human history. Nonkilling is probably not an exception, as its implications clearly go beyond the sphere of politics or academic research, questioning and potentially transforming (or perhaps rehabilitating) human relations. A movement toward nonkilling (either expressed using this term or simply embracing the idea behind it) is already happening in the fields of civil action, education, politics and science.

It will be interesting to see how it evolves and interacts, even though, as Kuhn pointed out, paradigm shifts are usually invisible processes (see Chapter XI), sometimes viewed not as dramatic changes but as gradual additions and revisions of scientific knowledge, as those expressed in the previous sections of this paper. Kuhn argued that textbooks and reference works, as pedagogic vehicles, are somehow an ‘acid test’ for the emergence of a paradigm (1962:136). Significantly, in the past five years, entries on nonkilling have made it into UNESCO’s Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems (2004), the Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict (2008) and OUP’s International Encyclopedia of Peace (2009). The popular online Wikipedia includes entries for nonkilling in more than twenty languages<sup>15</sup> and so does its sister-project Wiktionary, offering over 35 translations for the term<sup>16</sup>.

Also recently, the 8<sup>th</sup> World Summit of Nobel Peace Laureates included the term in its historical Charter for a World without Violence,<sup>17</sup> that “call[s] upon all to work together toward a just, killing-free world in which everyone has the right not to be killed and responsibility not to kill others”. In its closing paragraph, the Charter states:

To address all forms of violence we encourage scientific research in the fields of human interaction and dialogue, and we invite participation from the academic, scientific and religious communities to aid us in the transition to nonviolent, and nonkilling societies.

An unpublished survey conducted by the Center for Global Nonkilling<sup>18</sup> on doctoral dissertations related to nonkilling and nonviolence listed over 1,300 works produced between 1940 and 2009, including contributions to the fields of criminology, history, education, social psychology, political science or communication, among many others. On the other hand, the same Center for Global Nonkilling has recently established a network of Nonkilling Research Committees covering 20 disciplines and including close to 300 scholars all over the world.<sup>19</sup> Related initiatives include an exploratory colloquium

on nonkilling and neuroscience (July 2009) where prominent scholars will gather to discuss the state of the nonkilling question and future possibilities or a two-week academy designed to orient prominent leaders to nonkilling knowledge.

In spite of this notable progress and important moves in areas as public health, nonkilling applied sciences still have a great challenge ahead. This challenge is further complicated by the unavailability of funds (or very limited availability in some cases) for the extensive research that needs to be conducted in the field of violent death prevention. In the same way the UN Assembly Session on Disarmament (1978) criticized the “colossal waste” of resources associated with killing, the amount of resources dedicated to research activities associated with killing (not simply killing-accepting) is truly shocking, especially if compared to the practically nonexistent resources drawn toward nonkilling research. The military R&D budget in the United States for 2009 alone amounts up to US\$79.6 billion, from a total defence budget of US\$651.2 billion<sup>20</sup>. Over half a million scientists over the world are exclusively dedicated to military related R&D, hoarding 30% of global R&D resources (5 times more than what is assigned to health research and 10 times more than what agricultural R&D receives; see *Campaña por la paz, 2005* and SIPRI’s Annual Yearbook).

Hope does come from the global movement to establish ministries and departments of peace in governments across the world, from national to local. The success stories from countries as Nepal, Solomon Islands, Catalonia or the Basque Country, where ministries and departments for peace have been created and are starting to develop associated agendas in the field of R&D, are definitely an example for others to follow and, in fact, active campaigns exist in 30 countries<sup>21</sup>. Symbolic steps, such as the “Nonkilling Clause of Scientific Conscientious Objection”, intended as a tool for researchers, are also in development process, fostering ethical commitment of the scientific community<sup>22</sup>.

## *Toward a Nonkilling Paradigm Shift*

To summarize, the reasons explained in this paper, even if brief and exploratory, provide grounds for confidence for the possibilities of a major shift from lethality-accepting science to an ethically-orientated nonkilling paradigm inserted in a social and cultural transition toward killing-free societies. The paper also highlights that this process is currently underway, even though it will require a much greater commitment not only of the scientific community but also of society as a whole <sup>23</sup>.

Shifts are inevitable and open-ended if not continuous. Nonkilling will certainly not be the final phase of normal science, but surely a crucial point in its history, possibly leading to new redefinitions that will render it obsolete in the face of more holistic views (perhaps ‘nonviolence’, perhaps finally ‘peace’) that humans will surely embrace.

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## *End Notes*

1. *Following a cultural materialism approach, Harris explains how nonkilling religions emerged, in a confluence of brutal and costly wars, environmental depletion, population growth and rise of cities, food shortages,*

widespread poverty and rigidified social distinctions (1990:444). An scenario that certainly resembles our own.

2. "But it is by persuasion that progress among the people through Dhamma has had a greater effect in respect of harmlessness to living beings and nonkilling of living beings" (Dhammika, ed., 1993). In China, Ming Buddhist monk Chu-hung (1535-1615) "actively promoted nonkilling and the release of life" (*fang shen hui*), two fundamental precepts emphasized in the *Sutra of Brahma's net* (Yü Chün-Fang, 1998:933; also see Sharma (1994:276).

3.. "One element which is valid without reference to this Indian triad of premises is the emphasis upon ahimsa, nonkilling and noninjury of any living creature" (Eby, 1944:46).

4. Thurman continues this argument: "In the second place, nonviolence may be a rejection nor merely of the physical tools of violence—since their use is aimed at the destruction of human life, which is the ultimate denial of the need to be cared for—but also of the psychological tools of violence as well. Here we assume that, even if the tools of physical violence were available and could be of tactical significance, their use would be renounced because their purpose is to kill—to make good the will for the nonexistence of another human being. And this is to cut off his chances of actualizing his potential sometime in his living future by dealing with him in the present" (1963:115).

5. A full list of translations and associated links is available at: <<http://www.nonkilling.org/node/18>>.

6. Recent examples are the German Center for the Advancement of Nonkilling (*Zentrum zur Förderung des Nichttötens - Nonkilling Deutschland*; see <<http://www.nonkilling.de/>>.) and the Citizens Initiative for a Nonkilling India presented by the Indian Council of Gandhian Studies. Other initiatives include Centre Caraïbéen pour la Non-Violence Globale et le Développement Durable in Haiti (<<http://www.ccngd.org/>>) or the Center for Global Nonviolence Nigeria. The publication of *Towards a Nonkilling Filipino Society*(2004), a collection of eighteen essays by prominent Filipino scholars and leaders, is also a significant off spring. The recent publication of the 2007 *Proceedings of the First Global Forum on Nonkilling Leadership* by the Spark M. Matsunaga Institute for Peace, College of Social Sciences,

## ***Toward a Nonkilling Paradigm Shift***

*University of Hawai'i and the Center for Global Nonkilling, Honolulu is an additional example of scholars and activists using nonkilling.*

7. *A version of this definition has been released under GFDL and Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0*

8. *“Such changes can range from spiritual and nonlethal high technology interventions in the killing zone, through nonkilling socialization and cultural conditioning, to restructuring socioeconomic conditions so that they neither produce nor require lethality for maintenance or change, and to clinical, pharmacological, physical, and self-transformative meditative and biofeedback interventions that liberate from bio-propensity to kill” (Paige, 2009:76).*

9. *Available at <[http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Seville\\_Statement\\_on\\_Violence](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Seville_Statement_on_Violence)>.*

10. *Available at: <<http://www.peacefulsocieties.org/>>.*

11. *Its also worth noting that weapons specifically designed for warfare or archaeological record of regular warfare only appears relatively late in human prehistory (Sponsel, 2009). Practice of nonkilling warfare has also been studied among North American Indian societies (Sioux for example) who practiced the “counting coup”, where “[t]o touch an enemy, to enter battle unarmed and take an opponents weapon or horse was the highest feat of bravery one could accomplish” (Houar apud Mayton, 2009:131).*

12. *See, for example, Economists for Peace and Security: <<http://www.epsusa.org/>>.*

13. *In the health sciences and other disciplines efforts have been increasing to reframe fundamental premises by starting with health rather than disease, function rather than dysfunction, strengths/assets emphasized initially rather than weaknesses/deficits, non lethal weapons rather than killing technologies. In addition, research on the iatrogenic nature of disease and illness where the doctor/healer actually exacerbates a problem may be akin to the variety of effects any researcher and her medical model has on scientific analysis, diagnosis and prognosis.*

14. *See the English entry at: <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nonkilling>>.*

15. *Available at: <<http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/nonkilling>>.*

16. Available at: <[http://en.wikisource.org/wiki Charter\\_for\\_a\\_World\\_without\\_Violence](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Charter_for_a_World_without_Violence)>.

17. Katherine Li is responsible for this in-depth work.

18. See: <<http://www.nonkilling.org/node/7>>.

19. See: <<http://www.gpoaccess.gov/usbudget/fy09/pdf/budget/defense.pdf>>.

20. Visit the Global Alliance for Ministries and Departments of Peace at <<http://www.mfp-dop.org/>>.

21. The Clause was conceived as a “demonstration” to be used in academic works: “It is strictly prohibited to use, develop or apply, either directly or indirectly, any of the author’s scientific contributions contained in this work for purposes that can result in killing, threats to kill, conditions conducive to killing or justifications of killing in human society, including threats to the viability of the biosphere and other life-sustaining resources, socioeconomic structural conditions leading to killing, or the creation or omission of social and technological conditions that could lead to avoidable forms of accidental killing. This clause can only be revoked providing written consent from every inhabitant in the world has been obtained.”

22. The month-long focus on nonkilling in India from June to July 2009 is an example of the powerful blend of grass roots advocacy, community organizing, public policy and government leadership, the arts, and academic research.



# **Commentary on the Inner War**

**Ramon Lopez-Reyes**

The nature of the human psyche is to be in conflict; to be human is to experience Inner War. It is hypothesized that were the inner turmoil addressed directly, there would be less likelihood to project the Inner War externally. By attending to the Inner War many insights can be gained regarding how inner conflict impacts on external conflict. Mahatma Gandhi and the Dalai Lama reflect individuals who addressed the Inner War. When confronted by external war, both men chose to employ nonviolent rather than violent means to resolve the conflict. The following commentary, written in context of Western depth psychology, attempts to shed light on the nature and conduct of the Inner War. The commentary also briefly discusses how the Inner War is projected externally.

It is suggested that inner conflicts are largely due to three dynamics. The first is reflective of the cosmic duality of life and death, creation and destruction. The psyche, as a microcosm of the cosmos, is caught in the ongoing struggle between the Life Force and Death Force. The second is related to the human psychological framework where the ego on the one hand, is tasked to fashion a persona

(personality) and defend it, and on the other hand, is tasked to modify or change the persona in order to promote psychological growth. The third is that the ego is under a sort of mandate to individuate (to maximize itself psychologically) that when blocked stirs inner frustration.

The distinguishing mark of humanity is that, contrary to other species, humans no longer are entirely programmed instinctually. While the instinctual template still exists in humans, instincts no longer automatically control behavioral responses. The ego evolved as a replacement for instinctual ordering. The ego's primary work is Individuation or maximizing the Life Force which can be understood as achieving a Being of Wholeness. (Psychospiritually this Being of Wholeness is achieved when ego joins with Soul). To arrive at this level of Being the ego needs to overcome psychological obstacles that thwart Individuation. These obstacles, the substance of the Inner War, exist in patterns of behavior that resist change.

In the Freudian model, the Inner War pits on one side, Life Force impulses (Id) that wish to manifest themselves spontaneously and on the other side, societal standards (Collective Conscious or Superego) and objective reality which attempt to assert control over how, where and when such impulses can express themselves. It is the ego's task to moderate the clash between society's expectations and Life Force impulses. Regarding its task to maximize the Life Force, the ego must promote change in the persona, but first it must overcome the persona's resistance to change. (From a Buddhist point of view, the Inner War flows from ego desires that are not realized.)

At birth the new born reacts to its environs with a primate's instinctual template. The ego, for all practical purposes, is non-existent at birth. Those caring for the new born attend to its needs. But when such does not occur, the new born is in conflict and struggles, as best it can, to survive. This interplay between the caretakers and infant is the psychological ground on which the persona-personality is formed.

Later, after it matures and the instinctual template recedes, the ego takes over the task to develop and fine-tune the persona.

The issue of trust is of major importance in the development of persona. It has been advanced that the first challenge of the new born is to establish a sense of trust between itself and the external world. If such does not occur, the new born proceeds in life with feelings of distrust and uncertainty. These symptoms fan the Inner War as the ego experiences anxiety in not knowing whom or what to trust. Without trust the ego is left mostly to defend what exists and resist the call for change. The new born's struggle for survival, however, is not the basis for the Inner War. The recurring need for trust accustoms the Life Force to struggle. Those shorn of trust are apt to align themselves with institutions that provide a sense of belonging, meaning, and at times, of salvation. Regretfully, some individuals become fanatics to demonstrate loyalty and gain the institution's trust.

Since the ego incorporates unconsciously much of the Collective Conscious' way of thinking and behaving, the ego is often confused whether what the Collective Conscious holds to be the correct behavior actually fits with every day Life Force experiences. This lack of clarity causes the Inner War to be waged amidst much confusion. This early confusion continues to plague the ego regarding how and when to defend the existing personality patterns and how and when to change those patterns in order to promote growth.

Failure to meet the "I," or ego needs (for example, the need to belong), stokes the Inner War. Such is quite visible during the establishment of a personal identity. Many individuals go through adolescence without developing a firm sense of identity. The lack of a viable identity causes the "I" of the Life Force to suffer insecurity. Even those who establish what seems to be a stable identity during adolescence later come to recognize the incompleteness of the identity and thus find themselves caught up in the Inner War where one side defends the extant pattern of identity and the other side urges change.

When the initial trace of the persona-personality emerges at the age of four, the “I” of the Life Force usually aligns itself with the existing persona (or false Self). The budding ego, because of its immaturity, accepts that the persona is the true “I.” Of course such is not the case in that the persona is forged by the child’s adjustment to parental-societal directions and expectations and does not reflect the authentic Self. Any random observation reveals that the persona-I does not function appropriately in objective reality. Given the ego’s weakness during the initial stages of persona development it is no wonder that the persona is riddled with contradictions.

The true meaning of personality is found in its Greek roots: “persona” refers to mask. The ego must labor to prevent the defense mechanisms that prop the ‘mask’ from hardening. The more hardened the mask the less likely that necessary change will occur.

The ego is beset by various vicissitudes that place much pressure on the ego but also aid the ego’s labor to individuate. Chief among the vicissitudes are: eruptions from the Shadow (unconscious contents that reveal what is flawed in the psyche); Existential Anxiety (anxiety of being separated from the Cosmic All but can direct the individual to seek the Universal One); Existential Guilt (guilt to prod the individual to become what she/he can be); inner calls from Soul and Higher Self to individuate (attain psychospiritual wholeness). No matter how well the persona’s flaws and contradiction are suppressed and protected by the elaborate system of defense mechanisms, the numerous unmet demands of the vicissitudes are likely to intrude into consciousness. Under the pressure from the vicissitudes, the developing ego is likely to expend much psychological energy in denial or suppression when it is not ready for change.

The negative shadow contains features of the personality that an individual would prefer not to own and accordingly, represses. But the unconscious material seeks a way to consciousness whether through illness, dreams, critical mistakes, slips of the tongue, or acts that undermine the individual. The shadow serves Individuation by throwing out, so to say, what has been repressed. A key component of the Inner War is ego’s labor to bring the contents of the shadow into consciousness.



As long as the Life Force has not fulfilled its destiny, the individual is prone to existential guilt, that is, the sense of not yet being what one can be. By inciting psychological distress, existential guilt assists the ego to direct its energy toward Individuation. But guilt can also fuel the Inner War by causing the ego to twist guilt into self-deprecation, self-chastisement, or even worse, into self-hatred, rather than using guilt to surge forward with Individuation.

Existential separation anxiety is experienced when the Life Force senses separation for a greater Whole; that it lacks a meaningful relationship with this Whole (whether Whole as Cosmos or the Divine). This anxiety is a constant reminder that the goal has not yet been achieved. It is likely to surface most intensely when the scope of consciousness has broadened and the “I” begins to experience “a-something-missing” agitation. It is at this time that the full impact of existential separation anxiety is felt (often as a mid-life crisis). In short, existential guilt and anxiety open fronts in the Inner War and press the ego to pursue the Individuation Quest.

The ego in many ways is a lightweight psychological instrumentality. It is of recent evolutionary vintage. It was forged to replace the instinctual or organic ordering of the Life Force that is the norm for all sentient beings except *Homo Sapiens*. Because of its proclivity to raise consciousness, the ego is able to grow in psychological strength and maturity. But even when strong and mature, the ego remains uncertain regarding how to maximize the Life Force. Fortunately the ego receives assistance from the Higher or Authentic Self which contains the unconscious strata of the psyche and million year history of hominid evolution. The Higher Self (the authentic “me”) activates archetypal energy to assist the ego work through segments of the Inner War. For example, when a young man feels great insecurity when assuming responsibility at a new place of employment, the Hero Archetype or Warrior Archetype may be activated to assist the ego overcome the insecurity.

As the ego progresses through the seasons of a life span, the ego will need to activate certain archetypes in order to meet Individuation's challenges that correspond to each season for example, a women may seek to activate the Crone Archetype during the winter season of the life span. (It should be noted that the feminine approach to Individuation differs from a masculine approach.) If the ego is not capable of coping with archetypal energy its activation may overwhelm the ego and open a dangerous front in the Inner War. On a few occasions the Collective Unconscious (the realm of the archetypes; somewhat akin to the psychological DNA of the species) may discharge uncalled for archetypal energies toward the ego. At such times it would be best for the ego to avoid such energy if it does not feel competent to utilize it.

The ego may also receive assistance from elements of the Universe that reside in the psyche generally said to be Soul and Spirit: Soul (a speck of the original void or creative substance that existed before the Big Bang of astrophysics) and Spirit (the Cosmic urge for all creation to inter-connect). The Soul aids the ego in its pursuit of Individuation for example, through dreams. Dreams often presage messages regarding how the ego can maximize the Life Force. The Spirit urges the ego to connect with the Cosmic All. The Spirit's influence can be noted by the fact that a variety of religions exist and have existed and by the spiritual practices in which individuals participate. The critical issue is whether or not the ego is open to the manner in which the Authentic Self, Soul and Spirit offer assistance. It should be added that religious practices do not necessarily mean that spirituality is being experienced. Often the urging of the Spirit causes the ego to participate collectively, perhaps more in a sociological than in a spiritual manner. In contrast, the psychospiritual path of Individuation, the joining of ego with Soul (which can occur outside a religious framework), is more likely to lead to a profound spiritual experience.

The Self's mandate to individuate, the Soul's call to pursue Individuation and the Spirit's urge to connect cosmically, although supportive of the ego, stir the Inner War when the ego does not comply with their directives. When faced with its 'failures,' the ego can either use defense mechanisms to suppress inner conflict ('there is no conflict'), or apply reflection to bring the Inner War into consciousness. By addressing its failures the ego matures. If the Inner War is made conscious, the ego has opportunity not only to frame the Inner War in context of objective reality but also to apply reason and direct will to overcome the obstacles that thwart Individuation. As consciousness expands, the ego begins to reflect more the authentic "I" and increase its ability to express compassion and loving-kindness.

Success in the Inner War requires that the "I" of the Life Force shift its alignment from persona to ego. This shift sometimes must wait until adulthood is reached. The intensity of inner discord causes the "I" to recognize that the persona-personality is mostly a world of "as-if." The persona is more image than substance and therefore has little capability to address adequately the inner turmoil. The ego has little access to will and reason when the "I" is aligned with the persona. In this case, the "I" unconsciously supports the forms (mask) that constitute personality or the world of "as-if" (as-if the persona were the real authentic "I"). When aligned with the persona, the "I" finds itself in a perpetual spin with the defense system in disarray and unable to address the many psychological issues; plainly put, there is gross immaturity. Once the "I" shifts its alignment to the ego, the latter is able to employ will and reason in a coherent manner and manifest those noble sentiments that define humanity. When the ego represses persona contradictions and avoids looking into the shadow, it keeps the Inner War in the unconscious realm. In short, the ego's strength is found in consciousness. Therefore, keeping the dynamics of the Inner War at the unconscious level precludes the ego from waging a successful Inner War.

Were the ego to address successfully the various aspects of the Inner War (such as persona defects, unmet needs of the “I,” existential guilt, and existential anxiety) the Life Force would still experience Inner War. This is due to the perennial clash between the Death Force and Life Force that is found at all levels of the Cosmos. In humans, the Death Force operates both biologically and psychologically. In the latter sense, the Death Force acts to dim the Life Force by thwarting Individuation; in doing so, the Death Force weakens the ego and shrouds the Life Force with dread. The Death Force exploits any psychological weakness in order to produce depression or self-defeat. The ego must remain constantly alert to the Death Force’s ability to cause psychological confusion and turmoil which, in turn, fans the Inner War.

The Death Force is a natural Cosmic dynamic: galaxies are born and die. In other sentient beings, Death operates organically; but in humans operates both biologically and psychologically. The Death Force seemingly stalks the Life Force’s efforts to advance Individuation. For the most part, this stalking is neither understood nor acknowledged by the fledgling ego. To add to the confusion, the Death Force is often linked with evil or Satan. But the Death Force does not have free play in humans. The Life Force plies forth with its own brand of tenaciousness to oppose the encroachments of the Death Force. But effort must be exerted to maximize the Life Force if it is to balance if not neutralize the Death Force. The Life Force is the ego’s labor to employ the Life Force’s innate resources such as reason, healing, will and loving-kindness. But if the ego shuns such labor, it is likely to become an instrumentality of the Death Force and display destructive behaviors.

What Carl Jung called the Way of Individuation is but one ‘Way’ humans have tread historically in search of wholeness. In general, society encourages “Ways of Wholeness,” that conform to prescribed institutional forms; for example, when the Way is derived from religious

precepts. Society is also apt to prescribe non-religious alternatives to Individuation. Western civilization, which is based on capitalism and consumerism, places great emphasis on competition and “success” which is taken to mean accumulation of wealth and power (influence and possessions). To a certain degree, emphasis on the external quest is correct in that the “I” must find a modicum of success in the external world; first as a “good” child, and later as student, worker and member of society. (One needs first to be a “somebody” in order later to become an enlighten “nobody.”) But the struggle for external success draws attention away from addressing seriously the Inner War which must be fought in order to proceed on the Way.

Competitiveness strengthens the ego but also hardens and renders it less sensitive and vulnerable. The down side of this development is that the ego may assert competitiveness inappropriately either to overcome (gain mastery) or take advantage of others when circumstances arise. In doing so, the ego projects the Inner War externally. When the ego keeps its focus on the Inner War, the primary concern is on overcoming internal obstacles rather than overcoming external competitors.

Any state of war, whether inner or outer, opens the door for the War God Archetype to appear. In the Inner War the War God Archetype assists the ego to overcome psychological barriers. In external conflict, the War God operates under the mandate of the Death Force. Tribes and nations often find themselves in deadly competition over resources and power. When caught in the grips of external competitiveness, nations are likely to call upon the Death Force to resolve Life Force disagreements. This is to say that the humans direct the archetypal energy of the War God to destroy the other (threat-enemy). In calling on the War God to solve conflict, humans commit the great blunder of calling on Death to solve Life issues.

From its behavior it appears that the ego at times supports the Outer War as a way to escape waging the Inner War. The overwhelmed ego often experiences every day life painful and is prone to seek

diversions often on a grand scale. The Collective Conscious usually has little trouble convincing the individual ego that its support of war is “righteous.” Meanwhile the ego keeps suppressing the ongoing Inner War to the detriment of psychospiritual growth. It is not surprising that wars have been carried out, at least initially, with great enthusiasm among the general population.

In the Outer War it is not uncommon for the ego-cum-hero to take on the attributes of the Red War God which represents the vital energy of the Life Force. But much too often the Red War God becomes the bully (imperialist) who trots over others to obtain what is desired. The Red War God is always ready to compete and overcome. In this sense, the Red War God is useful in the initial phases of the Inner War. If the ego-hero pursues Individuation, it is apt to activate the Red War God Archetype in order to overcome the obstacles to growth. But in the latter phases of Individuation, the ego needs to transform the Red War God’s overcoming-ramming energy into the Blue War God’s overcoming-spiritual energy. It is the Blue War God Archetype rather than the Red War God Archetype that directs Life Force toward the final stages of Individuation. Where the Blue War God advances the psychospiritual flag, the Red War God carries forth the aggressive competitive imperial flag to the external world, which much too often incites Outer War.

Once we can identify the nature and components of the Inner War, it is possible to view the Inner War in terms of four stages. The first stage, Survival and Civilizing War, is not really waged by the ego but by the raw instinctual nature of the newborn and by the infant’s care takers. At birth the ego is only in-the-making. When the infant is attended appropriately the War of Survival is minimal and the infant gains trust of the world into which she or he has been hurled. If attended incompetently, the newborn carries forth distrust which will initially keep the infant unsure of life events.

The stage moves from survival to civilizing and is shaped by the interactions among the Life Force impulses (Id), Collective Conscious (Superego), objective reality and ego. The outcome is the

initial formation of persona followed by the development of identity. Persona and identity come about by “bending” Life Force energies to the dynamics of the above mentioned interaction. This bending is necessary for Life Force energies to operate effectively in the prevalent culture. If the “breaking in” causes distortion, which usually is the case, it is likely that this stage will have periodic psychological upheavals.

The second stage is the Solidifying War where the individual fills out her or his niche in society. It is a time when individuals launch themselves in careers and intimate relationships; where social responsibility is assumed and the persona becomes a ‘somebody.’ The goal in this stage is fitting in and achieving a modicum of accomplishment. Fitting in, however, comes at a price. The individual takes on external standards and expectations to the detriment of developing personal standards and goals. Pursuing what others say are the goals accustoms individuals not to follow personal interests and avocations. For most, this stage is filled with ‘doing’ and the failures and successes that go with doing. To a large degree, the defense system is in place and protects the person from experiencing psychological confusion. However, repeated failures in career and relationships expose the individual to severe psychological distress.

The third stage, War of Rehabilitation, is likely to occur later in adulthood. This war entails adjusting the defense mechanisms in order to correct flaws and contradictions that abound both the personality and pattern of identity. Since the personality and identity are formed while the ego is still immature, it is not surprising that they have various defects. In order to correct these flaws the ego needs to activate the Hero Archetype and call upon the War God Archetype to overcome the persona’s defense system that resists change.

Finally for those who reach the fourth stage, a Unification War is fought to overcome the obstacles that thwart the ego from becoming conscious of the ‘true’ Self and subsequently, from joining with Soul. The ego is awakened to the fact that it always has been part of the Self. This experiencing of Self sets the ego on course to join with Soul.

The main barriers to such joining are the ego's level of adequacy and the Death Force (that ever aims to dim the Life Force). This stage contains the mythic battle to reach the Grail Castle and gain the Grail itself, that is, the Soul. At this stage the Death Force may strike against the Life Force in order to prevent the realization of Individuation. Such attacks suggest what the mystics have called "the dark night of the Soul;" a time when existential separation anxiety stirs in the psyche despair and alienation; a despair of never being able to join with the Whole; an alienation of not being directly in contact with the Whole.

In a very subtle manner, the ego's drive to relate with a higher entity may cause the ego to project outwardly the Inner War. Over millenniums this drive has led to the creation of religions and their institutions. In turn, these institutions have provided humans with belief systems that promote a relationship with the Cosmic All which, in turn, helps overcome existential separation anxiety. Religious institutions, however, are apt to prescribe a particular dogma and require total faith. Such total obedience to religious doctrine often forges zealots who participate willingly in crusades to overcome others of different doctrines. Although it may be said that the Cosmic All favors no particular faith, crusaders are encouraged to believe that their actions will render them more acceptable to the Universal One. Crusaders and jihadists tend to view their actions in light of a Good War God that defends truth and righteousness. While in some cases a few crusading and jihadist campaigns have been waged in righteousness, much too often the conduct of violence distorts the whole notion of righteousness. The result being that the Good War God assumes the characteristics of the imperial Red War God or the All-To-Ashes Black War God.

The success that the ego may achieve with the Inner War brings periods of peace. In general, an ego-based existence, which is the norm, can only provide sporadic peace. This may be the case because the ego is geared to continue with the Inner War until Individuation is realized. Theoretically, inner peace is possible the more ego experiences



wholeness. Inner peace can be sustained when the psychic energy of the “I” of the Life Force shifts from an ego-based existence to a Soul-Based existence. In the latter state, the Soul maintains itself ‘above’ the Inner War, or better said, achieving a Soul-Based life infers that the Inner war has mostly ended. A successful conduct of the fourth stage of the Inner War enables the ego to achieve a high state of wholeness which, in turn, makes it unlikely that the ego will engage in external crusades.

In closing it may be said that with the loss of instinctual programming, humans became heirs to an Inner War. Each round of battle, if successful, enables the ego to advance Individuation and establish a regime of inner peace. Such a regime lessens the likelihood of projecting the Inner War externally. But if individuals who seek a Soul-Based existence find it expedient to attend to the Outer War because of social justice they are more likely to employ nonviolent rather than violent means.

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# **Nonkilling Political Science in the Killing Fields of International Relations**

**Piki Ish-Shalom**

## **Abstract**

It is by now a philosophical truism that neutrality works in favor of the more powerful party in a conflict. I will argue that although praiseworthy and well-intended, Glenn Paige's unwavering and holistic commitment to Nonkilling Political Science exposes him to the analogous criticism that, under certain circumstances (quite common in international relations), Nonkilling may work in favor of those who are willing to kill. We need a more nuanced and pragmatic commitment to Nonkilling to face the killing fields of International Relations.

## **Introduction**

Something goes terribly wrong when moral discourse is applied publicly. Just War Theory (JWT) goes through plastic surgery to fit immediate public, political, and organizational objectives. Although the aim and purpose of JWT is to proscribe impermissible killing, its public, political, and organizational applications essentially prescribe permissible killing. But this apparently tiny semantic change actually conceals a massive functional reversal as well as a content sea change. JWT is about 'do nots,' while the military applications of JWT are about 'dos'—a directive change which could produce increased

tolerance towards killing. What is so terribly off the mark in terms of this transformation is that we—the theorists—offer military polemics with the intellectual foundation of prescribing avoidable killings, and with an instrument to secure public atmosphere which tolerates killing. I believe that correcting this sorry state should be the immediate goal of any political science committed to nonkilling. Moreover, the aims promoted here are both more achievable and more commendable, though more modest as well, than the aims of Glenn Paige's proposal for a political science advocating global nonkilling.

It is important to note from the outset that I find Paige's arguments thought-provoking in the good sense and praiseworthy. Paige asks us to think differently about the world and ourselves, trying to carve out a new path: a road not taken. This is a laudable goal in its own right and one we should all strive to follow. I do have some misgivings about this road, however, especially when it reaches the killing fields of international relations. Some stretches of Paige's road, as will be shown, are demanding and totalistic and call for a holistic perspective not shared by many. This paper briefly summarizes Paige's arguments and analyzes some of their merits and shortcomings, before proceeding to suggest a more modest proposal for a Nonkilling Political Science aimed at eliminating our contribution to impermissible killings.

### ***Part : I***

Paige's aims are noble, but more so, they soar very high. He aims at no less than a society free from all forms of killing. He (2007, p. 1) defines Nonkilling Society as 'a human community, smallest to largest, local to global, characterized by no killing of humans and no threats to kill; no weapons designed to kill humans and no justifications for using them; and no conditions of society dependent upon threat or use of killing force for maintenance or change.' This would be a radically new kind of society, unprecedented in human history. For this novel society to exist, a new and noble form of politics would be needed. Indeed Paige offers us a new definition of politics. Shedding the conventional concept of politics as a form of public conflict over the

allocation of resources, he offers a more harmonious understanding of politics. Borrowing from the Korean political philosopher Hwang, Jang Yop, Paige (2007, pp. 91-92) argues that 'Politics means the harmonization of the interests of all members of society on the basis of love and equality.' It is not the management of conflicts that is the main function of politics, he says, but the bringing together of people in loving association. It would probably be more correct to call this kind of association a community, not a society; a communal association of human beings joined together by feelings of empathy and love.

Yet, it is also important to note that this community is a community of individuals whose interactions establish communal bonds and a commitment to mutual nonkilling. As Paige (2007, p. 96) asserts, 'The basic unit of nonkilling political analysis is the individual human being. Organizations, structures, and processes are the product of aggregated individual behavior. World politics is the politics of world individuals.' Although it would have been easier for Paige to take a communitarian perspective, he is committed wholeheartedly to the liberal tradition. His form of liberalism is vigorously augmented by non-Western traditions, yet liberalism it is nonetheless. On analyzing Paige's argument, we find that liberalism is essential to achieving a Nonkilling Society and is reflected in several elements of his vision. Paige (2007, pp. 78-79, 117-119) is anxious to stress, for example, that Nonkilling is a value along other values and principles such as freedom, equality, justice, democracy, human rights, and responsibility. To achieve a Nonkilling Society, Paige believes we must have a sincere and absolute commitment to liberal values and principles. Additionally, a Nonkilling Society can flourish only in a fully consolidated local or global democracy.

But Paige's vision does not stop at those liberal and democratic ideals. In a sense, it is a totalistic program which forces us to address and solve several different problems at once. In order to achieve a Nonkilling Society, no less than four other discrete global problems must be all solved, 'we can engage five problems that are now globally salient: continued killing and the need for disarmament; the holocaust of poverty and the need for economic equity; violations of human dignity and needs for mutual respect of human rights; destructions of the

biosphere and the need for planetary life-support; and other-denying divisiveness that impedes problem-solving cooperation' (Paige 2007, p. 111). For Paige, these problems, discrete as they are, interact and produce the background circumstances of killing. Each problem contributes to the maintenance of contemporary society, which, due to lack of empathy and to socialization and indoctrination processes creates the circumstances and conditions of killing. Human beings must eliminate the circumstances and conditions of killing in order to clear the way to a Nonkilling Society. Paige paints a holistic picture of reality, and demands a holistic understanding of it, and holistic action to change it. The failure to address any of these problems will result in failure to achieve a Nonkilling Society. As will become clear this is a high standard indeed.

Paige suggests many indications as to why a Nonkilling Society is possible. He does not argue that change is necessary or easy. But he does say that with great effort and despite laboring under the dark shadow of skepticism a Nonkilling Society can be achieved. As he writes (2007, p. 69), 'To assert possibility, of course, is not to guarantee certainty but to make problematical the previously unthinkable and to strengthen confidence that we humans are capable of nonkilling global transformation.' And elsewhere (2007, p. 20), 'It's not possible, but it's possible to become possible.'

Paige argues that such efforts would involve many actors, including political science as a discipline. Political scientists, he says, have a crucial role in producing a Nonkilling Society; they should help to problematize the existing commonsense that killing is an unavoidable and inevitable human phenomenon. It is they who can further the understanding of the possibility of change. To make this possibility reality, Paige gives political scientists four scholarly missions: 'We need to know the causes of killing; the causes of nonkilling; the causes of transition between killing and nonkilling; and the characteristics of completely killing-free societies (Paige 2007, p. 72).' At first glance, this does not seem a very radical demand of political science. Allegedly, what political scientists must do is simply add four interesting new

research questions to their host of routine research questions. However, this superficial reading would be completely off the mark as Paige rightly and forcefully points out. The requirement from political science is radical on two related two accounts. First, political science must be fully committed to the task of producing a Nonkilling Society, ‘nonkilling political science engages in efforts to end behavioral violence, to change conditions of structural violence, and to solve problems of both in interaction. It seeks to remove support for lethality, to assist existing institutions for nonkilling service, and to create new nonkilling policies and institutions’ (Paige 2007, p. 100). Reading these lines it is quite clear that the scientific study of the causes of killing and nonkilling and the shift from the one to the other is not something incidental to other ‘routine’ tasks missions. Paige wants political science to become Nonkilling Political Science—political science that is wholly committed to furthering a Nonkilling Society. This mission is so worthy, so urgent, and so demanding, that it should supersede all other political science avenues. In other words, the Nonkilling Political Science project should revolutionize political science by transforming its research agenda completely.

According to Paige and here lies the second radical aspect of Paige’s program, in order for this revolution to take place political scientists must be morally committed. Political science should not embrace the positivist philosophy of social science. Rather, neutrality and objectivity should be set aside for normative commitments. More precisely, the false positivist belief that science is committed to neutrality and objectivity should be replaced by an understanding that social science, including political science, is and should always be morally committed, ‘Political scientists cannot evade this responsibility by objecting to value-bias and claiming ‘realistic’ scientific neutrality that in truth translates into readiness to kill. Such neutrality has never been true’ (Paige 2007, p. 155). This is clearly a non-positivist form of political science. Therefore, along with a new comprehension of society as Nonkilling, and politics as achieving harmony and love, Paige advances a new<sup>71</sup> conception and practice of political science—a normative approach committed to moral values and principles and presided over by the principle of Nonkilling.

Paige's proposal has many merits. The first is that it challenges what we take for granted. We tend not to think of our society as a killing society. Of course, we are aware that people are being killed and at times we are saddened by their killing and mourn for it. But because we tend to think of killing as given, we fail to challenge it and do not see it as a problem to be solved. Thus, killing is bound to continue. Paige's account of society is an alarming wake up call. By insisting that we must not take killing for granted, that it is not inevitable, Paige shatters our serenity and even the servitude with which we accept killing. His ideas shock and awe us intellectually, urging us to define killing as a real social problem, and, moreover, a solvable problem that should and must be a paramount human priority that exceeds others. Essentially, Paige takes a first and necessary step toward emancipation from the shackles and burdens of killing.

Second, and similarly, his novel definition of politics reminds us that politics need not adhere to the same form over time. Few will accept Paige's definition of politics as resembling contemporary politics in any way; on the other hand, few will reject it as an ideal. But, the question remains whether politics has an inherent quality that stops it from being a locus of love and harmony? I can think of one decisive objection to Paige's definition of politics: that politics is the locus of contestation and conflict *by definition*, and that any alternative definition can only be appropriate to a different sort of public coordination activity—but not to politics. I agree with this objection, but to some extent it is merely semantic and requires only a slight reformulation of Paige's account. Perhaps what we should say is that Paige offers is a new kind of activity, let's call it dialectics (a term that includes dialogue and reasoning, and according to Hegel, the resolution of opposites through synthesis). More important than the semantic question is the expectation that this new and noble kind of activity would replace politics and become the main coordinatory public activity for managing our public affairs. Paige's account should serve as a signpost, showing us how to achieve this higher state of public affairs where societies are ruled by dialectics—not politics.



Paige's proposal wins another gold for understanding that in order to realize the possibility of a Nonkilling Society based on dialectics we should complement their depictions with a new, morally committed variety of political science. Rather than supporting a positivist political science committed to neutrality and objectivity, we should strive for a morally committed political science which aims to shape the society it studies. Only by reshaping society, politics, and political science at the same time can we hope to realize the allegedly unrealizable: a Nonkilling Society

***Part: II***

But there are also certain difficulties with Paige's proposal. First, it demands too much of the political scientist and calls to solve too much at the same time. Second, it does not prioritize the different problems and values. Third, as it stands, Paige's proposal might unwittingly favor wrong-doers. In this section, I will critically examine these three weaknesses in his argument.

As noted before, Paige offers a holistic view of social and political reality. By definition, all problems are linked together as are their solutions. No problem is an island, and in order to solve one problem, say the existence of killing in society (i.e., the problem of a killing society), we must aim to solve all other major problems, including global poverty, violations of human rights, and ecological degradation. Naturally, there is no denying the acuteness of these problems and that a world without them would be a much better place—and a closer proximity to utopia! Moreover, solving all these problems would indeed remove most of the reasons for killing. But, as I will show in a moment, it would not eliminate all causes of killing. Economic equity,<sup>72</sup> mutual respect for human rights and dignity, and a healthy biosphere can contribute to a healthy society in which people will not find reasons to resort to killing. First, there would be less need for killing since redistributing resources would abolish extreme global poverty (Pogge 2005, p. 1) and render the struggle for survival of individuals and collectives less acute. Secondly, killing would not be considered

appropriate for achieving goals since people would respect each other lives and rights, and (remember dialectics) find reasoned dialogue useful for further individual and common aims.

However, it should be clear that the harmony between the solutions for the different problems can only exist in the final stage. It is only when all those problems would no longer exist that we will be able to see their solutions as complementing each other and establishing a secured Nonkilling Society. Unfortunately though, the solution for some problems en route to a Nonkilling Society might clash with the solution of others. The reason for this is that in some situations, progress on one front (solving one problem) might mean a temporary regression in another. For example, in order to safeguard the biosphere, strict restrictions may well be necessary that impinge on people's lives in the developed world. We will have to restrict their culture of consumption. That could rightly be considered as interfering with and curtailing their individual freedoms. Limitations on the development of developing countries and their societies might also be necessary, which would limit their chances of prosperity. Of course, we could then redistribute global resources and technologies more justly and equally. But still, the measures would involve significant interference in personal freedom and collective sovereignty. Would such interference be just? Probably yes. But it is interference nonetheless, and hence, we can reasonably forecast that saving the biosphere would contradict respecting individual and collective human rights.

Similarly, of course, advancing equity can damage individual freedom by restricting (and in some cases even confiscating) property. Once again, this act can be just, but we must realize that not everyone would be willing to embrace it and not everyone would accept such restrictions of their free will. This is not to say that restricting property ownership would have to be violently imposed. And it need not involve resorting to killing. But if not everyone agrees to this imperative voluntarily we would need to accept certain violations of human rights (as they are accepted today), on the way to equity.

Considered thus Paige's holism seems an obstacle to achieving a Nonkilling Society. But the holism is also evident in another aspect of Paige's proposal. His definition of Nonkilling Society is at once too loose and too broad. It is difficult to understand what Paige actually means when he refers to "killing". In one instance, he (Paige 2007, p. 145) explicitly refers to deliberate or intentional killing, but in the rest of the book even this restriction on the form of killing becomes less clear. Would negligent killing fall under the premises of Nonkilling Society? What about reckless killing? Of course we do not want such killings; we even try to fight these phenomena in our own regular killing society. But can we expect a society to be totally free of such forms of killing? Can we really expect the high degree of responsibility from, say, teenagers? A case in point is, of course, road accidents which kill hundreds of thousands of people across the world each year. Again, we should not accept road accidents and we should not despair of attempting to reduce them. But, can we really equate negligent killing by an inexperienced teenager driver to the intentional killing that plagues our societies? I believe the answer is definitely no and that we should learn to unhappily tolerate some scale of unintentional killing in our future Nonkilling Society.

What about behaviors that we know have death as their side effect? Would smoking and selling tobacco be considered killing? Personally, I would be happy to consider them such, but can we achieve a broad consensus on that? But even intentionality does not solve all problems. What about reasoned suicides? Say, due to terminal illness.<sup>73</sup> Should we tolerate that? And how about euthanasia? Should that be acceptable? These are all open questions that cast doubt on the utility and practicality of an excessively broad and loose definition of Nonkilling Society. So, the definition must be more stringent.

Paige's definition raises other questions too. At one point, he (2007, p. 10) refers to abortion as killing. This of course is an unsettled question. It is also a contested question, and as such it highlights another shortcoming of Paige's proposal: whether it is in fact possible to reach

a consensus on the definition of killing? Abortion, which some see as killing and even murder, is seen by others as a woman exercising her rights over her own body. Agreement on this and other issues might be impossible as it involves basic and fundamental belief systems; belief systems that result in different values, norms, and understandings. These beliefs might prove bridgeable under the dialectic sort of coordination of public affairs. Yet, they might also be unbridgeable. If so, dialectics would not do, and a resort to old-fashioned politics (not necessarily violent) could be needed to force one party to accept another party's beliefs, leading to disrespect for others' rights and dignity. In other words, although we should aim at a dialectical collective management, occasions and cases could arise when politics might prove too resilient, along the mutual disrespect it entails.

Let us turn to the second drawback of Paige's proposal for Nonkilling Society. As mentioned above, Paige (2007, pp. 78-79) calls 'to place nonkilling along with questions of freedom, equality, justice, and democracy, at the normative-empirical and empirical-normative core of the discipline.' It seems there is no prioritization of those values, and, as we saw above, some values may be at odds with others, especially in the critical moments of trying to realize them. But if indeed there is no prioritization, how can we deal with the clashes and conflicts between the different goals and values described above? This is an open question that Paige does not answer. Moreover, I am not sure he is even aware of the problem. One cannot list several values, especially conflicting ones, without prioritizing them, or by at least offering some guidelines as to how to prioritize them in different situations.

Elsewhere, though, Paige (2007, p. 155) implies that at the present time, nonkilling is more fundamental and crucial than other values, 'Nonkilling is at least of equal importance because humanity has arrived at a condition where all of these values are threatened without a powerful commitment to a nonkilling ethic in political science and political life.' So we are faced here with two possible problems. If

indeed the values are equally important we will experience unsolved dilemmas on how to proceed in scenarios involving conflicting values. But if, alternatively, Paige does place Nonkilling above the other values, a third kind of weakness arises. If political scientists are to be committed to Nonkilling over and above other values, we would be exposed to a powerful charge: that we favor the wrong-doers, those who intentionally and systematically harm the weak. In other words, an excessively strong commitment to Nonkilling may favor evil. It is the same objection that Leszek Kolakowski (1975) raised against neutrality—that it actually favors the powerful. If one insists on not trying to influence the outcome of a conflict, one actually supports the parties with the most resources. It is the weak who need the help of the bystander and the third party, and if those deny help for the sake of neutrality, the odds will further lean towards the most powerful. The same is true with regard to the value of Nonkilling. If one is predominantly committed to Nonkilling, he will retain only weak enforcement tools for combating evil. Moreover, he will not have violent means at his disposal, not even as deterrence.

This is not just a problem of dealing with ‘Hitlers’, as Paige calls them. Evil has many faces and many degrees. And a commitment to Nonkilling may involve abandoning those who are in danger. Today, it is quite acceptable to speak of the responsibility to protect (R2P).<sup>74</sup> Under extreme circumstances, mostly where a national leadership commits atrocities against its own citizenry, the international community may assume responsibility for the defenseless citizenry. Now, we may wish these atrocities would never happen, and we can subscribe to Paige’s optimism that in future we might reach this blissful state. But I will again refer to the convulsing nature of the process of getting to this state of affairs. These processes are very much processes of destabilization in which violence is expected. As described above it is reasonable to expect some discontent among those who feel they have lost in the process—mostly dictators facing democratization and

wealthy people facing redistribution. It is reasonable to expect some outbursts of violence, and the international community, along with political scientists, must be prepared to meet them with resolve. To eschew violent responses (or the threat of their use), including resort to the extremity of killing, means abandoning the weak to their fate and tantamount to favoring the powerful forces of evil who *are* willing to kill.

Let me stress, my pessimism is not intrinsic. Nonkilling Society may in fact be a realizable goal. I certainly hope it is. But the means of achieving it may result in some killing, and a rigidly holistic and strict commitment to Nonkilling from the outset may be ill equipped to deal with the concomitant risks. Ironically, we may sacrifice the possibility of achieving a Nonkilling Society by our rigid commitment to it. This is doubly true in the killing fields of international relations.

### *Part: III*

Where does all this leave us? We have not yet reached the phase in which as Paige (2007, p. 2) wishes, ‘Intellectuals do not apologize for it [killing].’ And we still need the tradition of Just War Theory (JWT) as a moral theory which tries to regulate institutional violence, and probably by moving to the realization of a Nonkilling Society, we will need it even more. This is not a dismissive, Stalin-type remark, that ‘When you chop wood the chips fly.’ It is an argument that springs from a feeling of compassion for human life, from the real and tragic understanding that at times we must resort to killing to save people’s lives and that the same will hold true while progressing towards Nonkilling Society. War, including humanitarian intervention under the parameters of R2P, is a social institution that involves killing essentially. We can try to develop as many non-lethal weapons as possible but there will always be occasions in war when we must resort to killing. We should constantly bear this in mind and treat the capacity to kill as a last resort resource only in a necessary war. Otherwise the killing fields of international relations will destroy us all together with our hopes of achieving Nonkilling Society.

The true purpose of JWT is not to apologize for killing but rather the creation of a framework for curbing killing as much as possible. This is a crucial point which brings us back to my opening remarks in the introduction. As explained in a moment, although the purpose of JWT is to curb killing it can easily serve as to justify killing. Moreover, the danger of justifying killing can also be adduced from Paige's dismissive remark about intellectuals who apologize for killing. JWT can, if politicized and perverted, supply forceful arguments for impermissible killing. Stated differently, in the wrong hands, JWT can lead to more not less killing. In what follows, I analyze this danger, briefly demonstrate it, and indicate how we should approach it under the parameters of Nonkilling Political Science.

Elsewhere, I develop the concept of rhetorical capital, defined as the aggregate persuasive resources inherent in entities (Ish-Shalom 2008a). This theoretical concept offers insights into what attracts politicians and ideologues to rhetorically use, misuse, and abuse certain entities (material objects and idea constructs), and how this rhetorical use, misuse, and abuse is being carried out. Examining the internal features of moral theory in general and JWT in particular will help us understand why and how they are rhetorically used, misused, and abused. For purposes of our current analysis, several points should be stressed. First, as their name implies, moral theories carry moral weight and stature. They are equipped to serve as moral guidance to those who wish to act morally (or at least pretend to act morally). Second, and closely related, moral theories generally address and conform to our moral intuitions. Accordingly, if correctly stated, they concur with our deepest intuitions and this concurrence bestows them with a familiarity which helps to establish them as moral guidance. Third, moral theories, especially in their modern academic incarnation, seek to build on and refine our intuitions. As such they are complex, composite, and subtle sets of arguments, mostly couched in academic jargon. Accordingly, despite the aforementioned intuitive familiarity, moral theories are difficult to comprehend fully. Thus, they are relatively

sensitive to misunderstanding, and sometimes to intentional misrepresentation. Fourth, moral theories are generally universal, which lends them additional normative weight as their dicta are intended to transcend particularist interests and viewpoints. In other words, moral theories provide lofty standards to which we can appeal in partisan political disputes. Supposedly, a party would then not be serving its own particularist interests, but protecting the sensibilities of humanity as a whole.

Fifth and closely related to the last point, even though moral theories lay claims to universal validity, to be applicable in the real world, they must be supplemented by additional information. Knowing the theory will not suffice when applying moral judgment. The factual environment of the situation-to-be-judged must also be considered. For example, one must know the sequence of events and causal chain leading to the events, and the intentions of the actors involved. Expressed more concretely, we need to know which party initiated hostilities, with what intentions, and how that initial act escalated into the use of lethal weapons and war. Those are real world facts, and they do not order themselves neutrally into an objective description of reality. Consequently, to be able to apply a moral theory in the real world, a narrative must be accepted, usually one narrative out of several conflicting ones. Because of the crucial role of narratives when applying moral theory, moral theory is more elastic than its adherents would normally grant. More importantly, it makes the theory's application more amenable to the political cherry picking of facts in line with partisan interests. Thus, while assuming a universal scope and standard of application moral theory can become a political sectarian instrument. Accordingly, moral theory can provide justification (honest and dishonest) for different, even conflicting, acts. When this point, along with the first four points, is understood it becomes quite understandable that moral theory abounds with rhetorical capital and that this rhetorical capital is ripe to be used, misused, and abused rhetorically.



Additionally, JWT, which is a particular kind of moral theory, has two additional features that add to its rhetorical capital. First, it has a long and prestigious tradition. JWT goes back as far as the Church fathers, to prominent figures like St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. Thus, it is deeply ingrained not only in our moral intuitions, but in our cultural connotations as well. Second, JWT, especially its *Jus in Bello* dimension, essentially aims and functions to curb wartime killing as far as possible. It identifies the few people whose killing might be permissible under very restricted conditions. All those that do not fall under this category, cannot be legitimately killed. Their killing is impermissible and proscribed. What is important to our discussion on the rhetorical capital of JWT is that the quite sound outcome of pointing the impermissibility of killing some individuals, can amount to pointing the permissibility of killing the others. In other words, it is quite easy to turn the effect of the theory on its head and stress the permissibility of killing rather than its impermissibility; the prescription rather than the proscription of killing. This is especially true when we combine this feature of JWT with the features of the rhetorical capital of moral theory in general. First, identifying the category of those that their killing is permissible is far from straightforward as this category itself is not precisely demarcated. There is a continuous and unresolved discussion regarding the definition of those that are protected from killing. Are they civilians, non-combatants, uninvolved parties, or whoever comes under the heading of “innocents”?<sup>75</sup> Each definition involves a somewhat different population. Moreover, the content of the category is not constant. It depends on many criteria and conditions, some quite fuzzy. For example, one of the most important criteria in the justification of killing is proportionality, but there are no generally-applicable guidelines for proportionality: is sacrificing the lives of ten of our soldiers to protect the life of one enemy citizen proportional? Or is a ratio of 5 to 1, or 200 to 1 acceptable? And what is proportional if we consider risking our soldiers’ lives to save an enemy soldier? And how many enemy citizens is it proportional to risk when trying to destroy a legitimate military target, say an ammunition factory in a crowded neighborhood?

10? 100? 1000? The question is really whether a ready-made equation exists that will fit all scenarios. Proportionality is a crucial yet fuzzy requirement (See also Hurka 2005).

The demarcation of permissible killing also changes according to the circumstances involved, for example: Is this an all out war? Is it really a last resort? Who was the aggressor? Circumstances depend on interpretations, which are determined by the narrative adopted. As mentioned above, each side can adopt the narrative that politically suits it. In other words, it is far from simple to categorically determine which killing is permissible and which is not. Taking all these features together, we see that JWT is rich with rhetorical capital and becomes very attractive to people who wish to convince others in the permissiveness of the killing they inflict on others.

We have witnessed this inverted use of JWT and its dependency on interpretations and narratives in many of the recent armed conflicts and wars. The 1999 NATO air campaign against former Yugoslavia, code-named Operation Allied Force, would be a case in point. While its aim was to protect the beleaguered Kosovo Albanians and its cause was humanitarian, it resulted in killing about 500 Serbian civilians. NATO claimed them to be collateral damage in the necessary pursuit of a just cause, and hence, regretful, but permissible killings. This claim is very dubious as the air sorties were conducted at very high altitude to avoid risking the lives of the NATO air crews. The high altitude made it difficult to correctly identify the targets and take accurate aim. Civilian lives were sacrificed wholesale to save military lives.<sup>76</sup> In other words, the discrimination principle was not upheld. NATO, however, argued for the principle of double effect, insisting that according to JWT it had acted justly and that the killings were all permissible. Rather than curbing killing, the theory was misused for justifying it.

The American war against Iraq is another instance of the misuse of JWT and the inversion of its aim. There were several declared causes for the Iraq War, including (wrong) accusations of cooperation between

Saddam Hussein and Al-Qaeda, and (again misguided) assumptions that Iraq had an arsenal of 'Weapons of Mass Destruction'. Additionally, the war was justified as a humanitarian intervention to end the atrocities routinely carried out by Hussein's regime, and as part of a campaign of democratization: hence its code-name Operation Iraqi Freedom. But, even though these two reasons were extremely noble and moral this war has been full of pain and suffering. We don't know the numbers of Iraqi civilian victims but they are assumed to be in the hundreds of thousands. Civil order is non-existent, and generally speaking the Iraqi state exists in name only. Surely by any moral standards these results are unacceptable. Yet JWT has been repeatedly *and* successfully marshaled to justify the US and its coalition's conduct. Something is evidently amiss.

And we again witnessed the rhetorical capital of JWT and its public uses in Israel's Cast Lead operation in Gaza in 2009. More than 1300 Palestinians were killed, many of them non-combatants, in an operation that used heavy fire power causing enormous destruction to life and civic infrastructure (including some UN installations). This is not the place to evaluate the justness of the operation or the permissibility or impermissibility of its killing. It is obvious, though, that this scale of killing and destruction cannot be easily justified. However, all the fighting of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) was conducted, supervised, and guided by the Military Advocates General (MAG), responsible for imposing the rules of warring conduct. But here we see JWT turned on its head. The main function of the MAG was to justify killing, not ban it; it was to provide the IDF with legal and moral justification for the large scale killing and destruction inflicted on the Palestinians. And the way the MAG justified this killing was through interpreting the circumstances of the fighting so that the scale of killing could be judged permissible. It should be emphasized that the Palestinian fighting forces amply supported the MAG efforts, by constantly bombarding Israeli civilian cities and towns, and by hiding and fighting from the cover of the Palestinian civil population. Again, I have no desire to analyze here

whether the MAG interpretation was reasonable or not. What does matter is the reversed application of JWT from trying to curb killing to condoning its escalation.

In other words, political and moral theorists can unintentionally supply practitioners with a powerful weapon: a supposedly moral and universal justification for impermissible killing on a vast scale. When we discuss Nonkilling Political Science in an era when killing is sometime necessary—this is what we should be paying attention to. This is what we should be committed to—to not allowing ourselves to be used, misused, and abused politically. We should concentrate on avoiding providing potential evildoers with weapon of killing and destruction. We should be alert to the rhetorical capital embedded in our creations, namely theories; rhetorical capital that is waiting to be politically misused and abused with immoral outcomes, such as to further the actions of wrong-doers and spread evil and death.

The question of how to discharge this responsibility in the case of JWT should probably be the subject of a sequel paper. However, as a first take I would recommend the need to be sensitive to the complexity of our moral arguments and to realize how ambiguous and open to interpretation they are. We must also be aware of cases where theories are abused or misinterpreted, and be willing, in such cases, to take a stand as public intellectuals, or better still, theoretician-citizens (Ish-Shalom 2008b) and proffer our academic inputs. We should try to enrich the public debate with our theoretical insights and not sell their richness and intricacy short by oversimplifying them for public consumption. We must not fall into the attractive trap of trivializing our theories and instrumentally exploit their rhetorical capital. This might be convenient and uncomplicated in the short term but it would be destructive to our academic and public stature in the longer term and limit our ability to contribute effectively and positively to our society, and to its moral constitution and chances of evolving into a Nonkilling Society.

We must also be receptive to the need to contextualize our universal theories. It is here where politics is ready to jump in and kidnap our theories as its needs dictate. We must be prepared to be involved in studying the context of a theory's application and contribute our judgment in a concerned and impartial manner—concerned for everyone involved in the conflict and impartial in the sense of employing general rules, independently of any particular case and partisan interests (Kolakowski 1975, p. 72). The combined measures will allow better control over the public fate of our theories and help us to contribute to the progress of society towards a Nonkilling Society.

### ***Conclusions***

This paper examines Glenn Paige's proposal for a Global Nonkilling Political Science and explore both the merits and drawbacks of Paige's proposition. On the positive side, he highlights killing as a real and acute yet solvable social problem and suggests novel and desirable understandings of society, politics (which I prefer to term dialectics), and social science. I have also identified certain drawbacks in Paige's proposal, mainly his excessively loose definition of what constitutes killing, and his holistic view of social reality, its problems, and their assumed solutions. I also point out that an excessively rigid commitment to Nonkilling in our times might result in abandoning the weak to the mercy of evildoers. Especially in the killing fields of international relations this abandonment might breach our responsibility to protect the victims of atrocities.

Accordingly, I argue here for a more nuanced and modest approach to a Nonkilling Political Science compared to Paige's holistic one. As we strive for a Nonkilling Society we should be aware that the actual process may generate killing and violence. To deal with this we require an arsenal of moral theories and in particular Just War Theories; theories which aim to curb killing as much as possible. However, we must also recognize the rhetorical capital that is embedded in those theories and the possibility that it might result in justifying and prescribing

killing far more than required. We must be ready and willing to act against the political and rhetorical misuse and abuse of our theories. The only way political science can equip itself to further the evolution of a Nonkilling Society is by taking a nuanced approach. Moreover, only political scientists who are resolved can morally orient their theories to the benefit of society and achieve Paige's vision of Global Nonkilling Political Science and Nonkilling Society.

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*Though by all mean he is not alone in it, non-positivism is by now quite common.*

*Economic equity which, we should better add, would not be based on equity of scarcity!*

*Paige (2007, p. 10) does count suicide as killing. I find that odd, especially in cases of terminal illness where suicide can be considered reasoned.*

*See for example Etzioni 2007.*

*See for example McMahan 2006.*

*Neta Crawford (2007) cites this air operation as an example of what she calls “Systemic Military Atrocity”.*



# The Role of Spritual Ecology In Nonkilling

Leslie E. Sponsel

## Abstract

Spiritual ecology is a complex and diverse arena of intellectual and practical activities at the interface of religions and spiritualities on the one hand, and on the other ecologies, environments, and environmentalism. Also, it is an arena of nonviolent and constructive interfaith dialog and collaboration wherein individuals and organizations from diverse religious traditions and spiritual orientations can find common purpose as co-inhabitants on planet Earth. In addition, it has the potential to extend nonkilling beyond humankind to all species and even the biosphere as a whole. Accordingly, spiritual ecology can make a contribution toward the primary goal of the Center for Global Nonkilling in the broadest possible sense.

“I need no inspiration other than Nature’s. She has never failed me as yet. She mystifies me, bewilders me, sends me to ecstasies” (Gandhi quoted in Moolakkattu 2010:152-153).

“Through the wider Self, every living being is connected intimately, and from this intimacy follows the capacity of *identification* and, as its natural consequences, practice of nonviolence.... The rock-



bottom foundation of the technique for achieving the power of nonviolence is belief in the essential oneness of all life” (Naess 2008:90).

“... nonviolence is the fundamental condition in which all the great spiritual teachers have called upon humanity to live” (Paige 1993:142)

- ★ Spiritual Ecology
- ★ Interfaith Harmony
- ★ Speciesism
- ★ Empathy and Compassion
- ★ Gandhian Ecology

### **Spiritual Ecology**

Spiritual ecology is a complex and diverse arena of intellectual and practical activities at the interface of religions and spiritualities on the one hand, and on the other ecologies, environments, and environmental. The use of the plural in these terms reflects the variation and variability within each category. Some scholars prefer labels such as religion and ecology, or religion and nature, instead of spiritual ecology. However, spiritual is a more inclusive term since many individuals who do not choose to affiliate with any particular religious organization, or identify themselves with some religion in general, are nevertheless spiritual, while those who do chose to affiliate can also be spiritual. The term encompasses both the spirituality of the individual and to the belief of many that there are spiritual beings and forces in nature (Harvey 2006, Sponsel 2007a, b).

The spiritual and practical aspects of spiritual ecology are very ancient, while the intellectual aspects in the modern academic sense are very recent. The earliest and still most widespread spiritual ecologists are the indigenous adherents to some manifestation of the generic label Animism such as traditional Australian Aborigines (Harvey 2006). This religion encompasses a belief in spiritual beings and forces in nature. Within Western culture, one of the earlier outstanding examples of a

spiritual ecologist is the Catholic Saint Francis of Assisi (1181/2-1226) who was ahead of his time by about a thousand years in his deep concerns for social justice and nature (E.A. Armstrong 1993, Nothwehr 2002, Sorrell 1988).

Within modern academia in America, more than anyone else Lynn White, Jr. (1907-1987) initiated scholarship in this arena of spiritual ecology. His classic article published in 1967 in the prestigious journal *Science*, “The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis,” is the most frequently cited article in the entire history of that periodical. It generated a discussion and debate that continues to this day, and it led to the development of ecotheology which usually focuses on Christianity and environment, often as an attempt to refute White’s main thesis that the dominant interpretation of the Bible is the ultimate cause of the ecocrisis (Hargrove 1986, Nash 1989, Santmire 2003, and Spring and Spring 1974). However, the various activities associated with the Forum on Religion and Ecology since the 1990s, developed largely by Mary Evelyn Tucker and John Grim, probably have done more than any other initiative to launch spiritual ecology as a contemporary field of academic and scientific research, publications, conferences, and teaching. Two other extraordinary contributors are Bron Taylor and Roger S. Gottlieb (See Gottlieb 2004, 2006a,b, 2007, Taylor 2005, 2010, Tucker 1997, Tucker and Berling 2003, Tucker and Grim 2001, 2007, 2009).

In general, each of the three primary aspects of spiritual ecology—intellectual, spiritual, and practical—can be pursued alone, but often two or all three of them reinforce one another in various degrees and ways. The intellectual aspect encompasses academic scholarship across the humanities and the natural and social sciences. This is an interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary, and transdisciplinary field of study which is growing exponentially (Kearns and Keller 2007, Narayan and Kumar 2003, Swearer 2009). Indeed, there is sufficient literature on many world religions in relation to ecology to launch an entire academic and/or activist career focused on pursuing just one

religion such as Buddhist ecology and environmentalism (Kaza 2008, Kaza and Kraft 2000, Martin 1997, Sponsel and Natadecha-Sponsel 1991, 2008, Tucker and Williams 1997).

The spiritual aspect may be pursued by an individual or group in nature, or through participation in a religious organization. It may involve rituals, ceremonies, sacred places, and mysticism. This is the least studied, documented, and understood aspect of spiritual ecology so far, although ultimately it is often the most important one. Many environmentalists and conservationists are ultimately motivated by some kind of personal spiritual or mystical experiences in nature, although this is usually implicit in their writings at best (Kaza 2008, Taylor 2005, 2010).

The practical component of spiritual ecology refers to environmental action on behalf of nature or the environment, and some of this action is explicitly recognized as religious environmentalism (Bassett, et al., 2000, Dudley, et al., 2005, Gardner 2002, 2006, 2010a,b, Gottlieb 2004, 2006a,b, Palmer and Finlay 2003, Ramakrishnan, et al., 1998, Sponsel 2007b,c). A multitude of specific projects are well underway in this arena, such as Interfaith Power and Light in the U.S.A., and internationally the Alliance of Religions and Conservation, to mention just two.

As noted by the American Academy of Religion (2010): “Throughout history, it [religion] has expressed the deepest questions human beings can ask, and it has taken a central place in the lives of virtually all civilizations and cultures.... Religion persists and is on the rise, even as scientific and non-religious perspectives have become prominent.” Humans are religious or spiritual beings in various ways and degrees, as well as biological, mental, social, cultural, economic, political, and aesthetic beings. Religion is a cross-cultural universal; no society is known that totally lacks religion, although some individuals within any society may not be religious or spiritual, or only nominally so (Smith 1992, 2001). Also, some individuals are spiritual, but not religious in the sense of belonging to some organization or institution

devoted to a religious tradition. Furthermore, even some atheists may still be spiritual (Crosby 2002). However, religion is often the primary source of an individual's worldview, values, and attitudes, including elements related to nature and the environment. Religion can be an extremely powerful influence on individuals and groups, for better or worse.

Since Earth Day on April 22, 1970, the environmental crisis has not only continued, but also it has become progressively worse and more urgent (Nelson 2002). This situation has transpired in spite of many secular approaches ranging from the impressive developments in the second half of the twentieth century in the environmental components of education, natural and social sciences, humanities like history, philosophy, and ethics, and law and other professions, not to mention the establishment of numerous natural history, environmental, and conservations organizations since the nineteenth century. It should be obvious that secular approaches, although certainly necessary and important, have proven insufficient in meeting the challenges of the ecocrisis. Organizations such as the Worldwatch Institute, the United Nations Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, and the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change have been systematically documenting the worsening ecocrisis from the local to the global levels. (Also, see Leslie 1996, McKibben 1989, and Wilson 2003, 2006).

Like White (1967:28, 30-31), many individuals from diverse backgrounds and persuasions are convinced that the ecocrisis will only be resolved, or at least markedly reduced, only if there is *a fundamental rethinking, re feeling, and revisioning of the place of humans in nature*. They believe that religion and spirituality can generate such a profound transformation in many individuals and societies where secular approaches have proven inadequate (Berry and Tucker 2006, 2009, Tucker and Berling 2003, Watling 2009). For instance, The Global Forum in Moscow in January 1990 concluded: "The Environmental crisis requires changes not only in public policy, but in individual behavior. The historical record makes clear that

religious teaching, example, and leadership are powerfully able to influence personal conduct and commitment. As scientists, many of us have had profound experience of awe and reverence before the universe. We understand that what is regarded as sacred is more likely to be treated with care and respect. Our planetary home should be so regarded. Efforts to safeguard and cherish the environment need to be infused with a vision of the sacred” (Global Forum 1990). Likewise, Rabbi Michael Lerner (2000:138) observes: “... the upsurge of Spirit is the only plausible way to stop the ecological destruction of our planet. Even people who have no interest in a communal solution to the distortions in our lives will have to face up [to] this ecological reality. Unless we transform our relationship with nature, we will destroy the preconditions for human life on this planet.”

No particular religious or spiritual path is designated as the sole solution for the ongoing and worsening ecocrisis. Instead, numerous and diverse scientists, scholars, educators, clerics, adherents, politicians, and others are each looking into their own religion and/or spirituality for elements to help them construct more viable environmental worldviews, attitudes, values, and practices for themselves and like-minded others (Gottlieb 2006a,b, Tucker and Berling 2003, Watling 2009). Individuals who are not religious or spiritual must pursue their own alternative paths.

Whether or not spiritual ecology becomes a revolutionary movement and finally resolves or at least reduces the ecocrisis, it remains a most fascinating and significant arena. Religions, spiritualities, ecologies, environments, and environmentalisms are all each interesting and significant, and when one examines their interrelationships it is even more interesting and significant (Sponsel 2007a,bc).

Spiritual ecology has already demonstrated an extraordinary capacity to facilitate constructive dialog and collaboration between disparate and sometimes antagonistic parties, including religions, religion and science, and the humanities and sciences (Barbour 2000, Carroll and Warner 1998, Clayton and Simpson 2006, Conroy and Petersen

2000, Kellert and Farnham 2002, Vittachi 1989). *It may even become a catalyst for a theoretical and practical new synthesis of human understanding of some of the most elemental, perennial, and pivotal questions: What is nature? What is human? What is the place of humans in nature? What should be the place of humans in nature?*

At the same time, there are some serious obstacles and limitations facing spiritual ecology. First, there is the powerful establishment which is seriously challenged by spiritual ecology, including hegemonic economic and political interests, individuals pursuing scientism, Marxists who ignore the significance of religion and spirituality, and so on (Haught 1990). Second, there is the discrepancy between ideals and behaviors among adherents to various religions as well as the need for going beyond rhetoric to take more practical action. Third, there are factions and tensions within any given religion or religious sect or school. Fourth, far more outreach to the grass roots or community level is sorely needed. However, in many respects while spiritual ecology is still in its infancy, it is likely to mature rapidly within coming decades. Indeed, there is certainly the substantial momentum of the exponential growth of spiritual ecology pursued in a multitude and diversity of ways in many sectors and levels of society (Sponsel 2010a, 2011).

### **Interfaith Harmony**

In a world where the mainstream media often focus on religious or sectarian conflict and violence (Jurgensmeyer 2003, Kimball2002), it is important to consider and publicize counterexamples. Spiritual ecology is an arena of genuine nonviolent and constructive interfaith dialog and collaboration wherein individuals and organizations from diverse religious traditions and spiritual orientations can find common purpose as co-inhabitants on planet Earth (Bassett, et al., 2000, McPherson 1991, National Religious Partnership for the Environment, Womersley 2005). This is in striking contrast, at least in America, to sociopolitical issues like abortion, capital punishment, euthanasia, and war where there is often heated controversy among and even within

religions. Here it must suffice to mention only a few of the more prominent initiatives of interfaith dialog and collaboration in the arena of spiritual ecology.

In 1986 the World Wildlife Fund International (WWF), one of the most prominent international conservation organizations, generated an inter-faith dialogue among leaders in Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, and Judaism at Assisi, Italy. Each leader wrote a concise statement on the environmental ethics inherent in their own religion, and these were collectively published as the Assisi Declarations (WWF 1986). Some 800 people attended the conference which was held on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the WWF.

The Assisi conference led to the development of the international Alliance for Religions and Conservation (ARC) based initially at the International Consultancy on Religion, Education and Culture (ICOREC) in Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, England. ARC has been working on over a hundred conservation projects with 11 major faiths. Among these projects are the preservation of churchyards and sacred land in the United Kingdom, Huichol sacred landscapes and pilgrimage routes in Mexico, Buddhist and Daoist sacred mountains in China, and ancient pilgrimage sites of Vrindavan and Sri Jgannath Forests in India (Dudley, et al., 2005, Edwards and Palmer 1997).

The interfaith and interdisciplinary conference titled “Spirit and Nature: Why the Environment Is a Religious Issue” was held in 1990 at Middlebury College in Vermont. It yielded a wonderful documentary film televised nationally on the Public Broadcasting Station with the distinguished journalist Bill Moyers as narrator and also an edited book of revised conference papers reflecting on the environmental relevance of the Buddhist, Christian, Jewish, Muslim, and Native American religions (Moyers 1991, Rockefeller and Elder 1992).

The Interfaith Partnership for the Environment was founded as a project of the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) in 1986. It has become a worldwide network of different religious

organizations working to promote collaboration between their representatives and environmentalists (Bassett, et al., 2000). (Also see the Earth Charter, Lynn 2004).

By now research and dialog on the environmental relevance of each of the world's major religions has advanced to the point that some attempts have also been made to identify common denominators or at least parallels among them. For instance, in the last chapter of the first textbook on spiritual ecology author David Kinsley (1995:227-232) identifies these ten basic principles:

1. Many religions consider all of reality, or some of its components, to be an organic whole or a living being.
2. There is an emphasis on cultivating rapport with the local environment through developing intimate knowledge about it and practicing reverence for its beauty, mystery, and power through ritual celebrations of recognition and appreciation.
3. The human and nonhuman realms are directly interrelated, often in the sense of some kind of kinship, and in certain cases, even to the extent of animals being viewed as another form of humans or persons.
4. The appropriate relationship between humans and nature should be reciprocal; that is, humans do not merely recognize interdependence, but also promote mutually beneficial interactions with nature.
5. Ultimately the dichotomy between humans and their environment is nonexistent; humans are embedded in nature as an integral part of the larger whole or cosmos.
6. This non-dualistic view reflects the ultimate elemental unity of all existence; nature and spirit are inseparable, there is only one reality, and this continuity can be sensed and experienced.
7. This underlying unity is moral as well as physical; humans and nonhumans participate in a shared moral system wherein environmental issues are first and foremost ethical concerns; and nature has intrinsic as well as extrinsic values.



8. Humans should act with restraint in nature by avoiding the anthropocentric arrogance of excessive, wasteful, and destructive use of the land and other resources, and in other ways they should exercise proper behavior toward plants, animals, and other aspects of nature as sacred.

9. Harmony or balance between humans and the rest of nature must be maintained and promoted, and, if it is upset, then it should be restored.

10. Frequently the motivation, commitment, and intensity of ecological concerns are essentially religious or spiritual (cf. Pedersen 1998).

These can be a basis for further dialog and action. Many contributors to spiritual ecology tend to think that we already have the solution to the ecocrisis and how to live in balance and harmony with nature. We only need to more closely and effectively approximate the appropriate ideals and principles of our religion in actual practice. Religions are already in place, well-established, and followed in various ways and degrees by billions of people. The pivotal task ahead is for more people to better understand the environmental as well as human and social consequences of their behaviors and institutions in both the short and long term; systematically and explicitly construct and more closely follow a viable environmental ethic; and then recognize and effectively practice the spiritual ecology in their own religion including the sacredness of all life. As Huston Smith (1992, 2000) appreciates, the world's religions are the collective wisdom of humanity and they have the potential to be channeled for enormous good.

### **Speciesism**

In its extreme sense, speciesism refers to the anthropocentric belief that the human species *Homo sapiens* is superior to all others in every respect and that other species can be indiscriminately exploited and harmed to suit human needs and desires. Accordingly, nonhuman beings may be excluded from moral consideration (Singer 1990, Waldau 2002, Waldau and Patton 2006). *Spiritual ecology has the*

*potential to extend nonkilling, or more broadly, non-harming, beyond humankind to all species and even to the biosphere as a whole.* The three main religions and philosophies of Buddhism, Hinduism, and Jainism share the concept and precept of *ahimsa* which means nonkilling, or more broadly non-harming (Chapple 1993, Phillips 2008). To briefly consider one of these three, Jainism is probably the most extreme case of spiritual ecology. It is a universal belief in the sacredness of every being. Jains consider every organism to be an individual with basic needs, the capacity to feel pain, and even a soul. Thereby they extend the principle of nonviolence beyond humans to all of nature as sacred and practice universal love. Their worldview, values, attitudes, and ensuing practices are the opposite of speciesism.

Ideally, a Jain reduces the suffering of other beings by limiting his or her resource consumption to basic needs, as for example through eating only one daily meal unless fasting. Jains are not only vegetarians, avoiding eating animal foods, but also they refrain from using animal products. As vegetarians they consume only certain fruits, nuts, vegetables, and grains. Jains renounce all professions and trades that might harm animals in any way. They even visit markets to rescue animals destined to be slaughtered by others and they maintain welfare centers for old, sick, injured, and dying animals. The strictest Jains use a filter to drink water in order to minimize consuming organisms that might be in it. They walk naked and barefooted moving a small broom like a fan to push aside any organisms they might otherwise step on. Strict Jains even practice celibacy to avoid killing sperm. In these, and many other ways, individual Jains daily maximize empathy, compassion, and reverence for all beings. Thereby they minimize their environmental impact, resource consumption, and violence. Jains pursue *aparigraha*, or non-materialism, limiting their acquisition of material goods and instead contributing their wealth and time to humanitarian charities and philanthropic causes (Chapple 1993, 2002, Singhvi 1997, Tobias 1991). As L. M. Singhvi (1997:93) says, “Jainism is fundamentally a religion of ecology and has turned ecology into a religion.” Incidentally,

Jainism is also behind the awesome work of Satish Kumar, head of Schumacher College in Devon, England, truly a great leader in spiritual ecology (Kumar 2002, 2007, 2010, *Resurgence* 2010). Non-materialism parallels the environmentally sensitive radical or voluntary simplicity movement in the West and beyond. One of its pioneers, Jim Merkel (2003:162-163) lists its spiritual principles as kindness, compassion, love, responsibility, limits, and fascination. (Also, see the Global Living Project 2010. For a survey of views on animals from another religion, Islam, see Foltz 2006. For Buddhist approaches to consumerism see Kaza 2005, Payne 2010).

Certainly the aim of nonkilling is most admirable. However, surely it assumes far greater admirability when it is not limited to human beings, but extended to all beings in the case of the Jain ideal of maximizing one's effort to minimize one's harm in the world. If an individual can hesitate to kill even an insect, then this magnifies manifold the goal of not killing another human being, given that most people retain some modicum of speciesism. Moreover, this realization should also make it easier for humans to empathize with fellow members of their own species and thereby extend compassion and loving-kindness toward them.

### **Empathy and Compassion**

In his best selling book *Ethics for the New Millennium*, His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet (1999) develops the foundation for a universal ethic that transcends any particular religion or philosophy. He argues that the unconditional love of the mother for her infant generates the basic goodness of human nature, including empathy, compassion, loving kindness, and nonviolence. He notes that all humans desire to be happy and to avoid suffering. Furthermore, since all beings are interconnected and interdependent in various ways and degrees, making others happy makes oneself happy and the converse. Accordingly, it is in everyone's interest to do whatever creates happiness and to avoid whatever generates suffering. This is the heart of his universal ethics. Moreover, genuine happiness is inner peace,

and that is grounded in compassionate concern for others. Thus, the challenge is to extend empathy and thereby compassion and loving-kindness beyond one's own in-group. This requires individual restraint and good intentions including the cultivating of an ethic of virtue to mindfully shift attention away from ego to others. That can even feed social and political policies to resolve problems that ultimately stem from the way we think about and act toward other beings. Ultimately societal peace and world peace depend on the inner peace of the collectivity of the individuals involved. Furthermore, minds as well as societies need to be demilitarized (Andreas 2004).

Parallel to the above view is the work by Karen Armstrong (2010) in developing the Charter for Compassion. She argues that compassion is celebrated in all of the major religious, spiritual, and ethical traditions. The Golden Rule is our primary duty and cannot be limited to only our own political, religious, or ethnic group. The cultivation of compassion can build common ground in our divided world and thereby reduce tensions, conflicts, and violence.

Although space is not available here to provide the details, it should be noted that the role of empathy, compassion, and related phenomena in ethics and behavior is being documented through a variety of scientific research. Some of this work has been inspired by His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet (Davidson and Harrington 2002, Mind and Life Institute 2010). However, there is also independent research pursuing the biological roots of behaviors like empathy and compassion in primates and other nonhuman animals (Bekoff 2007a,b, Bekoff and Pierce 2009, de Waal 2009, Hrdy 2009). Like the nonkilling perspective developed by Glenn D. Paige and his colleagues, this is a very exciting and promising new frontier for basic and applied research. (See Paige and Gilliat 1991, and Evans Pim 2009).

His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet asserts that a spiritual revolution is required to more effectively deal with the problems of the world created by humanity. Spiritual ecology is a vital component of

such a revolution in the present author's opinion. Killing would be reduced and nonkilling increased by extending empathy beyond humankind to all species and ecosystems within the biosphere of planet Earth.

### **Gandhian Ecology**

In various ways and degrees the voluminous writings and awesome lifestyle of Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869-1948) anticipated many elemental principles of ecology and environmentalism of today including holism instead of atomism; monism instead of dualism; interconnections and interdependencies in systems; ecocentrism instead of anthropocentrism or egocentrism; intrinsic value of other beings instead of merely extrinsic or utilitarian value; unity of life and species egalitarianism instead of speciesism; reverence for all life as sacred; finite resources, environmental limits, and limiting wants to satisfy basic needs; voluntary simplicity; fasting, vegetarianism, and locavorism; decentralization, local rural community self-sufficiency, and sustainable livelihood; stewardship, conservation, and waste recycling; self-discipline, self-restraint, and minimizing one's ecological footprint; ethical responsibility to future generations; and critique of technology, industrialism, urbanization, capitalism, consumerism, colonialism, and development as material progress (e.g., Dobson 1991, Drengson and Devall 2008, Lal 2000).

Gandhi recognized the relationship between nonkilling within human society and toward nature when he said: "We cannot have ecological movement designed to prevent violence against Nature, unless the principle of non-violence becomes central to the ethics of human culture" (quoted in Moolakkattu 2010: 155). As Moolakkattu (2010:157) observes: "Gandhi's ethical and religious approach to all fellow creatures was founded on an identification with all that lives. . . . Ahimsa, for him, envisaged or subsumed an awareness of the interdependency of all life. Ahimsa can emerge only in a disciplined environment in which a person renounces pleasures of the body in pursuit of a higher spiritual pursuit." (For more on Gandhian ecology see Bilimoria 2001, Guha 2006, Jones 2000, Khoshoo and

Moolakkattu 2009, Kumar 2008, Lal 2000, Moolakkattu 2010, Shinn 2000, and Weber 1999. For Hinduism and ecology see Chapple and Tucker 2000, Nelson 1998, and Prime 1992, 2002).

Gandhi is best known by far for his life, work, and writings on nonviolence and peace (Paige 1993:133-155). Less well known is his significant influence in the development of other pioneers in spiritual ecology, such as mountain philosopher Arne Naess (1912-2009), founder of deep ecology (1973, 1985, 1989, 2002), and economist E.F. Schumacher (1911-1977), initiator of Buddhist economics including his ideas about small is beautiful, production by the masses instead of mass production, and intermediate or appropriate technology (1973). While Gandhi has been an inspiration for many people throughout the world, in his homeland of India he has also inspired environmentalists and others. One of the more prominent Indian personages in recent decades is Vandana Shiva. She is an internationally recognized quantum physicist, philosopher, ecofeminist, and environmental and social justice activist. For her various initiatives, including on earth democracy, seed sovereignty, and biodiversity conservation, Shiva received the Right Livelihood Award in 1993 and was identified by *Time Magazine* as a Hero for the Green Century in August 26, 2002 (London 2008, Shiva 2005, 2010).

## **Global Nonkilling**

The rethinking and reinventing of scientific and academic disciplines from the perspective of nonkilling is necessary to promote nonkilling societies and a nonkilling world as a whole (Bhaneja 2008, Evans Pim 2009, Hellwig 1992, Kurlansky 2008, Niwano 1977, Paige 2009a). However, such changes in scientific and academic work alone are not sufficient. Other sectors of society and culture must also change, and perhaps most of all, religious thinking, discourse, and institutions. After all, religions are the primary source of the worldview, values, and attitudes for many individuals, and religions have the potential to

motivate and guide their behavior and its consequences for better rather than worse. Accordingly, religions must also rethink and reinvent their capacity for nonkilling (Gopin 2008, Groff 2008, McClymond and Freedman 2008, Rouner 1988).

Spiritual ecology can also help. It has the potential to contribute toward the primary goal of the Center for Global Nonkilling in the broadest possible sense— extending nonkilling worldwide including to all beings, at least as an ideal. It can complement and extend the life work of one of the most perceptive, courageous, and noblest personalities, intellectuals, scientists, and activists the world has ever known, Glenn D. Paige (1993, 2009a,b).

## **Epilogue**

Given that this essay is published in the context of a festschrift for Glenn D. Paige, it is appropriate to end by briefly mentioning his considerable influence on the present author. Since childhood I have had a deep aversion to violence and war, probably stemming in large part from the influence of my Mother who felt likewise, given that her father was killed in World War I. Together with her mother, younger sister, and cousin, she migrated to the U.S.A. from Germany at the young age of 13 years to start a new life. One of my American uncles had only one arm, the other was lost when his plane was shot down over Germany during World War II. My closest boyhood friend lost his own father in the Korean War. Such influences contributed to my personal concerns for peace and nonviolence and my revulsion to violence and war, an orientation reinforced when I became a Buddhist after marrying a Thai woman.

Paige turned my personal concerns for nonviolence and peace into scientific and academic pursuits, initially with his invitation for me to organize and chair a weekly faculty research seminar on nonviolence during 1984-1984, and then by inviting me to participate in a conference that yielded my first publication in peace studies (1989). During this

period we were also colleagues in the most exciting early years of the founding of the Spark M. Matsunaga Institute for Peace at the University of Hawai'i. Paige suggested that I add the term "nonviolence" to the title of a book I co-edited in 1994, *The Anthropology of Peace and Nonviolence*. Skipping over some other details in the development of areas in which our interests overlap, most recently I have contributed chapters to two books published in connection with the work of the Center for Global Nonkilling (Sponsel 2009, 2010b). My course, ANTH/PACE 345 Aggression, War and Peace, was inspired by Glenn as well as its most recent focus on nonkilling anthropology and nonkilling societies (see the syllabus on the website of the Center for Global Nonkilling). Accordingly, to Glenn I am most deeply indebted for his expertise, inspiration, collegiality, and collaboration in nonviolence and peace which, along with ecology and religion, have comprised my principal subjects in teaching and research now for three decades at the University of Hawaii. It is a great privilege and honor to know and work with the Gandhi of political science as well as to contribute to this festschrift celebrating his life and career. (For more detail see Sponsel 2006).

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# **A nonviolent and nonkilling society: the crusade of Prof. Glenn D. Paige**

**N.Radhakrishnan**

Professor Glenn D. Paige has emerged the foremost champion of the movement for a new Nonviolent International Order which will gradually eliminate violent structures from contemporary lives. He has been vigorously promoting the concept of nonkilling society and Global Nonkilling Political Science.

What exactly is the critique of the Nonviolent Political Science he has been advocating? Is it just one of the fantasies or Utopian dreams coming from the wounded sentiments of an ex-military officer-turned-political scientist and peace activist? Well, history is replete with instances of how hard and long all those who pioneered great vision had to convince themselves and suffer for their courage to swim against the tide before they could convince those around them the efficacy of what they were trying to propagate. Professor Paige's experience does not appear to be different from any of his predecessors. Or does Mathew Arnold's description of poet Shelley, "an ineffectual angel beating its wings in void," apply to Professor Glenn Paige also? Daring has its own prize-tag.

“Political Science is a science that will liberate itself. This will require five related revolutions: normative, empirical, theoretical, institutional and educational. The tasks for the political scientists at the end of the twentieth century are to begin these revolutions. Twenty-First century successors must carry them forward, consolidate them, and extend their influence throughout global society,” wrote Professor Paige in his seminal work on Political Science in 1979. Sceptics always raise double. Prof Paige has several of them.

Is a nonviolent, non killing society possible? Is not violence an essential aspect of human life? These doubts arise because nonviolence is not part of the mainstream way of thinking in today’s society. Many societies have been brought up and socialized from childhood idealizing violence so much so now this monster has grown bigger than the master and is demanding his pound of flesh. Disagreeing strongly with the upholders of the theory that it is impossible to think of a nonviolent society since it is part of human nature to kill, Professor Paige says: “If the roots of violence are in human biology, then we must understand and change them. If they are in the psycho- dynamics of family socialization, we must alter them. If they are in inequitable economic structures, we must rectify them. If in prevalent cultures, we must create non-violent alternatives. If in prevalent political institutions, we must transform them. Since violence is the production of multiple causation, a multi-casual theory on nonviolent transformation is to be expected.”

Thus, according to Professor Paige, the nonviolent liberation of global humanity is not a class monopoly, nor should it be the monopoly of any special elite or nation. It is a task in which all can and must share. It goes without saying in this context that some may have to share greater responsibility.

“The greater the violence of the individual, group or organization, society or nation, the greater its responsibility for nonviolent development of others. Conversely the more nonviolent the human consciousness and material conditions, the greater the responsibility to assist others to become more nonviolent.”

His basic premise of a nonviolent society is characterized by the vision of a social order where there is

- ◆ no killing or any threat of killing,
- ◆ no technology designed specifically to kill,
- ◆ no cultural justification for killing, and
- ◆ no social or economic conditions that have to be maintained through the use of violence

The basic moral position thus according to Professor Paige for the realization of a nonviolent society is:

- I will not kill a fellow human being;
- I will withdraw material and moral support from those who kill or threaten to kill;
- I will work positively for the creation and implementation of non-violent alternatives to satisfy human needs, to resolve conflicts, and to realize human aspirations.

The argument runs almost as a sequel to the amazing manner in which Martin Luther King Jr. summed up Gandhi's concept of nonviolence. King wrote: "Gandhi was probably the first person in human history to lift the love of ethic of Jesus above mere interaction between individuals to a powerful and effective social force on a large scale."

Professor Paige shares also the Gandhian optimism of incredible changes which mankind is capable of making. Gandhi said "we are witnessing the phenomenon of the impossible of yesterday become the possible of today".

Prof. Paige has been striving to establish Global Center for Nonviolence to spread the message of nonviolence, train nonviolent functionaries, document nonviolent resources and persuade policy-makers,

academics and others to change their outlook, so the nonviolent transformation will become a reality-in order to sustain and ensure continuity of human race. He argues, "Although we honor Gandhi and will recognize his contributions, we must also place responsibility for nonviolent global transformation exclusively upon his shoulders. In all world areas there are nonviolent cult resources and traditions that have their own contributions. Gandhi's example can serve as a powerful stimulus to evoke than illustrated by his influence upon the Afro-American nonviolent civil movement in the United States. There Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. served as a main focus for inspired leadership by many other men and work young and old that reached out to all Americans. But that mover also had its known roots in Christianity and in the Black American experience. Similarly, Leo Tolstoy provided a source of inspiration example in Russia but contributed to Gandhi's work which in turn creatively rooted in Gandhi's understanding of both Indian and British cultures."

The publication of *Global Nonkilling Political Science* by Paige marks the birth of a new era in contemporary history. Let me reproduce from my foreword to the Indian edition of this book:

"To stand up and challenge any established belief or order requires extra-ordinary courage and conviction. The price paid by those who mustered strength to do so or swim against the current has been enormous. 'Visionaries', 'dreamers' or 'revolutionaries' as they are described endearingly or sarcastically have never been deterred in their 'seditious' activities. Ironically, notwithstanding threat of death, persecutions, imprisonment, crucifixion or torture, their tribes have only been steadily increasing.

Ancient India did preserve for posterity the details of the extra-ordinary transformation of Emperor Ashoka who after leading one of the bloodiest battles in history became a dove of peace and championed ahimsa by making it a state policy, perhaps first time in history. The Korean battle fields in the fifties witnessed a more or less

similar transformation when a young anti-aircraft communications officer, Glenn D. Paige realized the need for alternative strategies to resolve conflicts. His awakening to nonviolence led him to examine seriously the life, and experiments of Gandhi. The decades that followed also witnessed Professor Paige developing a spiritual bond with India that left tremendous impact both on him as well as the Gandhian Movement in India, particularly, the Shanti Sena.

The Global nonviolent awakening following the Gandhian era received tremendous support with Glenn taking a central role. His commitment to nonviolence became total and the numerous visits he made to several countries of the world, contacts he established with peace activists and the fresh insights with which nonviolent potentials were encouraged to be examined brought in a formidable group of young researchers, activists, academicians and thinkers in different parts of the world. His efforts acquired the nature of a crusade for nonviolence on a global scale and his commitment became inspiring and matchless. His pleas for a nonkilling society, though at the initial stages received only scorn and helped raise eye brows, are not totally lost on the present socio-political milieu. There are several people who understand and appreciate the heroic efforts of Professor Paige, but not the established political scientists.

Johan Galtung while reviewing Glenn Paige's book *Nonviolent Political Science: From Season's of Violence* made a very interesting observation. Prof. Galtung felt that Glenn, "brings to mind the state of, social philosophy when slavery was deemed 'normal' and part of human nature." I can hear the Glenn Paiges of that time harassing their audience with 'do you think a non- slavery society is possible?' And I can hear the answer, very similar to what Glenn finds when the key-word is 'nonkilling'. There were probably even those who developed doctrines about 'just slavery'.

*Nonkilling Global Political Science*, the results of three decade's research, meditation, interaction, intensive dialogues with some of the best brains of the world, is a land mark publication by

Prof. Glenn D. Paige. As the writer rightly believes this may be the first book in English language to contain the word, ‘nonkilling’ in its title. In a socio-political-economic and religious milieu which not only justifies killing but takes legitimate pride in it, what will be the fate of some one like Glenn D. Paige who challenges with conviction and courage the prevailing assumption that killing is an inescapable part of the human condition? Will his passionate plea be lost in the wilderness of the present-day hypocrisy and intolerance to change and reason or will it resonate and generate healthy discussions and change of attitude?

Professor Paige argues passionately and with conviction that a nonkilling global society is possible and that changes in the academic discipline of Political Science and its social role can help to bring it about. The assumption that killing is an inevitable attribute of human nature and social life is convincingly challenged by the author in this book.”

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★



# **Socioeconomic Democracy: A Nonkilling, Life-Affirming and Enhancing**

**Robley E. George**

## **Abstract**

This paper first sketches the outline of some major aspects of four crucially interrelated realms of an advanced, fundamentally just and democratic economic system that is applicable, realizable and desirable throughout the world. These important, intimately and inseparably intertwined realms are the psychological, political, sociological and economic dimensions of what has come to be referred to as Socioeconomic Democracy.

Observations about and suggestions for other realms of contemporary society, as for example society's arbitrarily legal and killing machine subsystems, are also indicated. As the wise Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi devoted his life to demonstrating, any "Victory attained by violence is tantamount to a defeat, for it is momentary." Following this careful delineation of the definition, properties and possibilities of Socioeconomic Democracy, we briefly note some of its major desirable impact on the plethora of painful, expensive and predictably lethal contemporary societal problems.

This paper attempts to demonstrate that this inclusive desirable impact of Socioeconomic Democracy is consistent with and significantly facilitates the further activities of the Center for Global Nonkilling. It therefore contributes to the essence of the School of Nonkilling Studies, as initially articulated, created and advanced by Professor Glenn Durland Paige, and annunciated many decades ago, in his pioneering and productive odyssey beginning with his courageous rejection of the violence-accepting assumptions of Political Science that killing will always accompany humanity's interactions and evolution. Paige's determined insistence upon the exploration of the implications and requirements of a Nonkilling Paradigm initially succinctly expressed as "No more killing!" and followed by its fruition as a successful and productive endeavor in a multitude of interrelated scientific fields of enquiry, stands as a classic contemporary example of a Kuhnian Scientific Revolution.

It is to the Spirit, Intelligence and Reality of Glenn's indomitable, infectious and wise convictions that this work is respectfully dedicated.

## **Introduction**

This paper first introduces a Democratic Socioeconomic Platform, in search of a Democratic Political Party.

The purpose of this Democratic Socioeconomic Platform is to put forth a new, fundamentally just, democratic and systemically consistent political platform capable of satisfactorily resolving or significantly reducing a wide variety of contemporary serious societal problems, as well as effectively enhancing the General Welfare of All Citizens of a Democratic Society.

The current startling and somewhat spectacular global economic implosion, the painful and unjust ramifications for literally billions of "ordinary" people simply trying to live a meaningful life, the "unfortunately necessary" further neglect of those already much too neglected, the lies and negligence of those in preceding and present "political power," and the increasing demand for fundamentally

improved economic systems everywhere, all emphasize the necessity of a critical and detailed (re)consideration of various possible and appropriate specific values of societally tolerable bounds on personal material poverty and personal material wealth. The alleged popularity and desirability of democracy, whether sincere or not, allows for and facilitates this exploration of possibilities.

Socioeconomic Democracy, which is the essence of the proposed Democratic Socioeconomic Platform, can be viewed as engaging in Transformational Politics, that is, an Evolutionary Politics that consciously, openly, honestly, forthrightly, publicly, peacefully, democratically and successfully works to realize Synergetic Inclusive Societal Improvement. It will be seen that Socioeconomic Democracy contributes significantly to the Positive Empowerment and Healthy Development of All Participants of a Democratic Society.

Specifically, Socioeconomic Democracy (SeD) is a theoretical and practical socioeconomic system wherein there exist both some form and amount of locally appropriate Universally Guaranteed Personal Income (UGI) and some form and amount of locally appropriate Maximum Allowable Personal Wealth (MAW), with both the lower bound on personal material poverty and the upper bound on personal material wealth set and adjusted democratically by all participants of a democratic society.

The definitive document describing Socioeconomic Democracy is the book *Socioeconomic Democracy: An Advanced Socioeconomic System* (Praeger, 2002) [1]. The website of the Center for the Study of Democratic Societies provides a wealth of further information regarding Socioeconomic Democracy [2]. The specifically defined idea of Socioeconomic Democracy was first presented in this writer's initial, self-published book in 1972 [3].

The subject of Socioeconomic Democracy is discussed on a growing number of websites, Internet newsletters, e-journals, and social and professional networks, locatable by the usual procedures. See, for example, [4-14]. Related material for the various ideas of

Socioeconomic Democracy may be found in the much abbreviated further reading list [15-17].

In this material and elsewhere will be found Anthropological, Environmental, Historical, Philosophical, Psychological, Religious and Human Rights Justifications for various locally appropriate forms of Socioeconomic Democracy.

Numerous Practical Political Approximations to the ideal theoretical democratic socioeconomic system model have already been outlined or detailed. One simple, obvious and meritorious practical political approximation is characterized by different political parties advocating different amounts for the two crucial socioeconomic boundary parameters, with the “winning” political party or coalition then implementing their particular understanding of the General Will of the Democratic Society.

Another not-unreasonable, and actually proposed or already implemented, political approximation to universally guaranteed income might be guaranteed income for all citizens over and/or under certain age limits. And clearly, “publicly” supported and guaranteed (perhaps and perhaps not age-related) education, as well as universally guaranteed basic health care in almost all alleged civilized and developed societies, are obvious, well established examples of political approximations to universally guaranteed personal income.

Striking similarities and two intriguing minor differences between SeD and Zakat, one of the Five Pillars of Islam, that embodies the essence of valid Islami (Psycho-Politico-Socio-) Economics, have been indicated and internationally discussed. Simply developing this relationship logically could/will facilitate considerable progress and definitely reduce wanton and thoughtless killing.

Relative costs and benefits studies for the four basic forms of SeD, as well as important considerations of the effect of variations in the particular magnitudes of the democratically set tolerable bounds

on personal material poverty and personal material wealth have likewise been provided. System realizability, feasibility and implementation requirements have also been identified and shown to be quite satisfiable. Again, essentially all that is required is a thoughtful democratic society

## **Socioeconomic Democracy**

We begin by individually examining each of SeD's democratically set bounds, i.e., UGI and MAW. Following this is an important yet simple differentiation between Qualitative Democracy and Quantitative Democracy. The latter, justified by elementary Social or Public Choice theory, is used to allow society to democratically decide the amounts of these two fundamental socioeconomic bounds, UGI and MAW. Some of the many possible theoretical variations of SeD are then outlined.

After this introduction to the essential elements of SeD, Economic Incentive and Self-Interest within and induced by such a system are considered. Following a brief review of the strong, positive and societally beneficial economic incentive created by Socioeconomic Democracy, we then consider the possibilities of democratically resolving, or at least significantly reducing, simultaneously, humanity's many painful, interrelated and utterly unnecessary socioeconomic problems.

**UGI.** With Socioeconomic Democracy, each Participant of the Democratic Society would understand that some form and amount of a democratically determined minimum amount of societally guaranteed personal income or financial support would always be available. Put another way, society would guarantee each citizen some minimum amount of purchasing power, one way or another.

To be sure, this basic idea dates back at least to antiquity, and has, in recent decades, been increasingly explored and richly developed by numerous individuals, organizations and governments at all levels. The Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN) and the United States Basic

Income Guarantee (USBIG) organizations are but two of many dedicated and productive groups exploring, advocating and introducing the general concepts around the world.

Depending upon available resources and the degree and direction of technological development, this democratically set, societally guaranteed minimum income for all could be sufficient to satisfy the typical individual's minimum subsistence and/or personal healthy growth needs. Alternatively, other societies might democratically decide to set the guaranteed amount at a partial subsistence level, for a variety of legitimate reasons usually generated by particular circumstances.

There are, of course, as many different names, forms and approximations of UGI (ranging at least from Basic Income (BI) to Citizen's Income (CI) to Negative Income Tax (NIT) and including Guaranteed Livable Income (GLI)) as there are reasons to establish some form of UGI, or, for that matter, as there are ways proposed to fund different forms of UGI. Indeed, a democratically set UGI could logically be called and considered Guaranteed Sustainable Development for All (GSDA). An increasingly popular public policy perspective referred to as "Socioeconomic Affirmative Action" is clearly related.

**MAW.** Further, with Socioeconomic Democracy, all participants of the democratic socioeconomic system would understand that all personal material wealth above the democratically determined and established maximum allowable amount would, by due process, be transferred out of their ownership and control in a manner specified by the democratically designed and implemented laws of the land, and transferred in accordance with other laws of the land to fund, say, various forms of Sustainable Development for All.

Do note that all the wealth above the democratically determined maximum allowable amount, now to be devoted (after SeD is established) to the sustainable development of all, could be either

transferred in some sense directly to a democratically elected government to be deployed as democratically determined, or be dispersed and deployed as the present wealth owners desire and think best, satisfying, of course, a few reasonable laws, rules and regulations on the matter.

This latter procedure has many merits, of which one would be that the present wealth holders might in general be expected to more fully appreciate their “earned” opportunity to direct their democratically determined excess wealth toward focusing on specific societal problems that particularly interest and concern themselves personally.

Yet again, this “privilege” to personally deploy one’s “excess” wealth for the betterment of society, as personally preferred, could be extended to all those who had personal wealth in excess of the initially established, democratically decided MAW limit (a “Grandfather” clause, as it were), while all excess personal wealth periodically trimmed off with a healthy haircut after the system is well established could be directed toward a democratic government’s General Welfare Fund.

Perhaps needless to say, the primary benefit of Socioeconomic Democracy to enhance societal well being and the General Welfare is the result of the economic incentive the democratically set MAW limit creates, and not the amount of wealth periodically trimmed off and donated toward the worthy cause of insuring sustainable development for all. (But everything helps.) This Economic Incentive is discussed below.

**Democracy.** There is a simple procedure by which each individual participant in a democratic society (or each member of a democratic legislative body or committee) can directly vote her or his particular preference for an amount, magnitude, or quantity of something in question, with the democratically determined, societally or legislatively desired amount unequivocally resulting. As if to emphasize the significance of the discovery, Duncan Black and Economics Nobelist Kenneth Arrow independently and more or less simultaneously established the important yet simple mathematical result and procedure more than a half century ago.

Their now-classic Social Choice contributions have provided the theory which shows that the Median Value of the participants' (citizens' or legislators') Personal Preference Distribution is the amount the democratic society or body, as a whole, is "for" — assuming the minimal operational "one participant, one vote; majority rule" decision-making process. Roughly speaking, this means that the democratically determined amount is such that half the voters want that much or more while the other half want that much or less.

Academic nitpickers are encouraged to explore for themselves such by-no-means inconsequential matters as "single-peakedness," and its justifiable assumption in the present context.

Note that the objective is not, definitely not, and should never be "equality, in and of everything" (whatever that might mean, and neglecting its impossibility of realization), but rather Acceptably Bounded Inequality of Essentials, with the particular democratic society democratically determining the degree of inequality it will tolerate or does desire.

**Variations of SeD.** Note that any participant in the democratic political process, who might be opposed to any amount of UGI, for any reason at all, could vote to place the lower bound on universal, societally guaranteed financial assistance at zero. If a majority of voters so voted, it would be the democratic desire of that particular society, at that particular time, to have no UGI.

Likewise, anyone who might be opposed to some finite limit on allowable personal material wealth, for any reason(s) whatsoever, could and should vote, at election time, to place the upper bound of MAW at infinity. If, for any of a variety of reasons, a majority of the voting public were to prefer and vote to place MAW at infinity, then it would be the democratically determined desire of that society, at that time, to have no finite upper bound on personal material wealth.



Socioeconomic Democracy is thus seen to embrace, present and facilitate all four of the generic variations of democratic socioeconomic systems. That is, there can be democratic societies wherein there is:

**1) *Nonzero UGI and finite MAW.*** This is the standard and most effective form of Socioeconomic Democracy, with capability to facilitate democratic expression of a wide range of opinions and ideologies that characterize different countries, regions or autonomous groups of people. Collectively, locally appropriate forms, amounts and approximations to SeD will no doubt provide considerable healthy experimentation with a range of alternative socioeconomic philosophies and evolving under the constraints of a range of available or developable resources. In all cases, however, multidimensional improvement in the society can be expected, with an acceleration of the process of improvement to be expected following increasing global adoption of locally appropriate forms of SeD.

**2) *Zero UGI and finite MAW.*** This basic political perspective has many merits, and, as importantly, further satisfactorily resolves many thoughtful individuals' arguably legitimate concerns about universally guaranteed personal income without any qualifications on that guarantee whatsoever. In such a system as this, the many societally beneficial ramifications of Socioeconomic Democracy are all due to the economic incentive created, and the monetary funds made available, by the democratically set maximum allowable personal wealth bound.

**3) *Nonzero UGI and infinite MAW.*** This perhaps understandable and certainly ubiquitous impulsive thrust toward attempting to "help the poor," with or without addressing the causes of the perennially poor and poverty-stricken, does, of course, have its legendary problems. Among these are determining just how and how much to finance the UGI, as well as who says so and who pays for it. The evolution of human consciousness is currently transcending this confusing and progress-impeding oversight.

**4) Zero UGI and infinite MAW.** This situation, which can theoretically be democratically desired and realized by majority-rule ballot, is, clearly, similar to the present situation of unconstrained bounds on personal material poverty and personal material wealth. But at least with Socioeconomic Democracy established and the public voting on the matter, this strange situation would be democratically approved, with such skewed and problem-producing societal wealth maldistribution apparently acceptable, at least to a majority and at least for the time being.

Beyond these four theoretical and fundamental variations of Socioeconomic Democracy are, of course, the wide ranges of particular, nontrivial numerical magnitudes of the UGI and MAW levels, both to be democratically established. A few specific possibilities are considered below.

It should be kept in mind that the different magnitudes of the democratically established UGI and MAW levels would likely/unquestionably have different effects regarding the amount of reduction of particular societal problems. Further, a useful perspective might be provided by viewing UGI as a form of Bailout from the Bottom Up, as opposed to fortunately now-discredited Trickle Down dogma. And the MAW limit speaks directly to the Need/Greed dichotomy, further directing the politicosocioeconomic Bailout in an inclusive, societally beneficial direction.

Perhaps needless to observe, the same voting procedure (Quantitative Democracy) can be used to democratically resolve a wide variety of other serious societal or local questions concerning magnitudes of important societal or local parameters, arising in many different realms and levels of society. These might include, for example, a societally set upper bound on allowable personal income and/or an upper bound on the allowable ratio of maximum-to-minimum income, or wealth, whether in a company, corporation, or country. Thus, many societies, all fundamentally democratic, could nevertheless display their individual democratic differences.

## **Economic Incentive and Boundary Possibilities**

Consider first the economic incentive created by a democratically set Maximum Allowable Personal Wealth limit. We have observed earlier that, with SeD, all wealth above the democratically set upper bound on personal material wealth could either be given to the government as taxes (to either enhance the General Welfare Fund or be mandated for specific projects and purposes) or be disposed of as the present wealth “owners” so choose (again, satisfying reasonable, democratically established societal restrictions, suggestions and opportunities).

In any case, all rational, self-interested and insatiable (as the current dominant-though-rapidly-fading neoclassical economic assumptions/theory goes), extremely wealthy, and certainly law-abiding, participants in the democratic society with its democratic socioeconomic system, who still desire increased personal material wealth, would be economically motivated, that is, have economic incentive, to actively and seriously work to increase the welfare and well-being of the less “well-off” members of society. Only in this manner can these (still-wealthiest) participants persuade a majority of the citizens/participants of the democratic society to see the wisdom in and democratically vote to raise somewhat the legal upper limit on allowable personal material wealth — everything considered.

There is, in fact, Strong Economic Incentive for those at or near the democratically set upper bound on allowable personal material wealth to be successful in improving the General Welfare. For if the current level of MAW is not producing sufficient improvement in the General Welfare, as democratically determined, there is the possibility and probability that the democratic society will democratically decide to reduce the MAW limit even more, in order to enlist even more still-wealthy participants (with their unique and valuable know-how, contacts and “can-do”-ness), and their extra wealth, in the proper and noble task of seriously improving the General Welfare and well being of all society, humanity and posterity.

The ultimate effect of such economic incentive, as experienced by those at or near the democratically set upper bound on MAW, will be to transform their very real, primitive and originally quite justified (individual survivability) concept of “self-interest” to instead, and in effect, interpret and include larger and larger segments of society and humanity as “self,” insofar as calculations of “self-interest” are concerned.

This is because such a perspective will be appealing to that still-functioning, primitive, individual-ego-informed self-interest. Put another way, global and higher consciousness will be increasingly appreciated, encouraged and demonstrated with the emerging realization of the very real benefit to personal self-interest that results from considerations of inclusive “self-interest.”

Note also that a not-insignificant amount of this effect would become manifest, even if some particular democratic society democratically decided and voted to initially establish the upper limit on allowable personal material wealth (MAW) at, say, twice the amount of wealth presently “possessed” by the currently Richest of the Rich. Verification of this observation is an amusing exercise.

Another informative and amusing exercise is to consider the effects and ramifications of many different levels of MAW, democratically set in, say, contemporary United States of America — though the general idea is, of course, applicable everywhere. For example, consider what different situations would obtain in the USA (as well as globally, for that matter) if the personal MAW limit in the USA in 2012 were democratically set at, say, infinity, \$1 trillion, \$700 billion (an acknowledgement of Hank Paulson’s limp, self-defensive three-page contribution to public discussion), \$100bn, \$50bn (an acknowledgement of Bernie Madoff’s record-setting, Predatory Ponzi scheme contribution to public discussion), \$10bn, \$1bn, \$500million, and even \$100m (also known as a “Texas Unit” to those who can’t be bothered with petty change).

A further question might be: Just what does the Gentle Reader think/feel the MAW limit should be in the USA? Still another, as instructive, question is: Just what does the thoughtful reader think/feel the MAW limit ultimately would be, if democratically established in the USA in 2012?

The economic incentives created by various forms of UGI have long been theoretically examined, practically tested and adequately documented. The results are easily available, though anyone not familiar with the subject could conveniently begin with BIEN and USBIG. And, of course, there's the good ol' Alaska Permanent Fund! Summing up, and as Van Parijs succinctly put it, some form of democratically determined, locally appropriate UGI would truly realize *Real Freedom for All*.

Certainly, except for Tom Paine and, actually, Thales, no proposal for some form of UGI has ever yet been seriously linked directly to democracy and some form of upper bound on allowable personal material wealth. Hence, in spite of its promise and potential, humanity enjoys/suffers the present state of this biologically and psychologically very sick planet.

Insights parallel to those regarding the democratically set MAW limit, above, can be obtained by considering implications and ramifications of various possible specific, democratically set UGI amounts and approximations, in the USA and elsewhere, again, say, in 2012. If one were "totally" uninformed and against any universally guaranteed income for all, one could/would/should vote to place the UGI level at \$0/yr. For different reasons, different arguments by different individuals could easily be produced to justify consideration of, say, numerical values for personal UGI ranging from \$0/yr, \$1/yr, \$1/mo, \$1/d (amount one-sixth of humanity tries to live on), \$2/d (amount approximately another third of humanity tries to live on), \$100/mo, \$200/mo (sometimes comparable to the Alaska Permanent Fund dividend), \$10k/yr, \$100k/yr, \$1m/yr, and, say, \$657m/yr (which was the average "earned" compensation of the "top" 20 private equity and hedge fund managers in 2006).

The incentives, economic and otherwise, created by establishing these two crucial economic bounds, i.e., UGI and MAW, democratically, will, among many other desirable developments, significantly encourage and enhance the informed political participation of all citizens in their finally meaningfully democratic society — here assumed a positive, desirable and progressive political development. This, again, is basically because of very real and undeniable self-interest in all of us. After all, the only way to democratically establish the UGI and MAW limits is to participate in the political process that would change the de facto settings from zero and infinity, respectively, to magnitudes more suitable for a sustainable democratic society and world.

## **Ramifications**

As is indicated above and described at length in the referenced material, Socioeconomic Democracy would thus create economic incentive and provide necessary funds to encourage and effect significant reduction in an almost surprisingly diverse array of unnecessary yet painful, expensive and lethal individual, societal and global problems

These problems include (but are by no means limited to) those familiar ones involving: automation, computerization and robotization; budget deficits and national debts; bureaucracy; maltreatment of children; crime and punishment; development, sustainable or otherwise; ecology, environment, resources and pollution; education; the elderly; the feminine majority; inflation; international conflict; intranational conflict; involuntary employment; involuntary unemployment; labor strife and strikes; sick medical and health care; military metamorphosis; natural disasters; pay justice; planned obsolescence; political participation; poverty; racism; sexism; untamed technology; and the General Welfare.

One of a number of reasons why so many different societal problems will all be seriously addressed and significantly reduced is

because they will all be addressed simultaneously and synergistically. Whatever societal problems are not addressed adequately by the publicly motivated “private sector,” as democratically determined, can, should and will be successfully addressed by the democratic government (significantly reduced in size and yet far more effective in benefiting all members of society), which will now have available sufficient funds and motivation to do so, provided by the democratically set MAW limit.

We close with a necessarily brief look at a few aspect of a few of the desirable ramifications of this Democratic Socioeconomic Platform. Dozens of further ramifications are discussed in detail in the references.

***Budget Deficits and National Debts.*** Suffice to say now that Socioeconomic Democracy would derive necessary funds from, and provide societally synergetic economic incentive for, the materially wealthiest members of society to rapidly reduce and eventually eliminate harmful governmental budget deficits and more harmful governmental debts.

***Children.*** Whether speaking of the continuing conditions of children in the USA, which “leads” the industrial nations in the high rate of child poverty, or in the rest of the world, where children labor and languish, malnourished and mobilized for war and killing, the right to a healthy childhood is violated globally by the long reach of contemporary economic systems.

Such children, forced into slavery, corporate profit-motivated labor, prostitution, or crimes for survival on the street, is the shame of us all. Socioeconomic Democracy would go a long way toward eliminating the violations of the rights of children — nationally and globally, and for a variety of reasons. The typical intergenerational injustice of accumulating and bequeathing staggering debt to future generations could finally be terminated.

***Development.*** While some good work has been done in response to the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), it has become clear that satisfaction of many of the eight basic goals will not even be approached by 2015, at least without fundamental and universal change. Then, of course, the MDGs attempt is only aimed at reducing by one half the number of humans now living in poverty. Much more can be done.

These two limits (UGI and MAW), democratically set, would also provide a societal “future shock absorber,” at once simple and societally controlled. For the “underdeveloped” nations of the world, many of whom continue to seek alternatives to the strict “capitalist” and “socialist” development models, SeD would allow all the peoples of these nations to democratically control the rate and direction of societal development — heretofore always an ugly and inhumane process.

***Feminine Majority.*** Socioeconomic Democracy clearly satisfies numerous legitimate demands articulated by or for the feminine majority of humanity. For example, all poverty, including the major portion experienced by women (and their children), would be eliminated democratically and immediately.

No longer would there be such a thing as “unpaid labor.” Indeed, guaranteed income for all would cover all women who frequently labor totally unpaid to bear and rear the prevailing patriarchal socioeconomic system its next generation of laborers and warriors. Democratically set guaranteed income for all would be the universal safeguard against any significant economic hardship experienced by anybody (most often by women and children) as a result of changing family relationships. The democratically set, universally guaranteed income would be available to all older women who require it and the democratically set maximum bound on personal wealth would provide economic incentive for the still wealthy to cause meaningful, acceptable and satisfying work to be made available for all older women who desire it.



***International Conflict.*** The enhancement of societal well being made possible with Socioeconomic Democracy ipso facto provides an effective and positive deterrent to international warfare, here assumed undesirable and to be eliminated. The simultaneous resolution of a large number of these other serious societal problems eliminates at once many causes of — and more importantly, many excuses for — war.

Beyond this, other significant beneficial effects can be anticipated. For example, those participants in the democratic socioeconomic system who are personally at or near the societally set upper bound on allowable personal wealth would no longer have personal economic incentive to promote war or military intimidation, whether involving their own country or other nations. They could no longer gain personal wealth by such action and could well lose it, especially if their society democratically decided to further reduce the allowable personal wealth limit to help finance involvement in any necessary hostilities.

Democratically set, governmentally guaranteed personal income for everyone also provides many direct deterrents to warfare. Among other strong effects, it would eliminate any economically “handicapped” class, which, of course, has historically provided warring nations with a convenient pool of combatants and paid/brave killers.

***Involuntary Unemployment.*** Socioeconomic Democracy would be an effective safeguard against the problem of involuntary unemployment. Quickly reviewing, if a person is involuntarily unemployed, for any reason and for any duration, that person’s basic needs, democratically determined, would still be satisfied. Indeed, this income, guaranteed against the shortcomings of economic theory and antiquated theorists, would eventually allow “unemployment” to become a good thing — something no current scarcity-assuming (actually, scarcity-producing, scarcity-maintaining and scarcity-glorifying) economic system can do. Until that time, those at or near

the democratically set maximum allowable personal wealth limit would have considerable monetary motivation to see that acceptable, satisfying, reasonably remunerated and societally beneficial work is made available for all who desire such structured activity.

**Poverty.** The myriad manifestations of the ubiquitous problem of poverty assault our senses daily. But if we are serious about the desire to eliminate poverty, it behooves us to pay appropriate attention to the meaning of the word. From almost unbelievably obliging dictionaries, we are given the following apropos phrases illustrating meanings of the word *poverty*:

- (1) State or condition of having little or no money, goods or means of support, as in broke.
- (2) Lack of something specified, as in poverty of intellect.
- (3) Deficiency of desirable ingredients or qualities, as in poverty of charity.
- (4) Scantiness or insufficiency, as in poverty of the “Safety Net.”

Beyond these common definitions and interpretations of the word poverty, there is the poverty of practically everything else. There is the Poverty of Affluence and the Poverty of Progress. There is the Poverty of Liberalism (18th, 19th and 20th century versions; 21st century version DOA/RIP), the Poverty of Socialism (ditto), the Poverty of the Welfare State and Mixed(-up) Economies. There is the Poverty of the University Economics Departments, that can’t or don’t want to figure out a better economic system to eliminate the poverty they and everybody else daily experience, ignore or guarantee their personal income by “working on.” Perhaps most important of all, there is the Poverty of Ideas to solve, once and for all, the Unnecessary Planetary Problem of Poverty

The terrifying Tsunami of Poverty and resultant killing, engulfing the globe, can and will be ended with Socioeconomic Democracy.

## **Conclusion**

The interested reader is urged to develop and extend for herself the ramifications and implications of Socioeconomic Democracy in those areas of particular personal interest. Every unnecessary societal problem creates its unnecessary casualties.

All this is possible. As the late, fondly and respectfully remembered Howard Zinn put it, “The secret is: people getting together. The secret is: telling the truth. Truth is powerful. And it can only be suppressed for so long; then the truth gets out. And when the truth gets out a power is created that is greater than the power of guns and money that a government [or a Corporation or an individual] possesses.”

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# Understanding Paige's Nonkilling: a challenge to change the world

Chaiwat Satha-Anand

On the cover of *Endangered Species*, Stephen M. Younger's book published in 2007, Lee H. Hamilton, former chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and President of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars praises the book as "...ultimately important blueprint for the twenty-first century". This book is about mass destruction threatening the world and ways by which lasting peace could be established. <sup>1</sup> In fact, right after the advent of the new millennium, books like this one are numerous in the market. But *Endangered Species* is quite unlike other, not only because it is written without any footnote or reference, but also perhaps due to the unusual background of its author. Not a political scientist nor a social scientist, Younger is a professional scientist with a Ph.D. in physics from the University of Maryland. He was the director of Defense Threat Reduction Agency under the US Ministry of Defense from 2001 until 2004. Before becoming a visiting fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center, he was a former head of nuclear weapons research and development at the Los Alamos National Laboratory. Put another way, before writing *Endangered Species*, Younger's responsibility was to design future generations of the US nuclear weaponry.

Then how does Younger relate to Glenn D. Paige's nonkilling challenge?

To answer this question, it is important to understand Younger's project. He considers that contemporary challenge is to "design a process where the benefits of representative government can be made available to more people in a systematic way, to create peaceful outlets for our national restlessness, and in so doing to *consciously design ways to reduce the probability of future mass violence.*"<sup>2</sup> Here he turns to Glenn Paige's *Nonkilling Global Political Science* because it raises the question why there have been numerous programs to end poverty, reduce illiteracy, eliminate preventable diseases, yet there is precious little on planning ways to prevent large scale violence.<sup>3</sup>

Younger believes that Paige is an idealist. But since Paige experienced the Korean War as an American soldier himself in the 1950s, his firsthand encounter with violence and destruction helps shape an intimate way in which he profoundly understands its effects on human life and death.<sup>4</sup> Such understanding leads to a complex puzzle. Among his questions, Paige asks why is it that war has become a social institution commonly accepted in the civilized world? Why is it that works which try to find ways to end killing and war seem to receive much less importance compared to those that seek to end other miseries such as world hunger or mass poverty?<sup>5</sup> Though some might argue that since the number of world children killed by hunger each year at 3 million far outnumbers those killed by wars and terrorism and therefore a case can be made for prioritizing ending world hunger to ending killing in war and mass violence<sup>6</sup>, if mass destruction took place with the present amount of weapons in world possession, it would have dwarfed the yearly figure of those killed by hunger. In addition, it could also be argued, as Paige does in his book, that the existence of killing weapons and its economics is connected with other forms of structural violence in the world.

Paige's challenge to the world could be formulated in terms of his global quest. He traveled the globe to Sweden, Russia, Jordan, Japan, Korea, Lithuania, Canada, Colombia, and of course the US, to meet with political scientists and other professionals, including those who were victims of violence and those who had killed others. He met them to ask the question: is a nonkilling society possible? If not, why not? If yes, why?<sup>7</sup> After his lifelong quest, collecting wondrous data, and thoughtful contemplation of more than two decades, he came to a decisive conclusion that a nonkilling society is possible. Therefore there should be "no more killing".

For some, this conclusion is too close to religious sermons and therefore uninteresting. Moreover, it should have no relationship with the intense and sometimes critical study of power, its uses, and its close proximity to violence, which stands at the heart of political science, if the discipline could be perceived with one. As a matter of fact, many in the profession believe that power to take human life is the foundation of state power, and since humans kill one another, political society needs to be born with the killing power rested with the state. Even if one could argue that the idea of nonkilling could be connected with political science as well as other social sciences, to focus only on the issue of killing-nonkilling is an extremely narrow understanding of violence and tends to ignore other forms of violence which are more structural or cultural that continue to produce complex conditions that hurt peoples' existence, dignity and identity in the present world.<sup>8</sup>

On the other hand, for some others, Paige's conclusion is reassuring precisely because of its similarity to religious teaching, especially Buddhism's first precept of abstain from taking the lives of living beings, or Jainism's doctrine that nonviolence is the foundation of right view, knowledge and conduct that will prevent believers from harming others' lives, or the notion of "thou shalt not kill" in Christianity. But then in its similarity to these teachings, Paige' finding does no more than reaffirming thousands of years of religious wisdoms.

Such conclusions are not unproblematic because not unlike a brief glance at religious teachings by quite a few modern minds, the teaching sounds narrow and uninteresting. Only upon some reflections would one be able to gain a proper perspective with a deeper understanding of what is actually being taught.

For example, in the *Bible*, Jesus taught that: “. . .if anyone hits you on the right cheek, offer him the other as well;” (Matthew 5:39).<sup>9</sup> It is often understood that Jesus is teaching people to submit, accept defeat without resisting any injustice. But in the opinion of some Biblical scholars with interest in nonviolence such as Walter Wink, upon careful exegesis, this very teaching could be construed quite differently. Wink maintains that the clue to this lies with the fact that Jesus did not teach people that “if anyone hits you on the left cheek, offer him the other as well”. What then is the difference between the right and the left cheek?

To hit someone who is standing in front on the right cheek is difficult unless the backhand is used. In the time of Jesus, hitting someone with a backhand connoted a clear cultural implication of identifying who the master and the servant/slave was. A master would use his backhand to hit his servant’s right cheek. The left hand would not be used because it was considered unclean. To teach people to turn “the left cheek” when hit is therefore not a bland submission to abuse or injustice. Instead, it is a radical alteration of power relations from master-servant/slave relations to that between two equal human beings facing each other. For two equal human beings, hitting the left cheek of the other is possible only by using the palm of the right hand, and not the backhand, of the hitter.<sup>10</sup>

I would argue that Paige’s proposal for the world to stop all killings is complicated in its seemingly simplistic formulation not unlike Jesus’ famous teaching discussed above. The logical question then is what does a killing-free society look like? Paige explains in the first page of his book that a nonkilling society is a human community that is characterized by:



- ◆ No killing of humans;
- ◆ No threats to kill;
- ◆ No weapons designed to kill humans;
- ◆ No justifications for using weapons to kill; and
- ◆ No conditions of society dependent upon threat or use of killing force for maintenance or change.<sup>11</sup>

If a nonkilling society has these characters, then Paige's question "if a nonkilling human society is possible" becomes extremely sophisticated requiring sharp intellectual endeavors and complex knowledge drawn from different disciplines. For example, it is important to imagine a political society which chooses not to devote its resources to research, produce, trade and use weapons to kill might turn out to have an economy that is completely different from what can be found in the twentieth and early twenty-first century. In this sense, Paige's question serves as an invitation to both social scientists and concerned citizens to probe deep into the global collective psyche that seems to reflect an existential paradox: between a silent spiritual shout for all souls to stop killing and a loud whisper of politics that keeps repeating its foundational myth, crucial for the existence of any political society, that killing humans is normal.

Above all, Paige believes that nonkilling society is possible if "a new science" emerges. It will be a science built on sound knowledge that combines a rare common sense with a profound understanding of nature, beliefs in religions with cultural-scientific-social scientific understandings of both the social world(s) and the human mind. For him, movements in knowledge from neurosciences to religious studies to critical social sciences are as natural as the blowing of the wind.

One of the problems of those who wish to work with the challenge posed by Paige rests with the translation of the term "nonkilling". In Thai, the title of the book is different from its English original. I gave it the title: "*Rattasart Mai Kha*" - literally this means

*“Political Science (Rattasart) Does not Kill”*. Apart from the fact that “Mai Kha” is a direct translation of “nonkilling”, the title of the book in Thai is not merely a set of words or a phrase, but interestingly enough – a sentence. This sentence has “Political Science” as its subject and “nonkilling” or “Mai Kha” as its verb or predicate. Reading this sentence, it is a call for accountability and responsibility of those of us who devote our lives to the study and research of politics, and to serve societies with knowledge concerning the relationship between violence and politics. If no one begins to raise the possibility that nonkilling is possible, and question the prevalent assumption that killing is inevitable, then this is no different from a physician who daily treats his/her patient on the assumption that the patient is suffering from an incurable disease.

Perhaps this is why to lead the readers into the fantastic world of his works, Paige uses Alfred North Whitehead’s words which says: “A science which hesitates to forget its founders is lost.” Once the founders are forgotten, questions will arise. Paige then uses two quotes to begin his first chapter, one from Bertrand Russell which reads: “Philosophy begins when someone asks a general question, and so does science”; and the other from Jawaharal Nehru: “The questions that a country puts are a measure of that country’s political development. Often the failure of that country is due to the fact that it has not put the right question to itself.”

The idea of nonkilling should be understood as both an invitation and a challenge. It is a challenge to the human mind to begin with a critical questioning of the existing killing myths, to search for knowledge necessarily complex and drawn out of different fields of study in order to find a nonkilling route towards nonkilling societies. It is also an invitation to the world to embark on this difficult and necessary journey for the whole of humanity.

*End Notes*

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# Glenn Paige and a Nonkilling Niger Delta

Fidelis Allen

Paige's theory of *nonkilling* is a significant contribution to peace and conflict knowledge infrastructure. In the case of the Niger Delta, Nigeria and Africa as a whole, the relevance of key assumptions of the theory for policy, governance and research cannot be overemphasised. One can go and on to narrate the specific areas of policy, governance and research on the continent of Africa in which the *nonkilling* formulation can be useful. Already, the nonkilling thesis is emerging as a framework for development in the Niger Delta at the level of analysis.

Paige's publication of the book, *Global Nonkilling Political Science*, for the first time in 2004, indicted me, as much as past and present political scientist for endorsing and proposing an unscientific notion that lethality is inevitable in social and political relations of institutions of governance. As a graduate of political science, now with a doctorate in political science, by reading this book, I was introduced to a new way of thinking about the reality of nonviolence in societal change. Not only does Paige demonstrate first-rate faith in the possibility of realising a *global nonkilling society*, he offers his

formulation as resource for political analysis, research and governance. The *nonkilling* society, as defined by Paige is

a human community, smallest to largest, local to global, characterised by no killing of humans, and no threats to ill; no weapons designed to kill humans and no justifications for using them; and no conditions of society that depend for maintenance or change upon threat or use of lethal force.

Initially, reconciling a conceptualisation of a society without killing of humans, threats to kill, weapons created to kill and justifications for their use and conditions of society that feed on violence and rely on it for the stability of the system with my many years of being taught that social and political change could be inevitably brought about by violent means was difficult for me. I cannot therefore say that it was easy for me to think through the nonkilling thesis with faith in its immediate reality. However, reading Paige's book affords me a philosophical ground, and second, as a political scientist, it informed needed paradigm shift on my part from an intellectual tradition that extolled violence as a means for social change. I then found myself thinking globally and acting locally for a better world free of killings. Obviously, my convictions set the tone for rejecting existing violence accepting politics and violence accepting oil industry by the Nigerian state, oil companies and people from the oil producing communities of the Niger Delta of Nigeria.

At this juncture, permit me to briefly narrate how I began to navigate and explore for mechanisms of nonkilling intervention in the crisis that has characterised the oil rich Niger Delta region of Nigeria since the 1990s. It started with the publication of an economical English edition of the *Nonkilling Global Political Science* which was fondly launched at the Cinema Hall 2 of the Obi Wali Cultural Centre in the city of Port Harcourt of Rivers State, Nigeria on October 14, 2006. This event marked the beginning of a journey of preaching the message

of nonviolence and *nonkilling* in the Niger Delta. This was particularly so for being an Associate of the Centre for Global Nonviolence in Honolulu, Hawaii (Now Centre for Global Nonkilling, CGNK). I started receiving invitations to speak to youths and women in communities troubled by violent conflict in the region. I utilised the opportunity to give out copies of the published economical Nigerian English edition of Paige's historic book. Soon, under the platform of the Centre for Global Nonviolence Nigeria, CGNV-Nigeria, I and my colleagues secured an opportunity to advertise the nonkilling theory via jingles on radio. This was done in Nigerian special English commonly referred to as pidgin. Pidgin English is commonly understood and spoken by both literate and illiterate populations.

By 2008, I started a project of translating Paige's *Nonkilling Global Political Science* into Ijaw and Ogoni languages. These are two key language groups, widely spoken among the Ijaw and Ogoni people in the Niger Delta. The effort, which was supported by CGNK, rode high in the agenda of CGNV-Nigeria which I was now associated with as a founding member. Both publications have proved successful at domesticating the concept of nonkilling. Between 2008 and 2010, CGNV-Nigeria collaborated with other organisations to organise at least four seminars on *nonkilling* and nonviolence in the Niger Delta. This is against the background history of intense oil-related violence in the Niger Delta since early 1990s.

In recent times, I see myself moving up the ladder of the nonkilling theoretical framework through research. Analysing politics and conflict in the Niger Delta based on practical experience in nonviolent and nonkilling seminars and workshops organised by CGNV-Nigeria and other organisations which I facilitated or coordinated. Now, I can say of myself to be moving faster with the nonkilling thesis by framing several peace and conflict issues with it. It was done recently in a workshop at the University of Benin where I made my analysis on

conflict in the Niger Delta from a nonkilling formulation. The intellectual audience, though as it did happen to me when I first encountered the idea, were mainly sceptical but some were bold enough to seek more clarification from me after the workshop. One of the anonymous editors of a paper I co-authored on “*Politics, Oil and Conflict in the Niger Delta: A Nonkilling Analysis*”, published in the African Peace and Conflict Journal indicated that the it was the nonkilling argument that marked the paper out.

The gathering of nonkilling leaders around the world in Honolulu, Hawaii, in 2007, afforded me a great opportunity of meeting Paige one on one alongside other big names, like longtime peace activists and researcher Johan Galtung, Irish Nobel Prize Laureate Mairead Corrigan, Charles Alphonse, Bernard Lafayette, Professor N. Radhakrishnan, to mention but a few. It was such a great and inspiring meeting which further cemented my resolve to explore further on researching peace and conflict from the the nonkilling formulation. This informed my recent chapter on political killings and violent conflict in Nigeria, recently accepted for publication in which nonkilling analyses of the issues were deployed. At International Political Science Research Committee on Ethnicity and Politics colloquium in Israel in September 2011, my paper on nonkilling ethnic relations in Nigeria was accepted for presentation.

In all, there is no gainsaying that Paige has added an intellectual, conceptual or theoretical innovation to peace and conflict studies, specifically in designing a global society in which killing is highly reduced and in which concern for welfare of human beings is central in politics, governance, education and economy.

★★★★★★

## *Appendix*

Reproduced below is Professor Glenn D. Paige's assessment of his dear friend, the martyred Colombian Governor Guillermo Gaviria. The piece reveals the passionate intensity, commitment and dedication of Glenn to causes he espouses. ---- editors

### **Political Leadership, Nonviolence And Love: Governor Guillermo Gaviria Correa of Colombia**

**Glenn D. Paige**

#### **Introduction**

Top-down political leadership is rarely the focus of attention in discussions of nonviolence and peace where emphasis is usually placed upon struggles of the dispossessed for justice from the bottom-up. At best leadership attention is accorded to eminent bottom-up figures such as Gandhi and King. With respect to top-down violent political leadership, the treatment is not the same. Leaders like Hitler, Stalin, and Mao are credited with enormous influence upon their societies and world affairs. Sometimes democratic leaders are credited with special contributions to violent successes, such as Abraham Lincoln in the American Civil War and Winston Churchill in WWII.

By contrast the top-down nonviolent leadership of Colombian Governor Guillermo Gaviria presents us with something to ponder for its implications for future leadership for nonviolent global change.

#### **The Governor**

Governor Guillermo Gaviria Correa was born on November 27, 1962, in Medellín, capital of Antioquia, Colombia's second most populous state. He was the eldest son of a family prominent in business,



publishing, and politics. An engineering graduate of the Colorado School of Mines in the United States, he returned in 1985 to begin public service that included service as Antioquian secretary of mines and general director of the National Institute of Roads.

In 2000 he campaigned for a “New Antioquia” as Liberal Party candidate for governor. He was assisted by his wife Yolanda Pinto Afanador de Gaviria Correa, former secretary general of the National Institute of Roads. They had married on Colombia’s Independence Day, July 4, 2000. It was the second marriage for both; he with two sons, she with a daughter and three sons.

Elected governor by nearly 600,000 votes, 50.4% of the total and 200,000 more than his nearest competitor in a state of almost six million people, he launched a vigorous program of action. He first engaged more than 5,000 leaders in a process to identify Antioquia’s priority problems and to suggest solutions for them. This produced a Strategic Plan of Action and a Congruent Peace Plan. With Yolanda he traveled in caravans to various parts of the state to popularize and gain support for these plans.

He had diagnosed the root cause of Colombia’s decades of seemingly intractable violence to be the structural “imbalance” between the few rich and the many poor. Congruent with his Catholic faith, shared with Yolanda, he began to explore how to bring about nonviolent behavioral and structural change in Antioquia and Colombia by adapting the methods associated with Gandhi and King. This brought him into contact with Dr. Bernard LaFayette, Jr. and retired police Captain Charles L. Alphin, Sr., the world’s leading trainers in Kingian methods for nonviolent social change. They had been engaged in trainings for city officials, gangs, prisoners, taxi drivers, and others in Medellín.

To seek nonviolent knowledge the Governor and First Lady journeyed to the University of Rhode Island to participate in the 4<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Nonviolence, August 11-15, 2001, organized by its Center for Nonviolence and Peace Studies, directed by Dr. LaFayette. There they engaged in extensive discussions with participants, including several hours with Dr. N. Radhakrishnan, Chair

of the Indian Council of Gandhian Studies in New Delhi. Those who met the couple there saw they were deeply in love.

Back in Colombia the Governor continued to explore how the spirit and methods of nonviolence could help solve problems of state, paramilitary, revolutionary, and criminal bloodshed within the context of political, social, and economic structural inequity. During October 1-2 he organized a two-day nonviolence training workshop for himself and his cabinet led by Dr. LaFayette and Capt. Alphin. On November 22 he appointed a certified Kingian trainer Sr. Luis Javier Botero Arango to his staff as advisor in nonviolence (asesor en noviolencia). This was one of two pioneering appointments of nonviolence specialists to high government positions in that period. The other was the appointment of Thammasat University Muslim political scientist Dr. Chaiwat Satha-Anand as vice-president of the Strategic Nonviolence Committee of the National Research Council of Thailand.

### **March to Caicedo**

In the spring of 2002, the people of the mountain coffee-growing town of Caicedo (pop. 7,000) called for government assistance against harassment by FARC guerrillas. The FARC had hijacked trucks carrying coffee to market, had assaulted a priest, damaged their church, and were threatening the peoples' livelihood. They had declared themselves to be a nonviolent community.

Reminiscent of Gandhi's Salt March and King's March to Selma, the Governor planned a March of Reconciliation and Solidarity to Caicedo. The plan was debated in cabinet where some opposed it as too dangerous. So did the Governor's father. But the Governor was convinced of the power and efficacy of nonviolence, even if he were sacrificed. He ordered that the police and army should not protect the March and should not attempt to rescue him if kidnapped or to retaliate if he were killed. His faith in nonviolence was unshakable.

Led by the Governor and First Lady together with the Antioquian Peace Commissioner Dr. Guilberto Echeverri Mejía (former defense minister and Antioquia governor), and Catholic Father Carlos Yépez, one thousand marchers set forth from Medellín for the seventy-five mile March to Caicedo. Dr. LaFayette and IFOR vice-president Dr. Lou Ann Ha‘aheo Guanson from Hawai‘i accompanied them. The well-organized spirited March was enthusiastically welcomed by children to elderly in villages and towns along the way. White tee-shirted marchers were met by applause and fluttering white flags; at stops candies were tossed to children and the crowd. Like the songs of Gandhi’s movement and King’s *We Shall Overcome* it had its own poignant theme, a children’s song *Padre Nuestro* from the popular TV show *Oki Doki*. It was sung spontaneously at every opportunity and rest stop.

***Padre Nuestro (Oki Doki)***

<i>Padre Nuestro dime quién puede</i>	<i>Our Father tell me who can explain</i>
<i>explicarle a los niños de aquí</i>	<i>to the children here why</i>
<i>tata violencia, tanta tristeza</i>	<i>so much violence, so much sadness,</i>
<i>que ya no hay donde jugar por ahí.</i>	<i>that there is nowhere to play.</i>

Ending with the haunting last stanza calling for “amor.”

<i>Padre Nuestro te lo pedimos</i>	<i>Our Father we pray</i>
<i>haz que en los hombres</i>	<i>that you revive in men</i>
<i>renazca el amor.</i>	<i>love.</i>

At each of four overnight stops in towns along the way, the Governor and First Lady placed their footprints in concrete as mementos of the March. Despite a warning on the second day of FARC violence in the area and increased concern on the eve and

morning of the last day discussed by him and his small group of associates, the Governor was determined to complete the March.

## **Kidnapped**

On April 21, about three miles short of Caicedo, the FARC stopped the March. The FARC ordered that the Governor plus three others could advance. Yolanda wanted to accompany him but he ordered her to stay behind to take charge of the marchers. Then about 3:00 PM they embraced, knowing he might be kidnapped or killed, and he disappeared around the bend in the road accompanied by Peace Commissioner Mejía, Dr. LaFayette, and Father Yépez. At about 8:00 PM, Father Yépez returned with news that the Governor, Peace Commissioner, and Dr. LaFayette had been kidnapped. In the mountain dark and cold First Lady Yolanda led an anxious invocation for the blessing of the Virgin (*Santa Maria, madre de Dios*). Then apprehensive marchers boarded buses and returned to Medellín.

During April 23-26, First Lady Yolanda courageously chaired the 5<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Nonviolence. It engaged civic, diplomatic, and church leaders as well as Nobel Peace Laureate Mairead Maguire and Dr. LaFayette (released as an American by the FARC on April 22). More than 3,000 people participated. Remarkably for three days they did not clap hands as usual but adopted the silent Jain form of nonviolent applause. This substitutes raised arms and fluttering hands for clapping deemed to do violence to life-giving air. During the Conference Yolanda also led the First Nonviolence Children's Camp with 1,300 children, aged 9 to 13, brought together from every social background and all parts of Colombia. Reached by helicopter it was held in a mountain Boy Scout camp in a guerrilla-active area.

In support of the Conference, Medellín was festooned with banners celebrating Nonviolence. Major newspapers, radio and TV stations carried special stories. Medellín, lamented as one of the world's most homicidal cities in a country plagued by revolutionary, state,

paramilitary, and criminal violence, became the world's most nonviolence-awakened city.

## **Killed**

On May 5, 2003, after 379 days in captivity, Governor Gaviria, Peace Commissioner Mejia, and eight of eleven kidnapped soldiers held with them, were killed in an unwanted, abortive, military rescue attempt undertaken by the Government of Alvaro Uribe. The rescue force, landed by helicopter 30 minutes distant from the camp, gave the FARC guerrillas time to kill their captives and escape into the jungle. Not a shot was fired between combatants. Another miscalculation was that the fierce FARC commander "Paisa" would be absent from the camp that day and that his young fighters would be too disorganized to resist effectively. But "Paisa" was there.

Thus the nonviolent Governor and companions became victims of two lethalties: readiness of the state to kill to rescue its own; readiness of revolutionaries to kill captives to prevent their liberation. This tragedy was preceded by a year of failed efforts to agree on a "humanitarian exchange" of prisoners by the Government and the FARC. In this effort First Lady Yolanda worked daily not only for the release of the Governor but for all of Colombia's kidnapped.

In April the kidnapped and the guerrillas were playing volleyball; on May 5 only three of the kidnapped escaped being killed by them. One of the killers who participated and later left the FARC said he regretted what they had done.

## **Kidnap Diary**

A Diary of entries addressed to Yolanda constitutes an inexhaustible legacy of insights into political leadership, nonviolence, love, faith, and the Colombian condition. It was published first in Spanish in 2005, *Diario de un gobernado secuestrado*, and next in English in 2010, *Diary of a Kidnapped Colombian Governor*. It will surely join the classics of world political prisoner literature and will

reward reading by all who seek a nonviolent future world. It will inspire creativity in all the arts. It calls for a major biography and feature film like Attenborough's *Gandhi*. The daily diaries were delivered to Yolanda in three batches. First by the FARC through the Office of the Public Defender of Antioquia on December 12, 2002 (113 letters). Second by the Army about a week after the rescue attempt (47 letters). Third, by the Attorney General's office in May 2003 (43 letters). Additionally a Notebook with six entries was delivered to her in March 2005. Sixteen letters to Yolanda, his brother Anibal who was to succeed him as Governor, his mother, father, and others were also delivered to her.

In the *Diary* Guillermo conveys to Yolanda details of kidnapped jungle life; relations with guerrilla fighters and fellow captives; food, health, shelter, and coping with disease. They moved hastily from camp to camp on little notice, by mule, horse, or on foot to places named by him and Gilberto with creativity and humor such as "Villa Nonviolence," "Gnatville," "Villa Sadness," "Crab Louse Villa," "Cockroach Residence," and "Swampville." When hopeful of prisoner exchange one camp was called "Villa Waiting." Guillermo and Gilberto were treated well by the guerrillas, although he appeared haggard and bearded, showing lost weight in a video made to demonstrate the captives were alive to their families.

Guillermo and Gilberto benefited from the long captive experience of eleven fellow military prisoners with whom they worked in setting up camps and various projects. With dates of detention in June 2002 they were:

Lieutenant Alejandro Ledesma Ortis, two years, six months

Lieutenant Wagner Tapias Torres, five years

Sergeant Pedro J. Guarnizo, five years

Sergeant Hector Lucuara S., three years, ten months

Sergeant Heriberto Aranguren, ten years

Sergeant Francisco Manuel Negrete, three years, ten months

Sergeant Yercino Navarrete, three years, ten months

Sergeant Samuel Ernesto Cote C., four years

Corporal Agenor E. Viellard, two years, six months

Corporal Mario Alberto Marín, three years, ten months

Sergeant Samuel Ernesto Cote C., four years

Corporal Agenor E. Viellard, two years, six months

Corporal Mario Alberto Marín, three years, ten months

Corporal José Gregorio Peña, two years, six months

Sergeants Aranguren and Navarrete were assigned to help Guillermo and Gilberto. When the May 5, 2003 massacre came, only Guarnizo, Aranguren, and Viellard survived.

Relations with FARC captors were generally good. Rations were shared when short or varied when abundant. Concessions were made to assist movements in view of age and health. On March 23, he was planning to begin English classes for the guerrillas (male and female). For Guillermo, avid learner, the jungle, trees, plants, fruits, rivers, insects, snakes, became a school for advanced study. He was keen to apply new knowledge to improve rural life. How to improve Colombian agriculture for benefit of farmers is a recurrent theme. On the other hand Nature inspires and occasionally provides an opportunity for a favorite pastime of fishing in nearby streams when permitted by the guards, even once allowed alone.

Heavy rains were frequent in many diaries, but when the sun breaks out, the glory of the sky, clouds, trees, and mountains—combined with intense love for Yolanda—breaks through moods of “melancholy,” “sadness,” and “uncertainty” to proceed with Faith.

## **Communication**

Although the kidnap camp was frequently moved, it was not completely out of contact with the relatives of the kidnapped and events in Antioquia, Colombia, and the world. The Red Cross through the FARC occasionally sent care packages to the soldiers with clothes, medicines, books, and other treats. Guillermo and Gilberto were able to receive similar things sent by Yolanda and Gilberto's wife, Martha Inés, through the same channel. By radios sent by Yolanda the kidnapped were able eagerly to listen to broadcasts such as *The Voices of the Kidnapping* and *How Medellín Woke Up* in which relatives sent messages to them. At one point even TV and films could be viewed. News of efforts by Yolanda and others in Colombia and abroad (e.g., UN, EU, Vatican, and Cuba) to secure a "humanitarian exchange" of the kidnapped and rebel prisoners was followed with daily swings of optimism and pessimism. Guillermo was keen to follow and critique national and state politics. As Governor, some cabinet secretaries reported to him on their work by radio. He criticized kidnappings, attacks, and killings by the FARC and the other groups. He saw them as strengthening hostile military and public opinion. He also criticized hostility fanned by government figures and media commentators. He preferred a mass nonviolent movement to end the killing and kidnapping.

## **Political Leadership and Nonviolence**

From the day of his capture the Governor sought to reach the top FARC leadership with his proposals for nonviolent reconciliation and structural change. He wanted to engage them to consider the idea of Antioquia as a "Laboratory of Nonviolence." Although able to reach the local commanders and to obtain general respect for his sincerity,



top level contact and dialogue was never achieved. As the diaries show, although there was no assurance of his advice being delivered, Guillermo continued as Governor to show concern for the success for all aspects of Antioquia state administration. By radio he received reports from secretaries upon their work, entering diary comments upon them as well as upon other state, national, and international affairs.

Over his year in captivity Guillermo deepened and elaborated his initial conviction that the faith- and pragmatic-based theory and practice of nonviolence offered the best approach to solving Colombia's problems of violence and poverty. Before the March to Caicedo he had declared "Nonviolence was born with Jesus Christ; in the 20<sup>th</sup> century it was carried forward by Gandhi and King; and in the 21<sup>st</sup> century it will be the guiding light of the people of Antioquia." He wrote, "I have concluded that without nonviolence no democracy can exist" (August 1). He envisioned nonviolence as a shared ethic permeating all sections of Antioquia's people achieved in part by courses in nonviolence throughout the state's educational institutions. He continued to study nonviolence, requesting books on nonviolence such as those by Gandhi, King, and Gene Sharp. He showed he had been studying topics like nonviolent social offense as well as books on Napoleon, Bolivar, and Colombian military history. People should know that nonviolence involves not "religious fanaticisms" but "humanitarian and political science" (April 21)

As leaders learn, they teach and learn more. One Sunday, August 11, he wrote to Yolanda: "Love I have been very diligent in preparing a talk on nonviolence, and now I have it more or less structured. Really this is my first theoretical evaluation of the topic of

nonviolence. Let's see what the reaction of the military officers and Gilberto is." The next day he reported "complete success" but he would have to divide it into two parts. His hour and a half presentation had produced two hours of discussion. It took two more days to finish. Earlier he had been teaching English to the kidnapped and later to the guards.

In March–April 2003, shortly before his May 5 murder, Guillermo increasingly thinks about proposals to promote nonviolent change in Antioquia, Colombia, and the world. He is realistic about problems to be solved. "Leading signifies constructing solutions, and if it is nonviolent leadership it is very probable that this is more difficult and requires more creativity and valor when putting them into practice" (April 13). He reports new interest in "shared leadership" defined as "the collective product of the nonviolent empowerment of the people of Antioquia" (April 9).

He envisions the UN as a "world organization of nonviolence" (March 3). Earlier on August 8, 2002, he had proposed to establish a Global Center for Nonviolence in Medellín "to strengthen bonds with nonviolent entities in other parts of the world and to explore the study of this literature which is more abundant and serious than I had first thought." At the national level he advocates a Minister of Nonviolence, but not "of peace" (April 23). He has studied nonviolent defense and plans a "proposal to the Colombian people to transform our armed forces into civil corps of peace or nonviolent brigades. An army without guns" (March 22). In Antioquia he envisions a wide range of public and private sector institutions and structural changes necessary to achieve a nonviolent culture. This includes "a new role that the armed forces and the police should play in a nonviolent society along with transforming the approaches to punishment and rehabilitation that the society presently uses" (April 22). He considers creation of a Secretariat of Nonviolence to collect comprehensive statistics on violence and to work with other agencies such as the Secretary of

Education to promote a culture of nonviolence through publications and study of the history of nonviolence in Colombia (April 23). He advocates courses for nonviolence in universities and large scale expansion of children's camps for nonviolence.

His proposals and recommendations reveal a leader creatively thinking about how nonviolent institutions and programs could contribute to behavioral and structural change to remove injustices as both causes and products of violence between rebels and the state.

### **Love and Faith**

Throughout his captivity—amidst the uncertainties of physical existence and prospects for release—Guillermo expressed and was sustained by powerful love for Yolanda and his Catholic faith. A key word count of the *Diary* will surely show “love” as its heart with “nonviolence” and empathic concern for the well-being of others as close companions. Each of his 203 diary entries begins and ends with varied expressions of passionate and respectful affection compounded by shared religious faith that convey a profound sense of “soul mates.” “Amor mia” (my love), “Dulce amor mia” (my sweet love), “Mi vida” (my life), “Dulce princesa mia” (my sweet princess). “Amor” appears frequently inside the entries. The diaries speak of his strong desire to create new life out of their love, a daughter to be named “Yolandita.” Love is expressed to their present children, to his mother, father, and to other members of their families.

On Yolanda's part, radio reports of her love for him, her work with others for humanitarian prisoner exchange, and her work for carrying out his projects in Antioquia uplifted his spirits out of “melancholy” and “sadness,” filling him with hope and pride for a “special wife,” as fellow prisoners praised her devoted service. Along with the Gospel he read and re-read the single batch of her letters that were delivered to him.

## **Conclusion**

Governor Gaviria's nonviolent leadership demonstrates implicit understanding of Aristotle's ancient explanation of revolution's roots in ruler reluctance to live in conditions of equality with the ruled (Aristotle 1962); Burton's thesis that neither moral suasion nor coercion will end violence without engagement in processes of problem-solving that respond to human needs (Burton 1979); Heifitz and Linsky's thesis that broadly "adaptive" versus narrowly "technical" approaches to problem-solving in crisis promise greater success (Heifitz & Linsky 2002); and Galtung's comprehensive approach to peaceful social transformation through deep-rooted cultural, structural, and behavioral change achieved through transcendent creativity (Galtung 2004).

Guillermo's experience and that of nonviolent Petra Kelly's party and parliamentary leadership (Kelly [1992] 2009) call for study by future nonviolent political leaders and their followers. Their top-down lessons need to be combined with those from bottom-up nonviolent leadership and mass action experiences powerfully theorized by Gene Sharp (1973). The study and practice of nonviolent political leadership offer hope for progress toward a peaceful, free, and just human future in which—"Everyone has the right not to be killed and the responsibility not to kill others" (Nobel Peace Laureates 2007, Principle 13).

As the slogan of the March to Caicedo reminds us: "Si...Hay un Camino—la Noviolencia." "Yes...There is a Way—Nonviolence."

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# **Professor Glenn D. Paige: Quotations, Citations and Statements**

**Balwant Bhaneja**

## **1. Quotations/Citations on Nonkilling:**

“Most humans do not kill. Of all humans alive – and of all who have ever lived only a minority are killers. Consider the homicide statistics of any society.”

“The possibility of a nonkilling society is rooted in human experience and creative capabilities. The vast majority of human beings have not killed and do not kill. Although we are capable of killing, we are not by nature compelled to kill...Where killing does occur, scientific creativity promises unprecedented ability to understand its causes, how to remove them, and how to assist liberation of self and society from lethality.”

“Prototypical components of a nonkilling society already exist in past and present global experience. They are not product of hypothetical imagination. Spiritual, political, economic, social, and cultural institutions and practice based upon nonkilling principles can be found in human experience.”

“...life in a nonkilling society is characterized by no killing of humans and no threats to kill, neither technologies nor justifications for killing, and no social conditions that depend upon threat or use of lethal force.”

## **Foreword to “For the Sake of Peace: Seven Paths to Global Harmony – A Buddhist Perspective” by Daisaku Ikeda:**

“...our dialogue centered on the importance of creativity in realizing global conditions of principled respect for life. He (Ikeda) said that he greatly respected creative thinking and that the importance of this had been emphasized by his revered mentor, Josei Toda. For my part, I replied that I most admired the ability to translate creative ideas into action...Once when teaching politics at Princeton I had asked Governor Munoz-Marin of Puerto-Rico, who was a poet as well as politician, what the similarities and differences were between these two roles. He replied: “Both the poet and the political leader have the creative ability to imagine non-existing state of affairs. But the political leader has the additional ability to influence other people to bring them about.”

### **2. Others on Glenn D. Paige’s work:**

Letter from Late Columbian Governor Guillermo Gaviria Correa in FARC captivity to his wife Yolanda, cited in the “Diary of a Kidnapped Columbian Governor: A Journey toward Nonviolent Transformation”:

*“How good it would be able to remove all the false images many in our country have about “the power of people” or “the strength of love”. Paige’s nominating us for the Nobel (Peace Prize) flies around in my mind; that alone constitutes sufficient prize for you and for me.”*

APSA Distinguished Award citation:

Professor Glenn D. Paige: *Recipient of American Political Science Association’s “Distinguished Career Award” presented to him on September 2, 2004 “In Recognition of a Political Scientist Who Combined Excellence in Teaching and Scholarship in the Service of Transformational Politics over a Lifetime”.*



Nobel Peace Laureate and Former President of Republic of Korea  
Kim Dae Jung:

*“In the history of humanity in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, in progress to nonviolence and peace, this book(Nonkilling Global Political Science) will make an extremely valuable contribution.”*

Dr. Inder Kumar Gujral, Former Prime Minister of India:

*“The book (Nonkilling Global Political Science) should be read in every political science department and by the public.”*

Murray Poiner, Editor of Shalom, Jewish Peace Fellowship:

*“Nonkilling Political Science is a perfect antidote for our historic love affair with war.”*

### **3. Nonkilling Security: A Proposal for India and Pakistan**

A Proposal to greet The New Millennium: For All Humanity *Talk* by Prof. Glenn D. Paige presented at the India International Centre, New Delhi, on November 20, 1999, sponsored by the Indian Council for Gandhian Studies:

#### **A Joint Declaration of Independence from the Genocidal-Suicidal-Ecocidal Global Nuclear War System by the Military Leaders of India and Pakistan**

As a former soldier become explorer of *Nonkilling Global Political Science* (forthcoming 2001) this is respectfully to urge the military leaders of India and Pakistan jointly to assert nonviolent moral leadership for the world to begin the 21<sup>st</sup> Century and New Millennium. Everlasting universal respect can be received by them and their peoples by leading their nations to become the first countries in the world to respond to the universally desired hunger for complete abolition of genocidal-suicidal nuclear weapons as called for the First U.N. General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament in 1978.

Is it reasonable to expect military leaders who are professionals in the art and science of killing to take such a momentous step towards a nonviolent 21<sup>st</sup> Century?

And if so, why should it be the military leaders of India and Pakistan who are called upon to take the critical first step for 21<sup>st</sup> Century nonviolent moral transformation of the world?

Should it not be the United States as inventor and first user of atomic weapons, its former colonialist allies Britain and France, and revolutionary Russia and China who should take the first steps? Yes, of course they should, but do they have the spiritual and nonviolent civilizational resources and courage to do so that are available to the military leaders of India and Pakistan?

Should it not be the religious leaders of the world – the saints, imams, priests, rabbis, and others – who should do so? Of course, yes, they have been urging respect for life and God's creation for ages.

Should it not be political leaders and government leaders who by election, coercion, appointment, or other means have gained decision-making power over vast resources of mind, manpower, money, and materials? Of course, yes, since most political leaders customarily seek to base their claims to authority to some degree upon appeals to morality.

Should it not be the great body of humanity from whom all earthly power derives – indispensable upholders of all political, military, economic, social and cultural conditions – who should stand up and insist upon the abolition of genocidal-suicidal nuclear weapons as a first step of moral leadership to ensure the continuance of life on and of the earth? Yes, of course, for it is they/we who are fated to be the first, most numerous, and final victims of intentional or accidental nuclear annihilations.

Nevertheless the case can be made that military leaders, however surprising this may be, possess the greatest responsibility and

greatest political moral potential to lead humanity into a new nuclear-weapon-free era. This claim rests partly upon the claim of military leaders themselves that they who have participated in the murderous tasks of waging war understand and cherish peace more than those who have not – despite the fact that vastly greater numbers of civilians than soldiers are slaughtered as a result of modern military lethality. It also rests upon the intensifying rejection of claims by military leaders that atrocities planned and executed under their command are excusable because they are carried out under constituted political authority. That Hitler or other elected political leader ordered me to commit genocide is no longer an acceptable defense in the court of world opinion. Military leaders increasingly are vulnerable to universal moral condemnation as nuclear war criminals who are preparing to commit the ultimate crime against humanity.

Paradoxically the time has come for military leaders to step forward and lead humanity in the abolition of nuclear weapons as a critically essential first step toward the complete abolition of war as a human institution.

Inspiration for this bold step can be found in the moral and practical legacy of some of the greatest past and present military leaders themselves.

**Emperor Asoka.** In South Asia, the compassionate and rational nonviolent response of victorious Emperor Asoka to the corpse-strewn battlefield of Kalinga has bequeathed an example of courageous commitment to Ahimsa that is as relevant today as it was over two millennia ago. What would Emperor Asoka's response be to the nuclear holocaust of Hiroshima and Nagasaki? And to the unspeakable horror of other 20<sup>th</sup> Century Kalingas?

**Napoleon Bonaparte.** Renowned even in defeat as one of the world's greatest military commanders, Napoleon helps us to understand that military leadership can be transformed into even more powerful nonviolent leadership:

There are only two powers in the world, the sword and the spirit. In the long run the sword will always be conquered by the spirit.

**General K.M. Cariappa** (later Honorary Field Marshal). In my opinion, General Cariappa of the Indian Army deserves to be honoured among the greatest military figures of all time who have sought to find alternatives to violence and war. Three times – on December 1 and 3, 1947 and again on January 18, 1948 – General Cariappa sought out Mahatma Gandhi and respectfully sought to engage him in a dialogue on the military relevance of nonviolence. Gandhi had no easy answer. He said, “I am still groping in the dark for the answer. I will find it and give it to you some day” (M.K. Gandhi, *Collected Works*, vol. 90, p. 166). They agreed to continue their discussion. Tragically the assassination of Gandhi on January 30, 1948 cut short this momentous series of dialogues that even now contains the seeds of globally significant nonviolent transformative capability. With deepest respect, I salute the nonviolent initiative of General Cariappa.

**General Douglas MacArthur.** The imperative necessity for the abolition of war and for bold new thinking about peace and security in the atomic era has nowhere been expressed better than in a speech by General MacArthur to veterans of the American Legion in Los Angeles on January 26, 1955.

Please listen to the General:

You will say at once that although the abolition of war has been the dream of man for centuries, every proposition to that end has been promptly discarded as impossible and fantastic. Every cynic, every pessimist, every adventurer, every swashbuckler in the world has always disclaimed its feasibility. But that was before the science of the past decade made mass destruction a reality. The argument then was along spiritual and moral grounds and lost....But now the tremendous and

present evolution of nuclear and other potentials of destruction has suddenly taken the problem away from its primary consideration as a moral and spiritual question and brought it abreast of scientific realism. It is no longer an ethical question to be pondered solely by learned philosophers and ecclesiastics but a hand core one for the decision of the masses whose survival is at stake....The leaders are the laggards....Never do they state the bald truth that the next great advance in civilization can not take place until war is abolished....When will some great figure in power have sufficient imagination to translate this universal wish – which is becoming a universal necessity – into activity.

We are in a new era. The old methods and solutions no longer suffice. We must have new thoughts, new ideas, new concepts....We must break out of the straight jacket of the past. (Cousins, *The Pathology of Power*, 1987, pp. 67-9).

For General MacArthur the abolition of war is no longer only a spiritual and moral question but has become a matter of “**scientific realism.**” No one has posed the challenge more clearly.

**General Dwight D. Eisenhower.** Similarly, no pacifist, peace scholar, politician or religious figure has more powerfully portrayed the economic effects of the “colossal waste” of resources in military expenditures than has General and former President Eisenhower in a speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 16, 1953. In considering the General’s words, please note that the total cost of the Nuclear Weapons Program of the United States alone over the 56-year period from 1940 to 1996 has been \$5.821 trillion (Shwartz, *Atomic Audit*, 1998).

Every gun that is fired, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and not clothed. This world in Arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children....This is not a way of

life in any true sense. Under the cloud of war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron.

**General George Lee Butler.** On December 4, 1996, in a speech before the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., General Butler, recently retired commander of all U.S. nuclear war-fighting forces on land, sea and air, called for the complete abolition of nuclear weapons on the following grounds:

Nuclear weapons are inherently dangerous, hugely expensive, militarily ineffective, and morally indefensible.

He then called for the United States to take the lead in their abolition. Otherwise it would have no moral authority to demand that other nations neither produce nor possess them.

After reviewing evidence that military leaders are capable of taking surprisingly creative initiatives for nonviolence and peace, let us consider a draft declaration that military leaders of Pakistan and India might make.



## **A Declaration**

That on the stroke of midnight on January 1 of the Year 2000, the highest military commanders of the armed services (land, sea, and air) of both India and Pakistan jointly make the following declaration:

### **Joint Declaration of Independence from the Genocidal-Suicidal-Ecocidal Global Nuclear War System**

1. We, the highest military commanders of India and Pakistan, jointly pledge before God, our peoples, and people of the whole world that before the sun sets on the Year 2000 we will completely abolish our genocidal-suicidal nuclear weapons capabilities and supporting programmes; and will liberate all the talents and resources saved thereby to serve the economic and social needs of our peoples.

2. Following the lead of the United States of America, the world's inventor and first mass killer by atomic annihilation, as later joined by the former colonial powers Britain and France, revolutionary Russia and China (all permanent members of the UN Security Council), and Israel, we have demonstrated our scientific and technological capabilities to produce the most lethal weapons yet devised by the mind of man to threaten extinction of both human and planetary life.

3. We have demonstrated to the United States, the world's leading military superpower, and the other nuclear weapons states that we too have minds, talents, and technologies capable of mass nuclear genocide and ecocide. The whole world has taken notice of this.

4. But upon reflection we have come to realize that the intent to employ such genocidal-suicidal weapons completely contradicts the core of all South Asian spiritual contributions to the development of world civilization. The teachings of *Al-Qur'an*, Ahimsa, and the Dharma—of Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism, Christianity, Judaism, Sikhism, Zoroastrianism, and others—equally do not permit us to participate in the extinction of life on earth.

5. We simply cannot lead the world into a New Century and New Millennium on the basis of genocidal-suicidal military thought and preparation. Therefore we renounce production and use of nuclear weapons as a critical step toward the abolition of war that has become a matter of “scientific realism” for the continuation of life on earth.

6. In renouncing nuclear weapons on spiritual and scientific grounds we also mean to liberate our peoples from the “colossal waste” of economic resources that is inherent in preparations of a genocidal-suicidal nuclear war. We pledge to avoid the tragic diversion of human and material resources away from service to the fundamental human needs of our peoples. An example of “colossal waste” is the gigantic cost of the United States Nuclear Weapons Program over 56 years from 1940 to 1996 that has totaled 5.821 trillion dollars and still continues at a rate of some 30 billion dollars per year. By social service

use of nuclear weapons resources we can help to stop the “holocaust” of millions of preventable deaths each year resulting from poverty and malnutrition in our countries and throughout the world.

7. In carrying out our pledge to abolish our nuclear weapons, we call upon all the religious leaders of India and Pakistan, all our political leaders, all our people, and all people of the world to support us in faithfully and effectively taking this historic leadership initiative for the spiritual, security, and economic well-being of humanity as we enter the 21<sup>st</sup> Century and New Millennium.

8. We call upon the military leaders of the United States and all the other nuclear weapons States, and the military commanders of all potential nuclear weapons countries, to follow us in liberating humanity from the genocidal-suicidal-ecocidal and economic threat of nuclear weapons in the New Century and New Millennium.

### **Call for World Peace Action: Nobel Peace Prize Award 2000**

Following the January 1, 2000 joint India-Pakistan nuclear weapons abolition initiative, all eligible nominators and peace forces throughout the world are called upon to petition the Norwegian Nobel Peace Prize Committee as follows:

*We respectfully recommend that the Nobel Peace Prize for the Millennium Year 2000 be awarded jointly to the Military Leaders of India and Pakistan and to the Peoples of their two countries.*

**Nominations and Supporters:Center for Global Nonviolence**

### **Some Resources**

Burrowes, Robert J. *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense: A Gandhian Approach*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996.



*A Declaration*

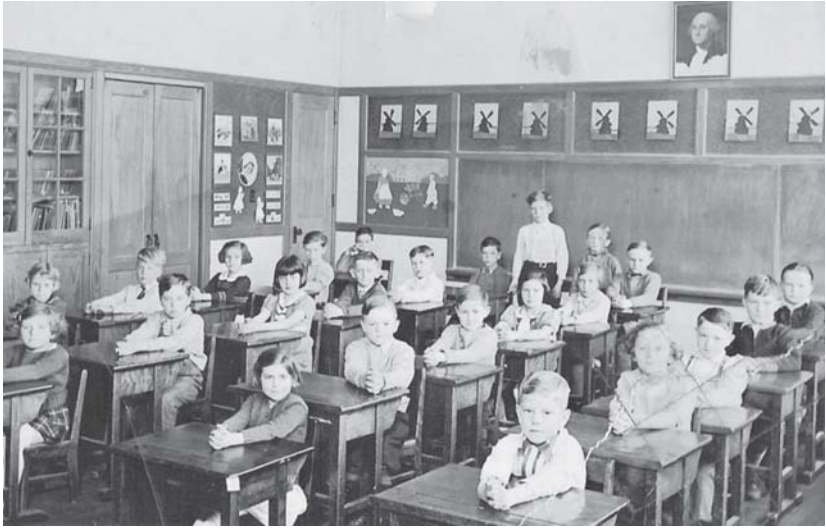
Kelly, Petra K. *Nonviolence Speaks to Power*, ed. G. Paige. Honolulu: Center for Global Nonviolence Planning Project, University of Hawaii, 1992.

Paige, G.; Chaiwat Satha-Anand (Qader Muheideen); and Sarah Gilliatt, eds. *Islam and Nonviolence*. Honolulu: Center for Global Nonviolence Planning Project, 1993.

Schwartz, Stephen I., ed. *Atomic Audit: The Costs and Consequences of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Since 1940*. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1998.

Tayyabulla, M. *Islam and Nonviolence*. Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1959.





Glenn in the 2<sup>nd</sup> grade in his grandmother's classroom.  
Glenn is at the last desk on the right.



Glenn in his Spaulding High School band uniform(1940s)



Glenn as teenager



Glenn in the Princeton University band (last saxophone on the right)



Teenage Glenn in the snow



Glenn receiving his commission as a first lieutenant after completing Officer Candidate School



Glenn as a soldier in the Korean War



Glenn was the leader of a private high school band,  
The Clef Kings. This was their business card



Glenn and Glenda's wedding photo,  
September 1, 1973, on a catamaran boat off Waikiki Beach



Glenn and Glenda in Provincetown, Massachusetts



Glenn at a conference





Glenn in Cape Cod. He has a beard because he had made a “small vow” to Acharya Tulsi that he would not shave until he completed his book *Nonkilling Global Political Science*.



Glenn with “No More Killing” sign (1980s)



Glenn in his office (1970s)



Glenn with dear friends Prof. Hong Sung-Chick and General Paik Sun-Yup





Glenn and Glenda with Nobel Peace laureate and former ROK President Kim Dae Jung in his office two years before Kim passed away.



Glenn and Gandhi - disciple Prof. G. Ramachandran in India



Glenn and Glenda with North Korean defector Prof. Hwang Jang Yop in Seoul. Glenn first met Prof. Hwang in Pyongyang. At that time Prof. Hwang was the first political scientist he had ever met whosaid that a nonkilling society was completely possible



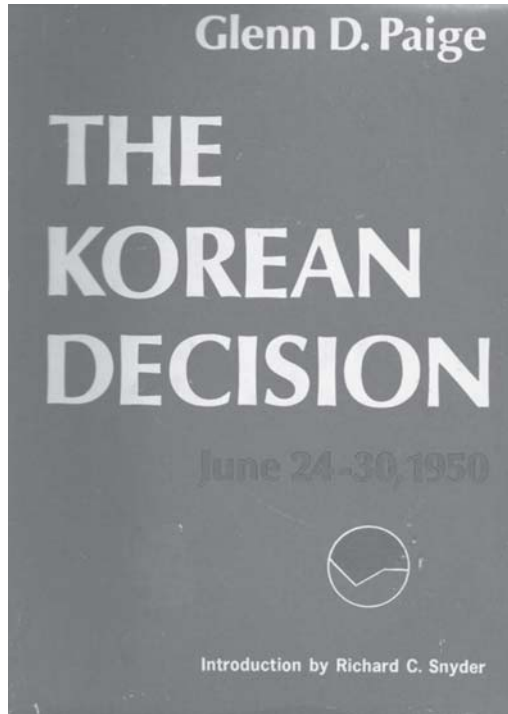
Glenn with Prof. Kim Jun-Yop, an old friend from the 1960s, and Prof. Doak Barnett in Seoul. Kim since became President of Korea University before retiring



Glenn with his political science mentor Prof. Richard C. Snyder and wife Marjorie in Scottsdale, Arizona



Glenn and Ralph Nader in Honolulu. Glenn and Nader were Princeton Class of 1955 classmates and were in the same Chinese language class



Glenn's first book, *The Korean Decision: June 24-30, 1950*  
(based on his doctoral dissertation)



Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawaii. Glenn brought the idea of the Center building with him from Princeton, and was instrumental in getting the idea approved at the University of Hawaii



Glenn accepting the Anuvrat Award in India. On the dais are Acharya Tulsi and Yuvacharya Mahaprajna



Former Prime Minister of India, I.K. Gujral launches the Tamil edition of Glenn's *Nonkilling Global Political Science* in New Delhi



Glenn and dear friend Prof. N. Radhakrishnan



Inaugural photo of the Board of Directors of the newly incorporated Center for Global Nonviolence (Glenn, Dr. Ramon Lopez-Reyes, Dr. Lou Ann Ha'aheo Guanson, Prof. Larry Cross, Glenda, Prof. George Simson)

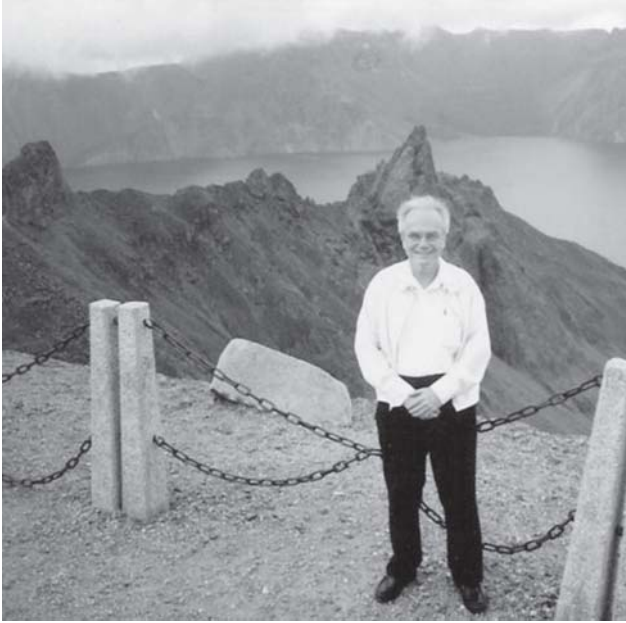




Glenn and Glenda with picket sign to free the imprisoned South Korean poet Kim Chi Ha. Glenn (all alone) picketed the South Korean Consulate in Honolulu on Christmas Day from Sunrise to sunset



Protest on the University of Hawaii campus to protest the imprisonment of Kim Chi Ha



Glenn in North Korea on the rim of the crater of Mt. Paektu



Glenn with Harry Friedman, then chairman of the University of Hawaii political science department. Friedman recruited Glenn from Princeton to join the University of Hawaii faculty in 1967.



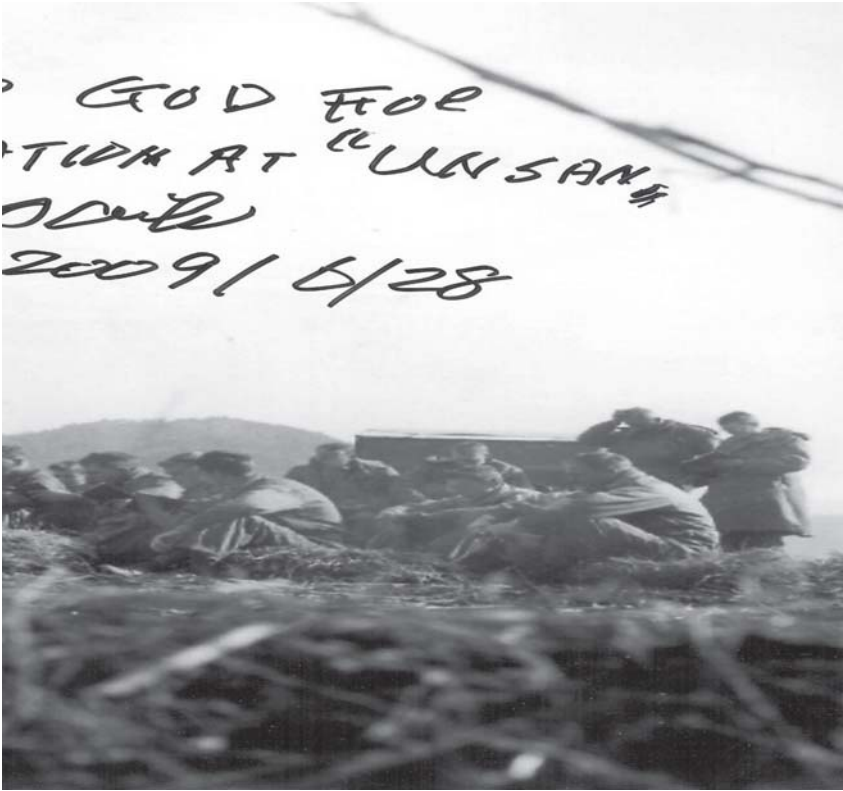


Photo of Battle of Unsan autographed by General Paik Sun-Yup for Glenn's 80<sup>th</sup> birthday. Glenn was a U.S. Army anti-aircraft officer attached to Gen. Paik's battalion. He saw him daily, and they have been friends since the war.



First Global Nonkilling Leadership Forum, Honolulu, November 2007



Glenn's cat Shanti on top of some of Glenn's books



Glenn with Governor Dr. Gaveria Guillermo, his wife Yolanda and Dr. N Radhakrishnan



Glenn with some of the top peace-makers of the world  
Kenneth Boulding is at the extreme left.



Glenn in India as a Shanti Sena leader talking to Shanti Sena Organizers



Glenn at a Conference "Building a Culture of Peace at Rhode Island.



India Salutes Glenn Paige on his 80<sup>th</sup> birth anniversary- a special assembly of over 1000 Shanti Sena leaders from different parts of India turned up to salute Prof. Paige in New Delhi on 24<sup>th</sup> June 2009.

## The Contributors

**Alan Nazareth**, since his retirement from the Indian foreign Service P.A. Nazareth has been Managing Trustee of Sarvodaya International Trust, of which he is one of the founders and of which Dr. Glenn Paige is one of the Trustees. He was presented the U Thant Award in 2007 for his dedicated promotion of Gandhian values within India and abroad.

**A.T. Ariyaratne**, compared by many to Gandhi, is the founder of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka. In 2004, 3 million people in Sri Lanka celebrated the International Day of Peace when spiritual leader Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne invited his war-plagued nation to join together for a day of peaceful meditation. Sarvodaya is a Sanskrit word for “everybody wakes up” and under his leadership this movement has worked hard for nearly 50 years to foster enlightenment and development for Sri Lankans, but especially the poorest and least powerful in society. They have helped thousands of villages to become self-reliant, building homes, hospitals and schools, digging wells and promoting alternative energy and food infrastructures as well as defending women’s and children’s rights and promoting religious tolerance and cooperation.

**Antonino Drago** born in Italy in 1938; graduated in Physics at University of Pisa in 1961, he taught at Naples University History of Physics, about which wrote ten books (among which: *Le due opzioni*, Meridiana, Molfetta BA, 1991; *La riforma della meccanica di G.W. Leibniz*, Hevelius, Benevento, 2003) and around 300 papers illustrating the existence of an alternative to the dominant science along the entire history of science. Retired in 2004, since 2001 he is contract professor in Pisa University about People non-violent defence. His last books: *Storia e Tecniche della nonviolenza*, Laurenziana, Napoli, 2006; *Difesa Popolare nonviolenta*, Ed. Gruppo Abele, Torino, 2006; *La filosofia di Lanza del Vasto*, Jaca book, Milano 2008; *Il pensiero di Lanza del Vasto*, Il pozzo Giacobbe, Trapani, 2010, *Le rivoluzioni nonviolente del XX secolo*, Nuova Cultura, Roma, 2010. He belongs to the Ark Community of Lanza del Vasto and Transcend of J. Galtung.

**Bae Ho Hahn**, celebrated Korean Political Scientist. Author of *Korea-Japan relations in the 1970's* and *Assessing Kim Young-Sam Administration's First Four years* (1997).

**Balwant (Bill) Bhaneja** is a former Canadian diplomat with postings in London, Bonn, and Berlin. Following his foreign service career, he was as a Senior Research Fellow with the Program for Research in Innovation Management and Economy at the University of Ottawa (2003-2008). He has a Ph.D. in science policy from the University of Manchester and is author of four books on South Asian politics including *Science and Government: Nehru Era* (1992) and *Quest for Gandhi: A Nonkilling Journey*(2010). Over the past decade, his research and writings have focused on Nonkilling Political Science. He chaired the panels on Nonkilling themes at the European Consortium for Political Research in Budapest, Hungary (2005), the IPSA World Political Science Congress, Santiago, Chile (2006), and the Global Nonkilling leadership Forum, Honolulu, USA (2007). His paper on the Nonkilling paradigm was published in the Elsevier's *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, & Conflict* (2008). He

is a co-founder of the civil society movement to establish a Federal Department/Ministry of Peace in Canada. He is an active member of Canadian Pugwash Group and Science for Peace.

**Bishop Mabwe Lucien**, born in Kazimia (Fizi), April 22, 1956. Degree in History and graduated in Theology. Married with 5 children. Former Administrator of the Territory of Fizi (High Authority Policy). Ordained Bishop of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God churches in Congo in 2009. Founder of the NGO MLECI (word of the language of Fizi with a sense of a mother who raises her son with love and care). MLECI work in the Province of South Kivu (Eastern of the DR of Congo).

**Chaiwat Satha-Anand** is Professor of political science at Thammasat University, Bangkok, and Director of the Thai Peace Information Centre at the Foundation for Democracy and Development Studies. He is an expert on nonviolence, theory as well as activism, and on Islam. He has published numerous articles and book chapters on the military, alternative defence, religion and peace, Islam and non-violence, and modern political philosophy. For several years he directed the International Peace Research Association's (IPRA) commission on nonviolence and he serves at the Scientific Committee of the International University for Peoples' Initiative for Peace, (IUPIP), in Rovereto, Italy.

**David Krieger** is a founder of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, and has served as President of the Foundation since 1982. Under his leadership the Foundation has initiated many innovative and important projects for building peace, strengthening international law and abolishing nuclear weapons. Dr. Krieger has lectured throughout the United States, Europe and Asia on issues of peace, security, international law, and the abolition of nuclear weapons. He has been interviewed on CNN Hotline, MSNBC and many other television and radio shows nationally and internationally. Also Dr. Krieger is the author of many studies of peace in the Nuclear Age.



**Fidelis Allen** is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political and Administrative Studies, University of Port Harcourt, Nigeria. He is currently on research-leave doing research into development issues (climate change, poverty, public policy, and environmental contentious politics in South Africa and Nigeria) in the School of Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, Durban, South Africa. Allen is co-founder of the nonkilling research and education movement in Nigeria with the Centre for Global Non-violence Nigeria. His research interests include peace and conflict, environmental politics and policy, social movements and ethnicity.

**Hidekazu Sakai** gained the degree of Bachelor of Business Administration from Soka University, Tokyo Japan in 1989. He received M.A. degree in international relations from California State University, Fresno in 1993, and the doctorate Ph.D. in political science from University of Hawaii at Manoa in 2000. Dr. Sakai is currently Associate Professor of International Relations at College of Foreign Studies, Kansai Gaidai University, Osaka Japan. His research areas are international security, Asian politics, and US-Japan relations.

**Jim Dator** is Professor and Director of the Hawaii Research Center for Futures Studies, Department of Political Science, and Adjunct Professor in the Program in Public Administration, the College of Architecture, and the Center for Japanese Studies, of the University of Hawaii at Manoa; Co-Chair, Space and Society Division, International Space University, Strasbourg, France; former President, World Futures Studies Federation. He also taught at Rikkyo University (Tokyo, for six years), the University of Maryland, Virginia Tech, the University of Toronto, and the InterUniversity Consortium for Postgraduate Studies in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia.

**Joam Evans Pim** is the head of research at the Hawai'i-based Center for Global Nonkilling. He followed graduate and undergraduate studies in Journalism, Anthropology and Politics. He is completing a PhD at



the University of Santiago Compostela in communication and media studies. He was Professor of Film Studies at the same university, and Director of the Arab and Islamic Studies Program at Menendez Pelayo International University. He is also Founding President of the Galizan Institute for International and Peace Studies, Board member of the Brazilian Institute for Nonkilling, and member of the Galizan Academy of the Portuguese Language.

**Johan Galtung** - born 1930 in Norway, is working on two tracks: one as professor of peace studies, the first at least in Europe, at many universities around the world and researcher, the author of about 150 books and the other as peace worker, mediator, conciliator, project builder. Also around the world and in about the same number of cases. See [www.transcend.org/tup](http://www.transcend.org/tup) for information about the latest books, and [www.transcend.org/tms](http://www.transcend.org/tms) for Galtung's weekly editorial on world affairs from a peace and constructive point of view.

**Koozma J. Tarasoff** represents the Center for Doukhobor Studies in Canada and Spirit Wrestlers Publishing. Born in Western Canada, he received his BA and MA degrees (Anthropology and Sociology) from the Universities of Saskatchewan and British Columbia and has authored many books and articles on Doukhobors, Native Indians, East-West dialogue, and peace-making. The Tarasoff Papers at the Saskatchewan Archives includes valuable documents, oral histories and sound recordings. As a scholar and peace activist, he has studied the Doukhobor social movement for over 55 years. Koozma's writings have been complemented with extensive photography and his website ([www.spirit-wrestlers.com](http://www.spirit-wrestlers.com) and Spirit-Wrestlers Blog) provides information and a link to the past and the present for Doukhobors in North America and Russia.

**Leslie E. Sponsel** was born to German American parents in Indianapolis, Indiana. He earned the B.A. in geology from Indiana University (1965), and the M.A. (1973) and Ph.D. (1981) in biological and cultural anthropology from Cornell University. Also he took summer

courses at the Summer Institute of Linguistics in the University of Oklahoma (practical field linguistics), New York University (primate behavior and ecology field school in Ethiopia), and Massachusetts Institute of Technology (field methods in nutritional anthropology). At Cornell Sponsel's professors included Drs. Kenneth A.R. Kennedy (advisor), Barbara Harrison, Louis Leakey, John Murra, William Stini, and Brooke Thomas.

**Lopez-Reyes** was born in New York City (1932). He is a depth psychologist in private practice in Hawaii. He received the doctorate degree from the University of Chicago (1961) and the Diploma from C.G. Jung Institut-Zurich (1980). He served twenty-two years in the U.S. Infantry with duty in Berlin, Korea, Vietnam, Panama and the Pentagon. It is noted that this paper was written in collaboration with Kathryn Farrell Utke.

**Neelakanta Radhakrishnan**, a trainer in Nonviolence, Gandhi scholar, founder of several institutions and prolific writer, has authored over 60 books on such diverse areas as literature, communication, human rights, Gandhian thought, education, peace movements, theatre arts. The most prominent among them are: *Gandhi in the Global village*; *Gandhi, The Quest for Tolerance and Survival*; *Gandhi's Challenge to Religious Intolerance*; *Shanti Sena Training in Nonviolence: A Trainer's Manual*; *Daisaku Ikeda: Man and Mission*; *Daisaku Ikeda in Pursuit of a New Humanity*; *Ikeda Sensei: The Triumph of Mentor Disciple Spirit*; *The Living Dialogue: Socrates to Ikeda*; *A Nation in Transition: India at 50*; *Gandhi, Youth and Nonviolence*; *Khan Abdul Gaffer Khan: Messenger of Harmony*; *Sparks of Nonviolence*; *Complementarity of Gandhi and Nehru*; and *Multiple Streams of Peace Movement*. After leaving University service he headed the National Gandhi Memorial in New Delhi as its director and presently is the Chairman *Indian Council of Gandhian Studies* and leads a National Campaign: *Violence free India*.

**Peter M. Gardner** is Emeritus Professor of Anthropology at the University of Missouri, USA. He was born in England, raised in Canada and New Zealand, and received his PhD in 1965 at the University of Pennsylvania. He has studied hunting-gathering Paliyar in Tamil Nadu and Dehcho Dene in the Canadian Northwest Territories. His other interests include the History of Anthropology, Anthropology of Knowledge, foraging adaptations, individualism, and the work of present-day Tamil stapatis. He was also a long-time teacher of the Civilization of India, from a Vedanta viewpoint.

**Piki Ish-Shalom** is a Senior Lecturer at the Department of International Relations, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem since July 2006. He holds a Ph.D. in political science and international relations from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He was a postdoctoral fellow at the International Security Program at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs and at the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, both at Harvard University. He has published in different scholarly journals such as *International Studies Quarterly*, *European Journal of International Relations*, *International Studies Review*, *Political Science Quarterly*, and *Perspectives on Politics*. He is interested in issues of ethics and international relations, in the nexus between theorizing the political and politicizing the theoretical, and in the political construction of social knowledge.

**Ralph V. Summy** joined the staff of the Department of Government at the University of Queensland, teaching courses in American political thought and American political institutions and behaviour before introducing in 1976 and 1977 a couple of courses on nonviolent politics. On retiring at the end of 1996, he accepted the Directorship of the Matsunaga Institute for Peace, University of Hawai'i. He is a past member of the Council of the International Peace Research Association, and from 1998 to 2008 he was convenor or co-convenor of IPRA's Nonviolence Commission. In 1977 he founded the journal *Social Alternatives* and after 30 years on the editorial collective continues to

serve on its Advisory Board. At the end of 2004 he was invited to join the Australian Centre for Peace & Conflict Studies at the University of Queensland as an adjunct professor. The Centre represents the latest extension of peace research and peace education at the University with which he identifies. In 2010, he became Adjunct Professor at the University of Sydney's Centre for Peace & Conflict Studies (CPACS).

**Robley E. George**, Founder and Director of the Center for the Study of Democratic Societies, was born in Indiana in 1931 and was graduated from Arsenal Technical High School in Indianapolis. He then studied engineering at San Diego State and Sacramento State Colleges and was graduated from the University of California at Berkeley with a B.S. Chem. Engr. in 1954. After serving in the U.S. Army Signal Corps, he entered Purdue University and was graduated with a M.S. Chem. Engr. in 1957. He completed his formal education at UCLA, specializing in applied mathematics, automatic control theory and nuclear engineering.

**Tatiana Yakushkina** is Ph.D. in Arts, Associated Professor of Foreign Languages and Literatures at Saint Petersburg State University of Culture and Arts (Russia), and author of more than 60 scientific articles and book *Italian Petrarchism of the 15-16th Centuries: Tradition and Canon* (2008).



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