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Third Printing

“Eliminating War is both a timely book and a richly rewarding one.”

Former Colonel US army, **Andrew J. Bacevich**, author of *The Limits of Power: the End of American Exceptionalism*

“Eliminating War could not be more timely. I recommend that as many people as possible read it and start to consider how we as a species can control ourselves to save the precious ecosphere and ourselves.”

Dr. Helen Caldicott, physician, author

“Heartfelt gratitude for the book. May your contribution serve to move humanity ever closer to the ‘beginning of the end of all war’ (FDR). Thank you for giving of your time to write such a book. I marveled at the piece about your recognition of the Civil War veterans. And love that you included the Earth Charter.”

Dot Maver, co-Director, the National Peace Academy

“Veterans Kay and Smith make a strong and not anti-military case that war has become counter-productive to national and human security. It is now historically necessary and also possible to eliminate war through multiple approaches that include cutting waste and unnecessary weapons, reclaiming Congress’ constitutional responsibility, developing alternative energy and sustainable economies and ecologies, and creating and strengthening international agencies under the UN to settle disputes and prevent war. *Eliminating War* should be read and discussed not only by all political decision-makers but all citizens serious about the future. In college courses on peace and security it should be required reading.

Patricia M. Mische, author and co-founder of Global Education Associates

More comments on last page.

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About the Authors



Alan F. Kay. See www.alanfKay.com and www.publicinterestpolling.com At age 18, in 1944, he joined the US infantry until war's end. A Japanese language interpreter, he performed a wide range of military police duties in the army of occupation in Tokyo, 1946. Supported by the GI bill, he obtained a bachelor's degree at MIT and was a PhD in mathematics at Harvard in 1952. Kay co-founded TRG, Inc. a military R&D company (1954-'63). His work led to improved performance in microwave transmission and reception both

in short distances and over the earth's horizon and in radio astronomy, exploring from the ionosphere, out to the furthest reaches of the universe. In 1966, Kay founded AutEx, (Automatic Exchange), a supplier of electronic "marketplace" systems, similar in function but preceding the Internet by about 20 years. AutEx offered various industries, mostly the securities industry, an on-line network system for transactions between the industry and its suppliers and customers. AutEx was the first operating B2B e-commerce company that also provided the first commercially available email. In 1978, after selling AutEx (now owned by Thomson Reuters), Kay became a donor and board member of public policy organizations and an investor and advisor to start-up companies pioneering energy efficiency and anti-pollution technologies. From 1987 to 2007 his non-profit ATI, along with others, established the art and science of public-interest polling. He is author of "Locating Consensus for Democracy – a Ten Year US Experiment," 1998; "Spot the Spin: the Fun Way to Keep Democracy Alive and Elections Honest," Trafford, 2007; and "Militarist, Millionaire, Peacenik – Memoir of a Serial Entrepreneur" Cosimo, 2008 NYC. He is a board member of the World Security Institute, non-partisan think-tank in Washington, DC, with offices in LA, Cairo, Brussels, Moscow, and Beijing, publishers of E-Publications in Chinese, Russian, Arabic and Farsi languages avidly read by media in many countries, and the sponsor of producer Daljit Dhaliwal's "Foreign Exchange" TV show. WSI is also the host of the Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting. Kay, with his partner, global futurist Hazel Henderson, resides in Florida.



Colonel Daniel M. Smith, Ret. Calvert-Henderson National Security Expert, Colonel Daniel M. Smith graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1966. Commissioned a 2nd Lieutenant of Infantry, Colonel Smith's initial assignment was as an infantry and heavy weapons platoon leader with the 3rd Armor Division in Germany. Following language training, he then served as an intelligence advisor in Vietnam before returning to the U.S. to do graduate work at Cornell University and teach philosophy and English at West Point. Subsequent intelligence and public affairs assignments took

him to Fort Hood, Texas; the Army Materiel Research and Development Command, where he was the speech writer for the Commanding General; the Defense Intelligence Agency; and Headquarters, Department of the Army. Six of his years with the Defense Intelligence Agency were spent in London working in the British Ministry of Defense and then as Military Attaché in the U.S. Embassy. Colonel Smith retired from the Army in 1992 after 26 years service. From April 1993 to September 2002 he was an analyst at the non-partisan Center for Defense Information in Washington, DC, becoming Associate Director in 1995 and Chief of Research in 1999. Colonel Smith is a graduate of the Army Command and General Staff College, the Armed Forces Staff College, and the Army War College. He was awarded the Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit, Bronze Star, Purple Heart, Defense Meritorious Service Medal, Army Commendation Medal, Joint Service Achievement Medal, and the Vietnam Service Medal(4). Colonel Smith joined the Friends Committee on National Legislation in September 2002 as Senior Fellow on Military Affairs. Smith with his spouse, Judith Smith, resides in northern Virginia, adjacent to Washington D.C.

Preface – An Introductory View of “Eliminating War” Purpose of Book

It is hard to find anybody who is not for peace. Even the military, the politicians, and the industrialists who supply the military industry will say they want peace. If probed a bit they will add a qualifier like, “Well, yes peace is what we want, but we do have to be ready to defend ourselves. There are a lot of threatening countries and bad guys out there.” The Romans put their approach to war this way “If you want peace, prepare for war.” They had the best armies in Europe and in the lands fronting the Mediterranean, and occupied most of that empire. History tells us that the “greatness that was Rome” in the days of the Republic ended abruptly with the death of Julius Caesar in 44 BCE, but had Caesar lived, the fate of the Republic would have been in jeopardy anyway. The Empire’s days of glory lasted perhaps another 200 years with the last great flash of brilliance embodied in the person of Marcus Aurelius who ruled from 161-180 CE.

The Empire’s demise can be attributed to three factors: (1) increased reliance on non-Roman (and therefore ill-treated) mercenaries – not infrequently the last or nearly the last foe defeated by the legions, (2) small-minded leaders unable to envision both what could and should be done to maintain the empire’s strength – and then do it, and (3) increasing pressure on Rome’s frontiers from wave after wave of Asiatic and Teutonic peoples seeking new lands to inhabit and develop. Sounds familiar, doesn’t it? Eliminating war, once thought as unlikely and often thought of as undesirable, should now be a no-brainer. Here is why.

In an increasingly globalized world, military weapons have become both too dangerous and too costly to use. The annual US military budget in recent years is close to the military budgets of all the rest of the world put together¹ and since 1941 has been larger than the military budget of any other country in the world. Still the US seems unable to end wars² without enormous additional costs in lives and treasure and many years of fighting. As the US continues these wars, it is faced with the desire by a few nations, growing in number, to have nuclear *power* options that soon could be upgraded to nuclear weapons or to “dirty” *radioactive* bombs. The US has multi-ton, non-nuclear bombs that can reduce several city blocks to rubble; uses cluster bombs and land mines that, even years after the war ends, maim children and adults; uses drones, air drops, and air flight attacks controlled thousands of miles from the war zone, capable of creating “shock and awe.” None of these have ended the current long wars of the US.

Issues and problems are increasingly global, not satisfactorily resolvable by individual nations. The US as a nation does not solve issues by allowing individual states to start wars with each other. The world must rise to a new level where the US and all other nations no longer war with each other. The real security threats to nations and humanity include: global warming, water shortages, epidemics that cross national boundaries and sometimes go global, massive pollution carried by air and oceans sometimes around the

¹ www.globalissues.org/article/75/world.military.spending Also true considering just *nuclear* weapon

² Except for very short wars of a few days length

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world in a few days, piracy that can only be stopped by organized multi-national action, disintegrating economies drastically spreading everywhere in the world, suffering food shortages, and increased poverty. The world's oceans are slowly becoming more acidic so that the world's great reefs, spawners of thousands of fish species, show signs of becoming increasingly life-less (see www.Sciencedaily.com/Feb 2009). None of these problems can be solved by any nation alone; all require cooperation, conservation, sharing, mediation, and diplomacy. Military weapons and wars are irrelevant. They only exacerbate the problems mentioned above and retard the most promising and necessary change. All of these problems mean that the wealthier people on the planet, for their own benefit, must not turn their backs to the increasing social and environmental needs of the less wealthy. All 7 billions of us comprise a single human family.

On a positive note, there are at least three developments that make it more likely that war will be eliminated than is generally known. (1) Many new actors are now involved in diplomacy and peace making. Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), new agencies, and the entry of empowered citizens aided by new communications (internet, cell-phones, etc.) now organize the kind of million plus anti-war protests seen in London, Paris, Berlin, Tokyo, and Sydney in 2002-2003 before Bush launched his war on Iraq. (2) The establishment of the UN International Criminal Court (now ratified by most countries, but not the United States) serves as a very visible warning that would-be war-mongering politicians are subject to prosecution. (3) the “war paradigm” is becoming obsolete as more and more flag-rank and even field grade military officials now concede that there are many situations, e.g. Iraq and Afghanistan, not susceptible to successful military actions alone and agree that the primary obstacles of ending those wars are political not military.

Meanwhile, with money mostly borrowed from Japan, China, Saudi Arabia and other Mid-East and OPEC countries, the US continues, as mentioned before, spending about as much as all other countries combined. That money significantly enabled the US to develop the world's largest military force and the most technologically advanced with plentiful ordnance, equipment and support. The Bush/Cheney administration, claiming a range of threats to justify its seven-year war in Afghanistan and six-year war in Iraq, has drained America's treasure.

But the real cost of these wars is not measured only by what the Pentagon spends. The real cost is found in the shattered and missing limbs and the shattered brains and minds of nearly half of the 1.4 million Americans who were sent to fight George Bush's wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. (Data from the Pentagon published 3/4/09 by AP News) Treatments and long term care, of course, carry their own price tags. Adding it up, Bush's “Global War on Terror” has cost nearly one trillion dollars and conceivably will run between two and three trillion before all the bills are paid.

The 9/11 attack masterminded by Osama bin Laden and carried out by a handful of al Qaeda suicide bombers cost less than a million dollars. For its retaliatory action (the invasion of Afghanistan and its spill over into Iraq) the US, as noted above, already has spent or committed over a trillion dollars, over a million times more than bin Laden's

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puny million. Like it or not, armed conflict in the Middle East will include suicide-bombers for decades to come. But no nation, even the US, can afford a ratio of a million-to-one to fight “wars” against sub-national groups whose main weapon is terror. We should orient intelligence collection and analysis to discover what such groups may be planning. Catching those who use terror is a function of international policing, not a job for armies. This simple fact strengthens the case for eliminating war that this book presents.

Realistically, war cannot be *totally* eliminated. Here’s why. Suppose by following all the good ideas in this book, war did not occur over many lifetimes, i.e. many decades, even centuries. Nations would have slowly eliminated their never-used military capabilities and assets while maintaining, at most, police organizations. At that point, all it would take to get a war going is that one evil person seeing how he/she could rule a country (or perhaps the world), secretly commits to gathering enough military force and adventurers to do so. Some version of this might happen once every few generations, although it becomes less likely in today’s world of interdependent instant communications. Such evil people could certainly start wars and, given enough time, might take over the world. However, this scenario becomes less likely due to the many new alliances from Mercosur in Latin America, to APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) and SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization) and the rapid communications now possible among them. What this book aspires to do is to present significant historical, economic, diplomatic, environmental, and social considerations that can be referenced by political leaders and indeed ordinary citizens to determine if a country is on the road to war or is moving down a path that – while not eliminating war *totally* – reduces the probability of future war by 99% or even 99.9+%.

On the other hand, this book does not propose that simply endorsing anti-militarism or opposing all military spending is enough to make the case for “Eliminating War.” Fear and loathing of the military-industrial-complex is counter-productive to this book’s purposes. However, the case for the ineffectiveness of militarism in addressing most of the new threats to security around the world is, on its own, compelling.

Author Smith’s academic background in the military arts and science and the conduct of war was tested early in his career in Vietnam – and found wanting as a rationale choice for action. His study of philosophy and his work as an intelligence analyst reinforced this sense that no society, let alone the international order, could survive and prosper if it rested on a militaristic foundation. The stumbling block to this kind of world was, is, and will forever be the individual who first says “no” to warfare and, in so doing, attracts other individuals to the same conviction. And it was the progression from individual to national to international security without resort to armed conflict that offered the possibility of a durable international order that was something worth living for and struggling to attain. The growth of the peace movement in the US and around the world is testimony that this was not an idiosyncratic position.

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Author Kay witnessed the successful termination of two major wars, WWII and the Cold War³ and was close to the action in both:

(1) the nation-building of the army of occupation in Japan in 1946 under the wise, ingenious leadership of Supreme Commander Gen. Douglas MacArthur. Kay, a Japanese language interpreter with military police duties in Tokyo communicating with other interpreters in MacArthur’s Dai Ichi Headquarters, observed the Japanese economic miracle getting off the ground.⁴

(2) the end of the Soviet Empire once corrupted and facing economic collapse brought peace to Eastern Europe and US-Soviet cooperation without firing a shot, made possible by the risk-taking, far-sightedness and integrity of Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev. Having become a “wager of peace” through the era of the Nuclear Freeze movement, Kay went five times to the Soviet Union helping a variety of business and government leaders (primarily US, but other countries also), that succeeded in arranging meetings with Gorbachev and his high ranking associates. Within the year Gorbachev negotiated agreements with President Ronald Reagan that ended the Cold War.⁵

“War” is a word with many meanings, A typical definition of war is “a military conflict between nation states which raise armies from among their citizens (by volunteers and conscription) and conduct these hostilities as instruments of domestic and foreign policy and to increase their power, leverage, access to natural resources, oil, etc., or with genocidal intentions against populations.”⁶ More useful refined and comprehensive definitions were not found by the authors though attempted.⁷

The newly defined language of wars, first used somewhat by President Clinton and more thoroughly by President George W Bush turns out to be really a distinction without a difference. The US in recent years ruled out describing actions by criminals as “wars,” with the exception of those the administration apprehended and detained indefinitely as possible terrorists. No country goes to war against criminals. Criminal behavior is handled by police, not armies. Only if the terrorism is committed with the aid and support of countries can such attacks be considered warfare. Even should a country or a renegade part of a country “lend material aid” to a terrorist organization, the essential act of a terror cell is to induce so much fear among the general population that it becomes impossible for elected officials to govern.

³ Depicted in “Militarist, Millionaire, Peacenik – Memoir of a Serial Entrepreneur,” Cosimo, NYC, 2008

⁴ Ibid, pp 43-64.

⁵ Ibid, pp 153-191.

⁶ Futurist, Hazel Henderson, proposed this as a typical definition of war for this book.

⁷ Co-author Kay had hoped to come up with a more comprehensive definition of war with these features: (a) include past and current militaristic operations that have been labeled as wars, especially including all the wars that the US has participated in or initiated, (b) can be applied to species, not just humans. Considerable research indicates that no species other than humans and “army ants” engage in wars. No animals that are well-known in large parts of the world create or start wars, except perhaps for some small primates only recently observed, (c) includes a war with many participating countries, and perhaps some entering, some leaving, during the war, (d) wars where fighting was anticipated but, other than a very few soldiers killed, did not occur, and (e) wars against hostile groups that are not countries (such as most terrorists).

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Yet this was the very attitude assumed by Bush/Cheney after 9/11: that this “enemy” was so powerful it was impossible to continue governing without major expansion of the powers of government that in turn reduced the freedom of Americans as guaranteed by the Constitution. To justify the new rules, the new administration insisted that fighting terror was a new form of war that required new rules to fight. In fact, terror has been part of armed conflict since before recorded history and those who commit acts of terror are properly called “criminals” a term that should have been applied to Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda from the beginning, as many political scientists have pointed out. (The misuse of the term “war” is also evident in policy aims and projects, such as President Lyndon Johnson’s “war on poverty” and President Ronald Reagan’s “war on drugs.”)

This book was drafted and published at a time when most of the world believes that now for a plethora of strong reasons introduced in this Preface, there is more valid pressure and effort arising for the elimination of war than the world has seen in modern times, if ever.

The book necessarily grapples with the complex and varied realities of war that have existed and often flourished since the dawn of the human species. An important theme of the book is the rapid, recent growth in the major US wars, comprising in chronological order: the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, WWI and II, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the First and the Second Gulf Wars (Iraq), and the Afghanistan war, Each had been highly promoted by our leaders, primarily the Presidents and their close advisers, who went to war certain of success. They found that the war was less successful than hoped or lasted longer, sometimes much longer, and was more expensive in troops, materials, ordinance, money, and lost-opportunities. The outcome of each of these wars was worse than expected and in some cases best described as disastrous.

A central purpose of this book, often omitted among the enormous numbers of good books available on war, is to offer proposals that make a tight, comprehensive presentation of specific ways that ultimately could eliminate war, in some cases within a year or two. The authors hope that these proposals are considered by key leaders as well as key entities that are the world’s leading governing institutions, the EU and the UN, as well as the US. The structures, histories, politics, positions, and resources of these leaders and entities offer some possibility of making changes, initially small and promising, but in time strengthening enough so that wars will be eliminated. These proposals are presented in chapters 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 12 and summarized in Chapter 12, pp. 126-127.

The first three chapters cover the multidimensional and intractable stranglehold that warfare holds on *homo sapiens* throughout human history. Even curbing warfare once started is difficult. Elimination seems impossible. Chapters, beyond the first three, in half a dozen ways examine specifically and in detail how war can be initially curbed and ultimately eliminated. Readers looking for these positive findings might prefer to skip the first three chapters and go directly to Chapter 4.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, the co-authors wish to thank global futurist and distinguished author of many books, Hazel Henderson, who could be considered a co-author of *Eliminating War* but declined the accolade. Henderson was the principal writer and reviewer of chapters 10, 11, and 12 that cover relatively new issues and proposals not previously described to fully show their valuable relationships to eliminating war. This is also true for the UNSIA proposal of Chapter 7 with one big difference. UNSIA has been studied, examined, and accepted by a large range of experts over a 15 year period.

The co-authors, especially her partner Alan, acknowledge Henderson's contribution at every stage of the book's development, from concepts to shaping the material and adding her wide-ranging knowledge of global affairs and editorial expertise.

No serious book, particularly one that purports to analyze a subject – war – that is a defining characteristic of *homo sapiens*, can go from concept to publication before it is outdated unless a number of people are involved as a “supporting cast.” The supporting cast for co-author Dan Smith in 2008-9 has been the Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL), “a Quaker lobby in the public interest.” Although already over-committed in the struggle to convince lawmakers of the profound if simple truth that “war is not the answer,” the FCNL staff, sometimes in small groups, sometimes individually, willingly took the time to relate their experiences in the arts of “peaceful prevention of deadly conflict,” peace building, and the role of diplomacy and post-conflict sustainable development in reducing and ultimately “Eliminating War.”

To Judith Smith, Dan's bride of 42 years, whose patience was tried more than once by the seclusion Dan requires more and more to think and to write. Our thanks with all of Dan's love.

Special kudos' to Theresa Hitchens, formerly director of the Center for Defense Information (CDI), a branch of the global World Security Institute (WSI) for her assiduous review of the manuscript and useful comments at a very busy time in her life as she transitioned to her important new post in Geneva as Director of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR).

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Debra Martindale, our webmaster helped in upgrading and tweaking text, pictures, color, cross-references, readable fonts all in on-line and print versions. Always available when needed including through New Years eve and day.

Help with computer capability and functionality came from Rosalinda Sanquiche.

Co-author Kay takes full responsibility for errors.

Chapter 1

WHAT STARTS WARS (pp. 1-20)

Who Benefits from Wars (pp. 21-25)

Throughout human history various factors have contributed to a decision by leaders to start or initiate war. Whether they are a pre-historic roving tribe or a modern head of state (or starting wars within other combinations of time and place) leaders have motivations that can be reasons, rationales, or pretexts, sometimes even fabrications, mistakes and misinterpretations. This chapter covers all these motivations with the neutral term “factors.” The same wide range of factors also may play roles during the waging of wars **after** the wars start. The “factors” in this chapter apply primarily to how a war **starts** and should not be confused with the **causes** of ongoing wars after they have started. Most wars start from the confluence of a number of these factors rather than just one or two. Yet for all the many treatises and books written about war, most concentrate on the action, the story, of wars and few, if any, explore in depth as this chapter does covering no less than 18 factors⁸ that played a role for many centuries in all parts of the world on the start of war itself and goes deeply into who benefit from primarily US wars - more than you may think (see pages 21-25).

The 18 factors fit into six groups, from [A] to [F] each covering a few factors that have something in common as follows:

[A] 1, 2, 3,

[B] 4, 5, 6, 7,

[C] 8, 9,

[D] 10, 11, 12, 13,

[E] 14, 15, and

[F] 16, 17, 18

Factors are highlighted in grey and when presented in sequence are titled in **bold** and briefly described in *italics* drawing the reader into the amazing stories of “What Starts Wars.”

⁸ An additional factor, “Religion,” is included in Chapter 3, p. 36

[A] The following three factors have occurred so frequently in US wars that some military historians refer to them collectively as “**The American Way of War.**”⁹

(1) Control of natural resources and commodities. *A very common factor pushing the human race toward war is to obtain or control sources of nutrients, fresh water, ores, oil and other commodities deemed useful if not necessary for perpetuating formerly the tribe, village, city-state, now usually the country or cooperative countries.* At its most basic level, this factor comes down to survival of the species and of the individual members of the species in competition with other life. Fresh water is the most basic of all commodities for land animals, crops, and humans. Thus from time immemorial, humans living in the world’s desert regions have been warring against each other for control of oases. But with the exponential growth of the human species in the last 200 years, accessible fresh water is becoming harder to find as aquifers are unable to regenerate. No major war has at yet been fought over control of water resources, but countries in the Middle East and Saharan Sahel that have few if any river headwaters within their boundaries are accusing neighbors upstream on the rivers that cross international boundaries of diverting or otherwise using more than their “share.”¹⁰

Almost as ancient as the struggle for water are the wars fought over metal ore mines such as tin, copper, and iron and for possession of mines that contain precious gemstones. The discovery of the American continent saw European nations build empires from the precious gold and silver often mined by enslaved native peoples. Nonetheless, no inter-national as opposed to intra-national wars have been fought for precious gems alone but for control of continents – e.g., The Seven Years War (1756-1763 CE [Common Era]) which in the Americas was called the French and Indian War.

⁹ The debate over whether countries have a penchant for fighting wars in a “predictable” way renewed when the current Iraq war proved to be more intractable than the quick overthrow of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan in 2001. Writing in 1974, Temple University historian Russell L. Weigley noted that “German military historian Hans Delbrück suggested that there are two kinds of military strategy: the strategy of annihilation, which seeks the overthrow of the enemy’s military power; and the strategy of attrition, exhaustion, or erosion, which is usually employed by a strategist whose means are not great enough to permit the pursuit of the direct approach....In the history of American strategy, the direction taken by the American conception of war made most American strategists, through most of the time-span of American history, strategists of annihilation. At the beginning, when American military resources were still slight, America made a promising beginning in the nurture of strategists of attrition; but the wealth of the country and its adoption of unlimited aims in war cut that development short, until the strategy of annihilation became characteristically “the American way of war.”

¹⁰ The growth of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and the recent drought are adding to the strain on the three aquifers that are used for industry, agriculture, and domestic uses. According to Stephan Lendman writing in the July 18, 2008 on-line Global Policy Forum (*Drought and Israeli Policy Threaten West Bank Water Security*), *per capita* water consumption for West Bank Palestinians is 60 liters a day for domestic, urban, rural, and industrial use. For Israelis, the *per capita* consumption is 330 liters. World Health Organization guidelines call for a minimum of 100 liters per day. See www.globalpolicy.org/security/natres/water/2008/0718westbank.htm

Oil – “Black Gold” – arguably is the most sought mineral in today’s world. In the first week of July 2008, the benchmark price hit \$147.27 per barrel.

Knowledgeable commodity analysts believe if speculators were not buying up oil futures, the price per barrel would be about \$100. Indeed, five months later, with the world in a deep recession, the price of a barrel had dropped not to \$100 but by more than \$100 per barrel to less than \$33.¹¹ There were many more speculators than anticipated.

Considering the relatively short history of the United States compared to other economically developed countries, it is a sobering realization that one-third of the “major” U.S. wars – four of twelve – have been fought to determine which country will exert influence over, if not actual control of, petroleum: World War II in the Pacific (for Imperial Japan a resource war for crude oil and natural rubber); the First Gulf War with Iraq (1991) to recover the Kuwaiti oil fields from Saddam Hussein and preclude undue influence by Saddam over Saudi Arabian oil resources; the Second Gulf War with Iraq (March 2003 – beyond January 2009) for control of Iraq’s oil reserves through post-war, post Saddam contracts; and the ongoing (2001-) war in Afghanistan where, should a regime friendly to the U.S. remain in power, U.S. petroleum companies could build pipelines to carry the large oil resources of the Central Asian Republics of the former USSR and the Caspian Sea basin across Afghanistan and southern Pakistan to ports on the Indian Ocean – thereby avoiding efforts by Moscow to control the flow of oil to the West, which if continued could start yet another war.¹²

(2) Expanding Living Space – led to the Rise and Fall of Empires and their Colonies since the 18th Century. *Many countries have gone to war to acquire territory.* “Lebensraum,” literally “living space,” is a term coined by the German geographer Friedrich Ratzel at the end of the 19th century. In a version of Social Darwinism, Ratzel held that a species had to be able to migrate and successfully establish itself in ever-changing circumstances if it were to survive and prosper. This placed a premium on adaptability and opened the way to the use of armed conflict, if necessary to remove those not of the privileged species. Adolf Hitler probably read Ratzel’s theories in the early 1920s, selecting and incorporated into his evolving National Socialism the premise that Germans, as successful and adaptable people, were entitled to more “living space” even if it meant conquering neighboring countries.¹³ There are versions of smaller wars that play a role in factor (2) here, that were more frequent in earlier centuries, namely the militaristic crossing of neighboring borders.

¹¹ See www.geo.tv/12-19-2008/30984.htm

¹² There is great controversy about the role of oil as a catalyst for the invasion of Iraq in March 2003. While no one in the Bush administration would go on record saying the war was only about oil, few people if asked to enumerate the half-dozen justifications the White House developed for invading Iraq would omit oil from the list or even from the first or second reason

¹³ See www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwtwo/hitler_lebensraum_01.shtml.

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What has been called the “Age of Discovery” (generally from the 15th to the 18th centuries) by European historians marked the beginning of a new “Age of Empire.” (The last great empire in Europe had been that of Charlemagne, crowned Emperor of the West by Pope Leo III in 800 CE. At his death 14 years later, his sole surviving son ascended the throne – an inheritance beyond his capacity to maintain.) The voyages of Columbus, Magellan, Hudson, and Cabot as well as the land expeditions carried out by Cortez, de Soto, Balboa, Pizarro, and others opened new vistas for the establishment of empires in the New World and in Africa and the Far East.

After the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia ended the religious wars in Europe, Spain, France, Holland, and England vied for dominance and the riches to be found in the “three As” of America, Asia, and Africa. The defeat of Napoleon in 1815 at Waterloo opened the way for the subsequent creation of Imperial Germany under Prussia and the political unification of the Italian peninsula. Once the collective identity of these new European nations was settled, they turned to the business of empire building, establishing colonies in areas not already “claimed” by Belgium, Portugal, France, Spain, and Britain.

The contest among the established European maritime powers of the late 15th and 16th centuries to “discover” and lay claim to lands in America, Asia, and Africa was the product of a seductive yet ultimately false dichotomy: countries either have colonies or are colonized. This proto-Darwinian viewpoint dominated world history well into the 20th century largely because, at the dawn of the “Age of Discovery,” the Europeans had outdistanced every other culture in the effective use of gunpowder as an instrument of war.¹⁴ They were thus able to dominate the comparatively undeveloped hemisphere to the west as well as the older but equally vulnerable and politically divided Indian subcontinent and parts of the Far East. But by the time Italy and Germany entered the lists to joust for colonies of their own, the Age of Discovery was effectively over – soon to be followed by the “Age of Territorial Empires,” of which Imperial Japan was the last. Henceforth, “empires” would not be territorial but ideological and technical.

The era comprising “The End of Territorial Empire” can be dated from 1871 and Germany’s victory in the Franco-Prussian War to the end of Portuguese rule in Africa in 1975. Spain’s last overseas possessions of note were lost in 1898 to the United States (except for the Spanish Sahara). World War I saw the demise of the fledgling German Empire as well as the older Ottoman, Tsarist Russian, and

¹⁴ The discovery of the processes by which matter could be converted from one form to another by release of chemical energy irrevocably altered the rules and the nature of warfare. Western historians and gun enthusiasts credit Chinese alchemists with discovering, sometime between 600-900 CE, that a mixture of sulfur, potassium nitrate, arsenic disulfide, and honey could ignite over heat. What they had inadvertently stumbled upon was gunpowder. The problem initially was how to control the explosive force released by the process. Western Europe “discovered” gunpowder during the early crusades and by the mid-14th century had developed working field artillery. See Matt Schroeder *et al.* *The Small Arms Trade: A Beginner’s Guide*.

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Austro-Hungarian empires. The British Commonwealth was formed in 1931; the same year that Imperial Japan – following the example of European countries – launched its “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” through which it sought to control trade and finance in the Far East and Southeast Asia. Defeat in World War II ended Japan’s empire as well as Italy’s and effectively weakened what remained of the British and French empires. Belgium withdrew from Africa in 1960 while Portugal held on until 1975.

American wars for empire include the War of 1812 (Canada), which was unsuccessful, the 1846 Mexican-American War (Texas, California, and the present U.S. Southwest), and the 1898 Spanish-American War (Cuba and the Philippines.)

(3) Power Lust. *Those driven by a need to dominate everything and every person around them will destroy the world before voluntarily giving up the drive for power.* In *The End of America*, Naomi Wolf describes the ten-point “blueprint” that every would-be dictator in the modern world follows in “closing down” democracies – Mussolini, Hitler, Stalin and the lesser despots of the second half of the 20th century. Wolf believes that the current administration in Washington has put into motion all ten points. For example, there is a hyped threat, a secret prison system, a new enemy that requires new internal surveillance measures ostensibly to “protect” citizens, falsification of elections, and the use of violence to try to intimidate the population should the people start to resist.¹⁵ This factor is multi-functional. It relies on fostering a continuing sense of mistrust and insecurity among the general population. Just who or what is the cause of the insecurity never reaches clear definition which is why the budding despot must use force whenever individuals and organizations protest government infringement of rights. Eventually, one person or one tightly knit cabal emerges with control of all sources of national power in the classic “rescue and safeguard” not just the country (i.e., geography) but the “nation” (the intangible characteristics that constitute national “identity”) from its adversaries.

Many of the 16 countries that emerged from the disintegration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1991 ended with some form of proto-democracy that is merely a facade behind which there is only despotism. Yet the very fact that a despot must always be hunting for dissidents and dissent that, if unchecked, might crack the facade of unity, makes the “rule of one” the most precarious and sterile form of governance there is.¹⁶

¹⁵ Wolf, Naomi, 2007, *The End of America – A Citizen's Call to Action*, Chelsea Green White River Junction, VT, (www.youtube.com/watch?v=RjALf12PAWc).

¹⁶ The logic of astro-physics, in which the singularity explodes catastrophically, and of mathematics, in which singularities multiplied and divided by themselves (e.g., 1x1 and 1/1) both still equal 1, would seem to resonate in governance, preserving the dual singularities of unlimited power for an unlimited duration ultimately drains all energy from the system. This is the case regardless of how the “rule of one” is achieved: through heredity, usurpation of the Mandate of Heaven (China), or “elections” that turn on “one man, one vote, one time.”

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Every despot will promise “safety and security” if the people do not oppose him or his policies – which can be guaranteed to benefit him and his inner circle. As for the people – well, the alternating rhetoric of imminent attack by “terrorists” and the requirement to intrude ever deeper on the privacy and civil rights of the people sufficiently cow the public into surrendering more and more of their rights to the despot who then uses the powers of the bureaucracy and the secrecy laws to eliminate his political and economic rivals.

Benevolence, while providing some consolation for the loss of liberty under the rule of one, is insufficient compensation and does nothing to provide for, let alone guarantee, the primacy of justice from and equality before the law.

Bush administration apologists often cite the actions of Presidents Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt that restricted constitutionally enumerated rights of citizens when the nation was plunged into war as precedents for George Bush’s actions in the wake of the destruction of the World Trade Center and the west side of the Pentagon on September 11, 2001. The difference between the earlier presidents and Bush is that the actions by Lincoln and FDR were reported by them to Congress – and endorsed by that body – or reviewed by the courts, thereby obviating the “rule of one.” George Bush did everything possible to hide his administration’s attack on the Bill of Rights.¹⁷

In itself, there is nothing averse in striving to be number one, at least to the extent that the opportunity to be “on top” is open to all. The race for “the top” begins in childhood and can be seen in the generational re-invention of the game “King of the Hill.” The game carries over to grown-ups, especially in international politics. The militarily strongest country in a region often can get its way with neighbors who fear the power of the hegemon. By the start of the 20th century, the United States was by far the most powerful country in the Western hemisphere both in economic and military terms. The carnage of World War I signaled the further decline of the European powers vis-à-vis the U.S., a decline that was even more stark when seen against the devastation of World War II.

The nearly five decades of the Cold War saw two “superpowers” lead competing economic, social, and military alliances. When this bi-polar division ended with the rapid (1988-1991) disintegration of the Warsaw Pact and the breakup of the Soviet and Yugoslav states, the United States claimed “victory.” Ironically, the accession of the newly independent former Warsaw Pact countries of Central and Eastern Europe into NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) only added to the sense in many other countries of a new, more insidious imperialism, whose values and mores the non-NATO developing world really didn’t want or wanted much less. Washington simply did not understand, as the rebellious British

¹⁷ The extent of the Bush administration’s attack on Constitutional guarantees as well as the thickness of the blanket of secrecy hiding these programs became clearer on March 2, 2009 when the Obama administration Department of Justice (DOJ) made public memos from the Bush DOJ that showed just how calculating their assault had been.

colonists did in 1775 in their quest for independence, that the US would have greater success in “bringing democracy to the world,” if it displayed genuine “regard for the just opinions of all Mankind.”

In taking on the most powerful nation in the last quarter of the 18th century, the Founding Fathers appealed to the rest of the world to hear and to judge the righteousness of their cause. Now, presidents who lead the country into war simply proclaim that “God is on my [our] side and the cause is just.”

[B] The group of three factors, 4, 5, 6, address the role of a pre-existing national mindset to which leaders bent on war can appeal. In themselves, these three are insufficient to start a war, but their existence enables leaders to whip-up “war fever.”

(4) The **Call to Duty**. *Since the 19th century, unfettered nationalism has been a major source of the emotional power of war.* The French Revolution (1789) re-introduced to Europe the concept of the *levee en masse*, a call for everyone in the nation to rally to the nation’s cause with true commitment and an eager step. The collective power of the massed “volk” (see Ratzel, p. 3) may never have to actually be used, but the manipulation of symbols and events allows rulers to maintain sufficient emotional attachment to historical and cultural events that the citizenry is ever ready to respond to the call to arms.

Even today, after the fabrications associated with the Vietnam War under Johnson, after the lies told the nation by Nixon about withdrawing troops while invading Cambodia and Watergate, after the multitude of deceptions by George W. Bush about Saddam Hussein’s Iraq, the “true” patriot never doubts the truthfulness of what he is told about the justness of the wars to which the administration of the moment calls him. For the believer, Captain Stephen Decatur, who finally defeated the Barbary Coast “navies” in 1816 and became a naval hero, is not patriotic enough because he qualified his allegiance when he said: “Our country! in her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong.”

The highest calling is the duty to defend the “mother-/fatherland” or to prevent an invasion. In rising to defend “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,” everyone from private to general is an equal stakeholder in the outcome. If one triumphs, so does the other. The risks are high, the sacrifices great, the tension ever-present. Hence the emotional release when the victory is finally achieved. Bells ring, car horns blare, and somewhere, captured on film, a sailor running for joy in Times Square on VJ Day, grabs the nearest girl and kisses her – forever.¹⁸

In addition to World War II, the prime modern example of “emotional relief” that war has ended is the Vietnam experience. As for the current wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, when those “end” the emotion will be less “relief” and more exhaustion.

¹⁸ See photo at www.worldsfamousphotos.com/v-j-day-times-square-1945.html.

(5) “Inducing Recruits.” *When a country is not at war, governments must find ways to convince young people to join the armed forces so that the military “remains ready.”* Hyping the threat and “rattling the sword,” two common methods used in peacetime to maintain the flow of recruits into the military, often are more effective if the message “of doing one’s duty” is delivered by a well-known personality – film star, pop entertainer, or sports figure. Between 1941 and 1975, except for a short time in 1947-48, the United States relied on conscription – the “draft” – to fill the lower enlisted ranks in military units. One method used by the military to catch the attention of the men and women about to graduate (or recently graduated) from high school is the “public endorsement” of the military as the first (or next) step by a member of the cultural, business, or political elite. Hollywood denizens such as John Wayne were prominent both on and off camera. Even the Christmas USO tours to the fighting theatres by performing artists and comedians, ostensibly just to entertain troops in a combat theatre, were used as a form of national “endorsement” of military service as an honorable and necessary profession (which it is) and of whatever war was going on at the time (which it is not.)

There are some new wrinkles in the Pentagon’s approach in the era of the all-volunteer force. In November 2004, the Pentagon launched “America Supports You” as a program to rally the public to stay with those in the field even if the public disapproved of the war itself. Mainstays today are again from Hollywood (Clint Eastwood) and the country and western music industry. Today also the Pentagon can video tape messages of support and air them around the world via its own television network, the Pentagon Channel.¹⁹

This, again, is not so much a factor leading to armed conflict as much as it is a factor justifying having in place a large standing military that a president, unchecked by Congress, can use almost at will. This eventuality is a phenomenon of post-World War II American foreign policy where armed force has been used.

(6) Living on the Edge and Feeling Good About Life. *You’re an 18 year old American just out of high school with a pocket full of money (so it seems) from relatives as graduation presents. Your “hot rod” is topped off even at today’s prices, so you are primed for action, but there isn’t anything that makes you really want to go into action.* Socrates said that “the unexamined life is not worth living.” For many young men and women in the US, the uneventful life that many see stretching before them as they approach graduation from high school is equally unappealing. With no plans, no occupation, no money for or interest in college, they rapidly can become prey to illegal activity simply because that involves danger, involves matching one’s wits against other humans instead of a video game.

¹⁹ “Celebrities Honor Troops on ‘America Supports You’ Videos” at www.defenselink.mil/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=1827

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As introduced by professional recruiters – men and women who have “been there, done that” in fighting the nation’s wars – the military services open a vista for travel, for adventure, for extreme danger – for feeling alive. Energy flows back and forth between the individual and the machinery of governance whose power is mesmerizing. Life acquires a meaning that goes far beyond the personal. The sense of serving the nation selflessly grows into nationalism and then into patriotism – the love of country and its symbols.

But here there is the danger that the “collective” emotion of the crowd blots out all thought of and any need for reflective self-examination; war itself becomes the only “force that gives us meaning” and purpose. But that is the point, for what leaders want is not reason but – unquestioning emotion. This is precisely what the French generals demanded – and all they demanded – of their soldiers at the outbreak of World War I: “*L’audace, l’audace, toujours l’audace*” (Audacity, Audacity, always with Audacity!).

Audacity more than patriotism is the message of General George Patton to the 3rd Army on June 5th, 1944 “somewhere in England” (as portrayed by George C. Scott in the 1970 film “Patton”):

“Men, this stuff that some sources sling around about America wanting out of this war, not wanting to fight, is a crock of bullshit. Americans love to fight, traditionally. All real Americans love the sting and clash of battle. You are here today for three reasons. First, because you are here to defend your homes and your loved ones. Second, you are here for your own self respect, because you would not want to be anywhere else. Third, you are here because you are real men and all real men like to fight.”²⁰

That one can feel ice cold from fear one moment and hot-blooded the next is one of life’s “peak experiences” – a moment when a person knows everything he or she does is perfect. This is the idea captured by Christopher Hedges in his book, *War is a Force that Gives Us Meaning*.²¹ Collectively, this becomes the great feeling that “we are all in this together” – if in fact that is what happens. In World War I on the home front people raised Victory Gardens and collected foil to help support the troops. In World War II, 16 million joined the military while on the home front Rosie the Riveter and her contemporaries went into the factories to fill the jobs that made the United States the Arsenal of Democracy.

It wasn’t easy, particularly in the early days when it seemed the country was hitting its collective head against a brick wall. After awhile, the transition seemed to be quite natural both militarily and socially. And although post-war America

²⁰ Research suggests that the real General Patton, “Old Blood and Guts,” was not so extreme. Shortly before his death in December 1945, he agreed with Marshall, Eisenhower, MacArthur, and other top generals that unless the world got rid of nuclear weapons, they would get rid of us.

²¹ Hedges, Christopher, 2003, *War is a Force that Gives Us Meaning*, Anchor Books.

tended to revert to pre-war roles in the immediate aftermath of the war, the economic and social molds had been decisively altered by the experience of World War II

And herein may be also the reason why World War II was the last U.S. war in which all Americans were “in it together.”

(7) Economic Lures. *When all else fails, use bonuses.* The lure of money in the form of bonuses ranging from \$20,000 to \$40,000 for initial enlistment is attractive to high school graduates in the United States. The government will also provide help in funding college attendance. Certain occupations carry re-enlistment bonuses as high as \$150,000 – all tax free if re-enlistment is done in the war zone. Another key benefit is virtually free health care for both the service members and their immediate family members while on active duty and – if a retiree – medical and pharmacological support.

Little wonder, given the large amounts of cash being dispersed for enlisting or re-enlisting and the generous provisions of the latest “G.I. Bill of Rights,” that some observers suggest that the U.S. is creating a mercenary military force whose loyalty is to their profession, to their comrades-in-arms, and to themselves.

But the 2001-2009 Bush administration has taken a giant leap into the great unknown of unintended consequences by “hiring” foreign armies to build up the perception that a large coalition of countries have seen a common danger and have rallied on principle to defeat it. In fact, for the second Iraq war, only five other nations contributed troops for the invasion. Washington claimed 66 countries were in the coalition, but no more than 41 were ever identified.

[C] The public not infrequently will cite two other factors as major contributors to warmaking when they are, in reality, more relevant to conflict on the individual level than on the international. (Conceivably, a ruler who feels a neighboring ruler has been insulting could be said to be using war as revenge, but unless the “insultee” has a praetorian guard, he might find the nation’s army unwilling to start a war over a personal perception.)

(8) Teaching a lesson – humiliating a country, *Individuals in countries may beg for mercy. In the modern world, countries seldom surrender and never beg for mercy.* To fight simply to make another “beg for mercy” is to humiliate the defeated force. In the first Barbary War, “putting them (the Bey of Algiers and his neighboring rulers) in their place” was exactly the sentiment in the new Jefferson administration, especially after the Bey demanded ransom payments in exchange for the crew of a captured U.S. Navy frigate, the *USS Philadelphia*.

The practice of imposing punishing reparations on the defeated is symbolic of this attitude on the part of the victors. Woodrow Wilson recognized this and made strenuous efforts to dissuade his French and British counterparts from following

this short-sighted practice. To the ignominy of “defeat” (a status the German military never accepted – their version is the politicians in Berlin “stabbed the army in the back” as it was on the verge of success) – was added a crushing economic debt which the Germans did not forget in the intervening years of “peace” (1918-1939). It was this sense of betrayal that Hitler exploited to come to power, become dictator, and six years later unleash World War II – only to have his hopes dashed at an enormous cost to the war’s participants.

(9) The Revenge Factor and Honor Crimes. *Revenge is an emotion widely cited as a factor for war, but it is a poor catalyst for massed armed conflict.* Revenge is essentially an individual activity, not a group activity. Group psychosis can be whipped to a frenzy that finally breaks out as mob violence in the wake of a perceived or real injustice, but this dissipates unevenly over time and distance or in the face of determined opposition or other distractions such as looting stores.

Revenge requires a sustained commitment – not infrequently buttressed by an oath solemnly sworn to take retributive action or die in the attempt – that depends on emotional content to carry out the act. This is not the “hot-blood” reaction to a grievous wrong but rather the cold calculation and planning that seeks the best opportunity for success against those who committed the first (or the first and all subsequent) wrongs.

Shakespeare’s Hamlet is the quintessential revenge–play of the English-speaking world. Two forces drive the play’s action: remembrance (the Ghost of Hamlet’s father presses the prince to “Remember me”) and revenge. The latter, a function of the former, is also the product of the reality of unnatural (untimely) death, intense grief, and tremendous frustration and pre-suicidal depression that consumes Hamlet because he can see no path open to him to honor his father by killing his uncle.

At the time that Shakespeare wrote Hamlet (1601-1602), revenge killing by a blood relative of the murder victim – although officially frowned on by the authorities – was considered “natural” by the common folk and even a sacred duty. But times were changing, and by the next decade, revenge – even to “restore” a family’s honor – was being actively discouraged by both state and church.

In Japan, the true samurai, no matter how long he may have pursued a sworn enemy or whether his quarry might escape retribution forever unless killed immediately, will sheathe his sword and walk away if his anger has been aroused. For to kill in the heat of anger is to lose control of the situation and, more importantly, of oneself.

Elsewhere the concept, tolerance, even acceptance of “honor” killing varied from culture to culture and was often associated only with violations – and sometimes

with what is no more than mere rumors of violations – of sexual taboos. In late 2007, a married Palestinian woman residing with her husband and four children in Qalqilya on the West Bank was killed by her brothers because the majority of the male adults in her family chose to believe that she was having an extramarital affair – denied both by her husband and her mother.

According to the Dean of the College of Islamic Law in Qalqilya, sharia is widely misunderstood on the subject of “honor killings.” An unwed woman deemed guilty by a sharia court of having sexual relations may be sentenced to 100 lashes. Should a married woman be found guilty of indulging in the same activity, sharia calls for death by stoning. (The Christian gospels tell of a similar case when the Hebrew elders challenge Jesus to carry out a similar sentence on an adulterous woman.) But a guilty verdict requires four witnesses, each of whom must affirm that they personally observed the illicit act. In the November 2007 incident, the woman’s family acted entirely on their own with no judicial presence and no witnesses. (Within days, two sisters were killed by their brother, who claimed a matter of “honor;” some suspect these deaths had more to do with an inheritance.)

Moreover, as this “honor killing” was carried out in the West Bank, those responsible, even should they openly confess to the deed, may be imprisoned for as little as six months. “Article 341,” an ancient Jordanian statute (the West Bank was “Trans-Jordan” before the Israelis captured it in 1967) considers such murders (as they would be regarded in other societies) to be legitimate when the motive is to defend the perpetrator’s “life or his honor.”²²

“Honor” as an excuse for violence may not be part of modern Western culture, but it is still occurring in Western countries, as an April 2nd, 2008 UK study titled “Crimes of the Community” makes all too clear. When the UK opened its doors to immigration from the Indian subcontinent, it also opened the door to Islamic practices (brought primarily from Pakistan) and those of the Hindu and Sikh communities. “Crimes of Communities” details the experiences of Asian women fleeing forced marriages, physical violence, and mental trauma who, after appealing to those they hope will help them escape, find themselves taken back to be turned over to their abusers. Of particular note for British security officials such as Nazir Afzal, director of the West London Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) and the CPS’s resident expert on “honor crimes,” areas in Britain that condone such acts coincide almost exactly with terror zones.²³

At least twice in its history, the United States has started wars seeking “revenge.” The first was the Spanish-American War where “Remember the Maine” became the clarion call of the “yellow journalists” who were intent on war with Spain no

²² “As order slides, Palestinian women face honor killings,” Ilene R. Prusher, Christian Science Monitor, November 20, 2007. See www.csmonitor.com/2007/1120/p01s01-wome.html

²³ ““Honour” crimes bring nothing but shame,” UK Telegraph (unattributed), February 2, 2008 (updated April 2, 2008). See www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/main.jhtml?xml=/opinion/2008/02/04/dl0401.xml

matter what the cost. (The USS Maine, docked in Havana harbor, suffered a massive explosion of unknown origin and sank on February 15, 1898 with 260 dead. Analysis decades later determined the explosion occurred inside the battleship and therefore was not a terror attack.)

The second time, arguably, was October 7, 2001, when President George W. Bush ordered the assault on Afghanistan whose government (the Taliban) had provided haven for those who planned and carried out the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001.

[D] Another set of factors that contribute to the propensity for humans to make war – or perhaps more precisely, to support the decision of political leaders to resort to war – are those whose businesses will profit from the mobilization of the country for war.

(10) The Financial Class. *Wars cost money, a fact appreciated by the Founding Fathers but apparently not at all by George W. Bush and his Treasury Secretary.* In the Revolutionary War, despite large scale counterfeiting by the British of the Continental currency, and the fact that the rebellion was raised against one of Europe's most formidable powers, the colonial paper held its value to a remarkable degree. It was able to do so because bankers were willing to extend credit via the paper currency to businesses knowing that the sums would be repaid while businesses were willing to extend credit – again in the form of paper – to their customers. When more currency was required, the Continental Congress turned to the bankers to print the money which, in turn, government spent on the war.

Exactly the opposite occurred in the Great Depression and is happening in 2008-2009. Banks today are refusing to extend credit for fear that the borrowers – even seemingly rock-solid corporations, will not be able to repay the loans. Even when the Bush administration gave banks \$700 billion in an attempt to jump-start the credit markets, bankers used the money for acquisitions and to reduce their own indebtedness. When it became apparent that the administration could not force banks to extend credit, the whole American financial structure began to totter, as it had just before World War II. Indeed, in 1941, as Stephen Zarlenga notes in his *The Lost Science of Money*, financiers saw that America, with its huge underemployed population and its vast open spaces able to accommodate factories that could make the machines of destructive war (which would have to be replaced), would become a veritable world arsenal. As if by magic, credit suddenly was plentiful. Between July 1941 and June 30, 1946, the government spent \$387 billion – 95% of it on the war. By February 1946, the national debt was \$278.9 billion. Commercial banks held 31% or \$87 billion of that amount – not a bad return. (Zarlenga, 565)

(11) Financial Manipulation and War Profiteering by “Insiders.” *From the onset of armed conflict, war disrupts normal commerce and financial transactions, which allows some to make huge profits from the suffering of others.*

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In boardrooms and banks, on Wall Street and Main Street, communications to and among “insiders” are so rapid and precise that they can react before ordinary people become informed.

Of the two categories of people who are deemed to be only interested in obscene profits from warfare, financiers historically have been less visible both because they generally shunned high profile dealings and their roles in a country’s economy was analogous to “the man behind the curtain” in “The Wizard of Oz.”

Since war is a continuation of politics by other means (Clausewitz), and because politicians need (among other things) money to finance election campaigns, politics and war are the areas where the interests of financiers and of those who govern intersect. Like most, financiers do not like to be surprised by the unexpected “trigger” event that begins armed conflict. Those whose profits come from small difference in the cost of buying and selling currencies or charging interest on “overnight” lending or other short periods of time find too much uncertainty with war. From whom can they recover the principal of a loan and accrued interest if they had happened to lend money to or otherwise become entangled with the side that loses when the next war starts?

But for war to really be profitable, one must have a prophet. While all Europe knew that many Serbs resented domination by the Austro-Hungarian empire, few outside Serbia took seriously the possibility that the summer of 1914 would be the last under the old order of great empires. The triggering event was the assassination of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife in Sarajevo June 28, 1914. Shocked financial institutions and other currency dealers who had been pumping money into the public marketplace to expand trade and commerce suddenly froze, then reversed course as they waited for Austria to send its demands for punishment and restitution – or war. The Serbs refused the demands made by Vienna, appealed to its Tsarist Russian ally for support, and mobilized for war. Austria also mobilized, and by August 1, because of secret interlocking treaties, Russia and France were mobilizing in support of the Serbs, Britain pledged to use its Navy to keep the Imperial Germany Navy away from the French ports, and Germany had declared war on Russia and refused a British demand to respect Belgian neutrality.

The onset of mobilization instantly required huge amounts of money by the various governments to pay for their military forces. Printing money and injecting it into the market through the banks and financial institutions not only allowed governments to buy their war materiel, it also acted to moderate the costs of borrowing by individual consumers. War production meant fewer consumer goods and higher savings rates, but this type of liquidity was soaked up by governments issuing war bonds. Invariably associated with government leaders, the real winners were those financiers who bought up bonds and other government securities in large volume and could demand deep discounts that improved their effective interest rates when redeemed.

The second group that stood apart from the “all” were the manufacturers of the guns, ammunition, and all the necessities of war that soldiers need such as uniforms, food, and shelter – those who constitute the “military-industrial complex” that President Dwight D. Eisenhower, in his last speech to the nation as commander-in-chief, warned were acquiring unwarranted power in the halls of government. Such “industrialists,” as they thought of themselves, were frequently castigated for raking in “windfall profits” because governments needed what they produced.

In every US war since the Mexican-American War in 1846, Congress has conducted or threatened to conduct investigations of reported war profiteering. (Before 1846, the military departments operated an “arsenal” system for producing muskets and cannon. All the production machinery and the materiel were owned by the government but operated by private companies hired to do the actual production.) Names such as Springfield, Spencer, Sharps, and Colt came under scrutiny in the years between the Mexican War and the Civil War (1861-1865). Art imitated life in George Bernard Shaw’s “Major Barbara” set in England before World War I and Arthur Miller’s “All My Sons” in the post-World War II 1940s in the United States.

But President Roosevelt had learned from a Woodrow Wilson mistake during World War I. One of the earliest oversight boards Roosevelt created was the War Production Board whose mission was to set priorities for and oversee the allocation of materials to those industries that converted from civilian to military manufacturing, thereby stepping on any tendency of industrialists to reap excessive profits war. For its part, Congress created commissions to watch the watchers. Senator Harry Truman (KS) headed the Senate effort. Donald Nelson, who headed the War Production Board, singled out the Truman panel for special mention in Arsenal of Democracy:

“In the main, I think that the Congressional investigating groups gave us a pretty clean bill of health. It is probable that one of the most constant sources of the Board's prestige with the press and the public was the Truman Committee, whose investigations were conducted fairly and objectively and in a thoroughly businesslike way.”

(12) The Siren War Song of Arms and the Man. *Statistics and common sense both attest to the fact that the more weapons there are in the hands of more people, the more likely the weapons will be used to kill. Nations justify the purchase of modern weapons as necessary to deter their neighbors from attacking or attempting to intimidate or coerce a particular course of action. But in the process of spending huge amounts of taxpayer funds to achieve at least military superiority if not military dominance, the temptation becomes overwhelming to use these expensive toys before neighboring countries update their weapons stocks. In other words, the potential for an arms race is in itself a factor in*

starting a war if one country – and not necessarily a superpower or regional hegemon – believes it has a short-term advantage. This was exactly the thought process underlying Secretary of State Madeleine Albright’s question to then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Colin Powell, as the Clinton administration wrestled with the problem of Serbian army atrocities: “What’s the point of having this superb military you’re always talking about if we can’t use it?”

Arguably, because the US retained a large land force as well as a navy and air force after World War II to counter the Soviet Union, this factor has come into play in both armed conflicts and “humanitarian” interventions in which military units were involved. Indeed, it also lay behind Secretary Albright’s question to General Powell: who determined in an alliance whose armed forces would do what, would contribute what proportion of the total number of troops, and would pay what percentage of the costs of running the alliance.

(13) Pulling a fair share of the burden. *After World War II, Europe lay largely destroyed from the Atlantic to the Ural Mountains.* By early 1947, it was clear that Stalin intended to leave large numbers of tanks and artillery astride the Elbe River in central Germany. Responding piecemeal at first to a probing Soviet presence that sought to take effective control of Western Europe, the United States created the economic Marshall Plan and, in 1949, the security-directed North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Despite a number of close elections in France, Italy, and Greece, no national communist party ever won an outright parliamentary victory during the 45 years of the Cold War.

In retrospect, European leaders and their publics generally were grateful for the U.S. intervention on their behalf. American presidents and congresses took on this burden because all believed that without a strong and prosperous Europe, there would never be a really secure, strong, and prosperous United States.

But the eventual price was heavy; its legacy – the militarization of U.S. foreign relations and especially of foreign aid that promotes additional purchases of military equipment by “allies” – remains one of the more intractable outcomes of 45 years of Cold War give and take. And that characterization of the period 1946-1991 itself hides the fact that for 23 of those 45 years one of the superpowers was actively at war with surrogates of the other (United States v. North Korea/Peoples Republic of China 1950-1953; United States v. North Vietnam 1963-1973; USSR v. Afghanistan mujahedeen 1979-1989) and once directly confronted each other (Cuban Missile Crisis 1962) while the rest of the world held its collective breathe, fearing a nuclear World War III.

[E] Two other factors at first glance seem out of place in a discussion of why wars start because they seem to address how wars are fought – that is, operational matters. But sometimes the operational needs supplant the strategic objectives.

(14) Strike First. *The most pernicious warfighting doctrine involves the first use of nuclear weapons against an opponent.* Under this logic, if the leader of nuclear-armed nation A decides that nuclear-armed adversary B may be preparing to launch its nuclear weapons, A will fire its weapons to destroy Country B's arsenal (counterforce) before B can fire. To counter this possibility, Country B will put its weapons on "hair trigger alert so that as soon as it detects that country A has fired its weapons, it will fire at A's cities (since B will not know which weapons A might have held back in its first strike to have a "second strike capability – thus holding B's cities at risk should B launch "on warning." Little wonder that this was dubbed MAD – Mutual Assured Destruction.²⁴

Various arms control treaties have tried to reduce the number of warheads of the major powers and their alert status, but there remain more than enough weapons to destroy the planet should nuclear weapons be used. Even the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (1970), which sought to limit the spread of weaponry in exchange for allowing countries to develop nuclear know-how for nuclear energy, is – in the viewpoint of many experts – inherently flawed. As Iran exemplifies, a country that is determined enough to develop the ability to enrich uranium sufficiently to generate energy for civilian power is well on its way to developing the ability to enrich uranium to the levels required for weapons.

In terms of "conventional" armaments, countries do have a right, enshrined in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, to conduct a "first strike" should they detect an adversary is about to attack them. However, such a "first strike" is to be limited to disrupting the threatened aggression. Moreover, evidence must be presented to the United Nations Security Council for appropriate action to restore the status quo ante.

No country has initiated a nuclear "first strike," but the growing arsenals of Pakistan and India had become quite worrisome, especially as negotiations to ease disputes such as Kashmir's status and the resumption of cross-border land transport were stalled. The devastating February 2005 earthquake that struck Pakistan broke the impasse as India stepped forward immediately with aid, which Pakistan accepted.

(15) "Shock and Awe." *A country that suffers a massive disaster or traumatic defeat can be taken over and remolded either by an outside power or by internal ideologues.* Most Americans associate the phrase "shock and awe" with the massive, concentrated aerial assault on Iraq launched on March 20, 2003 by the U.S. Air Force and U.S. Navy using manned aircraft (long range heavy bombers and fighters) and cruise missiles. The idea behind "shock and awe" is to substitute technology for human bodies to break an enemy's will and capability to resist. Thus although the message is psychological, the means of delivering it are

²⁴ See "Mutual Deterrence:" Speech by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, September 18, 1967 at www.atomicarchive.com/Docs/Deterrence/Deterrence.shtml.

quite physical and may even include tactical nuclear weapons. Indeed, photographs of U.S. soldiers taken shortly before the ground assault began show the Americans dressed to function on a chemical weapons battlefield.

The U.S.-led assault of March 2003 was portrayed as having paralyzed the Iraqi command and control system by the extent and severity of the bombardment (the shock) and so overpowered Iraqi civilians and ordinary soldiers that it became impossible for them to mount effective opposition to the invasion. Before long, however, as the “smoke cleared” and “major combat operations” ceased (May 1, 2003), the Coalition Provisional Authority as well as the Pentagon and the White House had to have been “shocked” by the tenacity of the insurgents, a tenacity still quite evident today.

The other sense of “shock and awe” can be found in Naomi Klein’s *The Shock Doctrine* (see bibliography). This traces how opportunistic, often ideologically-driven politicians exploit the near paralysis of a country’s legislature, bureaucracy, and populace in the aftermath of an unexpected, shocking event by initiating sweeping economic changes favoring a massive deregulation of markets and capital that, if proposed in “normal” times, would have been summarily dismissed. Those whose positions in the old economy entitled them to be among the ruling oligarchy are able to transition to the new system far enough ahead of possible competitors to emerge “winners” while those already on the lower rungs of economic and political status fall off the economic ladder completely.

In an interview with the UK’s Guardian newspaper, Klein notes that the book looks at “Chile 1973, Britain 1983, China and Poland 1989, Russia 1993, East Asia 1998, the US 2002 - when the crusade for unfettered markets leapt forward.”²⁵

Of these, she chooses to concentrate on China in 1989 – the Tiananmen Square democracy movement and the “massacre” of the largely university-aged democracy activists killed or sentenced to long and recurring prison terms. In the aftermath of the shock of seeing armed Chinese soldiers shooting indiscriminately at unarmed demonstrators or severely beating others during “arrests,” Klein retraces the conversion of China’s central command economy to a nearly unfettered Milton-Friedmanesque market capitalism.²⁶ This new orientation, instigated by Deng Xiaoping, effectively set agriculture against manufacturing, rural against urban, old against young – all the ingredients of war. And war there

²⁵ See commentisfree.guardian.co.uk/naomi_klein/2007/09/an_absorbing_debate.htm.

²⁶ Milton Friedman, winner of the central Bank of Sweden prize (incorrectly called the 1976 Nobel laureate in Economics), was a champion of laissez-faire free market capitalism. He once remarked that if the effect of an economic transaction between two people could be limited to these two, free markets would work without government interference. Completion of transactions are frequently unresolved in modern economies. (A asserts B did not deliver as promised or vice versa). Government regulations, laws, and courts are required to resolve such disputes with justice. Friedman was totally wrong about no loss to a failed government.

was, according to Klein, for the iron rice bowl – the equivalent of the cradle-to-grave socialism of Europe or the “one man-one company-one salary with a guaranteed company-financed retirement” model in the U.S. – was destroyed with little concern for those who suddenly found that nothing was assured.

Sometimes, civil war is itself the “disaster” that those in power try to manipulate to their personal profit. Such was the American Civil War. Initially, it seemed that Lincoln’s vision of a reunited and healing nation would come to pass. In the field, the Union army’s Supreme Commander, General Ulysses S. “Unconditional Surrender” Grant had confounded vengeful Northerners by the generous (for that age) terms for surrender he offered the Confederate armies under their commander-in-chief, General Robert E. Lee: officers to retain their side arms and their mounts, and anyone else owning a horse or mule to retain it for the spring planting. But when Lincoln died at the hands of John Wilkes Booth less than a week following Lee’s surrender, everything changed. Andrew Johnson, chosen by Lincoln as his vice-presidential running mate because he was a Senate Democrat from Tennessee who had not seceded when his home state did, had neither the power nor the popularity of his predecessor, let alone a political base in the North. The result was a vindictive “Reconstruction Era” in the states that had rebelled – an army of occupation and civilian overseers, the so-called “carpet baggers” – who came not to rebuild the South without slaves and slavery but to enrich themselves at the expense of everyone who lived in the South.

Much of the above should sound familiar, for Iraq today is passing through many of the same trials endured by the former U.S. Confederate States during Reconstruction. The difference is that in Iraq, the U.S. is paying all the costs for all the factions.

[F] Finally, there are three factors that might be thought of as the societal costs that war always has but that politicians, generals and admirals never seem to take into account when they opt for armed conflict. Some are relatively recent in origin, while others stretch back to ancient times. But all have in common unpredictable consequences that affect the course of warfare because they affect the people called to fight.

(16) Male/Female Relations. *Stories of female Amazons of equal or nearly equal proficiency to males in the military arts are uncommon in human histories (usually written by men) prior to the 20th century.* But the shift from matriarchal to patriarchal societies saw the emergence of the “men’s” societies where important decisions were made but from which women were excluded. Their role was child-bearing, gathering, and tending to family members. The males “role,” given his usual bigger size, evolved into the protector of the females in his family group.

One way to protect the family was to demonstrate proficiency in war, an activity now reserved for males. Over time, this further evolved from a defensive to an offensive activity. In general, the status of women came to depend on what the

male-dominated society was willing to concede. And while “womanhood” as an ideal was placed on a pedestal in Western culture after the start of the Renaissance, the first real challenge to this “protective dependency” did not come until the Seneca Falls, New York women’s convention of 1848.

As of the 1970s, women in the United States were allowed to volunteer for military service but were still barred from many military occupational specialties simply because of this notion that it is the male’s duty to defend the collective. Today, only three occupations remain closed to women: infantry, armor, and field artillery – the “direct combat” branches. Women have also disproved, to the extent possible given these sociological restraints, that their presence on the battlefield does not add to the danger by distracting males in the unit from their mission because of a “duty” to shield females from harm. Similarly, the presence of women does not seem to adversely affect unit cohesion (also known as “male bonding”) that develops whenever a group endures similar traumatic experiences such as war.

That’s the good news. The bad news, based on Pentagon records and criminal investigative reports, is that one in three women who join the U.S. military will be sexually assaulted or raped while serving in the armed forces. Data from 3/17/09 CBS Evening News with Katie Couric

(17) Obtain Slaves. *Although a factor for war, slavery is a by-product, not a cause, of warfare.* Countries do not initiate major armed conflict for the purpose of enslaving their opponents. As it is, quite often those unlucky enough to be on the losing side of a battle or a siege were all put to the sword. At best, women and female children might escape death if the victors had fixed abodes to which they returned when a war ended (e.g., the Greeks under Agamemnon in Euripides’ “The Trojan Women”).

Very early in the 18th century, U.S. Navy vessels hunting pirates in the Caribbean Sea and off the coast of the Barbary States in the Mediterranean would interpret their mission to include slaves as “contraband” to be removed and set free. But as this was incidental, not integral, to the Navy’s mission, slave traders could, with some impunity, sail one of the variations of the infamous “Atlantic Slave Triangle:” from Rhode Island to England with molasses and rum (or from Virginia with tobacco or from the West Indies with sugar); from England to West Africa with copper beads, guns and ammunition; from West Africa to ports in the colonial south (or, before abolition movements flowered in New England, to Rhode Island). Another variation of the “triangle” started with distilling the molasses and sugar in New England, shipping rum directly to West Africa, and returning with slaves to the West Indies to work the sugar cane fields whose harvest went to New England for distilling.

The first blow to the slave trade came in 1792 when Denmark banned the trade. Britain followed in 1807, and between that year and 1866, the Royal Navy

captured more than 500 slavers. The United States banned the trade in 1808, the first year possible under the Constitution, but not slavery itself. That awaited the Union victory in the American Civil War in 1865.

(18) Penury Prevents War. *Since time immemorial, armies on the march lived off the lands they conquered and the plunder they seized.* With the rise of mass armies in Europe in the second half of the 19th century, politicians and generals came face-to-face with one of the most intractable aspects of modern warfare – the costs associated with raising and maintaining armed forces and the added cost of sending them to war. Of the more important factors driving these changes, one was technical: the mastery of the art of casting hollow tubes of various sizes for gun barrels and artillery cannon – both of which needed ordnance (bullets or shells) to cause damage.

The second was a change in how rulers obtained the manpower to fill the ranks. The bands of professional mercenaries “rented” by small principalities to fight foreigners’ wars (e.g., the Hessians who fought alongside the British during the American Revolution) were replaced during the Napoleonic era by the *levee en masse*, the recruitment of the entire population to fight or to support those fighting for the nation, however this was defined in cultural and societal terms. Napoleon’s insightful aphorism, “An army travels on its stomach,” is as true today as it was 200 years ago. The main difference is it costs more to fight today – for example, the \$650 billion by the United States in the Second Gulf War – and counting upwards to as much as \$3,000,000,000,000 when long-term medical costs and care are included.

Who Benefits from Wars

Another, perhaps more direct way to address the factors that lead to war is to consider who within a society that is prone to war actually benefits – in an expanded sense of the term that goes far beyond money – jobs, power, wealth, and security from armed conflict.

The Governing Class

By 1781, the 13 British colonies in North America had effectively won their War for Independence. A fateful crossroad lay ahead: would the victorious Commander-in-Chief become America’s Julius Caesar, cross the Rubicon, and with his army – already disgruntled over poor living arrangements, missing back pay, and more loyal to the general than to the Continental Congress – behind him, march on the capitol at Philadelphia to be “crowned?” Or would he be the new nation’s Cincinnatus, the unassuming patriot who, having answered the call of his country, defeated the invaders and secured the peace, quietly slipped back to his home and previous life?

After more than six years of war, General George Washington wanted nothing more than to leave behind him the frustrations, cabals, intrigues, rivalries, and naked ambitions that swirled in and around the Continental Congress and its successor under the ill-starred Articles of Confederation. With its very circumscribed central government and virtually

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no power to tax, the associated colonies could not afford an army or a navy. In fact, at one point in the years of the Confederacy, the “national army” fell to 80 officers and men. Most were stationed at West Point to guard the muskets, powder, and shot that remained at the war’s end. State governors, as Alexander Hamilton pointed out in the Federalist Papers (No. 69), had better armed and larger militias (each member of the state militia furnished his own weapon).

Under such circumstances, those in the federal “government” responsible for military security in these early years either did little or were frustrated at their lack of authority. State governments and militias dealt with the “Indian” problem as settlers moved further and further westward. War simply wasn’t profitable – a far cry from today when a seemingly unending parade of authoritarian rulers are the recipients of millions if not billions to support the policies of the United States in international fora as well as on the battlefield. Thus for sometime the President of Pakistan received \$10 billion a year to continue the fight against al-Qaeda and the former Taliban regime in Afghanistan. How much, if any, of this money trickled down to the general public is unknown, but it was probably closer to zero than to \$10 billion.

By the mid-1790s, the threats from Native Americans as well as raiding European brigands dictated a larger force. By the time of the presidency of Thomas Jefferson (1801-1809), the Army was tasked with opening the frontier, garrisoning coastal defense sites to protect cities and entries to rivers and harbors, developing small arms and ordnance at arsenals, and creating inland rivers and roads as transit routes for commerce. By the start of the War of 1812, the regular army numbered 6,000. It expanded to 33,000 and again, after the war, was cut back so that at the outbreak of hostilities with Mexico in 1846, the federal regular army numbered 7,300.

Ordnance and Other Procurement – Selling Death and Destruction

It was at this time that the ability to mass produce muskets, rifles, and pistols was mastered by private companies. Moreover, the army arsenals could no longer keep pace with the rapid changes in manufacturing and the art of metallurgy such as the wide-spread use of rifling to extend the range of muskets and the introduction of a breech-loading mechanism, among others. By 1850, the army was issuing requests for contract bids to produce weapons for the military, giving birth to the land forces’ military industrial complex.

Ever since, ordnance inventors and other entrepreneurs have found war profitable. Even in peace, the army needs weapons and munitions to train recruits in the militias. What passed at any given month as the “regular army” – the skeletal structure of the regular or “institutional” army that constitutes the foundation for rapid expansion when war looms – required an array of goods and services. While contracts let during peacetime can be manipulated and are as subject to fraud as contracts let in war, Congress theoretically has more time to exercise oversight of procurement if the troops are not in the field fighting the enemy.

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As the country has seen in the Second Iraq War, it is all too easy when bullets are flying for Congress to pass legislation to train, equip, deploy, and feed, clothe, and shelter military units nearly half the globe away from the United States – and do so quickly. But there is a down-side: the need for speed can drive government representatives to issue sole source, no-bid contracts to administration “favorites” for everything from soup to nuts to back-up security for security contractors. Moreover, Congress then typically fails to authorize additional contract auditors to try to keep pace with the increases in the volume of contracts that must, by law, be reviewed and audited to dissuade unscrupulous companies from overcharging the taxpaying public.

Another potential source of fraud is the “executive-level revolving door” between the acquisition specialists, both in uniform and Defense Department civilians, and the companies that make up the “military industrial complex” that provides equipment, munitions, and services ordered by the military.

Congress

Even Congress, the people’s representatives, have found a way to make war profitable through the practice of “earmarking” money for unneeded or otherwise wasteful spending in order to “bring home the bacon (hence the term “pork” when these projects are challenged). A Member of Congress who fails to secure federal spending quickly becomes “endangered” and may find that zero federal spending/federal jobs equals zero campaign contributions equals turned out of office – unless the incumbent is able to use the Internet to raise enough money to finance the re-election campaign.

Media

And as if summoned by the Sorcerer’s Apprentice, the public’s need for reliable information when government proposed to lead them into war had the side effect of enriching those who owned or otherwise controlled the presses and associated print supplies. In the early days of printing in North America – Boston in 1690 was the site of the first newspaper – the “Publick Occurrences Both Foreign and Domestick” – profit margins on the broadsheets were slim, which put a premium on quick production and out the door hawking the “breaking news.” Circulation, both subscription and “corner” sales, was the key. The publisher really had to know what the available news was and how many in his “market” of potential readers would probably be interested enough to buy a copy. A wild card in the mix was the far from universal reading literacy among the target population, which may have contributed to the absence of a true daily newspaper printed in North America until 1794 when the Pennsylvania Packet first appeared.

Publishers in the post-Civil War era had much to relate to the public: lynchings in the South under the “Reconstruction” regimes; the gradual defeat of the remaining Native Americans in the 1870s and 1880s, the closing of the frontier in 1890; the economic panics of 1873 and 1893, with the latter lasting five years up to the Spanish-American War in 1898. In fact, that war, as noted above, is considered to have started because of the war-mongering hyperbolic “yellow journalism” that featured prominently in the papers owned by William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer.

Today the challenge to democracy and the public's right to be informed comes as much from the new corporate media giants as from excessive government secrecy. The concentration of ownership of television, radio, and newspapers in the hands of less than a dozen corporations – and in some markets all sources of information are under one conglomerate, may be a more serious challenge to democracy than government opacity. It is no accident that the First Amendment includes the phrase “**Congress shall make no law...abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press...**”

Intelligence Community

The advent of high technology in the profession of “spy versus spy” has opened even the most highly classified programs to the temptations of “favors” bought, sold, or “traded,” sometimes even between ostensible opponents. Working under restricted congressional oversight, the agencies are able to use the classification system to conceal many of their current activities and their planned acquisitions – almost always done on sole source, no-bid contracts to a handful of companies. Once these contracts are signed, those inside the intelligence world can, without violating any laws, invest in what is a “sure thing” economically.

In the 60 years since passage of the 1947 National Security Act, the United States has been transformed into the prototypical national security state – a country that is perpetually on a war footing. Increasingly, presidents since John Kennedy have resorted to invoking and then exploiting their constitutional position as commander-in-chief of the nation's military and intelligence assets to achieve their foreign policy goals. Invariably, one goal of every administration is to spread democracy around the globe, even if the US has to go to war to do so.

Selling Patriotism

In the end, all of these separate activities of government and many of the people who make decisions that produce the de facto winners and losers in times of war seem to blend into one another, losing in the process that transparency and accountability that are the heart and soul of democratic governance. If government has a policy in trouble or a program not producing as promised, call out the image makers to repackage the deal and “sell it” like any other product. After all, the public pays the freight.

Three decades before President Eisenhower warned the nation about the military-industrial complex, President Calvin Coolidge, in an address to the American Society of Newspapers Editors (1925), made clear what, in his mind, made Americans run. “After all, the chief business of the American people is business.” This was not a call for hedonism, for Coolidge believed that the accumulation of wealth brought with it obligations to the community. In the world inhabited by these editors, the only rule was not to allow the business of newspaper publishing to intrude onto the reporter's turf – and vice versa.

Here is the genesis of today's combination of government, corporations, and the press – which itself is coming to more and more emulate those centers of power that the Framers considered should be monitored by the press. But the need for companies to advertise,

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which they do in the press, feeds into capital investment that pays for the reporters and the presses, whose product can be sold – and at higher prices if something like a war is going on that demands military equipment – which allows the military suppliers to claim they are patriotic for responding to the military’s needs, etc., etc., etc.

But war is not a “business” or a commodity to be bought and sold or traded back and forth like companies are permitted to do with emission “credits.” War is about death, specifically about the multiplication of death in the modern era.

Without question, a president’s stature rises if he can have a “successful little war.” President George W. Bush may have considered that he could declare a global war lasting through his first term and propelling him to a second – and into history as a great war leader. Somewhere, somehow, his calculations went so far awry that even Madison Avenue can’t cover up the image of defeat and retreat. After 7½ years of war, there were 5,000 American dead in Afghanistan and Iraq; the national debt is triple what it was when Bush assumed the presidency in January, 2001; and there is no indication that America is now or ever will be “safer” because of these wars.

Chapter 2

How Often Do Wars Work

The answer to the question that forms the title of this chapter presupposes another question: “What does it mean to say that a “war worked?” And the answer to that question is, inevitably, “It depends on whose perspective is used.”

One can from the start rule out the perspective of the defeated, for history is always written by the victor. Even when dissident accounts manage to survive in clay pots buried in the desert or in the vaults of ancient libraries and monasteries, when they are found they confront the established orthodoxy that forms the mythological foundation and elaboration of a nation’s very identity.

Then there is the inevitable “fog of war” that not only shrouds the battlefield but creeps *ex post facto* into the rationales that are given for the resort to armed conflict in the first place.

Such manipulation of the historical record became much more difficult as oceanic navigation became routine in the “Age of Discovery.” As improved technology continued to compress the time-space paradigm, more independent observers could reach battlefields more quickly, document events more accurately, corroborate pre-war events and alleged provocations with post-war claims of success in achieving the “original war goals.”

The European overlay and then suppression of the histories of the indigenous Native North, Central and South Americans, Pacific Ocean islanders, Maoris and other aboriginals was largely corrected in the 20th century (although we will never know what details were lost because of the time lapse). Meanwhile, the collapse of the African remnants of European empires after World War II sparked widespread combat because the collapse of the hated foreign presence failed to collapse the artificial European-created borders that had disregarded traditional tribal boundaries. Moreover, the British withdrawal from India, Palestine, Iraq and other outposts as their empire contracted was an open invitation for internal war on the part of hostile camps. Much of the continuing violence in Africa and the Middle East during the transitional decades of the 20th-21st centuries is the lingering legacy of this discontinuity.

World War II was a watershed event for two other reasons: it is the only US war in which the war aim was the unconditional surrender of the enemy and occupation of their homelands by the victorious allies, and it is the only war (to date) in which atomic weapons were used. This latter decision by President Harry Truman has both defenders

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(it saved possibly hundreds of thousands of American lives²⁷) and detractors (the Japanese were on the verge of surrender). Regardless, there is no denying the fact that every US war since has had limited objectives,²⁸ employed limited troops, and been of limited duration – until George W. Bush’s “Global War on Terror.”

In fact, it is possible to chart US interventions by “type” and frequency of occurrence. Periodically, the Congressional Research Service updates a publication titled “Instances of Use of United States Armed Forces Abroad, 1798-2007.” The most recent, dated January 24, 2008, lists 332²⁹ instances in which presidents have deployed troops or when a significant change in mission or in deployed numbers has occurred. These deployments can be grouped by mission as follows:

²⁷ Post-war research indicates that the allied estimates of casualties from the planned invasion were overblown. On the other claim, the most recent scholarship, based on the diaries of Japanese war leaders, reveal that the American atom bombs were not the “final straw” that broke Japanese resistance to surrender. The decision to surrender was the result of the entry of the USSR into the Pacific war on August 8, 1945.

²⁸ These limited purposes include:

- interventions to “restore order” – a continuation of US policy frequently implemented in the Caribbean and Central America (but not exclusively in these regions) between 1898 and 1935;
- non-combatant evacuation operations (NEO) to assist in removing American citizens from countries where order had broken down;
- participation in UN and regional peace-keeping missions, protecting humanitarian and emergency relief personnel attempting to provide food aid or actually delivering such aid following natural or man-made disasters;
- participation in UN and regional peace-enforcing missions; and
- fighting terrorism which is the focus of 21st century war-fighting.

²⁹ Not included in the chart are deployments for training or military aid or unique situations: e.g., US occupation of Greenland and Iceland at the request of the Danish and Icelandic governments to preclude a Nazi invasion.

A current “unique occurrence” came out of the Camp David Accords that finally broke the cycle of wars between Israel and Egypt. The agreement called for a non-UN Multinational Force of Observers (MFO) to be stationed at critical desert passes to observe the buffer zone created by the withdrawal from contact of the two armies to ensure neither side broke the truce. More than half of the observer force had to be from the United States, undoubtedly on the premise that neither of the antagonists would dare to attack key points in any offensive for fear of killing US troops, thereby triggering US retribution. (Of course, this calculus played more heavily on Egypt which would have suffered more from any violation of the Accords.) To this day, the US sends roughly 800 troops to the Sinai observation posts.

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Deployment of US Military Units by General Mission Objectives 1798-2007

Goal of Operation	Number of Operations Per Period Indicated				
	1798-1850	1851-1900	1901-1950	1951-2000	2001-2007
Combat Piracy; Freedom of Navigation	18	1	1	1	
Territorial Disputes	14				
Show of Force	6	26	38	9	1
Non-combatant Evacuation Operation (NEO)		21	20	25	3
Major Wars and punitive operations	2	10	3	4	2
Empire building		2	2	18	1
Multilateral or UN resolution enforcement				10	8
Humanitarian aid; UN or Multilateral peace monitoring				32	13
Counter-terrorism				3	14

Data from Congressional Research Service

This chart is of particular interest on three counts.

First – The shift in the “problem definition” prompting the deployment of military forces. A new nation could expect that others would test its resolve. The US, however, was in a truly unique situation as it was the first unified country to emerge on a land mass from which all other established countries were at least 3,000 miles distant. This distance did not exempt the US from attack as John Adams realized when he discovered he had no Navy to come to the rescue of US merchant ships suffering indignities and capture first by French privateers and later, during Madison’s presidency, by the British. Similarly, with regard to the land borders, the Americans had “interior lines of communication” compared to European powers Britain, Spain, and France, and, when the situation required, could bring forces to bear more quickly.

Second – The two categories which number the most entries: show of force and non-combatant evacuation operations (NEO), are usually carried out by a Marine Amphibious Ready Group. This has armed helicopters and transport helicopters to evacuate Americans and often nationals of other western countries wishing to leave a country where violence is mounting and the indigenous government can no longer guarantee the safety of foreigners. These are the two categories most limited in scope and most under the control of the operational commander.

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A show of force also tends to be naval as the mere appearance of a warship, let alone a carrier battle group or amphibious ready group off the coast of a violence-riven capital city can alter the psychology of those contending for power. In a show of force, troops may make a landing, but they rarely have heavy equipment and are not numerous. The idea is to convince the residents to stop fighting – ironically sometimes a status reached only after armed aircraft drop munitions off shore or in a vacant area visible to the contending forces. A show of force can range from the simple appearance of ships and planes to a landing party, reinforcing an embassy Marine Guard, to confrontation and exchange of small arms and light weapons' fire.

Third – Perhaps most important, are the total occurrences **within** each time block – that is to say, adding each column instead of each row.

1798-1850	1851-1900	1901-1950	1951-2000	2001-2007
40	60	64	101	42
.77	1.2	1.26	2.02	7.00

Data calculated by co-author Smith

The bottom row reveals the average number of occurrences in each time block **on an annualized basis**.

The number of times armed forces were called upon by presidents increased with every passing half-century. This was due, in part, to the development of technologies that kept shrinking the time-space barrier: steam engines, petroleum-powered ships, automobiles, propeller and then jet airplanes. It also reflected the emergence of the United States as the world's most highly industrialized country as the 20th century began and most militarized as the century ended. Most striking is the number of times the Congressional Research Service (CRS) notes a change in location, troop strength, or unique event for the seven years of the 21st century.³⁰ What is always difficult to sort out are the non-violent actions and policies of potential belligerents that are interpreted as deliberate hostilities meant to weaken the state against whom the policy is directed. Nonetheless, from the public record of requests by US presidents for war declarations or for authority to instigate offensive action, it is possible to match what the administration in power claimed as its war goals to what it claims was achieved in the following 17 wars.

1. Undeclared Naval War against France (1798-1800). French corsairs captured 27 US merchant vessels in the Caribbean in 1797. First four warships of the US Navy completed in 1797; used against French corsairs raiding US merchant vessels in the Caribbean. Cost = 8M (million), US killed, NA

2. First Barbary States War against Tripoli, Algiers, Morocco, and Tunis (1801-1805). At least eight US warships, one of which ran aground in Algiers harbor; later destroyed

³⁰ Even discounting those entries in the CRS paper that are simply an update of long-running deployments such as NATO's peacekeeping mission in Bosnia (six updates) and NATO's peace-enforcement mission in the former (25) Yugoslavia (Serbia-Kosovo – seven updates), the total for 2001-2007 would still be running at a record-setting pace because President Bush has declared a "Global War on Terror" of unlimited duration.

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by US landing party. Total estimated US direct participants in battle is 1,500 with US fatalities 15, Cost=\$7M

3. War of 1812 against Great Britain (1812-1815). Total US troops under arms were 286,760; battle deaths: 2, 280; Cost = \$90M. Battle of New Orleans took place 15 days after Treaty of Ghent was signed; US losses in that battle were 24 killed.

4. Second Barbary States War against Algiers (1815). Ten US warships; no battle deaths. The US flotilla sailed into Algiers harbor, destroyed two enemy warships, and threatened to sink all ships sailing under the Algiers flag. Algiers' ruler capitulated, signing a peace treaty and indemnifying the US for maritime losses. Similar results at Tripoli and Tunis. Cost=\$9M

5. Mexican-American War (1846-1848). Total US troops under arms were 78,718; battle deaths 1,733; Cost=\$71M

6. Civil War (1861-1865) Union troops under arms were 2,213,363; Union battle deaths 140,414; Cost=\$3.2B (billion). Confederate troops under arms were 1,050,000; battle deaths 74,524; Cost=\$1B

7. Indian Campaigns (1817-1860 and 1865-1890). Estimated US troops under arms were 106,000 with US cavalry fatalities estimated at 1,000. Pre-US Civil War focus was on forced migration of Native Americans in the southern states (Creek, Choctaw, Seminole, Cherokee Chickasaw) to Oklahoma (Trail of Tears). Post-Civil War focus was on forcing Plains and Southwest Native Americans onto reservations or into Canada and Mexico. Cost=NA

8. Spanish-American War (1898-1899) and Philippines Insurrection (1899-1902). Total US troops under arms were 306,760; battle deaths 385; Cost = \$283M

9. World War I (1914-1918) US participation (1917-1918) against Imperial Germany, Austria-Hungarian Empire, and Ottoman Empire. Total US troops under arms were 4,734, 997; battle deaths 53,402; Cost = \$20B

10. World War II (Northeast Asia 1937-1945, Europe 1939-1945) US participation 1941-1945) against Imperial Japan, Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary. Total US troops under arms 16,112,566; battle deaths 291,557; Cost = \$296B

11. Korean War (1950-1953) against North Korea and the Peoples Republic of China. Total US troops in theatre 1,789,000; battle deaths 33,741; Cost = \$30B

- 12.** Vietnam War (1963-1975) against North Vietnam and Cambodia. Total US troops in theatre 3,403,000; battle deaths 47,424 plus other 10,785 non-battle deaths in theatre; Cost = \$111B
- 13.** Operation Urgent Fury – Grenada (1983) against Cuban soldiers and airfield construction engineers. Total US troops were 7,000; fatalities 19; Cost = \$76M
- 14.** Operation Just Cause (1989-1990) against Panama Defense Force. Total US troops in theatre were 27,864; battle deaths 23; Cost = \$163M
- 15.** First Iraq War Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm (1990-1991) against Iraq. Total troops in theatre 694,550; battle deaths 147 plus other 236 non-battle deaths in theatre; Cost = \$61B – Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states except Iran paid \$54B of the war costs
- 16.** Operation Enduring Freedom – Afghanistan (2001- 2009) against Taliban and their allies. Total US in theatre through August 2008 is 1.4 million; battle deaths 561 (755 by July 2009); Cost (budget authority) through FY2009 “bridge” funding = \$172.6B
- 17.** Second Iraq War Operation Iraqi Freedom (2003-) against Saddam Hussein. \$656.1 billion Total US troops in theatre through August 2008 is 200,000; battle deaths 4,125 (4,328 by July 2009); Cost = \$656.1B

From this record, clearly only in World War II were the war time objectives met – and then only because those objectives were so simple and stark: unconditional surrender and occupation. But the “official record” claimed by war leaders is only part of a complex set of conditions, some of which the victors in World War I ignored to their own peril.³¹

A History of Presidents at War Ignoring Congress

In light of the post-World War II propensity of presidents to employ US military forces in “crises,” is how certain presidents interpreted the power of the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy in terms of the powers of Congress in matters of war and peace.

All presidents – and Congresses – have recognized that the chief executive has the power to call on the armed forces to defend the nation and its principles against assault by hostile parties and nations. But early presidents interpreted this executive power narrowly: that is, they could commence defensive action but not offensive action. For example, Jefferson sent a naval squadron to the Barbary Coast to protect US ships from raids and seizure by ships from the various North African sultanates that constantly menaced western shipping. But Jefferson (and later Madison) insisted on the need to

³¹ Chapter 12, pp. 122-124, covers in far greater detail the errors of the allies in WWI.

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have congressional authorization before US Navy vessels were given the green light to hunt for, capture, or destroy the North African warships.

Some 19th century presidents were found to have “interpreted” information to bolster their requests for a declaration of war or statutory authorization (e.g., James Knox Polk) for deploying troops or naval vessels. In the Civil War, Lincoln acted to mobilize the Union forces and temporarily suspended habeas corpus between New York and Washington when rioting broke out in Baltimore, but as soon as Congress reconvened he sought and received confirmation of his actions by the now “Union” Congress.

Not until President Harry Truman sent US forces to Korea in June 1950 did any president not seek some authority from Congress – even after the fact – to conduct large scale, long duration “offensive” military operations. Truman held that he did not need congressional authority because he acted in response to a United Nations Security Council resolution that, according to the Treaty establishing the UN, required member states to act.³²

President Dwight Eisenhower returned to the Jeffersonian narrow interpretation of the Commander-in-Chief clause. In 1954, when it appeared the People’s Republic of China would attempt to seize the Chinese Nationalist-held Pescadores Islands that lay less than five miles off the Asia mainland, Eisenhower sought and obtained advanced congressional authorization to use force against the People’s Republic should the communists attempt to invade the off-shore islands or even Formosa (Taiwan) itself.

Unfortunately, two years later, Congress began to unilaterally abdicate its role in managing and, when needed, restraining the chief executive when the president starts moving the nation from peace to war. In 1956 Congress passed a joint resolution empowering the president to deploy the US armed forces to defend any country that requests US assistance against a threat posed by a country controlled by international communism. The measure also authorized military and economic aid to countries in the Middle East. Using this authority, which became known as the Eisenhower Doctrine, the President in July 1958 ordered 14,000 Marines ashore in Lebanon in response to that government’s request for help. (In early 1958, Egypt, Yemen, and Syria formed the United Arab Republic. In June, Jordan and Iraq formed the Arab Union. Fearing a coup in Jordan – which never happened – Lebanon asked for US help. In October, UN and Arab leaders took over the stabilization mission from the US. In the end, it was nationalism, not communism that created the problem.

Following the Vietnam War’s “Gulf of Tonkin Resolution” in 1964 and President Nixon’s 1970 invasion of Cambodia “to eliminate sanctuaries” along the border with Vietnam, Congress tried to re-assert its role in war and peace by passing over the

³² The initial mission of US-led UN troops sent to South Korea was defensive: to halt the North Korean invasion. This quickly changed to holding on to the Pusan pocket, a 140 x 90 kilometer toe-hold on the extreme end of the peninsula. By August 1 the North Korean Army no longer could muster a coordinated assault with enough combat power to rupture the UN perimeter. On September 15, US forces made a daring landing at Inchon, breaking the North’s lines of communication and setting the stage for the offensive push north to the Yalu River, the boundary between North Korea and China.

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president's veto the War Powers Resolution of 1973. This statute is an attempt to prod presidents and congresses to work with and not against the other branch of government when the probability is high that US armed forces will be drawn into combat.

Under provisions of the Resolution, the president may employ military forces for up to 90 days with or without the approval of Congress. Should no authorization or appropriation be forthcoming within those 90 days, the president must initiate withdrawal measures to speedily and completely remove troops added during the crises until they are back to the *status quo bellum*. Moreover, the War Powers Resolution requires the president to report to Congress on the conditions and how much longer he anticipates troops will be deployed.³³

The veto override came in November 1973. The next month, President Gerald Ford deployed a Marine-Navy task force to Cambodia's Koh Tong Island where the authorities had taken the US-flagged vessel Mayaguez. When the action was joined, Ford notified Congress – setting a pattern in which a president may initiate (and sometimes complete) acts of war either before congressional assent or afterwards. The civilian crew were all recovered – a “good news story” for a country whose ignominious flight from South Vietnam had been watched ‘round the world. What Ford hardly mentioned was the losses among the raiding party – 41 Marines.

The April 1980 attempt to rescue American hostages held in Tehran during President Jimmie Carter's term ended without a shot fired, no hostages freed, and Congress uninformed until shortly before Carter went on television to tell the world what had happened and why such a dangerous mission was attempted.

Conversely, during Ronald Reagan's tenure in the White House, Congress knew of the deployments to Lebanon and why the troops had gone: to promote democracy; to encourage economic development; provide military assistance to anti-communist forces; and to encourage negotiations as the preferred means to solve disputes.

It made no difference in the end in Beirut; American forces withdrew after a suicide bomber rammed his explosive-filled truck into the Marine barracks ashore, killing 244. It has made no difference since. Why? Because Congress acts as if it doesn't want to know what the Commander-in-Chief is planning. It is happy to vote as many “Authorizations for the Use of Force” resolutions as the president wants – and the money to make it happen.

Presidents George H.W. Bush and Bill Clinton continued the pattern of their predecessors. In April 1991, the chief western powers of the coalition that had defeated Saddam Hussein three months earlier established a protected zone in areas controlled by the two main Kurdish factions. Under Clinton, this became the “no-fly-zone” called Operation Northern Watch justified as being in support of UN Resolutions 687 and 688. Then in August 1992, Clinton established a similar no-fly-zone – Operation Southern

³³ Russell D. Buhite, ed. Calls to Arms: Presidential Speeches, Messages, and Declarations of War. Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc. 2003

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Watch – (expanded in 1996) to limit activities of Saddam’s army in southern Iraq. Two years later, December 16-20, 1998, again citing Iraq’s non-compliance with UN Security Council resolutions, US and British warplanes flew four days of concentrated attacks against Saddam’s anti-aircraft and command communications facilities in Operation Desert Fox.

Meanwhile, in Europe, the disintegration of Yugoslavia threatened to re-ignite a wider area in the conflict. Here Clinton used the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as his “cover” when the question of the source of the authorization to use military power was raised. In 1992-1993, in response to UN Security Council Resolutions calling on Member States to enforce the Council’s Bosnian “safe havens” declarations, US and NATO aircraft intervened to stop the killing. But not until November 1995, with the prospect of ground forces entering Bosnia, did the US Justice Department’s Office of Legal Counsel issue a written opinion affirming that under Bill Clinton, the pattern of the president launching military activity before or as he informs Congress continued. In 1992-1993, in response to UN Security Council Resolutions calling on Member States to enforce the Council’s Bosnian “safe havens” declarations, U.S. and NATO aircraft intervened to stop the killing. But not until November 1995, with the prospect of ground forces entering Bosnia, did the US Justice Department’s Office of Legal Counsel issue a written opinion affirming that *“The President, acting without specific statutory authorization, may lawfully introduce United States ground troops into Bosnia in order to assist North Atlantic Treaty Organization to ensure compliance with a peace agreement.”*³⁴

Later, in 1999, when the Rambouillet talks on the status of Kosovo broke down Serbian police and security forces could (or would) not prevent violence against ethnic Albanians residing in Kosovo, NATO mounted a 78 day air campaign (Operation Allied Force) against the Serbian regime of Slobodan Milosevic. In this case, the “authorization” for hostilities (the word “war” was not used) did not come until after the “military-technical agreement” ending hostilities was signed – at which time UN Security Council Resolution 1244 affirmed the “peace” deal.

So what conclusion can we draw from this history, especially that of the last 70 years? Whether or not a president notifies Congress of impending deployments for a “one-time strike” or a more lengthy “war” is essentially moot in today’s world. Why? Because Congress acts as if it doesn’t want to know what the Commander-in-Chief is planning. It is happy to vote as many “Authorizations for the Use of Force” resolutions as the president wants – and the money to make it happen.

In Chapter 4 we return to the history of presidents at war to focus on the lessons to be learned by WWII and the Iraq War. For now, we turn to p. 35, EVALUATING US WARS.

³⁴ www.usdoj.gov/olc/bosnia2.htm

EVALUATING US WARS

In chronological order

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AT THE START Objectives of US Leaders		AT THE END Color Code: Y Yes M Maybe N No		LATER Countries are often shifted from one status to another: friend/ally , a mixture , or non-cooperative/hostile
US price paid Dollars & DEATHS (M=Million/B=Billion)		Achieved by the War		
		Leaders Believe	Public Believes	
1	Naval War against France 1798-1800 End seizures by French corsairs of US ships in the Caribbean 8M NA	Presence of US warships ended French lawlessness	M Freedom of high seas navigation by US merchants	M
2	1 st Barbary States War 1801-05 against Tripoli, Algiers, Morocco, & Tunis 7M 15 1,500 US participants	Y Successful	M Frequency of attacks decreased	M
3	War against Great Britain 1812-15 End attacks on US ships, coastal ports & seamen Stop inciting unrest on frontier 90M 2,280	Y Due to defeat of Napoleon; New settlements pushed native americans out	M Due to US military prowess; N Unrest due mainly to expanding US settlements	Britain from N to M after 1930 from M to Y
4	2 nd Barbary States War against Algiers 1815 End attacks on US ships 9M 0	Y Ended piracy in Mediterranean	M With help of British navy	M
5	Mexican American War 1846-48 Defend Texas annexation 71M 1,733	Y Avenge US deaths; Settle border disputes	Y US military prowess	M
6	Civil War 1861-65 Preserve the Union 3.2B 140,414	Y Preserved Union	N Far too many lives lost; M <i>de jure</i> slavery ended	M
	Create confederacy of southern states 1B 74,524	N Confederacy defeated	N Disastrous loss of lives/property; Widespread devastation; End of way of life; Blacks victimized 100+yrs.	M
7	Indian Campaigns 1817-61 Eviction to Indian Territory (Oklahoma)	Y Removed barriers to settlements of the continent	M Great benefits for settlers; Destructive of indigenous people	M
	& 1866-90 Forced into reservations as white settlements took tribal lands NA 1,000	Y "Frontier" officially closed in 1890		

	AT THE START Objectives of US Leaders	AT THE END Color Code: Y Yes M Maybe N No		LATER Countries are often shifted from one status to another: friend/ally , a mixture , or non-cooperative/hostile
	US price paid Dollars & DEATHS (M=Million/B=Billion)	Achieved by the War		
		Leaders Believe	Public Believes	
8	Spanish-American War 1897-98 End cruel rule in Cuba	Y Ended the War; Evidence of necessity dubious	M Cruelty information lacking	Spain from N to M
	In Philippines 1898-1902 End Insurrection 283M 385	Y Ended insurrection; No Democracy	M People noticed no democracy	after 1975 from M to Y
9	World War I, 1914-18. US, 1917-18 US Joins western allies against Central Powers 20B 53,402	Y US crucial to ending war	M Isolationism rises in US; US rejects League of Nations	Germany from N to M Turkey Y emerges from Ottoman Empire. Hungary Y & Austria M from Austro-Hungarian Empire
10	WWII. Begins NE Asia 1937- Europe 39- US 41- Less than 4 yrs. after destruction of Pearl Harbor (12-7-41) Japan surrenders and US occupation starts. At same time US leads Allies re-conquering Europe (June 44) and occupying Germany 296B 291,557	Y US achieved objective	Y US achieved objective	Japan from N to Y Germany from N to Y
11	Korean war 1950-53 US repels a) invasion of North into South Korea and b) entrance of China to War 30B 33,741	Y US accepts truce & occupation of no mans land for now 56+ years; Chinese withdraw.	About 1/3 of public opposed	North to N Korea M South to Y
12	Vietnam War 1963-1975 Initially supported by US to help France retain Indo-China. Expanded by Lyndon Johnson for personal reasons. Kissinger and Nixon struggled to get War ended. 111B 47,424 + 10,785 non-battle deaths in theatre	M No way to know leader's beliefs	Y Public was glad to end War; Wanted bodies and soldiers home	Vietnam from N to Y Cambodia M
13	Operation Urgent Fury 1983 Restore order, free US medical students, prevent occupation by Cuba 76M 19	Y Mission accomplished	M Public seldom cares about little short Wars, but was dubious about Cuba	M

	AT THE START	AT THE END		LATER
	Objectives of US Leaders	Color Code: Y Yes M Maybe N No		Countries are often shifted from one status to another: friend/ally, a mixture, or non-cooperative/hostile
	US price paid Dollars & DEATHS (M=Million/B=Billion)	Achieved by the War		
	Leaders Believe	Public Believes		
14	Operation Just Cause 1989-90 Remove Noriega: Socialist, Runs drugs, Threatens US citizens 163M 23	Y Mission accomplished	M Regime changed, drugs still run	Panama from M to N
15	First Iraq War 1990-91 Desert Storm Desert Shield (Saudi Arabia & other Gulf states except Iran paid \$54B) 61B 147 + + 236 non-battle deaths in theater	Y Iraqi troops out of Kuwait; Restored international law in Gulf and aided US oil markets	M	Kuwait from M to Y Iraq from M to N
16	Operation Enduring Freedom 2001 Capture bin Laden Take over Afghanistan Destroy al Qaeda 172.6B 755 Up to July '09	Up to present N Failed..... N Failed..... M Some.....	Up to present N Failed N Failed N Few	Not yet knowable
17	Operation Iraqi Freedom 2003- Change Regime Manage and occupy Occupy as long as necessary Make into democracy Eliminate all opposition to US US control political, military, and economy Obtain oil Keep casualties low 656.1B 4,328 Up to July '09	Up to present Y Yes..... N No..... Y Yes..... N No..... N No..... N No..... M N No..... Y Yes.....	Up to present Y Yes N No M N No M	Not yet knowable

Joseph E. Stiglitz, winner of the Nobel Prize in Economics and Linda J. Bilems, determined that the final cost of the Iraq war, even if it ended 6/1/09, would be THREE TRILLION DOLLARS, including the cost of benefits owed to the 1.4 million Iraq veterans and their beneficiaries that will last for many years, not ending until another 70 years or so. The calculations are available in their book, *The Three Trillion Dollar War*, TW.W. Norton, NY 10110.

This amount does not include the similar costs of the Afghanistan war that until 2008 costs about 26% of the Iraq war cost. Now bleeding more deaths and expenses for the growing requirements of winning the Afghanistan war if continued will wind up costing about \$810B, possibly a lot more. Ignoring all the Afghanistan costs, the full cost of the Iraq war is

\$ 3,000,000,000,000

Chapter 3

Culture, Psychology, and Incentives that Serve to Promote War

Religion as a Factor in War

Of all the factors used to justify war, the most intractable come from organized religions and religious sects. All religions are susceptible to this pressure to the extent that they claim exclusivity for their deity and to the possession of all truth within their credo. Least prone to violence are Eastern religions that either accentuate living in harmony with nature (Taoism and Buddhism) or that are open to the idea that all religions have truth within their credos (Hinduism³⁵).

The three Western religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, although sharing numerous Scriptures, are among the least tolerant – due to the exclusivity of the relationship between the “saved” and the deity whom they worship and who calls them into his service. Never mind that it is the same deity for these three religious traditions and for the sects into which Judaism (Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform within rabbinical Judaism), Christianity (Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic, Catholic and Protestant) and Islam (Sufi, Shi’a, Sunni) further divided. War against unbelievers and heretics is seen as the answer to cleansing the Earth and hastening the coming of the deity. Thus there are the Islamic conquests of Arabia, North Africa, the Middle East, Southeast Europe, and Spain; the seven Christian Crusades (between 1096 and 1291 when the last Christian outpost in Asia Minor – modern Turkey – fell) ostensibly to regain control of the “Holy Land” from Muslim rule; and the 30 years War in 17th century Europe between Catholic and Protestant kingdoms.

These historical divides all originated in Europe and the Middle East. The United States, given its short history, has been only the incubator for a religious-based movement that looks forward to the final Armageddon as a literal war on Earth that, along with natural disasters, will signal the “second coming.” Fundamentalist Christian Evangelical Churches which insist on a literal reading of the Scriptures (and then only those passages that pertain to their interpretation) have joined forces with Orthodox Jewish synagogues that espouse “political Zionism” – the identity of the state of Israel with the lands of Judea and Samaria as the permanent homeland promised by Yahweh to the Hebrew people. Thus any violence is permitted in the quest to regain control of areas currently not under Israeli rule or direct influence.

But caution is always warranted when ascribing religion as a factor for a particular war. Authoritarian rulers will use religion to whip up a frenzy, as Serbia’s Slobodan Milosevic did among the Christian Serbs when Bosnia-Herzegovina declared its independence from

³⁵ References to weapons and war can be found in the ancient (c. 3000 BCE) Hindu texts known as Vedas. But the most famous Hindu war text is the *Bhagavad Gita* (“The Song of God”), a self-contained poem within the epic poem called *Mahabharata*.

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the disintegrating country of Yugoslavia (1993-1996) and again in 1999 when the Muslim province of Kosovo began its bid for independence from Belgrade.

But authoritarian leaders are not the only ones who will try to bend religion to the service of the state. America was fortunate that Thomas Jefferson and other Founders believed that a “wall of separation” had to be a part of the Constitution if the United States were to escape political interference in religious belief and practice. What they did not foresee was the invasion of the political realm by religious activists intent on enacting into law their sectarian beliefs.

In the wars ongoing in Afghanistan and Iraq, George W. Bush has invoked the notion that the “cause is just” and, by extension, that God is on “our side” – which for Bush means democracy, individualism, and free markets where every individual has the opportunity to excel based on the talents the deity has bestowed. When he tried to invoke this same litany in his September 2002 speech before the UN General Assembly, Bush succeeded only in revealing a profound misunderstanding of the relationship of the individual and community in the context of the Middle East.

Bush draws a straight line from his belief that all humans are imbued with a God-given urge for individual freedom to the creation of democratic governance which arises when “free” people voluntarily cede some freedoms in return for communal benefits – e.g., physical security both within the commune and from exterior actors. But the continuing “measure” for what constitutes moral governance is the extent to which individuals exercise this divine gift of freedom.

Yet for virtually every Middle East society, it is community, not the individual, that forms the essential context and serves as the measure against which actions are judged. Individuals are free to act as long as they remain within pre-existent societal norms. While this may seem a difference without a distinction in that all forms of governance contain some restrictions on individual actions, a society that permits civil liberties may have any form of government whereas a society based on civil liberties invariably is democratic.

Put another way, government that fails to regulate behavior is not governing. Government that regulates all behavior is tyranny. Government that is itself regulated is democracy. While Religions have been the main form of collectivism in human societies, ideologies, such as Nazism, communism, socialism and capitalism have also led to wars.

Leaders of the major religions are considering participating in a world-wide project to have religious sites (that are considered sacred to two or more religions) agree to require churches, mosques, the wailing-wall, and other holy sites to share entrance and reasonable utilization among adherents of any religion. Adherents would have to understand that these sites must be utilized in a clear, peaceful and non-partisan fashion, provided by the non-profit Oslo Center for Peace and Human Rights, headed up by a Lutheran minister, Kjell Magne Bondevik, former prime minister of Norway. This

program could bring together political leaders, normally suspicious or hostile, who have or claim rights to these sites. If this program is successful, a large fraction of the wars and confrontations that would otherwise have occurred will not take place.

Sports Resonate with Wars

People of most countries around the world, both as observers and participants, love sports. Sports are the way the world should be. Unlike the daily grind requirements of most jobs, sports are played by rules that are fair and reasonable. Unlike the business and commercial world, the playing fields are level. Although it happens infrequently, even the least likely team or individual player can win. No matter how badly your team has done, you still can be optimistic about its future victories. When your team has a run of amazing and unexpected wins, you can sometimes find yourself happier than the ecstatic kick anything else puts into your life.

In recent years scandals of top athletes using hormone injections to enhance strength, speed, and endurance have led sports fans to demand improved methods to re-level the playing field. If that doesn't happen, team owners will lose revenues as fans drop out.

People want sports they follow to meet their demands of a complete separation from those “real world” pressures of jobs, business, and commerce. They are not similarly repelled by the military. Years of attraction and enjoyment of sport, when the time is ripe, tend to lead to enthusiasm for signing up. Sports and military action have many similarities.

The language of sports mimics the language of war, noted in italics. The team has to *fight*, whether it *wins* or *losses*. Team members are assigned special roles to play on the field, but when needed they *jump in* to *save* buddies in *trouble*. Words like *hit*, *struggle*, *cover*, *battle*, *attack*, *shoot*, *butt*, *shifting-the-goalpost* apply especially to body contact sports like football, hockey, and soccer.

Especially rare and important games and battles are often put on pedestals and statues. When these icons have become entrenched enough, they are displayed in sports “Halls of Fame” or for battles, national monuments such as Washington’s and Lincoln’s in DC. Followers of sports and battles, grow to remember a very few of them as *unique* – dare we say “forever?” Well, remember Pearl Harbor and Iwo Jima, 64 years ago, and Gettysburg, 146 years ago! If you Google “sport fans greatest game ever” you find dozens of the “greatest,” but scattered over many sports and many different fans. Battles unify the appreciation of a whole country on unforgettable war-time battles.

The latest results of both sports events and daily war news routinely get more coverage than other news topics, whether from TV, newspapers, or radio. The daily importance of winning in sports helps mold minds and hearts of the US public for the even greater importance of winning a big war. People are accustomed to think, “If we have to have a war, let’s make sure we win it.” One big difference – sports players avoid the death and dismemberment common in war fighting. Deaths in sporting events are rare, but not so rare if we broaden our view of sports to consider the eagerness of fans to face the carnage

of NASCAR races, and look at bungee jumping, highly competitive high-diving, dare-devil skiing and others.

The Olympics

The role of the Olympics, every four years, evolves each quadrennial to be more a replacement for war than occurs from the combination of all its individual contests. No less than 24 of such contests were held in the summer games in Beijing 2008, and almost as many for winter game events. The Olympic torch now seems to require traveling around the world and through almost every country sometimes fulminating ethnic and national conflicts. Huge investments are made by the Olympic host country to construct and prepare stadiums and special structures befitting world class competitions. Such heroic efforts can be viewed as a sports development that mimics war-time build up of military arms, vehicles, planes, ships, ordnance and other equipment. The set-up of the Olympics requires contestants to (1) be organized by country and (2) allows almost every country in the world to participate. So the Olympics moves closer to sublimating or mimicking not merely *some* war but the *next* World War.

Team Spirit, Team Roles

In all team games, especially in games where players are together on the field cooperating with each other, success comes from good teamwork. Almost every soldier in war has learned the values and the training techniques of team sport participation *before* their enlistment in the military. For units not at war, sports as well as military training are facilitated at almost all US military bases. The fact that most new recruits in the military have learned teamwork before they even get to boot camp is a big help that sports provide at no charge to the military.

The role of rank in the military is formal, essential and “don’t you forget it.” There are about 27 levels in each service from buck private to Commander-in-Chief. Men’s sports have the player calling the shots on the field, his coach, the manager and a level of assistants, the owner, and the commissioners of the sport, about 6 levels! There may be small differences for sports of different leagues. Women’s sports’ levels are about the same as men’s. The lower level players are generally replaceable on the spot. At the higher levels replacements occur more rarely and a little bit more slowly.

The Ultimate Game

Video games and control consoles have successfully moved American culture to groups of friends, families, and individuals playing ferocious, war-fighting scenes of death and destruction that are as close to mimicking war as technology can take us without physically killing or wounding the players. The player’s avatar is actually in the video. One can speculate that this relatively recent development is related to the fact that Bush had brought hundreds of thousands of military volunteers into harm’s way in Iraq and Afghanistan while recommending that all other Americans keep on shopping, praise our heroes, and look away from the death and destruction of our troops and of our enemies. The video games may make players feel that amidst death and destruction they are finally playing their roles facing death like our real-world military heroes. The players may relieve their psychological angst by virtually emplacing themselves, as closely as they

can, in sympathy with and among the heroic troops, or simply as an outlet for aggression. Those games, as research shows, are probably not a good way for anybody to be entertained, especially children, who exhibit increased aggression and violent behavior after playing or even watching violent videos and TV shows.

Sports, games and war films push or ease us into war, but they have little, sometimes no, effect on the essential critical readiness and timing of government decision making for starting, ending, and redirecting war. As shown in Chapter 2, such government decision making is prone to be erroneous and a situation that “Elimination of War” aims to erase.

The Music of War

The Role of Music Facilitating Wars

Military-style³⁶ singing (further enhanced by military bands marching lock-step along with the troops) facilitates a comradery of uniformed recruits marching as to war that builds teamwork attitudes like “one-for-all and all-for-one.” Producing no less than realignment of the human brain,³⁷ this use of music successfully serves military purposes. It upholds the morale of the units entering a war zone and makes the outcomes of the ongoing war and the next war more effective, more winnable and suffering fewer casualties. This use of music justifies the US military spending over \$200 million/year to keep US military bands functioning and encourages troops to sing. A huge catalogue of military songs and band music has been built up over hundreds of years. A chronological summary of them follows.

History of Popular Military Music

references from many Internet search

From its earliest American wars, soldiers wrote their own lyrics and songs too. Civilians at home wrote and sang popular songs to support or oppose the war effort, and composers wrote more involved instrumental or vocal works dealing with the subject of war, often long after a war was over. During the Revolutionary War, several Continental army regiments made small musical bands, but it was two decades after the war that Congress authorized a Marine band, in 1798. It consisted of thirty-two members, playing exclusively drums and fifes. Most active during the Revolutionary War were the soldiers who sang ballads and military-style songs, the majority of which were usually set to British tunes since there were few composers in America. A popular song was *Yankee Doodle*.

The most important song to be written during the War of 1812 was certainly Francis Scott Key's poem *The Star Spangled Banner* (1814), set to John Stafford Smith's music, *To Anacreon in Heaven*. Not until 1931 did it become America's official national anthem. The relationship of music and war during the early nineteenth century was similar to that in the Revolution, chiefly patriotic songs and programmatic piano battle pieces. Popular songs in this era were *Siege of Tripoli* (1801) and *Battle of New Orleans* (1816).

³⁶ Military style is often “choreographed” or “strophic”

³⁷ Daniel Levitin, “This is your Brain on Music: The Science of a Human Obsession,” 2006, Penguin Group

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In the Mexican War (1846-7) Charles Grobe composed *The Battle of Buena Vista* and *The Battle of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma*, dedicated to Gen. Zachary Taylor, “who never lost a battle,” and to the men of the U.S. Army. In 1847, William Cumming composed *Santa Anna's Retreat from Cerro Cordo*, in which the composer indicates at specific moments in the score how Antonio López de Santa Anna lost his wooden leg and later his Mexican hat. A popular war song was *Remember the Alamo*.

Civil War Union songs included *Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys are Marching*, *The Battle-Cry of Freedom*, and *Just Before the Battle, Mother*. Better known were Julia Ward Howe's *Battle Hymn of the Republic* and Henry Work's *Marching Through Georgia*. The most famous Confederacy song was *Dixie*. Many songs, however, crossed battle lines with different texts to the same tunes often parodying the originals. *Dixie* originally was a minstrel song, but it soon was adopted by both Union and Confederate states. For the Confederacy, it became an unofficial national anthem; President Lincoln liked it and had a White House band perform it as well. In the Civil War military brass bands were prevalent and had significantly replaced the drum and fife bands prior to 1834. Some Civil War bands were given a further purpose, playing concerts and assisting with recruitment.

The Civil War has remained vivid in the American consciousness to the present day, as is evident in the large number of works composed about it in this century – an inspiration due in part to the excellent poetry and prose that emerged about the war from Abraham Lincoln, Stephen Crane, Herman Melville, and Walt Whitman, whose poetry was most frequently set to music.

Very few works emerged from the Spanish American War. *There'll be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight* became the official song of Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders. From 1857 to 1931, John Philip Sousa led military bands. He composed about 140 marches for military bands that represented the glorification of the martial, patriotic, and expansionistic spirit of the turn of the century. His most significant marches included *Stars and Stripes Forever!* (1896), *Washington Post March* (1889), *King Cotton* (1895), and *U.S. Field Artillery* (1917). Patriotic tunes of others included *Anchors Aweigh* (1906) and *The Caissons Go Rolling Along* (1907).

In World War I. American troops adopted British songs, *It's a Long Way to Tipperary*, and *Keep the Home Fires Burning*. In that era George M. Cohan's *Over There* and *Johnny, Get Your Gun* were two of the best known pro-war songs in the US.

World War II witnessed the greatest outpouring of war music ever in America. By the midpoint in the war, the American government and other civic organizations were commissioning music for war bonds, films, education, recruitment, and patriotic fanfares. The government supplied 12 inch, 78 rpm V Disc songs to servicemen abroad. Popular songs included *Comin' in on a Wing and a Prayer*, *Der Fuehrer's Face*, and *Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition*.³⁸

³⁸ See *History of Music in the US Armed forces During WWII*, Otto M Helbig, 1966

The Korean War produced very few compositions. The Vietnam War, however, marked a significant change. Its art and popular music mirrored youthful perceptions of the war. Early on, Sgt. Barry Sadler's *Ballad of the Green Beret* paid tribute to the extraordinary new special forces. Later, as young men and women vocalized forceful opposition to the war, their music reflected that protest. Compositions such as William Mayer's *Letters Home* (1968), Gail Kubik's *A Record of Our Time* (1970), or Lou Harrison's *Peace Pieces* (1968) were clearly antiwar works, as were many songs by the popular songwriters, such as Joan Baez, Bob Dylan (*Blowin' in the Wind*, *A hard rain's gonna fall*, and *Masters of War*), and Phil Ochs (*Talking Vietnam* and *Draft Dodger Rag*). Dylan, following in the protest tradition of Woody Guthrie, became the spokesman for the Vietnam era and many musicians sang his songs, including Baez and Peter, Paul, and Mary. Joe MacDonald's *I Feel Like "I'm-Fixin'-to-Die"* makes fun of the soldiers and their willingness to die at any cost. Pete Seeger's persistence over 50 years embracing audience participation singing had an enormous effect on making the departure of troops from Vietnam the patriotic and human thing to do.

The Persian Gulf War (1991) was a popular war, lasting only 4 days and ending when its mission, Iraqis out of Kuwait, was achieved. Short successful wars are bound to be popular. Naturally the majority of songs supported the Persian Gulf War in sharp contrast to the lengthy, dubious and costly wars of occupation of Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan

Loving Great Marching Bands

In 1975 the opportunity arose for co-author Kay to march at an event that included the greatest US marching bands. Poet Longfellow in 1875 gave the event context on its hundredth anniversary. He wrote "It was the 18th of April in '75. Hardly a man is now alive who remembers that famous day and year of the midnight ride of Paul Revere..." And on that very day, exactly a hundred years later, US President, Gerry Ford, ordered marching bands of the three services³⁹ to fly in by air and arrive in Lexington, Mass, just before dawn, ready to move out in parade early in the morning.

Roads leading to Lexington and Concord on that date were closed to automobile traffic, so co-author Kay and his friend, Larry Murray, decided to walk some 7 miles from homes in Weston. They arrived about dawn, right on an entrance road where the three service bands were lined up for the parade and soon began to play as they marched out. Just after one band started, the next followed. Murray and Kay joined in and left with the third band. It was thrilling, loud, and lengthy as the two walked in step with the band to the place where the public had gathered and speeches began. According to Longfellow, we had reached the "rude bridge that arched the flood, where the embattled farmers stood and fired the shot heard round the world."

On another day, Kay experienced this uplift of music walking with a big marching band that totally captured him with its loud beautiful surrounding music. It was the band of

³⁹ The services were army, navy, and air force (West Point, Annapolis and Air Force AcademyCO). President Ford was their "commander-in-chief" under Art.II, §2, par.1, US Constitution.

Harvard University. The Harvard band was used during big athletic events and sometimes asked to participate in military parades. Why can't there be great marching band music without it being military? Kay came across such a band years later. In June 1983, the nuclear freeze movement had its biggest demonstration in New York City with a million participants parading for five hours on major streets. In the parade suddenly appeared a great band marching and playing martial music, but their signs identified them as the "Gay and Lesbian Marching Band of New York City." That was a great marching band – one surely not asked by the military to participate in this parade. You know, "Don't Ask, Don't Tell."

Marching and Singing without a Band

In the last year of WWII Sept 1944 to Oct 1945, Kay recalls, as a 19 year old, serving in units that had to march a lot without bands or vehicles of any kind and so had lots of time for singing. He and his units sang (a) most of the better known songs mentioned in the chronological summary of the "History of Popular Military Music," (b) other songs not so well-known, and (c) songs the units made up, not for or against WWII, but simply to amuse ourselves. Self-made songs were generally complaints such as (a) annoyances that the non-coms and officers foisted on us, (b) the absence of women, and (c) the opportunity to make some acceptable mischief. Here are a few mischievous examples, just imagine the rhythm of the music and read the texts that follow:

"They say that in the army, the beds are mighty fine. How the hell do they know; they never slept in mine." Or "They say that in the army the shoes are mighty fine. You ask for number seven. They give you number 9." Or "They say that in the army the ammo's might fine. One round was defective and killed a friend of mine." These complaints were probably not true, but fun to sing *especially* if not true.

The barefaced misogyny, deeply embedded in militarism and encouraged in patriarchal institutions was also evident in these songs. The limitation and almost total absence of women in our lives was also reflected by our ambivalent nasty songs disparaging women. Here's a sample:

"I used to go to school with Patty Murphy and Patty Murphy went to school with me. I tried to get the best of Patty Murphy, but the little bitch she got the best of me. The night that Patty died I never will forget. We joked, laughed, ate and drank and some ain't sober yet." [pause] "We took the ice from off the corpse and put it on the beer." [pause] "That's how we showed our honor and our pride. That's how we got the best of Patty Murphy, the night that Patty died."

Or "My girl's a New Yorker. She is a corker. I buy her everything to keep her in style. Refrain: "Good-bye my Coney Island, Good-bye my Ellis Island, good bye my Rikers Island Rose" [ref. to Tokyo Rose].

Or we loved to sing "MacNamara's Band." "My name is NacNamara. I'm the leader of the band. We play at wakes and weddings and at every fancy ball, but

when we play at funerals, we play the best of all.” Chorus: Everybody in the march chooses an instrument to emulate— drums, trumpets, etc. - and sang the refrain as if we marchers were the band.

All this should be totally irrelevant, except for one thing. We need to understand better the powerful role of music over human emotions. This inspirational power can equally well be at the service of peace and harmonious human relationship.

Inventors Win in Peace and War. Thanks to Big Pentagon Budgets.

Many ingenious, brilliant inventors dedicate years researching and developing esoteric technologies, such as nanotech, quantum electrodynamics, genetic modification, or perhaps something not so esoteric but would seem to most people unbelievably optimistic, say for example a super-helicopter able to safely and immediately change its flight vector enormously and simultaneously in azimuth, elevation, and speed.

As the best inventors dig into one of these esoteric or complex challenges, they need not worry whether their efforts are leading to an invention useful and good for people, individuals, doctors, dentists, etc., as well as commercial businesses and manufacturers or alternatively, useful and good for the Pentagon and its suppliers. That reduces to this: as long as their invention works, it doesn't matter to most inventors whether the device will be used to kill enemies or to help the rest of us.

Co-author Alan Kay reflects, “I know something about this matter. In a long and diverse career I have patented a range of devices and systems, some developed for commercial use, some for the military. As I worked on inventing, I was comforted knowing that when finished, I might get two bites of the apple, military and non-military.”

In 1930 the Pentagon did not exist,⁴⁰ neither did the Department of Defense. By today's standards almost no money was given in the 1930s to inventors to develop new military capabilities. The first ballistic missile was developed by Robert Goddard largely on non-military funds. As Goddard explained to the War Department, the long term value of an ability to launch such missiles was enormous. History has proven him right. But he was reaching out to the War Department when it was accepting almost no research and development proposals. Goddard got a total grant, \$25,000, to continue his work!

From a financial viewpoint, Goddard was 70 years ahead of his time. He could have received hundreds of millions of dollars for his many patents if he had been operating after WWII. Beginning with WWII, funding of scientists and engineers for research and

⁴⁰ Ground was broken for the Pentagon on 9/11/41. Remember 9/11? Was the Pentagon never attacked until exactly 60 years to the day after its groundbreaking? If so, that was an amazing coincidence. The office of the Secretary of Defense and the Department of Defense were created 16 years and 7 days after the Pentagon groundbreaking

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development expanded at an explosive rate. Much of the growth was due to one man, Dr. Vannevar Bush.⁴¹

As Director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, Vannevar Bush coordinated the activities of some 6000 leading American scientists in the application of science to warfare. He held up an incentive for scientists after the war. He urged that men of science⁴² should then turn to the massive task of making more accessible our bewildering store of knowledge. For years inventions have extended man's physical powers rather than the powers of his mind. Trip hammers that multiply the fists, microscopes that sharpen the eye, and engines of destruction and detection are new results, but not the end results, of modern science. He explained that instruments are at hand which, if properly developed, will give man access to and command over the inherited knowledge of the ages. He believed the idea that the perfection of these pacific instruments should be the first objective of our scientists as they emerge from their war work.⁴³ What he sought exists today, the Internet, whose capabilities were almost unimaginable in 1945.

In the 63 years since the completion of WWII disarmament in 1947, right up to the present, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT, co-author Alan Kay's alma mater) has been somewhat unwittingly a leading force in the relentless increase in US militarism and military expenditures, for which Vannevar Bush, rightfully received most of the credit. At MIT he was a PhD professor of Electrical Engineering, 1923-1932, and VP and Dean of Engineering, 1932-1938. In 1939 he became president of the Carnegie Institution, advisor to the government on science matters, and co-founder of Raytheon. Personally involved with a large range of military R&D, he persuaded President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to create the National Defense Research Committee, which later became the Office of Scientific Research and Development, with himself as director, responsible for military technology output including control of the Manhattan Project. He widely received credit for a major role in winning WWII. After the war he played an important role in creating the National Science Foundation. He received many awards and medals for his military work. He almost single-handedly pushed science into the role of promoting militarism.

Pressure to stop focusing so much on military technology began to come from the MIT faculty. A resolution was adopted that military work would go off-campus to a new facility called Lincoln Lab, in Lexington MA, still 100% owned by MIT. The outcome was that students, faculty, and alumni wandering through the Cambridge campus did not find militarism so dominant and so "in their face."

The launch by the Soviets on 10/4/1957 demonstrated the unmanned space "ball," Sputnik, circumnavigating the world almost hourly, letting out annoying beeps that our

⁴¹ Mathematicians John von Neumann & Oskar Morgenstern and some others should get some credit, but much less than Goddard.

⁴² Yes, women scientists were rare and not noted by science leaders like Dr. Bush.

⁴³ Some of this paragraph appeared in an Atlantic Monthly article, July 1945.

radio could pick up, infuriating the US that had plans but had not yet launched any spacecraft. Soon the space race was on and hell-bent. The pace did not drop much when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991. Operations in space by countries are now very cooperative, but fierce space competition by the military has continued apace to this day.

Co-author Alan Kay recalls, “While I was at MIT, Professor Charles Stark Draper, was scheduled to be given an award at a Museum of Science dinner in Boston for his advancement of gyroscopy and its biggest success at that time, stability control of intercontinental ballistic missiles, a capability applauded by a US Senator who gloated that our ICBM could then drop a nuke into the ‘Men’s Room at the Kremlin.’” I wrote a letter to MIT leaders complaining how inappropriate it was to give an award to the inventor of such an inhumane weapon. Though invited I did not show up at the dinner. Prof. Draper got his award. I gave up pursuing the matter.

“I believed that my letter had no effect until years later when I learned that it stirred up a debate among a deeply divided faculty. The Draper incident illustrates what is now common knowledge. When a big new technology, like information-technology, nanotechnology or genetic engineering emerges, hundreds, maybe thousands, of scientists and engineers, start working on new concepts that could make them millionaires. If the invention helps people, it can be successfully sold commercially, but if it wreaks havoc, an alternative is Pentagon sponsorship. As an added entrepreneurial benefit the Pentagon, unlike most commercial organizations, may quickly put large amounts of money on the table for the entrepreneurs.”

By such means, many inventors are sucked into the military-industrial complex by the possibility of money, sometimes potentially huge amounts of money.

Hormones and Medication Alter Human Functionality.

More is happening on this front than you might believe. For well over a hundred years, pharmaceutical companies in the US and elsewhere (at times with assistance from government) have increasingly developed and sold medications ingested as pills, injections, or by mouth – for altering human functions. Such medications include forms of testosterone, and other hormones and chemicals – that can be tested, formulated, and distributed in some cases by peace-loving doctors and in others by military doctors. The military intention is to obtain safe and effective treatments that can be required or voluntarily and readily used by both male and female persons about to enlist, or are going into a war zone, or are facing fighting in the war zone, or have been weakened or injured upon returning from the war zone. Other experiments have included surreptitious administering of LSD and other drugs, human testing effects of radiation of various strengths and types, all violating human rights and medical ethics.

Soldiers in action in a war zone have high testosterone levels in their bodies. Especially after fighting long periods in kill-or-be-killed situations, such as witnessing and participating in the killing and wounding of their buddies, enemies, and neutrals, they may be unfit for normal healthy lives when they leave the war zone to go home. As a result of such experiences in Iraq, where medical advances saved many lives, the

survivors have developed PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder) depression and suicide rates among veterans have exploded.

Testosterone is a steroid hormone from the androgen (masculine) group. Levels of testosterone have been correlated with rises in aggressive behavior including violence. In mammals, testosterone is primarily secreted in the testes of males and the ovaries of females, although small amounts are also secreted by the adrenal glands. It is the principal male sex hormone and an anabolic steroid (enlarges muscles). In both men and women, testosterone plays a key role in health and well-being as well as in sexual functioning. Examples include enhanced libido, increased energy, increased production of red blood cells and protection against osteoporosis.

On average, an adult human male body produces about forty to sixty times more testosterone than an adult female body, but females are more sensitive to the hormone. However the overall ranges for male and female are very wide, such that the ranges actually overlap at the low end and high end respectively.

Oxytocin has been called the “trust” or the “love” hormone. (See for example⁴⁴). Used appropriately it can make people more trusting of others and so more lovable. Shockingly, it also is being formulated by the pharmacology industry as useful to sell products, advertising and other money-making purposes. Oxytocin is secreted by women during pregnancy and lactation and induces nurturing behavior. Men also produce oxytocin, but in much smaller amounts. This hormone together with the discovery of mirror cells⁴⁵ can provide a breakthrough in fostering more responsive, even altruistic behavior. Just as women the world over have been acculturated to modify their metabolic functions by taking contraceptive drugs regularly for many decades, it is conceivable that males may be able to control their testosterone levels by the same drugs already required for sex-offenders to avoid prison. Testosterone levels are easily monitored by the same kind of devices diabetics use to monitor insulin. General awareness of how excessive testosterone levels lead to aggressive behavior would add a whole new dimension to the public debate. What if those aspiring to leadership in the political and military sphere would have to disclose their testosterone levels in their medical reports?

Such speculation has been common for decades, if not centuries, among the world’s women, who must pay the biological and economic burdens of raising children to become, “cannon fodder.” The well-known strategy of Greek heroine Lysistrata was for women to deny sexual access to males until warlike behavior and conflicts were concluded. Many women and feminist organizations now call for women to be represented equally in all decision-making bodies, public and private – from global to

⁴⁴ Paul J. Zak, *Trust: A Temporary Human Attachment Facilitated by Oxytocin* “Behavioral and Brain Sciences” 28(3): 368-369; Zack, P.J., Borja, K., Matzner, W.T. and Kurzban, R. *The Neuroeconomics of Distrust: Physiologic and Behavioral Differences Between Men and Women*, “American Economic Review,” 95 (2): 360-363

⁴⁵ Rizzolatti, G; Fadiga, L; Gallese, V.; and Fogassi, L. 1996, “Premotor cortex and the recognition of motor actions,” *Cognitive Brain Research* 3: 131-141

local, for example, the “50-50 campaign” by the global women’s group Women's Environment & Development Organization (WEDO) an international organization based in NY founded by US Congresswoman Bella Abzug. Norway decreed in 2007 that women must make up 40% of the boards of all Norwegian companies – or else they would be shut down. Evidence for the beneficial, peace-promoting effects of women in public life is obvious in all the Scandinavian countries, which have long had parity in political bodies and where women often serve as Ministers of Defense and heads of State. These countries also top all ranking in indicators of overall quality of life satisfaction and happiness. Can there be any doubt that parity between men and women would reduce the likelihood of conflicts and wars? The co-authors think not.

Some small re-balancing of testosterone or oxytocin with the methods mentioned above among US military leaders or among the President and the Congress might be beneficial. When contemplating starting or enlarging a war, making arrangements with allies, or closing down a war such balanced thinking by leaders using the “plan of attack” methods described in **Chapter 5**, would more sensibly pass all the tests therein, most importantly eliminate the likelihood of devastating warfare.

Making Recruits More Effective Soldiers, by Medication/ Pharmacology, Surgery, Prosthetics, Body parts treatments, substitutions, and replacements.

Increasing alertness and overcoming the need for sleep, was achieved initially by amphetamine, first synthesized in 1887 by Lazar Edeleanu in Berlin, Germany and by Nagayoshi Nagai in Japan the same year. Edeleanu named the compound phenylisopropylamine. It was one of a series of compounds related to the plant derivative ephedrine, (Ma-Huang in Chinese), whose effectiveness was known for centuries by Asians. No pharmacological use was found for amphetamine until 1929, when pioneer psychopharmacologist Gordon Alles resynthesized and tested it on himself, in search of an artificial replacement for ephedrine. From 1933 or 1934 Smith, Kline and French began selling the volatile base form of the drug under the name Benzedrine Inhaler, useful as a decongestant (and readily usable for non-medical purposes too).

During World War II amphetamine was extensively used to combat fatigue and increase alertness in soldiers. After decades of reported abuse, the FDA banned Benzedrine inhalers, and limited amphetamines to prescription use in 1965, but non-medical use remained common. Amphetamine became a schedule II drug under the Controlled Substances Act in 1971.

The related compound methamphetamine, or meth, was first synthesized from ephedrine in Japan in 1918 by chemist Akira Ogata via reduction of ephedrine using red phosphorus and iodine. The German military was notorious for its use of methamphetamine in World War II. It is also rumored that Adolf Hitler was receiving daily shots of a medicine secretly named "vitamultine" that contained certain essential vitamins and amphetamines. The pharmaceutical Pervitin was a tablet of 3 mg methamphetamine which was available in Germany from 1938 and widely used in the *Wehrmacht*, when the Germans found out that meth could keep soldiers alert and make them need less sleep. But by mid-1941 it

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became a controlled substance, partly because of the amount of time needed for a soldier to rest and recover after use and partly because of abuse. For the rest of the war military doctors continued to issue the drug, but ever less frequently and with increasing discrimination, as the war progressed onwards towards Nazi Germany's final end, the defeat of the Axis in 1945. Not only did Hitler and the Nazi military use methamphetamine so did the Japanese and the Allies, including the US.

When the Nazis started to lose the war, Hitler's doctor, Theodor Morell, gave him injections of meth daily. Some Nazis got alcohol for relaxing and sometimes morphine, basically heroin. Toward the end of the war in 1944 the Nazis had an idea for a drug called D-IX which was meth and cocaine with morphine, all in one pill. They figured that might help them make the super soldiers they wanted so badly. When some in Nazi Germany thought they were becoming addicted and sought help at a research center, they could find themselves subjected to the "Law for Prevention of Offspring with Hereditary Diseases" where they could be castrated or euthanized.

The Japanese gave their soldiers and kamikaze pilots meth. The allies, including the US also used meth in WWII. In Japan some meth got into the hands of civilians who called it shabu and the military cut way back on its manufacture. The ban was made total in 1951. Then the yakuza, the Japanese version of the mafia, started dealing in meth and some say they still do that today. Then in the US came Methedrine a prescription version of meth that doctors would prescribe for narcolepsy, obesity, depression and alcoholism. In 1997 and 1998, researchers at Texas A&M University reported finding amphetamine and methamphetamine in the foliage of two Acacia species native to Texas, *A. berlandieri* and *A. rigidula*. Previously, both of these compounds had been thought to be human inventions.

The Combat Methamphetamine Epidemic Act of 2005, a part of the Patriot Act, included laws and regulations on cold medicines like Sudafed and Contac plus other allergy medications. A purpose of this Act was to stop people from getting the raw ingredients to make crack meth and to put an end to manufacturing it in the US.

Prosthetics can Salvage Lives Allowing War Victims to Lead Useful Civilian Lives. Surgeons have been undertaking ever more amazing prostheses of war victims with badly wounded arms, fingers, and legs and breaks in the spinal chord.

An example is the soldier who has had two amputated legs below the knee replaced by well-designed, ingenious artificial limbs, including pseudo feet, that have both strength, flexibility, and bounce that made it possible for the soldier to learn to run distances like a quarter mile faster than he/she could before the loss of the lower legs. Co-author Kay offers a relevant personal story. His youngest son Max, when age seven or so, came home from school one day in the second grade and told his parents that the class received a visitor who was confined to a wheel chair to show all its wonderful, enabling aspects. Max was enthused by how cool it was. He declared he hoped someday he could have a wheel chair too, an understandable but bizarre aspiration. Well now, 30 years later,

Max's reaction is not so crazy. Technology has caught up to the amazing capabilities and the amazing usefulness of prosthetics.

Severed major nerves in the spinal chord so far cannot be replaced. Nor does re-attachment seem to be more promising now than several decades ago. But why think the improvements to prosthetics will stop now. What will be possible 40 or 50 years from now? Or 100 years from now? Even severed spinal chord nerves may be re-attached in that longer time frame or can be replaced sooner if it occurs lower in the spine. In spite of such medical feats, the goal should be to reduce the numbers of wounded combatants and avoid the need for further young men and women in harm's way.

Replacements of Damaged, Non-functioning Human Organs and Other Parts

The story is similar with organs as with arms, legs, and spinal columns. Hearts, lungs, skin, kidneys, livers, pancreas, and intestines, blinded eyes, cornea, blood, teeth, marrow, many bones, cartilage, tendons and ligaments, all can be replaced by donations from organs or parts donors or, for some parts, manufactured items, and in some cases from one part of the body to another. Some organs/parts may not be borrowed or resurrected, but replaced by regular injections that produce the needed output of the organ/part.

Does all that mean a net decrease in the burdens on a larger portion of wounded soldiers in a potential war? Yes, to some degree, and yes, it should become ever better over a long time horizon – but also probably ever more expensive too. The factors of probable degree of mitigated soldiers' wound effects in decisions about going to war will unlikely ever be significant enough to change a decision to go to war from wrong to right.

Chapter 4

War Tensions between Congress and the President

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) went before a joint session of Congress on Dec. 8, 1941 to ask for a Declaration of War against Japan. Out of the blue the previous day Japan had viciously and devastatingly attacked Pearl Harbor. With virtually no discussion, the Congress quickly and overwhelmingly approved FDR's request. There have been many US initiated wars, but not another Declaration of War in the 67 years since. Why is that?

Congress pushed back against George W Bush, but as the Iraq War went on year after year, the Administration continued to ignore that the right to Declare War rests in the Constitution exclusively with Congress (Article 1, Section (§) 8, paragraph 11). The Constitution limits the President's military control to being the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy and⁴⁶ not of the whole country (Art.2, §2, par.1). More specifically, the Constitution provides no means for a President to start or proceed with a war without the Congress explicitly authorizing "a declaration of war" as articulated in Art.1, §8, par.11 titled *War*, and in further paragraphs: 12 *Army*, 13 *Navy*, and 14-17 *Militia*. None of these paragraphs include any presidential authorization beyond the afore-mentioned Art.2, § 2, par.1.

As established on chart p. 35, deciding on war and peace is a duty worthy of more serious congressional attention than occurred following WWII. Legislatively starting or ending a war, including authorizing troops to be sent into harm's way or withdrawn from a war zone, must be carefully considered by the lawmakers prior to a final vote. This did not occur in 2002 when the Bush administration deceived the Congress into authorizing the use of force in Iraq (described in Chapter 5, p. 69). Many important domestic issues are also settled by legislation with no time for members to read, in some cases not even see, the final bill. Congress should establish guide lines that assure that all Congressional war authorizations are carefully and fully considered by lawmakers before a final vote.

Although not required by the Constitution it is desirable that both the President and Congress have to agree on a declaration of war for it to become useful, operational and the law of the land. Why? Think of this. What good is achieved if Congress declares a war that the commander-in-chief of the services, the president, opposes? – or vice versa? *Both* president *and* Congress must agree on authorizing a war. Only a joint agreement on starting or ending a war makes sense. How can this dysfunctional situation be understood?

There is a long tradition, going way back to a time before there were countries when the world was peopled by local tribes. War was started when tribal leaders became angry with their neighbors and their decision to fight was flooded by a jumble of emotions –

⁴⁶ Without a Constitutional mandate, the President is Commander-in-Chief of other military services and has authority to launch a nuclear weapon.

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fear, liberation, anxiety, and courage. Fast forward a few thousand years and countries are not that different. War and peace decisions by leaders have been heavily based on emotions whipped up among the public by propaganda and media. Emotion was often a major factor favoring a war. As difficulties with the war effort occurred, and they frequently did, rationales for fighting on and on as necessary were created and propagated to pick up the slack or renew courage and restore faith in the war effort.⁴⁷ Since for every winner there's a loser, about half the time war loomed as disastrous.

America's Founders, including men such as Alexander Hamilton who were most insistent on the need for a strong chief executive, were intent to deny the president the power to declare or otherwise initiate war. But they were also pragmatists who knew they could not foresee future circumstances. Thus during debate on an early draft of the Constitution, James Madison and Albert Gerry proposed changing the phrase empowering Congress to "make" war to the power to "declare" war. This would, they felt, prevent one man, regardless of his attributes, from committing the nation to war while still empowering the chief executive to resist armed attack against the nation.⁴⁸

The expectations of the Founders held until 1950 when President Harry Truman sent U.S. forces into Korea without seeking congressional approval. The war was essentially a civil war that did not concern the U.S. directly. Since then, "presidents regularly have used military force by relying on what they regard as independent and self-sufficient sources of authority, especially the commander-in-chief clause. These assertions of political power have no legal foundation,"⁴⁹ and should be challenged anew by the Congress and politicians at all levels, as well as by the public.

Regrettably, neither the Congress nor the courts have consistently sought to repudiate the Truman example. Objections were raised as Vietnam escalated; in 1976 the War Powers Act passed on override of a presidential veto, but has never been enforced. Granada, Panama, and the first Gulf war were over too quickly – and were so "successful" that no organized pressure for a war declaration emerged.

Similarly, few in Congress objected to the grant of authority to George W. Bush to employ U.S. Armed Forces against the Taliban government in Afghanistan or the regime of Saddam Hussein in Iraq – with the expectation in the latter instance that coalition force might encounter chemical, biological, and possibly nuclear (or at least radiological) weapons. The late Sen. Jacob Javits,⁵⁰ among others, noted the irony in the situation: "It is one of the terrible ironies of American history that as war has become more

⁴⁷ Chapter 1, "What Starts War," carried the analysis of war-making in human evolution with much greater specificity into modern times

⁴⁸ Presidential historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr (*The Imperial Presidency*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973, p.5) noted that "The resistance to giving a 'single man,' even if he were president of the United States, the unilateral authority to decide on war pervaded the contemporaneous literature."

⁴⁹ Louis Fisher, Senior specialist in separation of powers, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. "Clinton's Not King – War Is for Congress," *National Law Journal*, June 19, 1995, p. 21, 22.

⁵⁰ Senator Jacob Javits (D-NY) *Who Makes War?* New York: Morrison (1973), pp. 272- 273

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destructive, less humane and less controllable; the power of decision over war has become increasingly concentrated in the hands of one American.”

And what of the judiciary? While the courts have deferred to the executive on many aspects of military policy and actions, they have not been inclined to gainsay the Founders’ judgment on declaring war. Indeed, men such as William Patterson who participated in the Constitutional Convention and later was an associate justice of the Supreme Court were steadfast on this point. Patterson wrote from the high bench: “it is the exclusive province of Congress to change a state of peace into a state of war.”⁵¹ No one it seems – other than those who hold the presidency – has ever been willing to entrust to one fallible human being the power to make what is the most consequential decision affecting the nation-state: committing the nation to war.

Selling the People on the Iraq War⁵²

The Bush/Cheney administration succeeded in getting strong support from the people for the war in Iraq by following guidelines⁵³ that had emerged from much high quality public opinion research on what is needed to get strong support from the public for going to war. The Bush/Cheney administration went all out to get that support. Republican pollster, Fred Steeper, who had helped strategize for the Bush campaigns of 2000 and 2004, made Bush/Cheney aware of how to maximize public support for going to war. Saddam Hussein had to be accepted by the American people as a rogue dictator who had committed heinous crimes, including (a) supporting international terrorism (Saddam was accused of giving a free hand to America’s most wanted terrorists, Osama bin Laden and Al Qaida), (b) grossly violating the human rights of his people, by gassing Kurds and routinely assassinating Iraqi enemies and trouble makers and (c) acquiring weapons of mass destruction, biological, chemical and, especially, nuclear.

To get maximum support from the public, Bush made clear that the US would either obtain the military support of the UN or, should the UN not be forthcoming, then Bush would proceed to accept support from important allies including a large group of countries ready to join under US leadership.

Bush/Cheney also knew that their approval rating would increase if Bush announced a “high-minded goal” for the war. Going after those higher ratings, Bush in public announcements on the status of the Iraq war threw in not just one high-minded goal but several. He made clear that the troops sent in would help make Iraq into a free country, a democracy and a wealthy country, coming from oil.

⁵¹ Francis D. Wormuth and Edwin B. Firmage, *To Chain the Dog of War*, 1986

⁵² Co-author Alan F Kay, *Locating Consensus for Democracy – A Ten-Year U.S. Experiment* (available from Amazon.com.) See pp. 119-130, the People’s Military Policy. For more online, check website, www.alanfky.com Click on “Solutions” 2.2.6.

⁵³ International Journal of Public Opinion Research, Vol. 12, No. 2, Summer 2000, pp 182-190 WAPOR, World Association of Public Opinion Research, “When Americans Favor the Use of Force,” © 1999, 5/16/99 (mod. 2/9/00 by Alan F. Kay).

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The survey research was telling Bush he could garner a very high 90% approval rating if the public believed what Bush was saying. Bush's rating had reached 90% just after the events of 9/11. In those early days strong support for Bush came from (1) the media repeatedly saturating the airwaves with the disastrous success of Osama's attacks on America and (2) Bush strongly made clear that the US was responding all-out militarily. What happened? Bush's ratings went south from its 90% high, but he continued to hang on to majority support from the public for the first year or two of the war. After that, his support came only from a shrinking minority of the public.

Bush/Cheney and the neocons hoped to get widespread support for their goal of taking over Iraq and to replace Saddam Hussein by some regime favorable to the US. In contrast to the poor way Bush/Cheney handled the occupation of Iraq, getting as much support from the public as they did can be called an ugly masterpiece. They carefully utilized as much as they could of the survey results. Where they couldn't, which was much of it, they got away with secrecy and lying. Let's see how they did that. What were the facts about Saddam Hussein and how were they different from the Bush/Cheney view of him?

To say the least, Saddam Hussein was not a nice guy. Indeed he was horrible, but his evil ways did not fit the administrations description of his evilness. Over the years, the US had a strange and strained relationship with Saddam. He cooperated with the US to punish Iran for throwing US officials out. He fought the 8 year Iran-Iraq war that, when Iran was not defeated, irritated his backers, the US. Claiming that he had to invade Kuwait in the 1951 Gulf war because Kuwait was stealing Iraqi oil near their common border, Saddam was lucky his troops were forced out in four days, when Pres. George H W Bush (Bush 41) ended the war. After a mere four days of fighting, Bush 41 found that he had achieved the purpose for starting the war, all Iraqi troops out of Kuwait. Beyond that, were two other considerations for his ending the war promptly: (1) Of the 500,000 troops under his control many were from Arab countries, like Saudi Arabia, that might have refused to continue into Iraq, and (2) he was totally unprepared to govern Iraq.

Within 3 weeks after the invasion of Iraq in March 2003, Bush (43) acclaimed, "Mission Accomplished." As he was leaving the presidency in January 2009, Bush in a rare pose admitted that his "Mission Accomplished" claim was his own mistake and in addition he admitted it wasn't true. Actually the mission of conquering Iraq so quickly was a victory. But the big problem that would not go away was the US occupation of Iraq which extended out for years and became by far the main US military activity in the Middle East. Increasingly the war was globally considered a tragedy, arguably the worst foreign policy blunder in the history of the US – costing by the end of Bush's presidency over 4,200 lives of US troops, ultimately over 2 or 3 trillion dollars of wasted expenditures, and was even more devastating to the people of Iraq.⁵⁴ Still as he left the presidency, Bush insisted the US invasion was for the benefit of the Iraqis.

⁵⁴ See Chart, p. 35

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Wasn't there some success in Iraq? What about the regime change? Yes, the regime was changed. For the better? Not necessarily. A new and better regime may emerge, but a few years out that too may be replaced by a vicious regime. Iraq is not an easy country to control.

The capture of Osama bin Laden by the highly effective international police force, Interpol, within a year or so after 9/11/01 could have brought Osama to justice. In stark contrast, the US ignored what Interpol⁵⁵ offered and what the Taliban in Afghanistan offered: to return Osama to a third country. Since 9/11/01, to bring Osama to justice the US used only military force and an offer of \$25 million for Osama, dead or alive. Seeking Osama by this approach, the US has come up empty-handed in all the years since.

There was a big difference between Osama and Saddam. Osama has been angry with the great *Satan* (the US). He sought to drive the Middle East, especially his family's base in Saudi Arabia, to enhance and promote religious Muslim practices. Iraq under Saddam was the most secular Arab nation in the Middle East. Osama and Saddam lived in different worlds. The acceptance of the thought that Saddam would do a thing to help Osama was ridiculous. An ex-marine officer, Scott Ritter, the highest ranking American among the UN weapons inspectors in Iraq, developed an enormous fund of knowledge making it virtually certain that Saddam had no weapons of mass destruction. When Bush's administration was asked why Ritter's findings were ignored, the carefully crafted response was, "Few people in Washington place much credence in him." When Bush was closing in on his preparation to invade Iraq, top news anchor, Dan Rather, accepted Saddam's offer for an Iraq interview. It was the only Saddam interview by an American in the run up to the Iraqi war.⁵⁶ When he returned to the US, Rather reported on the interview. His report revealed that some things Saddam said might be true, but there were two things that Saddam said that Rather was sure were lies: (1) Iraq had no weapons of mass destruction and (2) though the US might conquer Iraq, the US would ultimately pay the high price of continuing Iraqi attacks. Rather was wrong and Saddam right about both. Before going to Iraq, Rather apparently had swallowed the administration line.

Saddam viciously murdered Kurds without doubt or constraint, but they were not "his people." How so? Upon the collapse of the Ottoman empire when WWI ended, the borders of Iraq were set by the British that undertook to bring together a viable state called Iraq out of Sunnis, Shiites, Kurds and others. The Brit-defined "Iraq" proved to be ungovernable by the Brits or by anybody from 1920 until a few ruthless men culminating in Saddam came to power. Saddam, a Sunni, was vicious and tough but rightly did not consider the Kurds "his people."

⁵⁵ Not only do the cooperating international police forces, called Interpol, but also New York Police Department contingents operate successfully in many countries to intercept further 9/11 type attacks on the US. (See **Securing the City: Inside America's Best Counterterrorism Force – the NYPD**, by Christopher Dickey, Simon & Schuster; 336 pages.) Details of this information came from the article "Fighting force," that appeared in the *Economist* magazine, Feb. 14th 2009, p. 93.

⁵⁶ CBS News 2/26/03 presented the entire interview of Saddam Hussein by Dan Rather.

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As the war went on year after year, Bush ignored the slow withdrawal of allied troops from Iraq and praised the few still remaining. For that he slowly lost the support of the American people. Bush's attempt to justify the Iraq War, as it dragged on, by high-minded goals like "peace" or "democracy" or "prosperity" was dubious to most Americans and he further lost public support. But he never gave up seeking high-minded goals. He simply – and frequently – moved the goalposts. His goal "achieving success" was vague and received support only from the minority of Americans who tend to believe presidents whatever they say. He made many other attempts. "When the Iraqis stand up we will stand down." We are bringing "stability." We welcome the "acceptance of Iraq by the civilized world." US ordered elections he acclaimed as "successes." The Iraqi government was said to be "growing stronger." As events on the ground contradicted these goals, Bush kept creating new ones.

Bush had gone to the UN well before starting the war and – surprise, surprise – succeeded in making a good case that many times, over the years, Iraq had failed to live up to Security Council directives. After asking the UN to support the US case for invading Iraq, he made a blunder of a nature quite different from his goals for the War. He made clear that if the UN would not fully support the US war in Iraq, the US would go it alone. The UN members for the most part were satisfied for the US to take on that burden without them. From his "go it alone" stance, Bush again lost some of his support then, and lost still more in the long run.

When the military victory in Iraq turned out to be a surprisingly quick 19 day conquest, Bush's attitude precluded the possibility of (1) the UN taking over Iraq peacekeeping and possibly after that (2) the UN might organize the effort to re-start the self-governance of Iraq. This wonderful outcome might well have been achieved if a serious plan to shift peacekeeping and governance to the UN had been advanced by the US before the war started. Bush's approach to all people and countries, "If you're not with us, you're against us," precluded any significant UN involvement, further than what the US achieved on "going it alone."

Was there outright lying by Bush/Cheney? On all matters occurring on the ground in Iraq and in the US administration, Cheney was able to discount claims differing from what he favored, dismissed, or expressed, basing his views on his "superior knowledge of the facts." To further reduce the likelihood of a challenge from any in the military or in the administration he arranged to have potential challengers punished with dismissal or discharge often based on secrets and lies and thus serving to bar the public from being aware of what was happening.

In addition to the cases already mentioned on what it would have taken to get and maintain support from the public, Cheney was asked by a CNN reporter how he reconciled his continued support for the Iraq war with the desire of the public for getting out of Iraq. Cheney responded that he gave no credence to the way the winds of public opinion blew. Yet from the survey research he received, Cheney knew that the American people continued to believe the war in Iraq was a mistake. Many reporters who followed the Iraq war knew that starting in late 2005 to the present (over 3 years), a majority of

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American adults, taxpayers, and voters thought the war was a mistake. In just the last year, Bush's rating, "opposed" versus "favored," has been over 2 to 1 opposed. No mainstream reporter stood up to say publicly Cheney lied.

In December of 2008, with only a month to go before he would leave office, Cheney admitted publicly that the administration had decided to invade Iraq whether or not any of the administration's earlier accusations were true. Cheney may face indictment in the future.

Reaction to Bush/Cheney Wars A Point of View of Many Thoughtful People Around the World

Letter to the President-Elect

January 1, 2009

Dear Mr. President,

I did not vote for you in the Presidential Election because I am Malaysian.

But I consider myself one of your constituents because what you do or say will affect me and my country as well.

I welcome your promise for change. Certainly your country, the United States of America needs a lot of changes.

That is because America and Americans have become the most hated people in the world. Even Europeans dislike your arrogance. Yet you were once admired and liked because you freed a lot of countries from conquest and subjugation.

It is the custom on New Year's day for people to make resolutions. You must have listed your good resolutions already. But may I politely suggest that you also resolve to do the following in pursuit of Change.

1) Stop killing people. The United States is too fond of killing people in order to achieve its objectives. You call it war, but today's wars are not about professional soldiers fighting and killing each other. It is about killing people, ordinary innocent people by the hundreds of thousands. Whole countries will be devastated.

War is primitive, the cavemen's way of dealing with a problem. Stop your arms build up and your planning for future wars.

2) Stop indiscriminate support of Israeli killers with your money and your weapons. The planes and the bombs killing the people of Gaza are from you.

3) Stop applying sanctions against countries which cannot do the same against you. In Iraq your sanctions killed 500,000 children through depriving them of medicine and

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food. Others were born deformed.

What have you achieved with this cruelty? Nothing except the hatred of the victims and right-thinking people.

4) Stop your scientists and researchers from inventing new and more diabolical weapons to kill more people more efficiently.

5) Stop your arms manufacturers from producing them. Stop your sales of arms to the world. It is blood money that you earn. It is un-Christian.

6) Stop trying to democratize all the countries of the world. Democracy may work for the United States but it does not always work for other countries.

Don't kill people because they are not democratic. Your crusade to democratize countries has killed more people than the authoritarian Governments which you overthrew. And you have not succeeded anyway.

7) Stop the casinos which you call financial institutions. Stop hedge funds, derivatives and currency trading. Stop banks from lending non-existent money by the billions.

Regulate and supervise your banks. Jail the miscreants who made profits from abusing the system.

8) Sign the Kyoto Protocol and other international agreements.

9) Show respect for the United Nations.

I have many other resolutions for change which I think you should consider and undertake.

But I think you have enough on your plate for this 2009th year of the Christian Era.

If you can do only a few of what I suggest, you will be remembered by the world as a great leader. Then the United States will again be the most admired nation. Your embassies will be able to take down the high fences and razor-wire coils that surround them.

May I wish you a Happy New Year and a great Presidency.

Yours Sincerely,

Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamad
(Former Prime Minister of Malaysia)

Beginning and Ending Gave WWII the Reputation of a “Good War”

Pretty Good Beginning

When the Nazi's crashed through much of Europe and drove British troops back across the Channel in 1940, President Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) was aware that, frustrating as it was going to become, the US would have to join the war on the side of the Allies at some point. He felt that having already fought for the French and British in WWI and receiving almost no benefit for American efforts, many Americans, labeled “isolationists,” were not yet ready to fight again. The Germans were not offending Americans. They wanted Americans to come into the war much later, preferably never. When legislation was required to renew the national military draft system in the summer of 1941, there was so much opposition to joining the war that the renewal was approved by only a **single vote**. From the beginning of his presidency, Roosevelt started winning over isolationism by his efforts to bring the US out of the depression. His rousing inaugural speech famously highlighted the expression *the only thing we have to fear is fear itself*.

It was clear that FDR strongly favored the Allies in 1939-1941. He had supported them in several ways, including low-cost leasing of 50 “over-age” destroyers to the Brits. Then came the big surprise to the US. On Sunday, Dec 7th 1941, the Japanese, secretly and devastatingly attacked the US naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. FDR arranged for a joint session of Congress for the very next day to ask for a Declaration of War as of Dec. 7, 1941. Over the years 1933-1941, Roosevelt had brought the country out of its vicious depression. Americans not only came to fully accept that “fearing only fear itself” was a good idea. The vast majority became optimistic about the future. Trusting FDR gave them confidence to commit to a war that came to be called, “WWII.” A measure of that 180° turn-around is this comparison: When Congress was asked to approve a fair process in the summer of 1941 for renewing the draft as was mentioned above, the approval came by a plurality of **one** vote and that fair process for drafting troops turned out to be essential for winning the war. Only one member's plurality for a pro-war measure in the summer of 1941 showed that Congress had completely turned around on Dec. 8, 1941 when **only one** member voted **against** going to war.

Although it was not given any news play, the Japanese military had been communicating with FDR prior to Dec. 7, 1941. Their claims that Japan was not attacking the US left FDR dubious about Japan's intentions. Perhaps by American standards the Japanese communications were disarming, toned down, or unclear. As if he had been betrayed, FDR's reaction to the Pearl Harbor attack was fierce. He made clear in his Dec. 8, 1941 address to Congress that the War would continue until the Japanese *unconditionally surrendered and submitted to occupation* by US troops. It was not surprising that only a single member of Congress voted against the Declaration of War and resisted FDR's brave and daring challenge at a level of commitment rarely seen in presidential speeches.

Coauthor Kay totally approved of the war. “Thinking he was destined to fight Hitler and increasingly aware that he would be drafted when he reached 18, he followed the war closely. He was puzzled that the Japanese military, following its devastating victory at Pearl Harbor failed to follow up on its advantages. At least in the first year of the war

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when the US was scrambling hard but had not yet deployed military forces sufficient to give it a winning upper hand, he wondered why, after Dec. 7, 1941, were there no further Japanese attacks on the US homeland of any significance.

An understandable but debatable answer to that question came from Hideki Tojo, head of the Japanese military and, later in the war, prime minister under Emperor Hirohito. Tojo made a case in the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal in 1946 that the attack at Pearl Harbor, perhaps more successful than expected, was meant to caution the Americans not to interfere with the Japanese intention of creating its “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere,” which is in fact what the Japanese were doing until their empire, well along in construction by 1945, collapsed from America’s new, vast military strength that achieved total success within less than 3 years after gaining the upper hand. Tojo’s testimony implied that the Pearl Harbor attack was meant as a notice to the US that can be summarized this way. “Don’t interfere. We have no quarrel with you. Japan is going to do what all major European countries had been doing for over a hundred years – building empires that collectively were occupying much of the world.” It is true that many European nations from about the 15th century to the middle of the 20th century had been occupying or seeking to occupy countries in Africa, South Asia, and South America. It is not surprising that many neutral countries might have understood that ultimately they would either have to become a ruling empire or be made an occupied colony. Japan opting for becoming an empire and participated in the vast multi-century empire-building of Europeans.

The possibility that the war might have been avoided was brought up in the media briefly after Tojo’s testimony. While almost all other Japanese generals and admirals were exonerated, Tojo took the fall for Hirohito. Tojo was executed with MacArthur’s approval and so – of course – became unavailable for further discussion. Even if Japan apologized and offered compensation, it seems clear that Roosevelt, after the Pearl Harbor attack, would not have delayed the Declaration of War even an extra day, no matter what the Japanese communications actually said.

But after the American victory in September 1945, these hypothetical intellectual thoughts were never seriously considered, when faced with some record breaking numbers – over 290,000 American troops were killed in WWII – the cost of the War was a horrendous \$3 trillion in US 2005-dollars (see Chart, p. 35). No one would want to mar the praise and the huge feeling of thankfulness for our heroes, every one of the 16,000,000 who served in a US uniform during the War.

That reaction should not keep us from speculating on what probably would have happened if instead of Roosevelt we’d had a Neville Chamberlain president, who would not have lead us into war with Japan when confronted with the 12/7/41 attack. With all the problems of fighting in Europe, it is likely that neither the US nor the allies over the years would attack Japan, except possibly, a small war to rescue a former US colony, the Philippines. Japan would then have had a strong hold on its empire and could maintain it surely into the 1950s perhaps much longer, whether or not the President found his way to help our European allies and lead the US into a WWII that was short of Japan. All of the

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great European imperial powers, Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Belgium had to give up their empires by about 1950 and Germany and Italy did not succeed, either in WWI or II, in aggrandizing any colonies at all. Perhaps the newest empire, Japan's, might have lasted longer than these older ones.⁵⁷

Great Ending

When the Japanese agreed to unconditional surrender on Sept 5, 1945, Gen. Douglas MacArthur was sent in as the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers (SCAP), the pro-consul for Japan. MacArthur, considered one of the most fearless and brilliant generals in US history, understood the importance of producing a lasting peace. Appointed by President Truman, he accepted full responsibility for the success of the occupation. He was very successful in the first year of the Occupation at obtaining the full support of the Japanese people, including pressing hard the US State Department to obtain essentials for kick starting Japanese rebuilding of their devastated country. His staff understood that they could not undermine his functions. He understood the oriental culture that mystified most Americans in the pre WWII era.

The Japanese people, one would imagine, would be humiliated by losing their empire and by being subjected to unconditional surrender. MacArthur, though a tough, stern leader, made sure that Japanese individuals were not humiliated. Within a year of the occupation, the Japanese had a new Constitution, a new democratically elected government, and a rising economy. In the 63 years since the end of WWII Japan remained a peace-loving, democratic country, a strong supporter of the US, and a country with the second largest economy in the world.⁵⁸

On the preceding page, we speculated on the consequences of Roosevelt responding to the Pearl Harbor disaster like a Neville Chamberlain president. Let's speculate here what would have happened in Japan if MacArthur had the attitude of Iraq pro-consul L. Paul Bremer or a Richard Perle neocon, who had no concern for the Iraqis as people. How different the outcomes would have been if either Roosevelt or MacArthur had behaved like tough, self-centered, insensitive guys. Still that different behavior would have been quite acceptable both at the time and thereafter. MacArthur, of course, in time would have been removed from his position of SCAP, probably even faster than Bremer's recall from Iraq.

⁵⁷ In 1946, co-author Kay well remembers a discussion with a couple of British soldiers, a decade or two older than himself, deployed to the Occupation in Tokyo. They believed that we Americans would now replace Britain on whose empire the sun never sets. The US would bring Japan and other countries into a US empire. Their advice to me was, "Enjoy yourself. Being an empire is lots of fun." I was impressed, and intrigued, but dubious.

The Japanese empire was dissolved by the US occupation of Japan. European empires, the British, French, Dutch, Spanish, and others, were essentially gone within a few years after WWII. Minorities of both US political leaders and the American people do like US global military dominance, but stay away from using either that old-fashioned word "empire" or the phrase "policeman to the world."

⁵⁸ See Chapter 5, "Militarist, Millionaire, Peacenik – Memoir of a Serial Entrepreneur," Cosimo, May 2008

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A different MacArthur would have given no thought to avoiding humiliation of the Japanese people. He would have had no interest in stopping looting.⁵⁹

He would have had Hirohito hung and probably several hundred field grade military officers tried by a court and condemned to death.

He would not have refrained from imposing decrees curtailing the freedom of vast numbers of people seeking livable jobs or business opportunities.

He would also have paid no attention to the consequences of the Japanese starting firefights or losing electricity, water, family members, housing, health care, schooling, living with their loved ones in neighborhoods they knew and enjoyed – and everything else that makes life worthwhile.

Quite a difference from the after-war in Iraq.

⁵⁹ Under MacArthur's reign looting did not occur in Japan. Involved in military police operations in Tokyo in 1946 co-author Kay had the rare experience of helping thwart a US officer's attempt to steal a single ceremonial sword from the Imperial Household Museum. See, Alan F Kay, *Militarist, Millionaire, Peacenik, Memoir of a Serial Entrepreneur*, 2008, Cosimo, NYC, page 51.

Chapter 5

Democratization of the Military and War Powers

A Completely New and Better Way to Start a War

Declaration of War Sign-off by Congress and the President

Chapter 4 made clear that the Congress must introduce guidelines and procedures for declaring war that treat war as the most serious of lawmaking functions and responsibilities. Since Congress must declare war and the president must lead US military forces in the war, both Congress and the President must agree on war, or on no war. US going to war without the cooperation of both branches – whether viewed legally or practically – amounts to a serious failure of governance. How did we get into this mess?

In the years since President Roosevelt obtained a congressional Declaration of War, Congress has slowly allowed the president to usurp its power. The Iraq war shows how damaging this congressional forfeiture can become.⁶⁰ If there remains no increased congressional involvement in a president's support of a war, a price will be paid by the US. With the Congress not assuming its constitutional responsibility on war, the president's judgment becomes more dependent on top leaders in the administration and the Department of Defense. Most of these leaders knowing what the President wants to hear, strive to be supportive, "Yes, Sir. We can do that!" Even if they minimize avowed support, most administration leaders support the president enough to remain on the team. If their support is not adequate, they face discharge or quietly being dropped into a lower slot.

Planning a War

In preparation for a looming or possible war, the Pentagon produces or has on the shelf a "Plan of Attack," also called a Contingency Plan, worked out and approved by key military leaders. The plan covers the numbers, locations and types of units – whether at the level of a division, regiment, brigade, et cetera, or a detachment – from the Army, Navy, Marine, Air and Coast-Guard and their civilian support as necessary. Specific units are selected to fulfill the plan based in part by readiness to move out in a coordinated way. Some units may be needed immediately, others later. Assurance is needed that each selected unit will do its part and collectively all will fully handle the requirements of the units to win the war, including adequate personnel, intelligence, supplies, transport, ordnance, training, etc.

There is a great benefit to judging unit readiness in part by getting the unit's officers to agree that the unit will be ready to go into the war zone at the required time and perform

⁶⁰ See p. 69. Congress did not declare war, but passed into law a bill giving the President vague authorization for the "use of force." The approving congressional majority ignored and dismissed its incorrect understanding of the need for war. The majority of Democrats voted against the war.

the mission required. With very few exceptions, the unit's non-com soldiers will also be ready. It will be valuable to pay some attention to exceptions, if any.

The Proposal

This chapter will explain and promote the advantages of a proposal created and examined by the authors that (a) assures presidential and congressional agreement on starting (or stopping) a war and (b) offers improvements of goals and processes that will reduce the likelihood of another unsatisfactory US war. The acceptance of the proposal also can make it more likely that the US *will go* to war when its success is *more likely* than US leaders originally expected. Such an outcome would probably be very rare.

The proposal offers a new beneficial feature when added to the plan of attack that occurs during an interval of time that begins when military unit leaders are separately notified when they will be expected to enter the war zone and ending the day they actually move out to the war zone. If it is a small war, that involves only say 5 to 10 units, that interval will typically be only a few days, perhaps even a single day. If it involves many units and most units are far from the war zone (as in the Iraq war) or if considerable time is required by the president and his advisors, cabinet secretaries, and others to get the support of the UN and other allies for war, there will be plenty of time to include the new feature. The available time for a large war could easily be 6 months.

When trained soldiers are told that their unit is going into a war zone (in some cases required to hit the ground running), they have expected that this might someday happen and are prepared for it. Overwhelming majorities are proud of their units, pleased to serve their country, motivated to protect their families and loved-ones, and excited by this big-time development. They are very patriotic and would hate to let down their buddies.⁶¹ They, as well as the officers, are our "heroes" and they, not just the officers, should play a role in the decision to go to war.

The core of the proposal's new feature is that the military leader of each unit asked to participate in the Plan of Attack will be required to conduct a one-person-one-vote election⁶² of its unit. It should be very common and likely that the overwhelming desire of the troops in a unit is to accept the assignment. Of course, unit leaders would likely feel challenged if that were not the case and would be expected to put pressure on some of the unit's troops that don't want to accept the assignment. If a majority (over 50%) of some unit, say unit X, does not favor entering the war zone that is a good indication that unit X should be replaced in the Plan by another unit, say Y. Any soldier in unit X that does want to go into the war zone can join unit Y or any other unit going into the war zone if accepted by the unit's leader.

⁶¹ Co-author Kay, a buck-private age 18 serving his country in WWII, felt that way 64 years ago and believes that the first tour enlistees in Iraq, in this era, 2003-2009, continue to feel that way.

⁶² One-person-one-vote includes all personnel, soldiers and officers regardless of rank and regardless of gender

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Under the current system military recruiters entice enlistees to sign up, at least in part based on receiving potentially large benefits⁶³ that will often materialize only years in the future and often only following years of the enlistee's acceptable performance in combat. Voting in each unit opens up the possibility of a system for the enlistment of military personnel that will replace the current hard sell with much more enticing retirement benefit choices at the time of enlistment.

Each enlistee in a unit participating in the war Plan has the opportunity to resign from the unit with one of two choices: (1) by being accepted into and serving in another unit in the Plan that is scheduled to enter the war zone not more than a short time later than the enlistee's original unit or (2) by accepting a quick discharge accompanied by a normally big penalty, the *forfeiture* of all discharge benefits, softened by the fact that the discharge is deemed *honorable*.

As we will see, there is an enormous benefit to US military operations in all dimensions if the Declaration of War guidelines when reviewed and approved by the President and the Congress offer soldiers the above mentioned options.

This arrangement can be improved further by the following addition to the proposal. If a majority of a unit does *not* vote to go into the war zone, which is an unlikely and troublesome situation, each soldier who does not wish to go into the war zone either (a) may choose to seek transfer to some specific other unit going into the war zone and, if the transfer is approved, must then go with that unit in a timely way or (b) be honorably discharged from the military with a 50% cut in all financial benefits that would otherwise have accrued to an honorably discharged soldier. What is the reason for this feature?

When a situation arises that more than half of a unit does NOT want to go into the war zone, the unit has serious problems – perhaps deficiencies of unit leadership, poor training, inadequate or poor equipment or ill treatment of soldiers in the unit. Being allowed to get half of their post-war benefits is a reward for warning the military that it should not want this unit as it stands to enter the war at all.

Further Reasons for Supporting the Proposal

It is important to recognize that the process proposed has elements of reorganization that can be fully handled without revealing classified information. There is no reason for any of the features of the proposal to increase the revelation of the details of the Plan of Attack on all these aspects: (1) what units will go into the war zone, (2) what is their size and readiness, (3) where any unit will go, (4) how it will go, and (5) when it will go. There is no more classification secrecy problem with this proposal than normally occurs when units have been sent into war zones in the past.

Let us examine how the proposal works under various conditions. As part of their planning for possible deployment, every unit has a series of pre-deployment checklists of personnel actions that are to be followed to ensure that the non-deploying next-of-kin has

⁶³ such as retirement payments, next-of-kin benefits, health care, and further education

full legal and financial power to act for the family until the service member returns to home base. If the US decides to undertake a “typical” small war such as the many interventions into the Caribbean and Central America in the first four decades of the 20th century or the 1983 invasion of Grenada, only a few units, out of hypothetically many hundreds, would be needed. If a contingency plan exists or is readily adaptable, mission-ready units can be confirmed and notified to prepare for deployment. With an up-dated contingency plan already “on the shelf,” should there be anyone in the designated units who “opts out,” they can be dropped from the deploying unit’s roster, forfeitures accepted, and assigned to a non-deploying administrative unit made for the completion of personnel actions and choices. If no contingency plan exists, selected units will have to have additional time to study and integrate the mission requirements with the terrain, troops available, and the strength and disposition of the enemy force. Moreover, if the war being planned is a major effort like the original war in Afghanistan against Osama bin Laden and his al Qaeda, or the Second Iraq War, or even a larger requirement, like WWII, the planning process appropriately takes weeks if not months. Reassigning a few soldiers to new units or discharging them does not increase planning time pressure whatsoever.

The End of the Draft

Developing and introducing a universal Selective Service (Draft) process would take about six months or longer to produce a functioning military force built around selectees, assuming that the time was available because the military would not be ready to usefully enlarge the numbers of military personnel above the active duty, already trained soldiers ready from the beginning of the war. This would greatly slow down the planning process proposed here. Only in the old, relatively slow starting wars of the past, WWII and Vietnam, when the weaponry was not as sophisticated and the war took many years to get the totality of troops up to its maximum size, was there time for putting together a fair and beneficial draft process. It is only in a much larger war than we have ever had, could a selective service system be introduced without slowing down all the necessary preparations. A war with these features seems unreal and not reflecting a situation that can be taken seriously. WWII had a Selective Service system with moving requirements for eligibility of draftees and draft boards in every municipality were adjusted to “dig deeper” when more draftees were required. In the Vietnam war the draft was run as a lottery. Induction depended on the last name of those who were called up to serve.

The Benefits of Accepting the Proposal for this New Method of Declaring War

(A) *Making the decisions on going to war.* Soldiers of all ranks who are going to fight and take the risks of war are our heroes who are volunteering to go into harm’s way, and are exactly the group that should make the decisions about which units should go, not the whole country. Any poll taken of a random sample of US citizens would be treated like an election, undesirably contentious, and even informative to our enemies.

(B) *Tough unit leaders can readily present considerable pressure put on unit soldiers to assure that the majority of the unit wants to go.* Each military unit election seeks cooperation and enthusiasm for its own participation in the war. There will no doubt be some pressure on individual soldiers to go along with the whole unit, but since only a

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majority is necessary to get the unit into the war zone, even the leaders will have to accept that it would be better for the unit not to go if only a minority of those heroes in the unit want to. Individual soldiers who do wish to go into the war zone can seek to be added to a unit that has a majority for going in.

(C) The terms allowing enlistees to opt out of going to war will be a boon for the armed forces to readily increase enlistee quality, capability, patriotism and competency. All the points that recruiters make to encourage enlistments will still be true and effective: recruits desire to be patriotic, to do their part to defend and protect their loved ones, and to have opportunities for going to college or other further education, and similar benefits. Throughout American history, recruits have continued to feel proud and patriotic for agreeing to enlist. Yet in this proposal recruits have a potential benefit unheard of in the history of recruiting soldiers for war – an opportunity to opt out before going into a war zone at a price no greater than losing their discharge benefits. Can this, one way or another, somehow become a disaster?

No. It is fail safe in several ways. First, the federal government will get much better recruits and have many ways to assure that under any circumstance, well-trained soldiers in adequate numbers will be available for all US military needs. A wide range of potential enlistees, some good, some bad, in large numbers will clamor and line up for recruitment. Recruiters will have an enormous upper hand to readily satisfy these needs. Utilizing background checks, resumes, application forms, physical and mental test scores, and family letters of approval, no recruiter will have a problem recruiting the cream of the crop and select superb, easily trained, high quality enlistees.

If somehow this great success in recruitment becomes inadequate, the Congress and President can readily invoke tough means of rectifying recruitment inadequacy. Under such new rules those recruits who might be hoping to walk away from the war will find that door closed and those not abiding by the new rules will likely face charges. A further important concern must be addressed. The proposal in this chapter aims at treating soldiers in the war zone as true heroes and also aims at maximizing the democratization of the military. Compatibility with those aims requires that all recruiters must mention and get a sign-off from recruits that the President and the Congress may revoke benefits, unlikely and remote as that may be. A young recruit, otherwise ready to enlist, will consider that possibility remote and NOT a deal breaker.

(D) Here is a further reason to expect enormous enthusiasm for enlistment under the proposed review. With this new system of unit voting before going to war means that each soldier going to war has a vote on the war while civilians, who outnumber recruits by over a hundred to 1, do not get a single vote. The soldiers are aware of that power. Buck privates will recognize they play an important role in making a country's most important decision, war or peace. If that doesn't make it easier to recruit, it is harder to imagine anything more practical than a feeling of empowerment that makes it easy to sign up recruits.

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(E) *If the President and Congress do not find enough support on the part of all units for going into the war zone that development suggests redesigning the goals, methods, and scope of the war or casts doubt on the desirability of the US going to the proposed war at all. In either case it is certainly better to know the lack of support before the war starts. This is one of the best features of the whole concept. Consider a widely known example. Virtually all units, made up largely of voluntary enlistees and so given a choice were ready in 2002 to go into Iraq and into Afghanistan in 2001 as the military determined. In the new method of authorizing war, final approval has to come from both the President and a Congress that will care very much for not making the earlier mistakes made in the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars.*

(F) *This proposal seems to mean that any soldier who wishes to avoid being sent to a war zone, can simply say, " 'Not to go' is what I want." and be discharged with little negative consequence. Paragraph (C) has already treated this concern. But there is another dimension that needs to be considered. If a soldier feels he can just walk away, many of his buddies will probably believe he is unpatriotic or at least unreliable. Is it not better to have such a soldier NOT go into the war zone? Won't the unit be more cohesive and trusting of their buddies if such soldiers are not forced to be there with them? Moreover, the loss of benefits is not trivial. Soldiers get termination cash bonuses and often free college education and health care after their term of service is over. Soldiers opting out of the war zone get only half (or none) of the benefits, or the value thereof, compared to those who benefit from going to the war zone when they are released from military service. There is quite a difference between those who ultimately get those benefits in full and those who do not.*

(G) *If soldiers do not wish to go into the war zone with their current units, their efforts to find more suitable units, for whatever reason, certainly produce a better outcome. Those who find a fit with a particular unit not only get to the war zone, they are also better integrated which boosts their sense of patriotism, the cohesion of the unit, and overall unit effectiveness.*

Going From a Non-binding Resolution to a Congressional Mandate

The non-binding resolution accepted by the President and Congress will be considered as playing an important role in uniting Democrats and Republicans to come together on how to support starting US wars. Though the agreed ending in itself is not entirely satisfactory, finally the success of unifying the country on its most difficult and important issue will have become a powerfully successful precedent. After the important, acclaimed role in that success, the resolution of a good way to declare war, end war, enlarge or reduce war, etc., it should be easy for both parties to make the Resolution binding, probably even to enshrine it as a Constitutional mandate. That will mean that most of the US wars fought will be more successful. Wars that might have taken place may be appropriately prevented by this method. In time the Constitutional amendment on "Declaration of War" will mean the end of most wars, much better for peace-makers than just ending one war (even the current Iraq war), but leaving the methods of going to war improved so much that new wars will be handled better or not occur.

The Economist, 5/23/09, p. 58, revealed a UK step toward the democratization proposed in Chapter 5 by granting human rights to a soldier in a war zone. A good step but more is needed.

Congress Failed Declaration of Iraq War

When Congress approved Bush's proposal to go to war in Iraq, the approval was not a Declaration of War as mandated by the Constitution. A joint House and Senate resolution "to authorize the use of US armed forces against Iraq" was followed by no less than 23 "Whereas" paragraphs included to justify approval of the joint Resolution. Some of these "Whereas" paragraphs were not known to be correct by anyone in Congress and were ultimately shown to be completely false. Here in italics are two clauses out of the 23 "Whereas" clauses where words in **bold** clearly illustrate the falseness of these two clauses:

(1) *Whereas **members of al Qaeda**, an organization bearing responsibility for attacks on the United States, its citizens, and interests, including the attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, **are known to be in Iraq**.*

(2) *Whereas **Iraq continues to aid and harbor** other international terrorist organizations, including **organizations that threaten** the lives and safety of **United States citizens**.*

It was a clear abrogation by the senators who indorsed this legislation of their responsibility.

The votes of approval (yes) or disapproval (nays) for the Resolution were as follows:

In the Senate, 44% of the Democrats voted "nay" (56% "yes"), and 2% of the Republicans voted "nay" (98% "yes"). In the House a majority of Democrats, (61%), voted "nay" and a majority of Republicans (97%) voted "yes." Combining House and Senate votes, a majority of Democrats (54%) voted against the Resolution and a majority of Republicans (97%) voted for the Resolution. The Senate voted "yes" and the House voted "nay."

Bush's announcement of going to war against terror/terrorism/ terrorists, shortly after 9/11/01, definitely violated the Constitution by not receiving a Declaration of War from Congress.

Military methods and a \$25/\$50 million award have failed for over seven years to find Osama bin Laden. According to "The New Bi-Polar World," InterPress Service, March 2003, Osama, treated as a criminal, would have been apprehended within less than a year by the increasingly successful methods of Interpol, as described in footnote 55, page 55. Further proof that this approach works is the numerous times the Arab media, Al Jazeera, have shown Osama's latest films and, beyond that, hundreds of Osama's disciples have no trouble finding him when he is needed.

Chapter 6

Strengthening the US Military – AND Cutting Costs

In his Farewell Address to the Nation in 1796, George Washington counseled: “It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.”

In his Farewell Address to the Nation in 1961, Dwight Eisenhower counseled: “Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry.....
But nowwe have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions.”

In the 165 years that separate these two men – both generals and presidents – advances in technology changed how countries mustered manpower to fill the ranks and equipment to fill the hands of warfighters. In Washington’s day, virtually every able-bodied male (except Native Americans, slaves and indentured servants) owned a long-barreled musket or rifle, for each person was subject to the call of his governor for military duty in time of crisis.

Following the War of 1812, some states built arsenals to store weapons that could be distributed when needed. By the 1840s, private entrepreneurs had created research and development “arsenals” and were actively marketing their products to the Army Ordnance Board.

As for the Navy, the division of powers in the constitution clearly placed in the federal level the responsibility for protecting U.S. merchants engaged in international commerce. To implement this responsibility, Congress in 1791 appropriated money to build the first new warships since the end of the American Revolution. But in what can be regarded as the initial stirrings of the military-industrial-congressional complex that so worried Eisenhower, the contracts for the first four ships were distributed “regionally” so that the largesse was spread “evenly.”

The quarter century following the end of the US Civil War was pivotal in the transformation of the United States from an insular, inward-looking country to a rapidly industrializing world power. The 1890s saw America surpass Britain in steel production, a critical measurement of economic power. In the same decade, the closing of the American frontier was followed by the leap into empire in Asia and the Caribbean as a result of the Spanish-American War. The Navy was ready, for the fleet had been converted to complete steel hulls during the final decade of the 19th century.

As for the largely militia based Army, its performance in the Spanish-American War revealed critical shortfalls in doctrine, strategy, organization, training, tactics, and equipment. Under the critical eye of Secretary of War Elihu Root (1899-1904) the first steps in transforming a frontier cavalry service were taken. Root insisted that Army officers study how the leading European armies were combining new weapons with new organizations to produce more options for military science and strategy. In 1916, one

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year before the US entered World War I, then Secretary of War Newton Baker convinced Congress to “integrate” the active duty, reserve, and National Guard and to authorize the same equipment for the latter two as for the regular Army. But for World War I, it was too late already for any meaningful changes in equipment allocations. Within months, the US was at war with the Central Powers. Many of the new units raised and deployed overseas as part of the American Expeditionary Force came without heavy artillery, tanks, machine guns, and other military weapons and equipment. The French army had more than enough weaponry to give the Americans, for after three years of trench warfare, a whole generation of young men had been decimated.

Despite the scale of the mobilization for World War I (4 million men under arms), after the war ended the United States again cut back on the military establishment. (After all, had not the just-concluded hostilities been called “The War to End All Wars?”) Land forces, as in the past, were cut significantly while the Navy fared somewhat better.⁶⁴

Though the American Expeditionary Force that went “over there” in World War I had to rely on French heavy weapons, in World War II America was the “Arsenal of Democracy.” Overall, the US industrial base produced for its own as well as its allies: 296,000 aircraft, 1,201 naval vessels, 65,546 landing craft, and 86,333 tanks. By March 1945, the month that war in Europe ended, US shipyards were launching three Liberty – class every day. FDR was so confident that the allies would win that, as early as 1943, he directed the War Production Board to begin planning the reconversion of this military-industrial behemoth to civilian production as soon as possible after hostilities ended. The plan worked so well that by 1949, when the Truman administration realized that the USSR was bent on trying to subvert democratic governments in Western Europe and the US would need a larger military to counter the threat, a major effort was required to re-mobilize the defense industry. The Korean War began the next year, and by the end of the 1950s the United States had acquired the permanent military-industrial complex Eisenhower warned of in his farewell speech.

The 1960s and early 1970s were pivotal for the Pentagon and for businesses, large and small, that supplied parts for weapons and weapons platforms. Just as Vietnam was to divide the country between pro and anti war factions, the war saw an ever widening divide between consumer-based industries and those that turned more and more to producing equipment and parts only for the military or to meet “military specifications” or “MILSPECS.” In some of the larger companies that did produce for both markets, not only were financial records and production parameters maintained separately, the plants, managers, and workers building the tanks, ships, aircraft and missiles might well find that they were physically segregated from the consumer-oriented production facilities.

⁶⁴ The number of major combatant ships and submarines is one measure of the relative stability of the Navy over a 40-year period that saw increasing interventions in other countries and two world wars. In ten year increments starting in 1907/1908, the number of major combatants fit for service were: 1907/08 – 78; 1917/18- 192; 1927/28 – 489; 1937/38 - 424; 1947/48 – 1,103. The decrease in the 1930s from the 1920s can be attributed to the combined effect of the Washington Naval Treaty signed in February 1922, limiting the number and size of fighting ships the largest navies could possess and the Kellogg-Briand Pact that renounced war as an instrument of national policy.

The Vietnam War was not a war for which US Armed Forces – other than the Green Berets – had been trained or equipped to fight. The Garand M-1 rifle was still the standard infantry weapon in the very early days for Special Forces and for the South Vietnamese. But it was too heavy and too susceptible to rust and jamming (and the same list of complaints could be said of its replacements.) The M-14 was too long and too heavy, and the M-16 too temperamental. Armored vehicles – tanks and armored personnel carriers – were optimized not to win hearts and minds in the highlands, the rice paddies, and the jungles of Vietnam but to win battles against massed tank armies on the northern German plains.

The post-Vietnam, post-Nixon Pentagon marked the nadir of US willingness to employ military power in “overseas adventures” that did not directly challenge US vital interests. The watchword was “Never again.” Some interpreted this to mean that the Pentagon would never allow itself to be drawn so easily into a war that the American public did not support. But what “never again” meant to the generals and admirals was that the US military would **dominate** – not just be better than or superior to – every other military organization in the world, whether friend or foe. Eventually, the mantra became “full spectrum dominance” – in the air, on the seas, on land, and in space. The final humiliation was the failed attempt to rescue the Americans held hostage in Iran after the American embassy was stormed by Iranian students in 1979. A conjunction of public sentiment, a renewed emphasis in political rhetoric on the need to reclaim America’s “manifest destiny” in the face of an implacable communist enemy, propelled Ronald Reagan into the White House, five years of ever-increasing budgets for the Pentagon,⁶⁵ and ever-increasing business and profits for military industries. This culminated in and was seemingly justified by the “victory” over Iraq after only 96 hours of ground combat: Operation Desert Storm 1991.

The “Reagan build-up” brought new concerns about how the money devoted to military procurement was being spent. More and more, it seemed to many observers that concerns about the cost of weapons that would supposedly ensure superiority (“dominance”) for American troops in any kind of armed hostilities were being dismissed almost out of hand. “Only the best” became the common theme of the White House, Congress, the Pentagon, and defense industry. Never mind that squeezing the last 10% of the performance envelope absorbed 90% of the weapon’s price. Never mind that no other military establishment in the world even came close to America’s power other than Russia with its nuclear weapons.

Some in Congress tried to improve transparency across each stage of the acquisition process beginning with the ‘Request for Proposal’ from the Pentagon to industry that delineates the characteristics and capabilities the military wants. Sounds simple, but too often in the 1980s the bids for defense contracts were intentionally “low-balled” in the expectation that, with research, development, and testing of complex weapons stretching

⁶⁵ The Reagan defense spending boom topped out in Fiscal Year 1985 at \$557 billion (in constant FY2009 dollars). George W. Bush exceeded that total in 2004 according to the Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation.

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beyond a dozen years, the Pentagon would re-write contracts to include newer technologies that “improved” the weapon even more. Such changes could add further delays in finally getting a weapon or “new” item of equipment into the hands of the warfighter. Costs rose way above the original estimates, which in turn meant that the Pentagon was spending more money to buy fewer numbers of the “new” system.

Just how critical the situation has become was indicated June 2007 by not only the Government Accountability Office (GAO) but also by the Pentagon Comptroller in testimony before Congress.⁶⁶ The GAO told Congress that to field all the major weapons systems now under development – assuming no further cost escalations or production delays – the Pentagon would need \$335 billion over the next five years and \$1.7 trillion to complete. This latter number represents a virtual doubling of costs since 2000. Under George W. Bush (2001-2009), the increase in military expenditure has been \$900 billion according to Pentagon Comptroller Tina Jones. Interestingly, Jones attributed about half of the Bush-era increase to cost overruns, schedule delays, and other inefficiencies – what she called “a matter of our own discipline” in not reining in “bells and whistles.”

With costs running so high, the options come down to scrapping systems or reducing the numbers bought. The Pentagon will always take the second option in the hope that a subsequent Congress will add funds for major systems that have sub-assemblies or parts being fashioned by defense firms operating in most if not all 50 states.

This choice has a knock-on effect (as does the first). With fewer new systems being bought, more of the older systems have to be retained in order to cover all the contingency missions each service is assigned. (Higher quality can compensate for fewer numbers up to a point, but in the end, numbers do count.) But older equipment needs more maintenance which costs even more dollars, which means there are fewer dollars to buy the new system. Production rates slow down, adding to the costs even more because economies of scale are lost.

The result is what Winslow T. Wheeler, Director of the Straus Military Reform Project of the Center for Defense Information, has christened “America’s Incredible, Shrinking, Aging, Less Ready, More Expensive, Armed Forces.” That is to say, the Pentagon’s answer to the challenge (as the military sees it) of simply “staying even” the overall capability of the force (it must so dominate in every kind of warfare that potential adversaries will not even consider challenging the US) requires more money for ever more “precise” weapons used by a shrinking number of personnel.

For example, the discovery in the 1970s of technology that would render an object nearly undetectable by radar – that is, “stealthy” – prompted the USAF to ask industry to develop concepts for applying this discovery to actual aircraft designs. Responses were forthcoming from a number of defense contractors, but the priority of the 1970s was developing and incorporating countermeasures to the improved Soviet surface-to-air missiles that were used to great effect by North Vietnamese air defense units during the

⁶⁶ This “red flag” was first raised in 1981 by USAF program analyst Chuck Spinney who became a legend in his own time as an unremitting critic of Pentagon financial failures.

Vietnam War. By the end of the decade, the Air Force was flying the “high performance” F-15 and the low cost, highly versatile F-16. Teamed with the extensive training regimen then provided American pilots, these two aircraft gave the USAF unquestioned superiority in air-to-air and air-to-ground combat, respectively.

Having delivered the number of airplanes needed by the Air Force, manufacturers looked abroad for new customers – and found them. Pressured by manufacturers interested in profits, unions interested in jobs, constituents interested in the millions of dollars that would flow to communities from continued production to meet foreign sales, and justified by the argument of “equipment compatibility and interoperability with close allies,” Congress approved foreign military sales of both aircraft.⁶⁷ In the meantime, the Air Force, arguing that sales of the F-16 and F-15 even to close allies meant that American technology could eventually be stolen and copied (or countermeasures developed) by adversaries, thus increasing the risk to US Aviators. The solution? Build an even more advanced airplane that would ensure American dominance.

And by happenstance, military aircraft developers, Air Force brass, and the Pentagon’s Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency had been quietly and busily working on radar absorbing materials and shapes while most observers and pundits focused on the F-15 and F-16. At the end of the 1970s, this program was ramped up and “disappeared” into the secret or “black” development world. When it emerged again in 1988, there were three 18-plane squadrons. The next year, the F-117 Nighthawk, was in action in Operation Just Cause in Panama. But the real goal was production of what was to become the F-22 Raptor.

In 1997, after 16 years in development and \$33 billion, the first F-22 was delivered to the Air Force for test and evaluation. Steadily rising costs soon jeopardized the initial planned production of 648 airframes. The Air Force said it could get by with an initial run of 381 production air frames. Even this was too costly considering other high priority weapons systems – including the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter and the Navy’s F-18 E/F Super Hornet. When all program costs were in, the Air Force found it had enough money for only 183 production aircraft – meaning each plane cost taxpayers \$339 million. Except for the 20 B-2 bombers that cost \$2.2 billion each, this makes the Raptor the most expensive aircraft ever built.⁶⁸

But there was one additional problem with the F-22, according to Wheeler: knowledgeable avionics experts, including the two men who were responsible for

⁶⁷ Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Japan have F-15 variants. The Saudi variant is not as capable as the Israeli version because Congress restricted the armaments that could be sold to the Saudis and mandated a less capable avionics package than the Israelis could buy. Nineteen countries own variations of the F-16.

⁶⁸ The “fly-away” costs of the three fighter aircraft – that is, the price tag simply to fabricate and install all parts of a modern combat aircraft – in current (2006) dollars illustrates the cost squeeze of modern weapons. Today an F-16 costs \$22.9 million, an F-15 is \$34.6 million, and an F-22 is \$146 million. The USAF had hoped originally to swap one new F-22 for every two F-15 airframes removed from service. But with nearly 700 F-15s (C, D, and F models), so with a production run of just 183 F-22s, this one-for-two ratio jumps to one-for-four.

developing the F-16 and F-15, rated the F-22 as inferior to the earlier aircraft. And this shortcoming was exacerbated by the fact that only 183 were produced – meaning fewer hours in the cockpit for pilot training.

The same cost woes hit the Navy's destroyer program, the DDG 1000 Zumwalt class, which began in the early 1990s. The missions of the new destroyer included naval surface gunfire support and close-in coastal ("littoral") operations. Advanced technologies would allow for a significant reduction in crew size. Originally, the Navy planned on acquiring 32 DDG 1000s to replace the DDG51 Arleigh Burke class AEGIS-equipped destroyer. But between 1995 and 2008, the Navy spent more than \$13 billion and was just building the first ship of the class whose total production had, by 2008, been slashed to seven. With the price tag of \$4.1 billion for each of the first two ships and continued concern about failure to reach minimum performance standards, Navy leaders in late July 2008 pleaded "significant mission change" and requested Congress end the DDG 1000 at two ships and authorize construction of updated DDG 51s.⁶⁹

Early on in the Reagan defense spending extravaganza Congress did make some effort to expand and exercise its constitutional role to provide oversight of each part of the president's proposed annual spending plan by mandating every quarter of the calendar year a "Selected Acquisition Report" (S.A.R.) on changes to key programs – emphasizing cost overruns and time delays in fielding equipment the Secretary of Defense designates as "major systems." In 1983, Congress passed the Nunn-McCurdy Amendment to the 1983 Defense Authorization Act (Public Law 97-252). This required service secretaries to notify Congress whenever total program costs or current production costs increased by 15% or more over the original estimates and report on remedial steps to hold down future cost increases. Should program or production costs rise by 25%, the secretary of defense had to certify that the program was essential for national security. Invariably, every system was, and just as invariably, Congress simply noted the report had been made. When it came to defense programs, jobs, political action committee contributions, and votes for those who "brought home the bacon" in terms of defense jobs topped the concerns of members of Congress.

There were other problems with the military-industrial-congressional-intelligence acquisition system. Often the only people who were competent to develop the new, complex systems were in the defense industries or in academia. Because of their expertise, they frequently were drawn into government service for anywhere from a few years to a lifetime commitment. Regardless, when they left government service, they frequently went back to defense industrial firms where their inside knowledge of developments could assist their employer – the infamous "revolving door." On some occasions, officials about to leave government service who already had accepted employment with a defense contractor would have manipulated contracts to give their post-government employer an inside and illegal advantage.

⁶⁹ Because the production line for DG 51s had to be restarted, the Navy estimated the first two ships of the new buy would cost \$2.2 billion each.

With few major weapons programs cancelled in the last three decades, and with production schedules stretching further and further and overlapping more and more, the Pentagon was creating an acquisition tsunami. And it knew that this was coming because every year the Congressional Budget Office, the Congressional Research Service, independent government-sponsored and funded research and evaluation organizations, and an even larger number of independent, non-partisan, non-governmental watch-dog groups spelled out the continuing and growing price spiral. The only question was when, not if, it would hit – when would there be so many systems ready for production that there would not be enough money in the Defense budget to buy them all in sufficient quantities to keep the price per unit at the projected estimate. This is the “acquisition bow wave” predicted through the 1980s, 1990s, and the first years of the 21st century – it is what confronts each service today and for the foreseeable future.

So where does this leave a new president? Squarely in front of the “eight ball,” particularly if he or she inherits an extant hot war that does not pit US forces against a sophisticated, high technology adversary. Indeed, in Iraq and Afghanistan today the anti-US forces are using tactics that do not require vast logistics chains or heavy armored vehicles to continue the fight. The Pentagon, meanwhile, is pouring billions of dollars into research to find how to mitigate the effects of the relatively unsophisticated buried roadside bombs that kill most coalition troops. In some ways, America’s Armed Forces have forgotten how to fight by relying on massed firepower to destroy the enemy instead of relying on measures designed to win hearts and minds.

The new president will have to take on the military-industrial-congressional complex if the United States is to ever break the iron grip of war. The non-military sources of power must be revitalized by being funded, expanded, and empowered to harness the talent of American industry to solve the military and non-military problems that retard the effort to spread peace throughout the world. By giving those who today employ their power and strength (both financial and high office opportunities) to make weapons alternative challenges for their talents and money, budgets for sustainable development projects can be expanded and overall security for more countries made possible by the reduction in the number of new weapons produced.

Closing US Bases Abroad

For example, former Republican presidential candidate, Ron Paul, proposed starting to cut the budget by closing the many US military bases abroad that are superfluous to our “real” defense requirements (unless we are trying to be the empire that runs the world). This proposal will not reduce the military budget very much, but its support by the public (based on many survey findings) is certain. The American people do not want America to run the world by force and for the benefit of America only.

Practical Way for President to Strengthen Military AND Cut Costs

There is a second way proposed to cut undesirable military expenditures and still avoid political blowback. The President could let military cuts arise from his budget preparers. President Obama has committed to reinforcing the US mission in Afghanistan and to consider careful withdrawals from Iraq. A proposal with other beneficial features takes

advantage of a basic idea similar to the False Claims Act enacted by President Lincoln in 1863 to prevent military suppliers “from stuffing cannon balls with paper rather than gunpowder.” In the President’s first year, military expenditures are rising, further establishing his pro-military credentials. If Obama follows this proposal, his Secretary of Defense, Republican Robert Gates, highly regarded by both parties with a reputation of carefully supporting the desires of his superior (whether George W Bush or Barak Obama) will begin to make public the not widely known reality that there are people in the Pentagon at all levels who know that many procurement programs are rife with underperforming technologies, gross deficiencies in systems management, and are both over-budget and behind schedule. There are even a few programs completely irrelevant to what the Pentagon anticipates will be at least a part of future wars! Most of the people who provide this information are well-regarded but not well-known publicly.

With Obama following this proposal, after the first year Secretary of Defense Gates would activate a New Agency to investigate and reduce these military boondoggles. The Agency head would describe in general terms the process for going after excessive costs in military acquisitions. Beginning in a date like Jan 1, 2010, and ending a year later, the Agency will cut budgets based on the information provided by whistleblowers, those people in the Pentagon who know procurement budgets and expenditures and present information to the Agency that at the same time produces the budget reductions and strengthens the US military. The motivation for whistleblowers to work with the Agency is that participants receive substantial amounts of money and are protected from dismissal and bad treatment by the Agency’s clout.

The incentive for such whistleblowers will be that to the extent legally possible some percentage of the savings would be distributed among all those who contributed to providing the detailed information for the Agency to make the right judgments before the close of fiscal year 2011, leading to the budget savings realized and equitably distributed among all those who contributed to providing the information. Huge amounts, perhaps 10% or \$70 billion would be removed from the military budget and strengthen the military at the same time if this approach is carefully handled. Once the methodology utilized by the New Department has done its job by Dec 2010, it can be closed down. In years thereafter, budgets could be lowered in the normal fashion by 5 or 10% per year realistically, reducing the military budget by over \$50 billion per year. This is a long term solution.

Within a few years there would be enough money to properly handle many of the long-neglected and ignored domestic issues without the need for tax increases or further borrowing. This is a long term solution to restoring the US economy that is now considered one of the most serious of all the major problems facing President Obama and the nation. In the short term, the factors that are intended to ameliorate our collapsing financial industry have required donations and loans from the US treasury and the Federal Reserve System amounting to many hundreds of billions of dollars. This treatment of the financial industry might be considered for the military industry, but is totally unnecessary, hugely expensive, and readily avoided by our proposal to President

Chapter 6 - Strengthening the US Military – AND Cutting Costs

Obama requires at most moderate government expenditures to support the military industry for just one year.

With the military better focused future presidents will be more restrained and kept away from starting dubious wars. Every war that is eliminated saves wars in general and will be particularly beneficial to reviving failed states and assisting those middle class families in our own country in need of help. This in turn produces momentum to eliminate the folly that most wars represent.

Chapter 7

The United Nations Security Insurance Agency (UNZIA)

Chapter 7 is a summary and update of work globally introduced by 1995 and available in www.alanfky.com/build_peace/unsia_progress_report.shtml

Most war might now be eliminated if the UN had adopted UNZIA in 1995

Many luminaries by 1994 came to understand the potential of UNZIA (see p. 87). The UN moves so slowly that it may take another decade to reach global consensus on its acceptance.

Under the UN Charter, the ***Security Council (SC)*** is the only UN body able to authorize military action. Judging from the history of peace operations since 1948, some operations are extremely complex and require great attention. One way to relieve the SC of day-to-day management is to create an operating arm of the SC that is called “The United Nations Security Insurance Agency (UNZIA). This organization, working under General Assembly (GA) oversight, would act as a “fire-break” when disputes threaten to escalate into war. Its chief tool for preventing war is preemptive diplomacy: the creation of binding agreements with individual countries willing to subscribe to guaranteed timely UN-sponsored intervention against real or perceived threats to the individual country’s security whether potential, feared, or looming.⁷⁰

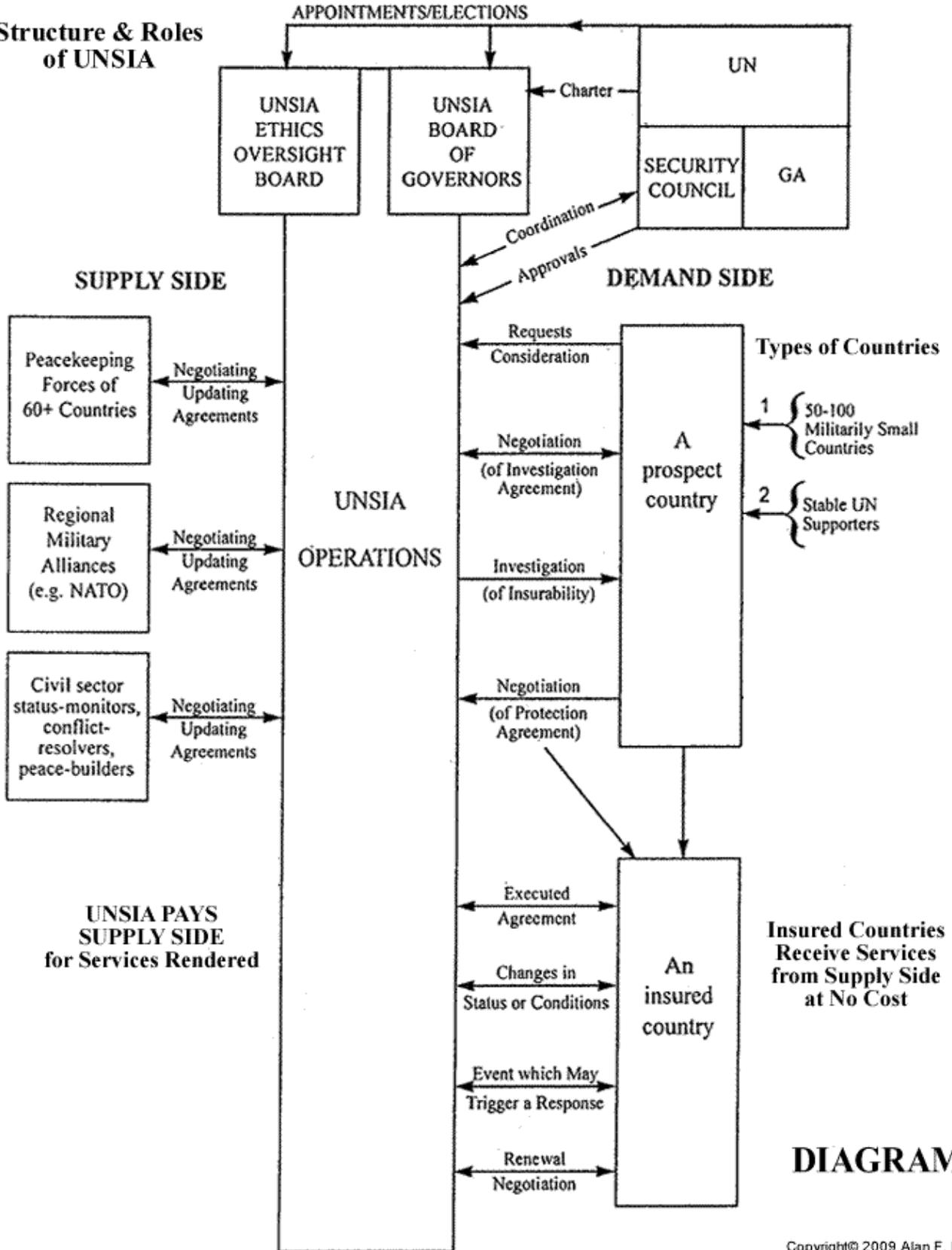
UNZIA, on behalf of the SC, would conduct investigations and analyses of the security requirements of a country. From these findings UNZIA would draw up a proposed internationalized “insurance” guarantee of national security. The plan would have to be approved by the SC and be fully accepted by the insured country.

One key value UNZIA offers many countries is that the cost of UNZIA’s protection is far less than the country’s expenditures needed to unilaterally raise and maintain its own army for national security. Beyond that, the very knowledge that a country has concluded an agreement with UNZIA will act as an additional disincentive to aggressive behavior from other countries. The resulting upward spiral in localized security in turn enhances regional security in an expanding perimeter of decreasing threats.

Under other agreements negotiated by UNZIA, that help will be provided by other countries (generally suppliers of peacekeepers) having standby contingents that, when called upon, collectively furnish the help required. The countries that supply the protection and the country that will thereby be protected are governed by a set of agreements all of which have to be approved by the SC. The many roles played by UNZIA’s functions and agreements are exhibited in the DIAGRAM on the following page.

⁷⁰Threats can include festering border disputes, potential loss of sequestered water, looming minority insurrections, and many others

Structure & Roles of UNSIA



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DIAGRAM

EXPLAINING THE DIAGRAM

DEMAND SIDE – A Prospect Country. Type 1 countries that are good prospects for obtaining protection initially are the 50 to 100 militarily small countries. Pro-UN countries, like the Nordic countries and Costa Rica, are Type 2, stable UN supporters. The process starts with a country requesting consideration from UNZIA. {See **arrow**, labeled “Requests Considerations,” starting from “A Prospect Country” **box**, pointing to the UNZIA OPERATIONS **box**.} When that occurs UNZIA’s management and technical experts⁷¹ explain that if the country will pay for an evaluation, UNZIA will send in a team to consider in depth all aspects of the prospect country and what various specific protections would cost the country. After the evaluation has taken place, if the prospect, UNZIA and the SC, all agree on the conditions and terms for the protection specifics granted to the prospect, all parties then sign on and the prospect becomes an “insured” country.

An Insured Country

Upon execution of the agreement mentioned above, the “prospect” becomes an “insured” country that thereafter works closely with UNZIA to cover any changes in its status, conditions, or needs, particularly if an event occurs that triggers the need for quick action by the “Supply Side” {See left column.}

SUPPLY SIDE. Although initially the suppliers are (1) some portion of the 60 or so countries that routinely engage in peacekeeping, these are supplemented in time by two other potential suppliers of protection, (2) regional military alliances, such as NATO, and possibly companies that have flourished protecting endangered individuals and companies at risk and (3) civil sector status-monitors, conflict resolvers, and peace-builders. Suppliers, whoever they may be, operate when called upon as accepted under their agreements with the SC. They are obligated to negotiate updating the agreement as necessary.⁷²

Why a “Charter” Structure for UNZIA

Critical to the success of UNZIA is an understanding of its powers and the restrictions on its activities. Because UNZIA is a creation of the SC and its activities are overseen by the GA, the usual “business” models are inappropriate. (In business, for example, a company that wishes to go into other businesses is permitted to do so providing it operates under the applicable rules and regulations that exist at various levels, local, national or international. This arrangement is so common and frequent – the number of such businesses is in the millions – that other arrangements which are far better for some purposes are so rare and unusual they seem to be never considered.

⁷¹ UNZIA personnel have impressive backgrounds as management and technical experts with experience in facilitating negotiated multi-country agreements and wide coverage of past military experience, services and branches. In the field UNZIA soon becomes widely recognized as top experts (see p. 83)

⁷² Such items as routine renewals or requirements for shortened commitments are allowed within the Agreement

Chapter 7 - The United Nations Security Insurance Agency (UNZIA)

Enter the “Charter.” This is a document issued to an organization in the expectation that it can and will perform in its field measurably better than other structures doing the same work. A well-known example in the US is the growth of charter use in primary education.⁷³

UNZIA would be a hybrid private corporation operating as part of a public-private-civil sector partnership whose foundation document is a Charter approved by the General Assembly. UNZIA management observes the normal obligations of any business toward its corporate stakeholders – subject to the stringent requirements of the Charter for it to service the world community. The Charter provides for a Board of Governors that selects the UNZIA Chief Executive Officer and makes sure that UNZIA operates within its Charter with appropriate policies, effectiveness and skill. Members of the Board are chosen democratically in an unbiased manner to represent all of the members of the General Assembly on a rotating basis. There is also an independent and parallel Ethics Oversight Board.

The UNZIA Charter authorizes UNZIA to perform conflict resolution and security operations. UNZIA would have the following operational functions: investigation, negotiation and preparation of International Agreements between the Security Council, the insured countries, the countries or other entities providing the protective forces (sometimes called the committing or supplying countries or authorities), and whatever research, monitoring, coordinating and notification (both public and private) those Agreements call for.

UNZIA also has an ongoing, close, and important relationship with the Security Council. The Charter grants UNZIA an exclusive right to perform its functions and still protects the UN as well as UNZIA by permitting the UN to withdraw from the arrangement and terminate this right if UNZIA fails to perform its functions in a timely or adequate way as defined in the Charter in a manner that is expected to cover all reasonable contingencies. If the UN withdraws from UNZIA, it still must live up to SC’s obligation to perform and take over UNZIA’s existing agreements. The UN may choose to either reconstruct a “new UNZIA” or no longer have an entity like UNZIA.

The overarching reason for UNZIA to be a hybrid corporation, with public responsibilities and oversight is that each insurance policy for each country will be in many particulars different from all others. There is no one-size-fits-all concept. UNZIA must take an entrepreneurial approach to all of its activities and involve supply side partnerships with all sectors, including civil society organizations that now have major responsibilities for human rights, relief, human development, and military police duties. UNZIA personnel themselves are also on the front line in conflict resolution, peacemaking, fact-finding, and monitoring.

⁷³ Municipalities create charter schools and reduce public schools. As long as the charter schools do a better job educating children, they are allowed to operate and make a profit for those who invested in the charter school. Should grades not improve, the municipality can revoke the charter and return to the original system.

Other advantages of creating UNZIA are:

UNZIA becomes the learning library for global conflict resolution and security operations since each agreement adds to its knowledge base. It uses everything it learns from all of its past activities to do the best possible job in new activities.

It should fairly quickly become the most knowledgeable and respected clearing-house of information and wisdom on the security problems of each nation it deals with and each region of the world in which it has outstanding policies and oversees, initiates and monitors protective initiatives.

As a hybrid corporation, UNZIA must have a revenue source that provides incentives for it to succeed as an organization and to fulfill its primary role as a driver of win-win demilitarization. As a private organization, it will also be provided with a profit-potential incentive to obtain the services of the best people in the many different functional areas in which it will operate. If properly managed, UNZIA will well be able to afford to pay for that and provide profits fully able to compensate initial investors funding. Here is a reasonable projection of UNZIA's growth in revenue and profit and without need for additional investment

Almost all of the 50 to 100 militarily small countries, have military budgets of over a billion dollars a year, (see DIAGRAM "type 1 countries, p. 86"). That's collectively over 50 to 100 billion/yr. Some may give up all other military expenses and rely entirely on UNZIA support. Others may use UNZIA for a fraction of their military costs, relying on taxes and other means for possible and uncertain military needs. If on average these countries spend 5% of their military budgets for UNZIA insurance, (guaranteed by the Security Council), that produces UNZIA revenue of \$1 Billion (just from type 1 insured countries). Key (a) management, experts in military matters and (b) regional/country affairs experts supplemented by (c) contractors as needed (totaling 10 to 20 experts covering all these estimated insured countries), with largest single expenses, travel and UN home base for notifying all prospect and insured countries and suppliers of actions required by the many agreements. Utilizing its resulting large profits, could handle the insured countries search for interested country prospects ready to pay UNZIA for analysis of what actions will lead the prospect to the most support in their own interest for resolving their own military concerns.

The actual process of creating UNZIA is not complicated. The *General Assembly*, acting pursuant to a resolution of the SC, approves a Charter that describes in detail UNZIA's permissible and required activities. The Charter requires UNZIA to have enough net assets to operate *without requiring any UN funding ever either by the GA or the SC*. After the Charter is accepted, GA has only an oversight role that makes sure that UNZIA conforms to the Charter. The Charter may include a ceiling on UNZIA profits, which are limited to a fraction of the costs borne by those UNZIA agreements that have been approved and executed by the SC, perhaps in the range 1% to 10%. Profits above the limit revert to the UN. If UNZIA fails to conform to the Charter, the GA terminates UNZIA, with whatever termination benefits, if any, are included in the Charter.

Operations

UNSIA has the need and the responsibility to discuss possibilities with all potential parties leading to a set of draft agreements that is sufficiently fair, detailed, and clear to produce a final, operational set of Agreements endorsed by all parties (the protected (i.e. insured) country, the support countries, and the SC). Thereafter, UNSIA has the responsibility with each of the various sets of Agreements to alert all parties promptly whenever action by any party is called for and to make sure that all parties honor their obligations and perform as rapidly as required by the Agreement. Failure to perform Agreement obligations by any support country, at the SC's discretion, can lead to SC sanctions and possibly, ultimately propel the SC to blacklist underperforming peace-keepers and as necessary, put together a new group of countries that will furnish the protection called for in the Agreements.

With the SC's symbiotic backing of UNSIA, whenever a country understands that it might realistically be benefited by a good agreement, UNSIA can be expected to get the country to pay for a study of what protection is reasonable from the country's viewpoint, and achievable by UNSIA based on (a) the knowledge, experience, dedication, wisdom and diversity of UNSIA's top people, (b) UNSIA's intimate knowledge of SC attitudes, (c) its competence in estimations of its own costs, (d) the benefits to the protected country of various specific protective interventions and (e) an adequate, reliable and substantial group of support countries that have expressed interest in participating in such binding agreements. If the study shows that the prospect country's desire is reasonable, UNSIA will draft agreements with sufficient number of parties that will cover all its costs including the actuarially estimated costs of support countries. If the prospect's desire is NOT reasonable, UNSIA advises the country as to what reduced protection it can achieve within its budget, in some cases with the help of nearby countries that also arrange to become insured countries at a much reduced total cost for all. If that works, UNSIA proceeds with final agreements, assured by an informal understanding that the SC will be supportive. By these means, UNSIA is frequently able to protect a country paying UNSIA much less for its protection than the country's costs would be if it were prepared to fend off, on its own, threatening actions by other countries.

Contrasting roles of the SC and UNSIA

Each seat in the Security Council (SC) is appointed by, and serves at the pleasure of the UN member state that is a member of the Security Council. An individual member of the SC must serve the interests of the country that appointed it. In contrast, all employees of UNSIA are properly motivated, incentivized and reviewed to serve efficiently, economically, and with integrity all aspects of its system for protection of those countries that participate or seek to participate with it. Without the close working relationship with its operating arm, the UNSC could never alone accomplish what UNSIA offers. These totally different organizations can each do a better job working together to help each other and together greatly reduce the risk of war for the whole planet.

Enlarged Operations opportunities for enhancing and expanding the role of UNSIA to reduce the need for and cost of wars are illustrated in the EXPANDED DIAGRAM on page 86. The enlarged opportunities have these new features. As before (page 79), the

process starts when a prospect country requests consideration by UNSIA that leads to a negotiation and investigation that if not successful is dropped and if successful leads to the prospect becoming insured. Now there are types beyond type 2, including prospects that are not countries: Type 3, "Regional groups of adversaries (Middle East, Central America, South Asia)," type 4, "Insurgencies/ civil wars," and 5 "World's major ethnic and religious groups, seeking protection of violations of rights in multiple countries." These may be successfully tackled by UNSIA after its reputation has been built, perhaps even as soon as agreements are protecting one or two successfully insured countries.

As before, the "prospect" by execution of the Agreement becomes an "insured" country that thereafter works closely with UNSIA to cover any changes in its status, conditions, or needs, particularly if an event occurs that triggers the need for quick action by the Supply Side.

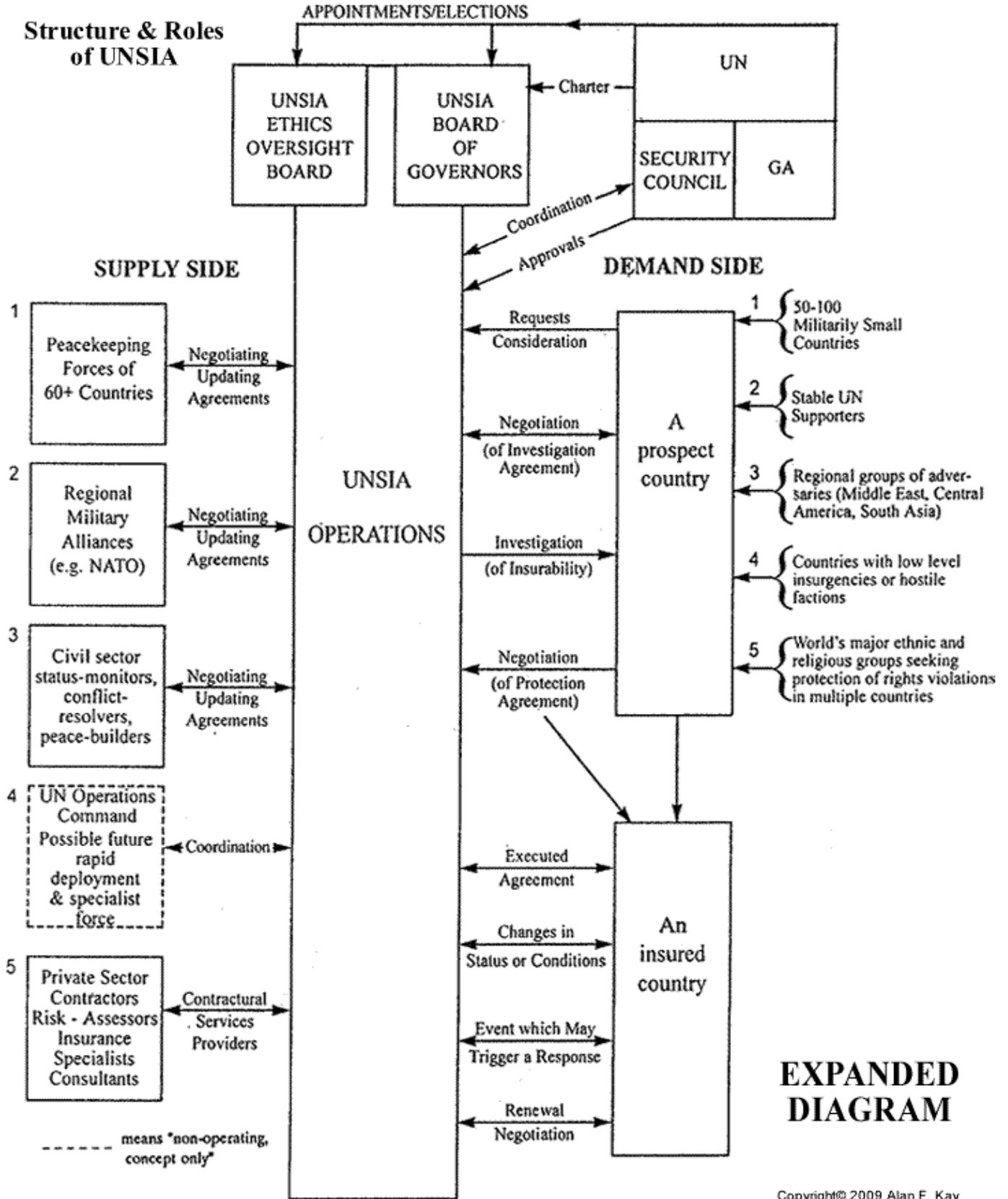
Although initially the suppliers are some group of the sixty or so countries that routinely engage in peacekeeping, in time some four other sources may also be suppliers of protection as shown in "Supply Side." They are (2) Regional military alliances, such as NATO, (3) Civil sector status-monitors, conflict resolvers, and peace-builders, (4) A possible future UN Operations Command for rapid deployment and/or utilization of specialized forces, and (5) Private sector contractors, risk-assessors, insurance specialists, and consultants, some companies that are capable of protecting endangered individuals and companies at risk. Suppliers, whoever they may be, are under Agreement with UNSIA. They are obligated to negotiate updating the Agreement as necessary. In case 4, coordination between UNSIA and a possible UN operated command is required. In case 5, coordination is required with contractual service providers.

Reasons UNSIA is Now "at the Market" and Actionable are Two-fold

1. It is now widely understood and accepted by policy-makers and even some spokespeople at the Pentagon and in the military that many of today's global problems are not susceptible to military strategies or actions.
2. Today's widespread use of mercenaries, private armies and corporate military forces is making urgent the adoption of a proposal like UNSIA, which would create a properly regulated set of international agreements and oversight of all peacekeeping and humanitarian interventions. The report of the UN Commission on Reforming the Security Council⁷⁴ coincides with UNSIA proposals.

Help with getting the UNSIA proposal further into mainstream thinking and mechanisms for conflict-resolution that go beyond military means will be much appreciated by all seeking "Elimination of War."

⁷⁴ "A very frequently discussed change to the UN structure is to change the permanent membership of the UN Security Council, which reflects the power structure of the world as it was in 1945. There were several proposed plans, notably by the G4 nations, by the Uniting for Consensus group, and by former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan by 1995 and more since then, but none has been implemented through 2008."



End Notes (as of July 1994)

1. History and Background. In a paper re-printed as part of the UNDP Development Study Program for the Stockholm Roundtable on Global Change, 22-24 July 1994, and appearing later, modified, in the journal *FUTURES*, 27(1), London UK, pp. 3-10, Kay and Henderson introduced the concept of a UN agency, UNZIA, the United Nations Security Insurance Agency, that would negotiate agreements guaranteeing UN assistance (peacekeeping, conflict resolution, etc.) to countries which would pre-pay for this protection. The first draft was presented at the 1993 Annual Conference of the Society for International Development, Mexico City. After the UNDP Roundtable, it was also presented at the Tokyo-based Global Infrastructure Fund's October 1994 seminar at MIT, the World Federalists meeting in Chicago in November 1994, and the Fourth Freedom Conference at Notre Dame in December 1994. Beginning in 1995 presentations have become too numerous to mention individually. There were several at the Copenhagen Social Summit in March, and an invited address by Hazel Henderson to the European Parliament on June 1, 1995, as part of a scenario of global transition. The first article appeared in the journal *FUTURES*, Feb. 1995, 27(1), pp. 3-10. Previous reports by Alan F. Kay and Hazel Henderson to the UNZIA Research Committee of the Global Commission to Fund the United Nations include *UNZIA Research Agenda*, April 10, 1995.

2. Acknowledgments. The original UNZIA concept was refined by discussions with such helpful friends as Harlan Cleveland (Author, President, World Academy for Art and Science, professor, the Hubert Humphrey Institute, University of Minnesota - now deceased); Inge Kaul (Director Human Development Report Office, UN Development Programme); Mabhub ul Haq (Special Advisor to the Administrator, UNDP - former Finance Minister of Pakistan); Admirals Gene LaRocque and John Shanahan (ret.) (formerly Directors of the Center for Defense Information). Col. Daniel M. Smith (ret.) in *FUTURES* 27(2), March, 1995, pp. 209-213, found no problems with UNZIA's risk assessment functions from a military point of view.

Endorsements and encouragement have also come from Nobel Laureates John Polanyi (Canada), Betty Williams (Ireland) and Oscar Arias (Costa Rica), from Ruud Lubbers, (former Prime Minister of the Netherlands); Hans-Peter Durr (Director, the Max-Planck Institute); Zbigniew Brzezinski (former US National Security Advisor); Amb. John MacDonald, (Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy); Amb. Jonathan Dean (UCS); Alex Morrison, (President, the Lester B. Pearson Canadian International Peacekeeping Training Centre); Elise Boulding, (International Peace Research Assn. Foundation); Senator Alan Cranston, deceased (California); Maj. Gen. (ret.) John B Kidd (USAF); Frank von Hippel (Princeton); John Langmore (Chair, House of Representatives Standing Committee on the Environment, Recreation and the Arts, Australia - Chair National Committee on the World Summit for Social Development, Canberra); Tim Barner (when Executive Director, World Federalist Association); William R. Pace (Executive Director, Institute for Global Policy/ World Federalist Movement - Center for Development of International Law, New York); Ben Ferencz, (Professor and Founder, Pace Peace Center, Pace University, New York); Scott Brown, (Exec. Dir., the Conflict Management Group); Prof. Roger Fisher, (Harvard Negotiation Project); and Nicholas Dunlop (Earth Action International).

Chapter 8

Global Climate Change is a National Security Issue

Warming of the Atmosphere Growing Through Fuel Usage

The temperature averaged for the whole earth, year by year, has been rising in tandem with the growth of industrialization in both developing and developed countries, particularly in recent years with the increasing desire for, and achievement of, developing and expanding national economies. The world in general and the US in particular must turn attention to fighting global climate change that's a more serious threat to national security than war. Growing global temperature is caused by combustion which allows increasing fossil fuel energy, primarily in two forms: (1) motor generated electricity and (2) extracted and refined petroleum, distributed globally for heat and mechanical power.

Both now depend almost entirely on extracting from the earth fossil fuels, coal and oil, to produce energy. Fossil fuel energy emits carbon dioxide (CO₂), the main "greenhouse gas," that maintains the temperature of the earth by trapping heat inside the atmosphere, the way plants growing inside a greenhouse are kept much warmer than the outside temperature. Without CO₂ and some other gasses the planet would be so cold as to be uninhabitable (see "Ice Ages" in Figure 1, p. 92). However, an excess of greenhouse gasses can raise the temperature of a planet to lethal levels.⁷⁵ Greenhouse gasses are produced by many natural and industrial processes, which have now reached the CO₂ level of 380 ppmv (parts per million by volume) in the atmosphere. Based on ice-core samples and weather records, current levels of CO₂ are approximately 100 ppmv higher than during immediately pre-industrial times, when direct human influence was negligible. The current level of CO₂ is the largest amount in the last 600,000 years. The inner chart in Figure 1 shows the average measured CO₂ in the atmosphere in recent times. The larger and outer chart shows the average over more than 500,000 years. Figure 2 shows the average temperature of the last 128 years. In the period 1945 to 1978 there was no trend in temperature change. This was the 33 year period following WWII with relatively small increase in the global economy as compared to the 30 years since where there has been a global average change upward of .1°C per six years reaching now a total increase of .5°C over the 30 year period.

It is normal for the total snow and ice during the winter (Dec.-Jan., etc.) to increase in the northern hemisphere and decrease in the southern hemisphere. The opposite is true during the summer (June-July, etc.). Again, as shown in Fig.1 and 2, the average amount of CO₂ and the average temperature of the whole atmosphere increase together every year due to the increasing greenhouse effect of increasing CO₂.

But there is another phenomenon at work, the albedo effect. Snow and ice on the earth's surface are highly reflective of the sun's energy while everywhere else – whether ice-free oceans, sun absorbing plants and foliage, or black dirt absorption – the sun's rays are

⁷⁵ The atmosphere of Venus is 96.5% carbon dioxide resulting in surface temperatures of about 467 °C (872 °F). Mercury, the planet closest to the sun, is cooler than Venus.

reflected much less than from ice and snow. The temperature of the atmosphere thus increases further just because there is less snow and ice.

The melting of snow and ice once started could rise to a time when the world would be unlivably hot, as almost all of the world's surface would absorb the sun's heat. The ice and snow once frozen well above sea-level in places, like Greenland and Antarctica, have already started to fracture and peel off like huge glaciers falling into the ocean, floating like giant icebergs but soon melting and further adding to the amount of water in the oceans. If almost all of the snow and ice melted, the ocean would become so much larger as to raise the level of the oceans as much as 100 feet. A large fraction of the world's total land area, notably all the coastal areas, where many of the world's large cities now exist, will be flooded and submerged probably for thousands of years.

Global warming is evidenced by increasing climatic variability and has already occurred to the point that local areas are flooded or suffer draught as bad as any that has been seen in hundreds of years. Heavier rainfall occurs in places where hot, dense, moisture-laden clouds finally drop their rain that often adds to flooding of downstream rivers by snow previously accumulated in mountainous and hilly areas, hundreds of miles away, the two together producing rapid flooding of rivers over-running banks and levees – flooding vast lowlands. A large flood in 2008 became prominent in the news when in Iowa and later surging down mid-American states through the Mississippi valley. Based on the history of earlier floods, the 2008 flood was initially called a “10 year” flood, later a “500 year” flood – but not called a flood created by “global warming,” where such massive floods could become routine and no longer pushed off in our thoughts to some remote future time. In other places, droughts are worsening as hot, dense, moisture-loaded clouds drop their rain and then dried-out proceed over land where rain does not fall – in time making wider areas drought plagued.

Military Fuel Usage

Of the total CO₂ in the atmosphere created by the US much is now produced by the American military. Really? Think about it. Fighting wars where bullets, mortars, rockets burn up battle-fields. Transporting to the Middle East several hundreds of thousands of troops and contractors. Personnel are constantly on the move and being supplied by distant air and sea; many sent to remote hospitals for injuries or to families for home-leaves, in addition to the manning, supplying and maintaining of all the huge military bases in the US and still more bases under the control of the US, in almost every other country as well.

Renewable Energy to Play an Increasing Role

Reducing the use of carbon, whether oil or coal, decreases the threat of global warming and opens up new and ultimately more efficient renewable energy of various types: “panels, flexible plastic, or fabrics” directly producing electricity from “sun light,” not very efficiently; “LED” (light emitting diodes) lamps and light bulbs more efficient, with design-adjustable colors and far greater lifetimes than “flourescents” or “folded flourescents;” concentrated “solar thermal plants” in hot, sunny, desert-like areas, spread-out over many square miles; “geothermal,” hot water pumped up from the ground where feasible; “ocean current turbines;” “wind turbines;” and “hydrogen-based cells”

producing clean electricity. Wind energy is now competitive with coal and nuclear for electricity. Beyond that, there are more efficient ways to use new energy: improved “batteries” and/or “flywheels” for storage of electricity; better control, reliability, redundancy and lower cost maintenance for re-designed “high-power networks” distributing high voltage electricity nationally and internationally. The best, easiest source of energy is simply to reduce the 40% the US wastes. As noted energy expert Amory Lovins points out, the greatest source of new oil in the USA is in Detroit, whose auto companies could have saved the most just by making fuel-efficient cars.⁷⁶ And that’s only the beginning.

When all this has matured, using oil for any reason other than for chemical feedstocks, possibly fuel for global air travel, minor chemically engineered items that altogether will not use more than 2 percent of oil for fuel and energy. Usage of oil will be so little, that we will no longer care much about its price.

Energy Sources Not Recommended

Not included are two energy sources that looked good to well-funded special interests: “nuclear power” and “ethanol” produced by agricultural sources.

Nuclear power plants produce energy by using radioactive materials to produce heat, such as hot water or steam. The heat is converted to electricity by methods that go back to 19th century technology for heating water to produce steam that rotate shafts to drive electric generators.

The production of radioactive materials starts by seeking and finding rock deposits to mine that contain “uranium.” Adequately concentrated uranium mines are rare. Many old mines have now run out of usable uranium. To determine if a mine contains uranium, coal is used as a source of energy to dig out ores that requires crushing stones to the right size range. The findings must be crushed and the rocks containing uranium separated from other minerals – all energy intensive processes.

The radioactivity of the found uranium is very low and must be increased to power grade by a process that was, in the 1940’s, the original secret of nuclear weapons. The process to increase the radioactivity to a level where it can boil water is expensive, requires energy, sophisticated equipment, and is slow. The enriched highly radioactive uranium that comes to the power plant is dangerous, needs to be handled at a distance from workers wearing protective clothes and gear and moved by machines that further prepare, measure and emplace the proper amount of the radioactive uranium in a place where the working fluid, usually water, gets heated up.

In addition, fluid piping systems designed to cool the uranium, are needed for safety controls that are necessary to prevent an uncontrolled nuclear chain reaction. The fluid must be kept radiation-free before it is discharged – often out to the ocean somewhere, sometimes in other places – remote from the plant and seldom inspected.

⁷⁶ This was written before any congressional bailout of US based autos. The Congress should earlier have listened to Lovins.

To build a nuclear power plant from scratch takes about ten years and costs over \$100 million. No person in their right mind would build such a plant without the support of (1) a federal government \$800 million, insurance policy, called “Price Anderson,” (2) government construction subsidies, (3) laws that allow utilities to charge their customers in advance for “Construction Work in Progress” with the item, labeled “CWIP,” added to their bills, and (4) well-heeled investors who refused to risk their money for building nuclear power plants for the past 30 years.

Expensive, dangerous, unending and dubious, a nuclear power plant is a VERY EXPENSIVE way to boil water, AND yields very little net energy!

Unfortunately, the much more expensive way to boil water, building nuclear power plants, has two key advantages over the potentially much less expensive renewables, solar, wind, geothermal, ocean, etc. First, nuclear power plants have been developed and operated for over 50 years, while renewables have little history and cannot be a significant factor in energy production in the short run. What about the long run?⁷⁷ Second, most vicious, is that the nuclear power plants are so expensive that their promoters and developers, can use a small fraction of their total costs, say 1%, for lawyers and lobbyists, to inundate the administration and Congress, whereas spending 1% of the US current renewable energy revenues for promotion and lobbying is not enough to be noticed much in the administration and the Congress.

The second dubious method of obtaining energy is by the production of “ethanol” that can be used to drive cars. The heart of the difficulty is the need for arable land and huge quantities of water for the sustainable growing of grains, produce and crops to feed the world without the use and run-off of dangerous pesticides, insecticides, and fertilizers. In the long run, there will probably be very little use of food crops that can produce ethanol, because that drives up food prices. Wood waste, grasses, and all such wastes need to be returned to soils to keep them productive. Ethanol from cellulose is not yet viable and biofuels will probably give way to electricity to power our cars.

Profits from Curbing Global Warming VS. More Major Wars

Global warming will force the world to eliminate wars, if not forever, at least to a degree never before imagined by the many that benefit from, and are dedicated to, militarism (see Chapter 1). If these benefactors of militarism do succeed in promoting their visions of either (1) the global acceptance of the US as the “arsenal of democracy” or at the other extreme (2) the continued total military pre-eminence of the US, controlling all the countries in the world, as was promoted by Bush/Cheney and the neo-cons (the great majority of whom have personally never fought in any war!). If the military continues to expand into (1) or (2) or anything in between, then the evidence shows that our descendents will witness an unprecedented global bloodbath.

⁷⁷ Well, ex-vice president, Al Gore, estimates that it is reasonable in ten years for the world to get all its needed electricity entirely from renewables.

Carbon Dioxide Variations

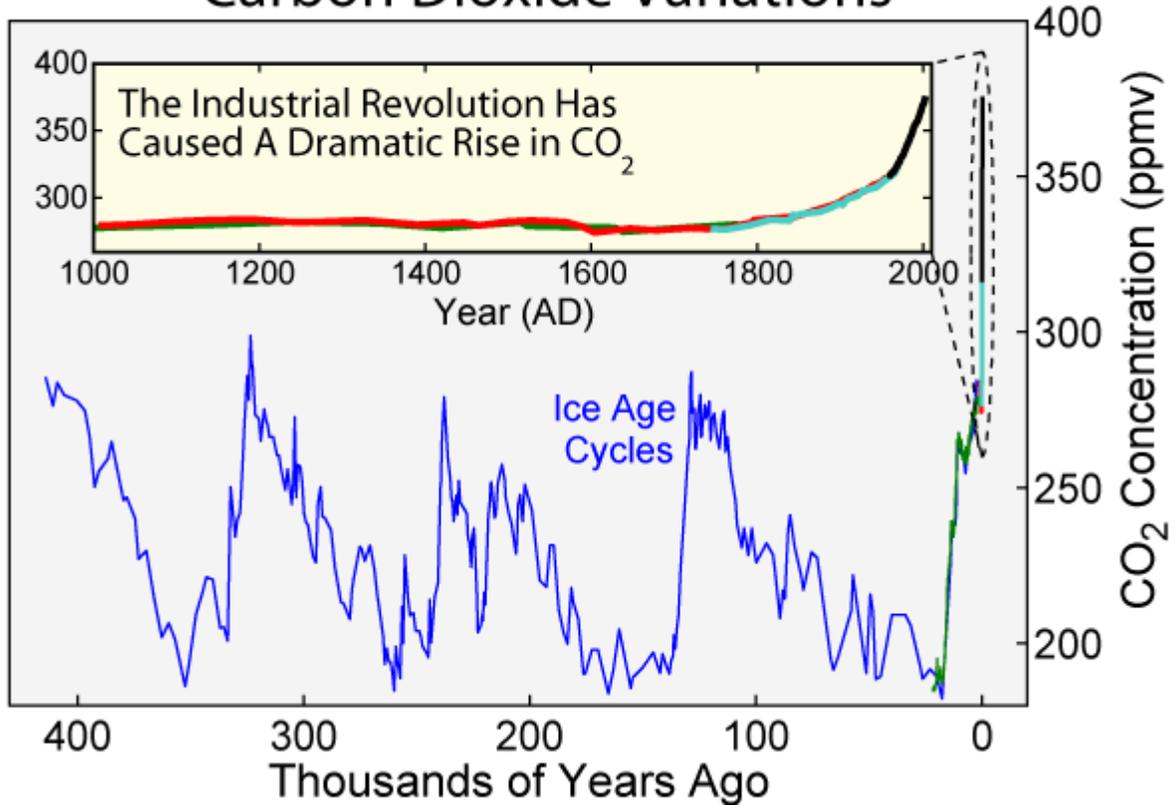


Figure 1

This graph is an original work created for Global Warming Art by Robert A. Rohde
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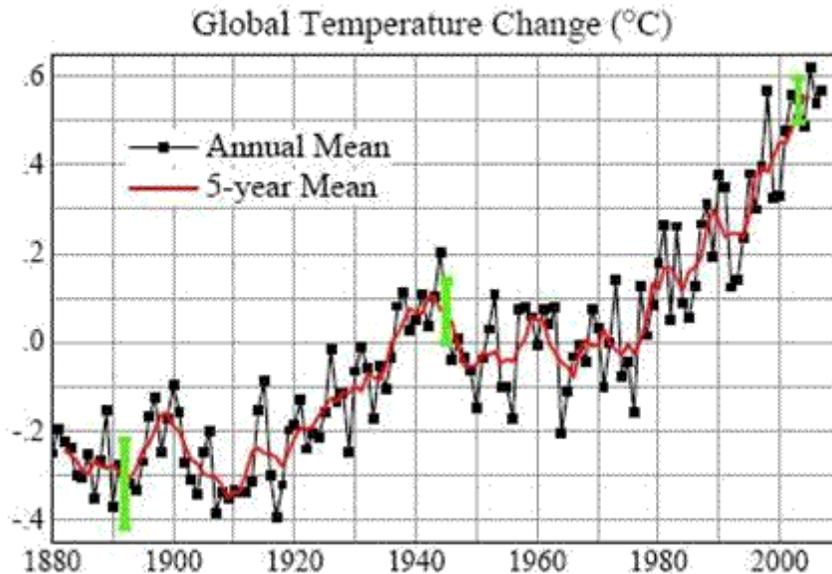


Figure 2

Graph of global annual surface temperatures (Air and ocean data from weather stations, ships and satellites) relative to 1951-1980 mean temperature has risen over .5°C (.9°F) in the last decade.

Graph from NASA GISS (Goddard Institute for Space Studies) Surface Temperature Analysis

Chapter 9

Senator McCain and Co-author Kay – two views of ending wars.

In the election campaign, Senator John McCain described his 5 ½ years as a prisoner of the North Vietnamese. His “home” in Hanoi was a 4’by 6’ cell; his captors denied him almost all contact with other prisoners; routinely he would be pulled from his cell and beaten. His captors wanted him to admit that fighting the North Vietnamese was a mistake.

McCain is a descendant of an American family of warriors, where every generation going back to the Revolution had at least one flag-rank or field grade officer. He was proud of that bit of history and expected to achieve a comparable level in his own military career. He also believed that the US could have won that war if it had not given up. All told, the war raged for 12 years – much longer than any other war the US has fought. But apparently 12 years was not enough for McCain. He was only 34 years old when he was released in a prisoner swap and he still had a lot more fight in him.

No doubt that McCain, a Navy air flyer, was a dare-devil. He fearlessly survived several crashes into the ocean even when, in one case, his plane sank to the bottom, and his only hope was to use his seat release lever that would shoot him up to the surface. There was one problem. He had skipped a flier instruction session that explained how the ejection system worked, including how to find the release lever that would have exploded him out of harm’s way. He would rather fly than listen to such sessions. He realized that he might have signed his own death warrant, but never mind. He searched around with his hand and, suddenly, boom, he was on his way up. God was on his side.

Occasionally, he liked to do crazy heroic stunts with God by his side. In a way he has continued this approach to life to this day. In his 24 years in the Senate he took a position or supported a bill that seemed strangely unlike him, or took some odd position often contrary to what he had earlier supported. In the Senate he has been widely thought of as a maverick.

During his 2008 campaign, he asserted that the US withdrawal from South Vietnam without a victory had been tantamount to abandoning the South Vietnamese to a horrendous fate. But McCain never mentioned one inconvenient fact: the architects of this outcome, Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, were not exactly peaceniks. Nixon and Kissinger, needing to end the direct US involvement in the civil war for domestic political reasons, were intent on squeezing as much as they could in concessions from the North Vietnamese. But with the last of the 3.4 million+ Americans who went to Vietnam still fighting and dying (battle deaths would exceed 47,000), their bargaining position was weak. McCain had missed the last five years of the war, knew nothing about how badly the war was going, and how much was going on to bring the long war to a close.

The US involvement in the war was accelerated by President Lyndon Johnson. Johnson would not do anything that might jeopardize victory. He wanted to preserve his

presidential mantel, the claim that “the US has never lost a war” (or, as humorists add, “won a peace”). He considered every justification to continue the war. He re-tooled the US strategy and lied about what he was doing. By creating the “Gulf of Tonkin” incident he got Congress to up the ante for enlarging the war. The debacle of Vietnam can be ascribed to the “militarism mindset” espoused by both former Democrat President Johnson and former Republican presidential candidate McCain.

What most Americans, apparently including McCain, forgot – or never knew – was the long slow drift of US leaders at first trying to do the right thing and finally getting into a war in Vietnam with both feet. WWII ended in co-author Kay’s second year in the infantry, when he was sent to Tokyo at age 20 as a Japanese language interpreter with military police duties. Informal discussions in 1946 with American interpreters and translators in the Dai Ichi building, headquarters for the US Army of Occupations, were very revealing as to what was happening in Vietnam.

The State Department officials in Washington back then were Europeanists. They had studied and spent time in Europe, knew European languages and had little interest in Asia, which they felt was a much less important part of the world, economically and militarily, and more insular compared to the important ties that the US had with Europe.

Ho Chi Min was a Vietnam revolutionary who clearly wanted more self-governance for his people. He also was impressed by the good work that the US had done in pushing Japan out of South-East Asia in WWII. He had produced a Declaration of Independence, essentially the same as ours, but could get no support from Americans at the peace conferences after the war. He returned to lead the insurrection and liberation of Vietnam with the full backing of the North Vietnamese people.

France had held Indo-China as a colony for many years and wanted the return of its empire when the war ended, but had little military capability to achieve that. The US State Department, with its European focus, insisted that the US military do something to help France. What the French did not know was that at the Potsdam Conference the heads of the allied powers had decided that the Chinese would oversee the surrender of Japanese troops north of the 17th parallel and the British would oversee the surrender in the south. For their part, the Vietminh, with Ho as their leader, were ready to take over the “Chinese” areas when the Nationalists lost their hold on the mainland to the Communists.

Returning French forces were too few to prevent the insurgency that followed. They were driven from the Vietminh strongholds in the north, where Ho and his forces took over and declared Hanoi as their capital. When President Eisenhower declined to send troops to help the French, the end was inevitable. But once again, at the peace talks, Ho was denied control of the South where a US-backed government took power – and then refused to participate in a national-election that was intended to produce a unified Vietnam. Having shown its colors, the American hegemon had to go all the way. Otherwise, as so many believed, the US would become easy pickings by many other Asian countries that wanted more self-rule.

Throughout the 12 year war, the North Vietnamese and their Vietcong allies in the South took many US airmen and soldiers as prisoners of war (POWs), many wounded in action. The Vietcong were ready to return any of these men to America if they agreed that they were wrong to fight in the war. Polls showed that 80% of Americans opposed the war after becoming aware of the My Lai massacre of innocent Vietnamese by frustrated American troops and the Pentagon papers that revealed officially how badly the war was going. This was not known to US POWs and could be conceived by them as North Vietnamese propaganda. Returning US prisoners who “agreed” the war was going badly had had little news available to them.

Later in the war, all sorts of people – reporters, media content developers, peace organization representatives and others, from various countries, including the US, were allowed to come to Vietnam, enter a meeting with a group of mostly US POWs conducted by a Vietnam “host,” allowed to leisurely ask any questions they wanted to, and hear the POW replies. The meetings were awkward, often with hard questions. But for their own reasons, a number of the POWs pretty much confirmed that they had come to oppose the war and were reasonably well treated by their captors. None would say anything that might endanger the lives of Americans still fighting in Vietnam.

John McCain was at the time not among these groups because he believed it a badge of honor that the war should be continued until victory. When the 2008 campaign rolled around, McCain who had never participated in a war that the US won, was conceded to be a “war hero,” even by his opponents.

There is a remarkable parallel between co-author Kay’s life and McCain’s. Kay’s war was WWII, the last good war; McCain’s was Vietnam, the first of the really bad and long wars. (See page 35.) Kay’s family was not as prestigious as generations of McCain’s family going back to late 18th century. Kay’s family were Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe in the 1870s-1880s, who escaped the pogroms and forced enlistments to fight the wars of Russia, Germany and the Austro-Hungarian empire. They were very supportive of the US military. Kay’s grandfather, Max, a new immigrant, was not allowed to enlist in the Spanish American war, but his family made up for that. When a small boy, Kay was taken by Max to a Memorial day parade where the survivors of previous wars paraded in order, the most recent first. The last was a half a dozen old men, in ruffled uniforms, some limping. Grandfather Max, rushing forward to catch a better view, was excited and raised his voice, “Didn’t know any of these guys were still alive!” Wow! They were **civil war veterans**. Could that be true? Fast forward. A little calculation shows most civil war veterans were already dead, with survivors mainly in their 80s, about the same age as Kay now, 83.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ The comparison correctly ignores the fact that longevity of those now in their 80s exceeds by 12 years those in the same cohort almost a century ago. Kay concedes that he was born in the right era.

Getting more serious, in 1935, grandfather Max, aware of the initial killing of Jews in Germany decided it was his last chance to see some of the family still there. For a while he thought of taking only grandchild, Alan age 9, with him, but decided against it. When he came back, at the family table he recounted the experience, “It’s very bad. Worse than I thought.” Thereafter, covering the news of the day, everything was considered by whether it was good for the Jews or bad for the Jews, and little Alan, learned that someday he would have to fight Hitler. Till the end of WWII, co-author Kay never forgot that commitment.

When the US entered WWII, Kay’s father became a captain in the New Jersey State Guard. Kay took basic training at Camp Croft, South Carolina, Sept-Dec 1944. There wasn’t much food for recruits at Camp Croft. There was also little weapons training. Following the troop landings in Normandy in June 1944, priorities for weapons, ammunition and supplies properly went to the fighting troops, who were mauled and stalled as they battled their way across Europe for the next six months until the war in Europe ended.

Making recruits miserable was what Camp Croft training was about. Making recruits get up in the middle of the night with no notice to clean and mop the barracks. Going hand by hand across an obstacle course high enough above a concrete floor to break a few bones if you fell. Walking through dense woods on a trail obscured by foliage, wearing a helmet and a gas mask that diminished visibility, carrying an M1 rifle, wearing a 50 lb back pack and at one point getting your legs caught up in string planted knee high on the trail, and being told when you finished, “You would have been dead. The string was a planted land mine. Good luck when you get to Europe. You’ll need it.”

A few days before we were to be shipped out to Europe, recruit Kay got his first and only pass for an overnight in nearby Spartanburg where he had the treat of sleeping in a real bed. He thought that Camp Croft was bad and fighting in Europe was bound to be worse. There was nothing Kay could do about it, so he changed his outlook. He became brave. As he crossed a road in Spartanburg he dropped civilian precautions and felt liberated by not looking to see if cars were coming. He honestly felt that he just as soon die then as later.

Kay later realized that a brave, devil-may-care attitude was just what Camp Croft was supposed to have done for its recruits, and it worked. Change of recruit attitudes to be brave is an important part of basic training in armies around the world, and the younger the recruits the easier it is to get them in line. It certainly helped when, having not been sent to Europe, almost two years later, Kay at age 20 was an interpreter with military police duties in Tokyo. His story, appearing on pages 44-47 of the book, “*MILITARIST, MILLIONAIRE, PEACENIK – Memoir of a Serial Entrepreneur*. COSIMO, NY, 2008”, is a bit of little known history that had a lasting effect on what kind of person Kay would become and how it affected his life thereafter. The story is told in the first person.

One night in my bunk in Tokyo, sound asleep, I was shaken awake at midnight and told to get dressed and come down to the regiment conference room. I did. A Military

Intelligence colonel was explaining there was evidence implying an attempt to take the life of the newly elected Prime Minister, Shigera Yoshida. The Colonel was there to authorize a top-secret jeep patrol that would leave immediately and find where the Prime Minister (PM) was sleeping, stay near it, circle around it, and “keep your eyes open.” Also the patrol would operate until noon the next day – about 12 hours of continuous duty. To draw the least attention, the patrol would be kept small, just three men:

- (1) Me the interpreter who was to find out where the PM was staying from the Japanese police who were near him and also might be guarding him, or if and when the PM was about to leave, find out where he was going and when. I was also to drive the jeep,
- (2) The radio operator who would advise CHQ (Command Headquarters) of any developments and receive new orders, and
- (3) A lieutenant who was in charge of the patrol.

The three of us heard the Colonel's briefing which emphasized two important things: (1) Intelligence did not know if the attackers would be a lone gunman, a mob, or anything in-between. The patrol had to be alert to all these possibilities and fire if and only if necessary to protect the PM, (2) No one (read, the media, I suppose) should know that the US army had to protect the new Prime Minister. It would make the Occupation look much shakier than it was. I was not told by anyone in the briefing that what I was hearing was a secret.

Fully, apprised, and carrying our weapons, we went out to pick up the jeep. The Lieutenant handed me the keys. Having never driven a jeep, I fumbled around unable to start. The Lieutenant, annoyed, had me change places with him and he drove us off. I was carrying a rifle. The Lieutenant asked if I had a pistol. I said, I never received training with a pistol. (You remember – little weapons capability from Camp Croft training). This time he was disgusted. But there was no choice. We all had to obey those orders as best we could.

We circled around the Prime Minister's residence with somewhat varying routes over largely a wooded area for twelve hours. The PM never left his residence, and my contact with the Japanese police was minimal but adequate. Initially I was thrilled with the assignment. This was really big stuff! I could be a hero. In the first few hours I peered into the shrubbery as we passed at a fairly low speed, maybe 20 miles per hour. I looked for motion anywhere. There were no cars parked along our route or anyplace that permitted humans to hide except the shrubbery or the deeper woods.

There came a point sometime within the patrol's twelve duty hours when I was really tired and somehow didn't feel there was going to be any attack by anybody on anybody. What had started as enormous enthusiasm and alertness faded into indifference and sleep-deprivation. Anyway we had accomplished our mission. When we returned to regimental headquarters, another team was sent out to continue the same patrol for protecting the Prime Minister.

It seemed to me that protection of the Prime Minister by us Yanks was strategically aimed at thwarting the Russians. I was personally having a little problem in understanding why we were fearful of the Russians. In basic training we saw a number of training films, in particular on two occasions there were films to make anti-communists more comfortable with the Soviets. Winston Churchill had said in regard to becoming an ally of the Soviets that he would make a deal with the devil himself if it helped to defeat Hitler. The films showed charming footage of the salt-of-the-earth peasants being mowed down by Nazi machine gunners and depicted "Uncle Joe" Stalin as a "tough but fair" leader. The two films were different but conveyed the same message.

However in the first week of the ongoing PM patrols, I was obsessed by the pro-Soviet training films and a new factor. I had been following the Nuremberg trials for "war crimes," where this point was made: If a soldier was presented with an order by his superior, he need not obey it, provided that he was ready to take the consequences if later he finds out that he should have obeyed it. One consequence could be conviction for treason. It meant to me that I, a lowly private, should consider disobeying an order if it is clear to me that the order is wrong, but I had to be very sure. I was neither "pro" nor "anti" Soviet. I just thought a good venting of the issue by a respected news source would help everybody understand what was going on, including me and others who wanted to learn more. I knew from the training films that the US was pro-Soviet in 1945 and as far as I knew nothing had changed.

I had an A pass, so when I was off-duty I could leave the regiment compound and go wherever I chose. In a day or so I went to the Time Magazine office. The whole office was a small room with a desk and phone for one reporter. I gave him the scoop on the Prime Minister protection patrol that I thought he would gobble up for a front page story. Instead he gave me a frowning look and made clear that he would do no such thing. I left discouraged and resigned.

Amazingly these patrols continued on and on, 24/7. I was on several of them. They were never cancelled in the six months I was in the Occupation of Japan. No shot was fired in anger. There was never attempt on the life of the PM. The top secret classification for the Prime Minister protection patrols rapidly receded and disappeared. Within a few weeks everyone in the Occupation knew that these patrols were being carried on. Certainly not in the early weeks, probably never, did information on the PM protection patrols appear in the press. In the beginning it was too secret for the mainstream media, i.e., Time magazine, and later it was no longer news."⁷⁹

If I had gone into the Time magazine office and asked the reporter only to raise the issue in print, any investigation he started could easily devolve negatively upon himself and his career. Why should he risk it? It's easy to see then or looking back, now, why he turned me down. But there was something else involved. Going wrong and being indicted for treason, or even a lesser crime, seems so remote to most 20 year-old's that it's given no

⁷⁹ This story was taken from "*MILITARIST, MILLIONAIRE, PEACENIK – Memoir of a Serial Entrepreneur*. COSIMO, NY, Alan F. Kay, 2008"

thought. I was no doubt naïve, but I was ready to take the consequences if the reporter did do a story. I think back and see myself as a foolish and brave 20 year old but, 63 years later, **I'm proud of the risk** I took. The mainstream media to this day virtually never investigates all relevant aspects of issues and do not challenge whatever powerful interests are promoting even those that they may someday prove disastrous. Today's media just avoid risk and bury information that citizens of a democracy need to know.

John McCain apparently never confronted a situation where decisions made in secrecy by higher-ups were bad for ordinary folks and potentially bad for the whole country. The country could understand little of what was going on, particularly when the facts of the matter were complicated.

Neither presidential candidate McCain nor Sarah Palin, his vice president of choice, were showing any interest in their administration saving a place, if elected, for those who are to get attention for doing community organizing for people who, without that help, usually meet in church basements and get no attention from political leaders or mainstream media. They are dismissed by people like Phil Gramm who has made a fortune on marginally legal deals, and thinks of low income America as whiners.

John McCain is a heroic figure, but because of his time as a prisoner in Hanoi, he may be less aware of the cynical geopolitics behind the Vietnam War and less cognizant of the Bush II Administration's motives for the invasion of Iraq. President Obama may be similarly unaware that lengthy extended deployment of military units, and even more so, sending new fighting units into Afghanistan or Iraq will probably only prolong these wars with little expectation of long term improvement for the people of those countries. There will certainly be increasing pressure on US troops and their families and further cost and stress to all Americans.

Chapter 10

New Actors and Institutions – Preventing and Helping to Eliminate Wars

Since the 1990s, citizens in many countries have been organizing globally to prevent conflict and oppose wars. The unprecedented demonstrations opposing the Iraq war in cities around the world in 2002-2003 were estimated at between 10 and 15 million people. Public awareness is growing of the dangers of militarism and its ineffectiveness in dealing with the major challenges of the 21st century. These range from climate change, pollution, resource-depletion and epidemics to unsustainable forms of economic growth that widen gaps between rich and poor and disrupt local communities and cultures. Increased world trade, under the World Trade Organization's pro-corporate rules has led to global outsourcing and the domination of large corporations and finance over the local economies of "Main Street." This new public awareness of the interlinkages among all these issues and militarism, arms sales and ambitions of politicians has been raised by all the mass communications of the Information Age, including the Internet and cell phones as primary organizing tools.

New institutions in academia and government join earlier efforts and are devoted to peace studies, peace journalism and new approaches to conflict-resolution, including training soldiers for peace-keeping, as in Canada. The launching of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in 2002 serves to strike fear into would-be militaristic politicians. Most countries have ratified the ICC, with the embarrassing exception of the USA.

The UN remains the most important global institution for resolving conflicts, fostering new norms and standards in treaties governing many issues, from protecting from exploitation and militarism our oceans, outer space, and Antarctica to saving forests, endangered species, local cultures and languages. The European Union, launched in Rome in 1956 by nations determined to never fight again, has blossomed into a union of 27 disparate countries stretching across all of Europe and peacefully pooling their national sovereignty in Brussels and Strasbourg in the Parliament of Europe. Their efforts to meld their disparate cultures and languages required to hitherto unprecedented feats of diplomacy and dispute resolution.

Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) – now often referred to more positively as Civic Society Organizations (CSOs) – build peace and reconciliation by assisting countries to resolve conflicts before they become wars.

Many, perhaps most, heads-of-state looking at over 190 countries in the world find that at least a handful of other countries are prickly, hostile, or enemy. If the UN sponsored UNSIA organization,⁸⁰ working with the UN Security Council was in existence, the leaders of such countries could avail themselves of peace-keepers – provided, trained and sponsored by the UN with the approval of the UN Security Council. Risk assessors could examine the country's concerns or fears and if appropriate, the Security Council could

⁸⁰ See Chapter 7 for this proposal

accept responsibility for its selected peace-keepers to protect the country from specific, hostile actions by other countries. Without UNSIA or the operation of a similar agency, leaders with concerns or fears of another country typically present its leader with little more than tough rhetoric or hostile offers and some strengthening of their own country's ability to fight wars. However, in contrast to the leaders, there are always "ordinary" citizens in all countries who are ready to help make peace. Many citizens have the expertise, commitment and willingness to consider the possibility of joining with an NGO that specializes in conflict resolution, and following some discussion, agree to meet their counterparts in other countries providing the authorities do not prevent such meetings.

Competent and experienced NGOs are often facilitated by the UN for conflict resolution. In 1996, the proposal in the next paragraph was presented to the UN Security Council⁸¹ to work with such NGOs. The UN now works with NGO conflict resolution practitioners, operating all over the world. All ideas presented in this proposal have not been fully integrated into UN-NGO relationships. Of course, whether a particular NGO intervention has prevented a war remains hypothetical, and can be considered at best "very likely." The following information has been archived as a Proposal in the website www.alanfky.com/build_peace/arm_pc.shtml:

PROPOSAL to UN Security Council, 1996

Background Explorations by the Global Commission to Fund the United Nations, its Committee on Global Security and its Co-chairs, Commissioners Alan F. Kay and Hazel Henderson, have resulted in this Proposal to the United Nations Security Council and its then President, Ambassador Juan Somavia, Chile.⁸² It was hoped that the Proposal might lead to the Security Council utilizing the services of civil society organizations which have been active in culturally-specific, local trust building, conflict resolution and training for peace building in many countries. Commissioners Kay and Henderson, as Co-Chairs of the Commission's Committee on Global Security and in connection with their 1995 proposal for a United Nations Security Insurance Agency, have been familiar with a number of such organizations over the years that are listed in the next paragraph, and have continued with many of them to this day. In general these organizations, some well-known and most not so well-known, operating in local grass-roots situations have done excellent and valuable work and their services are in great demand. In the post Cold-War era some have grown more active in international preventive diplomacy, but their basic work is "on the ground" in many countries where their professional training in community trust-building is utilized. The global need is enormous, while their reach and effectiveness is limited primarily by the lack of recognition. It should be noted that the

⁸¹ See *The UN: Policy & Financing Alternatives*, Editors Harlan Cleveland, Hazel Henderson, Inge Kaul (Elsevier Scientific, FUTURES UK, Mar. 1995) and US edition (1996), available at *The Global Commission to Fund the United Nations*, 10 Carrera St., St. Augustine FL 32084, 904-826-0984. *Financing UN Functions in the Post-Cold War Era*, FUTURES, 27(1), London UK, pp. 3-10.

⁸² Now, 2009, Somavia is Director-General of the International Labor Organization (ILO) in Geneva, a specialized agency of the UN, representing governments, employers, and labor unions and promoting fair globalization and higher workplace standards worldwide.

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organizations are very diverse and have different approaches and specialties which have developed because the needs of the world are diverse and complex.

Alphabetical List of Competent Organizations, 1996. Most but not all are still active: Albert Einstein Institute, Arias Foundation (Costa Rica), British American Security Information Council, Carnegie Corporation, the Carter Center, Conflict Management Group, Foundation for Global Community, Harvard Negotiation Project, Institute for International Mediation and Conflict Resolution, Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy, International Alert (London), International Centre for Peace (Bombay), International Crisis Group (London), International Peace Research Foundation, Kettering Foundation, Pearson Peace-keeping Center (Canada), Search for Common Ground, TFF – The Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research (Sweden), Verification Technology Information Center (London)

ARM-PC (Anticipatory Risk-Mitigation and Peace-building Contingent), a communications-based facility was presented in the 1996 Proposal to UN Security Council worded as follows:

WHEREAS the Security Council may from time to time confront situations of escalating tensions within or between member states, which it may determine require mediation efforts not only by high-level envoys, emissaries and shuttle diplomacy – but also ongoing trust-building and conflict-resolution at the level of civil society and local officials,

THEREFORE...we propose as part of a wider picture of reinforcing preventive diplomacy ARM-PC, a standby facility to maintain an expanding data-base with real-time communications with the existing networks of trained professionals drawn from those already serving in established non-profit civil organizations with excellent credentials and proven track records in all aspects and techniques for culturally-specific trust-building and reconstruction, conflict-resolution, risk-mitigation and confidence building. The groups would comprise an in-place, on-call network of professionals already engaged in such activities in many countries in a large variety of such peace-building organizations, together with a few other organizations that support or assist such activities, each organization having its unique strengths and capabilities. Those listed herein are only a small and unrepresentative sample of large numbers of similar groups operating in such trust and confidence building capacities in civil sectors in Africa, Europe, Latin America, Asia and North and Central America. ARM-PC would work side-by-side with all the existing humanitarian and relief organizations doing excellent work in their specific areas, as well as all the UN and other official organizations mandated to assist in first-aid, humanitarian and refugee relief. ARM-PC would "fill the gaps" that still exist in many situations and conflict-ravaged areas by mobilizing grassroots trust-building reconstruction in specific communities – a role that falls between the mandates of UN peace-keeping forces and official humanitarian aid.

ARM-PC as a "virtual organization" represents a value-added networking capability which can bridge not only between peace-keeping forces and official relief organizations, but can engage in local committees, identifying needs, training mediators and even finding opportunities for entrepreneurial enterprises and micro-loans.

Recent experiences of conflicts (many of which are internal as well as between member states) have shown that peace-keeping military forces alone are often unable to address the many situations requiring local confidence-building, social mediation, reconstruction and other pressing civil society needs. These situations often underlie or give rise to armed conflicts. As UN peace-keeping forces are called on in a proliferating variety of such conflicts, their work might be reinforced by early or simultaneous deployment of civil organizations of the proposed facility, which are trained, experienced and in readiness for such services.

Components of the Proposed Facility

- On-line communications system and expanding data-bases linking professional organizations in a worldwide network
- Training and readiness of facility's contingents
- Monitoring and risk-mitigation services: early-warning and reporting system linking grass-roots civil organizations in support-groups with multilateral professional organizations and local, national and international media where and as appropriate.

An outcome of this proposal is presented in the next section.

The Increasing Role of Women in NGOs that Assist the UN

Peace and Security

The ARM-PC proposal was accepted by the Security Council in 1996. It evolved and elements of it continue to this date. More recent global developments, particularly the meltdown of the world-wide financial structure, are bringing to the UN important new initiatives on the part of the Security Council, supported by Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon.

A Security Council open debate on women, peace, and security took place on October 29, 2008. For the debate the President of the Security Council circulated a concept paper, examining the issue of women's equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security.

In advance of the meeting, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon released his report, "Women and peace and security." While acknowledging that positive steps have been made in recent years, he stated that countries need to take more action increasing the role of women in the search for peace and justice and enhancing women's input in decision-making. Mr. Ban said, "There is growing support for women's equal participation in peace processes," as well as "enhanced capacity to build women's empowerment." While adding that greater attention is being paid to sexual violence in conflict situations, he also stressed that, "The noticeable gap that remains between policies and their

effective implementation must be closed.” The report calls for more action to be taken at the country level to increase the role of women in all stages of conflict prevention, resolution and management, as well as peace-building.

Further efforts are also essential to prevent and halt sexual and gender-based violence through such means as more systematic responses by UN peacekeeping missions and humanitarian assistance programs, protection of displaced women and strengthened strategies to address impunity for those committing sexual crimes.

Mr. Ban’s report calls on the Security Council to fortify its capacity to end sexual violence and that it “should be prepared to dispatch missions to assess situations when violence is used or commissioned as a tactic of war or as part of a widespread or systemic attack against civilians.”

The report also recommends that the Security Council should increase its use of the Arria formula or similar arrangements for the informal consultations with women’s groups and NGO organizations on individual conflict situations on its agenda.

Information from the October debate was included in Security Council *resolution 1325* and from an earlier debate, June 2008, *resolution 1820*.

Poor and Hungry Suffering from Climate Change and Unfettered Capitalism

One of the oldest and best known women’s organizations, founded in 1915, the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), works to achieve world disarmament, full rights for women, racial and economic justice, and an end to all forms of violence. Developments, including global climate change, are coalescing to immerse the world in new suffering, particularly lives and livelihoods of poor people, especially women and children.

WILPF understands:

- the global financial crisis is the product of the speculation and greed of unfettered capitalism whose effect will be felt across the globe most keenly by the poorest people, 70% of whom are women.
- the vital importance of global financial regulation must move the world towards an economic system that puts the needs of people before profit.

WILPF organized a six-day meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, 11/19-24/2008, to

(a) focus attention on the proposal, launched 10/22/2008 by UNEP⁸³ for a Green Economic Initiative for investment to tackle climate change while stimulating employment expansion within a more environmentally-friendly economy. This includes clean energy and technologies; sustainable agriculture; ecosystem infrastructure; reduced emissions; and sustainable urban planning.

⁸³ United Nations Environment Program

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(b) call upon the UN Security Council, the General Assembly and member governments to take urgent steps to reduce the world's 1.4 trillion dollar total annual military expenditures,⁸⁴ and release resources to support the UNEP initiative and the work of the UN agencies toward reaching the Millennium Development Goals.

(c) urge the UN General Assembly to recognize that the structure and remit of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund must be reviewed to provide agreed international regulation and control on speculative financial dealings and to support economic systems that facilitate the development of the poorest economies for the benefit of their policies.

(d) urge further that the World Trade Organization, a body which is not accountable to the people whose lives it affects, be called on by the UN to resist the pressure of rich and powerful countries and corporate interests, and put the real needs of the people in developing countries at the top of its agenda.

(e) urge further that serious consideration be given by the UN to the introduction of a small tax on international transactions which would have the effect of reducing speculation and would provide a fund which should be administered by a UN body for the benefit of poor people whose lives are undermined by unregulated trade.

European Union Efforts to Reduce and Eliminate Wars

The origin of the European Union (EU) lies in the creation of the post-World War II European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). In May 1950, the then French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman proposed the ECSC as a way to make future wars between France and Germany “not only unthinkable but materially impossible.” (France and Germany fought three major wars against each other between 1870 and 1945.) When the Treaty of Paris establishing the ECSC was signed in 1951, six nations participated: France, Germany, Italy, and the three BENELUX countries, Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxembourg.

From 1951, the ECSC grew from a straight forward, narrowly-focused economic pact of a few nations to an economic and political organization of the European Union of 27 countries with a combined population of nearly 500 million people. Fifteen of the 27 members use the “Euro” as a common currency (currently about 1.4 \$ = 1€). The European Union per se was formally established in 1993 with the signing of the Treaty on European Union (the Maastricht Treaty). Significantly, the Maastricht Treaty opened the door for the EU to branch into two new areas of policy that traditionally are the purview of nation-states: defense and foreign policy. As a result, the EU is recognized as an entity by the World Trade Organization, the G8, and the UN and has permanent representatives at each organization. Moreover, 21 EU members are also members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

⁸⁴ SIPRI 2007

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Unlike NATO, which guarantees the defense of each member by all in case a member is attacked, the EU has no collective defense guarantee. Not that an effort to create such an arrangement wasn't pursued with the British and French leading the initiative. When it came to fighting in Europe, NATO was a firmer arrangement.

This suited Washington. Successive administrations were happy to have the evolving EU assume responsibility for controlling or – better yet – preventing “small” wars that might distract America's leadership from greater threats. Moreover, the technology gap between the US and the rest of NATO was growing so large that there were fears the US would refuse to fully commit itself as called for in the Treaty unless the US or US personnel were targeted by an adversary.

As it was, with the creation of the EU in 1992, this division of responsibility became more formalized. At a parallel 1992 conference, the long-dormant European Defence Community, also known as the Western European Union – agreed to adopt the “Petersberg Tasks” – the non-military crisis management and crisis mitigation tools of international affairs. Five years later, as the EU blended the WEU into its “actionable” structures, it explicitly assumed the Petersberg Tasks as its own, thereby requiring a more robust and more rapidly deployable response.

Following NATO's intervention in Kosovo in 1999, the European Council stated that “the Union must have the capacity for autonomous action, backed by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them, and the readiness to do so, in order to respond to international crises without prejudice to actions by NATO.” To that end, EU members have attempted to create an independent military force. One highly touted effort was the so-called Helsinki Headline Goal established in 1999. This envisioned troop commitments from EU countries totaling 60,000 soldiers from which smaller mission-tailored “rapid reaction” contingents could be marshaled. Given the disparities in command structures, logistics, and training of national armies, it was not until November 2003 that a formal agreement was reached on the parameters for the force and its missions. With most of the Headline tasks completed or well on their way to completion, the European Council in 2004 proposed an expanded “Helsinki Goals 2010” that envisioned additional missions that the EU could perform such as disarmament operations and assistance to countries fighting terrorism. Participating countries promised to have deployable, highly trained, and appropriately equipped specialized units available by the target year. Much of this happened by 2008.

One of the key outcomes of the 1999 Helsinki meeting was the proposal to organize the military action arm of the EU as a series of battle groups that could be moved rapidly to trouble spots before armed conflict ensued or spread to other areas.

Each battle group (currently there are 15 units of which two are always on alert) is comprised of a core group numbering 1,500 to 2,200 men. (For comparison, a Marine Expeditionary Force that is aboard an Amphibious Ready Group consists of 2,200 Marines.) When combined with key command, control, intelligence and other staff capabilities, each battle group can deploy, within five to 10 days after the European

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Council approves the mission, and sustain its operations up to 150 days if necessary. Assistance can be provided from NATO headquarters through an EU coordinating cell located in Brussels. This arrangement provides greater flexibility in terms of the types of missions the battle groups can undertake – including “bridging missions” that enforce ceasefires and prepare the ground for larger follow-on peacemaking and peace-enforcing missions by the UN.

Nevertheless, 10 years after the declaration of the European Defense and Security Policy at Helsinki, Europe still has no “army” of its own. It must rely, as does the UN, on national forces (or for smaller states, a combination of national units) for people and equipment to fill out the battle groups.

Chapter 11

New Definitions of Security: Sustainability and Quality of Life

The human family numbering now over 6 billion is clearly the most biologically successful species on planet Earth. We have evolved from our birthplaces on the African continent to colonize every part of Earth, consuming 40% of all its primary photosynthetic production – leading to the current and mass extinction of other species. We the people have conquered the oceans, explored the Moon and outer space and now set our sights on Mars. To continue our spectacular technological success and preserve the options for our grandchildren’s survival, we must now face ourselves and fearlessly diagnose our major failures: the persistence of war and poverty. The UN Millennium Development Goals provide an initial agenda (see www.un.org/millenniumgoals/). Fulfilling these Goals and shifting from fossil fuels to renewable resources and sustainability can employ every willing man and woman on earth and expand global prosperity.

“National Security” has hitherto been defined largely in terms of the comparative size and technological state of a country’s weapons arsenal for protecting the nation from military attack and for furthering its geopolitical strategy. This definition has now expanded to include security from threats of climate change, water shortages, desertification, toxic pollution, loss of biodiversity and species extinction – all compromising the Earth’s life-support systems. Thus new criteria: ecological sustainability of human societies, corporations, financial systems, technologies, and other social institutions, are becoming equally important for human security. In turn, many new strategies, models, and metrics are now in use to guide decision-making towards the goals of sustainability and quality-of-life. The narrow anthropocentric economic models that led inevitably to the meltdown in 2008-9 of the global financial casino, demonstrated that money-denominative measures of “progress” such as GNP, cannot steer human development.

Reappraisals of the work of Charles Darwin together with new evidence from historians, archeologists and anthropologist now clearly point to the evolution of human emotional capacity for bonding, cooperation and altruism, (see www.thedarwinproject.com). Competition, territoriality and tribalism, rooted in the fears of our past, served humans well in our early trials and vulnerability. So did cooperation and the ability to trust and bond with each other – controlled by oxytocin (see p. 47) and other hormones. Higher levels of this hormone during pregnancy and lactation bonds women to their children, over the extended developmental period to maturity. Today, research by scientists from many fields, neurosciences, endocrinology, psychology, physics, thermodynamics, mathematics and anthropology have invalidated the core assumptions underlying warfare as well as economic models.

Charles Darwin saw the human capacity for bonding, cooperation and altruism as an essential factor in our successful evolution.⁸⁵ In retrospect, how otherwise could we have gone from the experience of over 95% of our history lived in roving bands of 25 people or less⁸⁶ – to today’s mega cities: Sao Paulo, Shanghai, Mexico City or Jakarta? These improbable metropolises, along with global corporations and governance institutions, such as the United Nations and all its agencies and the European Union, now expanded to embrace 27 formerly warring countries – could never have emerged without humanity’s capacities for bonding, cooperation and altruism.

So as we have evolved into our complex societies, organizations and technologies of today – we need to re-examine our belief systems and the extent to which they still may be trapped in earlier primitive stages of our development. Why for example do we underestimate our genius for bonding, cooperation and altruism – seemingly stuck in our earlier fears and games of competition, conflict and territoriality? Why do we over-reward such negative behavior and still assume in our economic textbooks and business schools that maximizing one’s individual self-interest in competition with all others is behavior fundamental to human nature?

Why is our equal genius for bonding and cooperative behavior – even altruism not taught in war-colleges, international policy courses and business schools as the true foundation of all human organizations and our greatest scientific and technological achievements? In reality, as every business executive knows, competition and territoriality are channeled within structures of cooperation and networks of agreements, contracts, laws and international regulatory regimes that allow airlines, shipping, communications, and other infrastructure to undergird global commerce and finance.⁸⁷ Thus, the formula for humanity’s success has always rested on cooperation while embracing competition and creativity. The collapse of Wall Street and fall of stock-markets based on maximizing short-term money rewards reminded societies of deeper values and all other forms of wealth from human solidarity to the bounties of Nature’s resources.

What do deep, primitive beliefs about the primacy of competition and territoriality have to do with poverty and war? All are rooted in ancient human fears – of scarcity, of attacks by wild animals or other fearful bands of humans. Rooting out these fears – deeply coded in our “us-versus-them” political and economic textbooks – is the essential task of our generation. We must move beyond this economics of our early reptilian brains – to the economics of our hearts and forebrains! These old fears underlie today’s continuing cycles of oppression, poverty, violence, revenge and terrorism. Indeed, if we humans do not root out these now-dysfunctional old fears, we will continue to destroy each other.

Meanwhile, the fantastic potential we have created for further successes through fulfilling the UN Millennium Development Goals and building prosperous, equitable, sustainable

⁸⁵ See for example, David Loye, *Darwin’s Lost Theory of Love, ToExcel*, New York, 2000

⁸⁶ Joseph Tainter, *The Collapse of Complex Societies*, Cambridge University Press, NY (1988)

⁸⁷ See for example, R. Axelrod, *The Evolution of Cooperation*, Basic Books, NY (1984); Robert Wright, *Non-Zero*, Pantheon, NY (2000); H. Henderson, *Building A Win-Win-World*; Berrett-Koehler, San Francisco (1996); James F. Moore, *The Death of Competition*, Harper-Collins, NY (1996)

human societies is now within our grasp. The new “superpower” of global public opinion is already rejecting the old dysfunctional dogmas. Over 10 million of our fellow humans demonstrated peacefully worldwide against the preemptive war on Iraq. Yet as Thomas Kuhn described in his *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, old dysfunctional beliefs often persist long after they have been disproved.⁸⁸

So it is with today’s economic textbooks and the entire paradigm underlying the “Washington Consensus”⁸⁹ model of development. We have evidence of its bankruptcy all around us: financial crises, widening poverty gaps, conflicts, the digital divide, unbalanced, unsustainable economies mired in debt – breeding despair and terrorism, diverting resources from enhancing human life to military weapons, death and destruction! All this is not a flaw in human nature – but a flaw in our encoding of our past in that set of dysfunctional beliefs that deny humanity’s true genius – those cooperative, bonding and altruistic skills that have undergirded all our progress to date! Dysfunctional beliefs are deeply entrenched in models of economics. This malfunctioning source code underlying economics is still replicating behaviors and organizational structures that imperil human survival under 21st century conditions. All these theories underpin today’s economic and technological globalization and the rules of the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, stock markets, currency exchange and most central banks.

The globalization of finance and technology, the spread of privatization, and deregulated markets has produced a range of unanticipated consequences including the 2008-9 meltdown of old financial markets. Another unforeseen example: today’s global Information Age has already become The Age of Truth – where careless corporate actions can destroy a global brand in real time. Business leaders worldwide have responded by embracing the idea of good corporate citizenship, both at home and globally. As of June 2008, 4619 companies have signed on to the ten principles of Global Corporate Citizenship of the Global Compact, launched by the United Nations in 2000, covering human rights, workplace safety, justice and ILO (International Labor Organization) standards, as well as the environment and anti-corruption. Civic groups worldwide now monitor all the companies who have engaged with the Global Compact, to see if they are walking their talk. Backsliders are publicly shown on hundreds of websites and 600 have been de-listed. The World Social Forum has successfully linked hundreds of thousands of civic activists and organizations and made the beautiful city of Porto Alegre, Brazil, a mecca of innovative thought. The independent global media company, Ethical Markets Media LLC’s TV series on US public broadcasting stations is

⁸⁸ Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago (1962).

⁸⁹ “Washington Consensus” is a term coined by John Williamson of the Institute for International Economics to describe the economic development policies purveyed – by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and (endorsed by) the US Treasury – to developing countries including: freezing up capital accounts, blocking their currencies, privatizing their companies and cutting public investing and social services while opening their countries to free trade.

benchmarking higher standards, corporate ethical performance and socially-responsible investing worldwide.⁹⁰

Capitalism's great proponent, Adam Smith, would hardly recognize this evolution of now chastened markets and companies toward social and environmental responsibility. Similarly, such changes in corporate behavior have been driven by pension funds and millions of investors who care about their children's future and the state of our planet. Students and prospective employees also ask about companies' performance on human rights and the environment, while new auditing standards of the Global Reporting Initiative (GRI) prescribed "triple bottom line" accounting for people, profit and environment. Over six hundred global corporations now comply with GRI accounting in their annual reports. (www.globalreporting.org)

Sustainability has become a buzzword and even Wall Street's venerable Dow-Jones now has its Sustainability Group Index. Greed and reckless risk-taking for short term competitive gains are now acknowledged as factors that lead to systemic breakdown. The surprise to economists, mainstream financial players and media is that these new indices: London's FTSE4Good, the US CALVIN and Domini Social 400 Index, as well as Brasil's New BOVESPA, regularly out-perform the mainstream Dow-Jones and Standard and Poors 500. Are we witnessing an evolution of human collective behavior toward moral sentiments and altruism? Or is cooperation for the common good now a condition of our survival? We submit that both are involved.

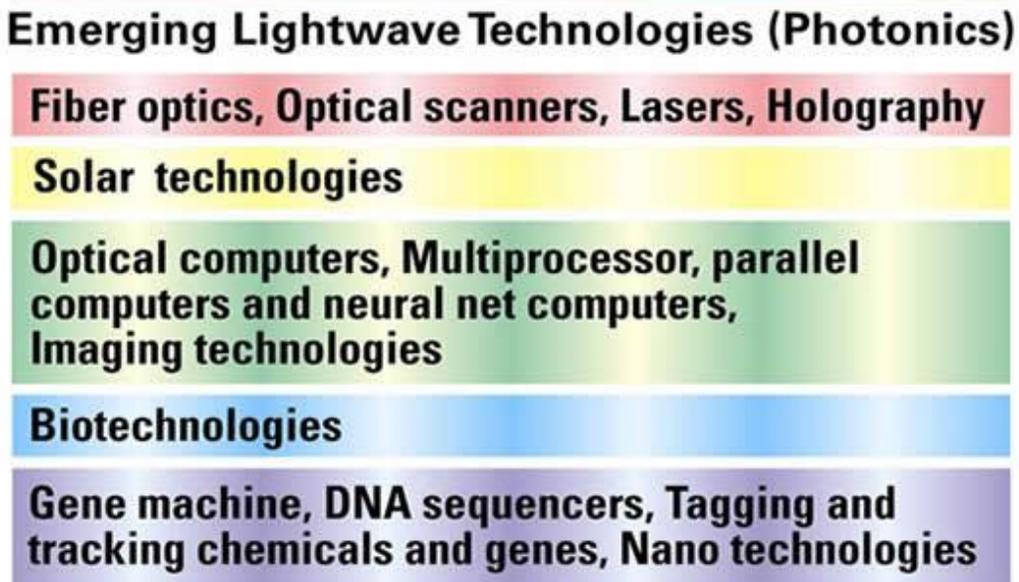
We are entering the *Age of Light (Figure 1)*. We have a new awareness of our beautiful planetary home that is calling forth the expanded identity "planetary citizenship." This larger identity enfolds and gives deeper meaning to our identity with our family, our community and companies, and the country of our birth. We are enriched by the unique expressions of so many other cultures in our world. We savor their art, dance, music, literature and especially their cuisine! This human mutual appreciation for diversity is the starting point for planetary citizenship and the necessary transition to global sustainability (as described in *Planetary Citizenship* by Hazel Henderson and Daisaku Ikeda, 2004)

Fundamentally, we humans have three basic resources at our disposal for this transition – information, matter and energy (see *Figure 2, Three Modes of Resource Use*). Of these, information is primary, since the quality of information drives our use of matter and energy. The history of the social innovation of markets is instructive, since they are now evolving rapidly. Markets of course, were created by humans, not by any deity. Adam Smith's "invisible hand" was in reality our own human invention, as recognized by historians of science.⁹¹ Yet, this belief in an "invisible hand" persists in many economic textbooks – even today!

⁹⁰ Ethical Markets Media LLC can be accessed at www.ethicalmarkets.com. This financial TV series includes programs on "Redefining Success" and the "Non-Money Economy" that can be viewed at www.ethicalmarkets.tv.

⁹¹ See for example, Robert Nadeau and Menas Kafatos, *The Non-Local Universe: the New Physics and Matters of the Mind*, Oxford University Press, UK, 1999

Figure 1
The Age of Light

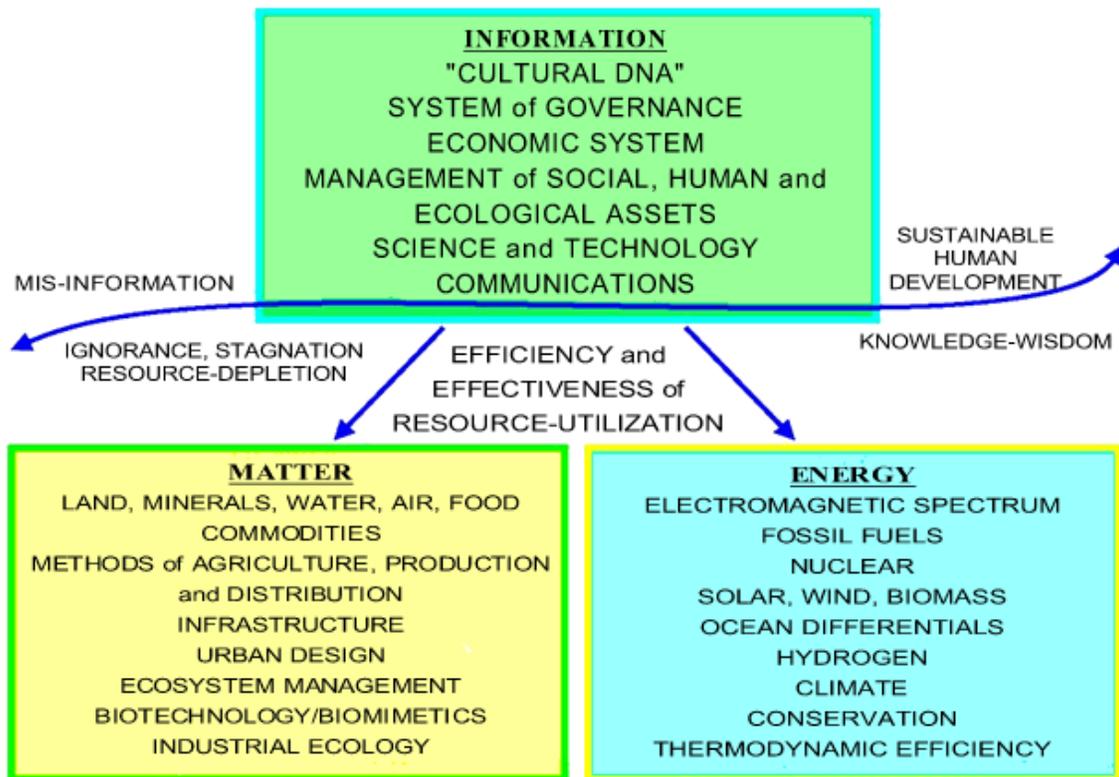


Photons (sunlight) falling on the Earth supply enough energy in 10 minutes to put our entire six billion population in orbit

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Figure 2

3 MODES OF RESOURCE-USE IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT



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Industrialism's goal was labor-saving via investments in technology. Machinery, property rights and enclosure drove peasants and small farmers off the land and into factories.⁹² Then, as factories automated their production lines, workers moved into service sectors. Today, services are being automated. Full-employment promises fall short and un-employment remains an ironic result of industrialism. Today, economists are admitting that the flip side of their model of "productivity" is more unemployment. This "trickle-down" model of job-creation is also revealed as broken. In every country where industrialism took hold, the "tortoise" of social innovation lagged behind the "hare" of technological innovation. The history of the industrial revolution with all its good and bad news has included the lagging response of social rules to distribute the fruits of mechanized production, and steer technological development and regulations to repair its social costs and environmental damage.

The very notion of an "invisible hand" inhibited broader views and visions of how economic systems could be steered to foster the common good, shared prosperity and protect nature's wealth. A few industrialists evolved from their single-minded accumulation of money and material goods into philanthropists who pointed publicly to the sin of hoarding. They gave away their gains to foundations that to this day promote peace, education, health and the alleviation of poverty and exclusion from the benefits of access to both markets and society.

Economists' bad advice has made whole countries sick – with impunity, while mathematicians, called "quants," created all the fancy derivatives: CDOs (Collateralized Debt Obligations), SIVs (Structured Investment Vehicles), and CDS (Credit Default Swaps) that created the credit crisis of 2007-2008. Today, economists *from* the International Monetary Fund and central banks *to* those serving financial firms all bemoan the trend toward debt rather than saving. They refuse to acknowledge that this behavior is shaped by advertising, credit cards and the constant barrage of unsustainable consumerism on global mass media.

Neuroscientists, biochemists and those studying the role of hormones, as well as psychologists, anthropologists, behavioral scientists and evolutionary biologists are now dealing death blows to economics' most enduring error. This lies in its model of "human nature" as the "rational economic man" who competes against all others to maximize his own self-interest. This fear, scarcity and conflict-based model is that of the early reptilian brain and the territoriality of our primitive past. Neuroscientist Paul Zak at Claremont University has studied these factors (see p. 47) and has linked trust, which enables humans to bond and cooperate, to the reproductive hormone oxytocin in his book *Moral Markets* (2008).

Indeed, we now know from brain science why people are susceptible to war propaganda and behavior change via mass media, advertising and other forms of persuasion and lures to instant gratification. Opportunistic economists are now teaming up with brain researchers using MRIs (magnetic resonance imaging) to explore how the "reptilian"

⁹² Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1944

portions of the human brain (associated with the limbic system) are susceptible to irrational urges, fight or flight reactions, instant gratification and short-sightedness.

Few researchers have focused on the implications of this new brain research for the crucial role and responsibility of the advertising and commercial media industries. In Chapter 1, we pointed out how media benefit from promoting war. Over \$500 billion is spent annually on advertising to over-ride our rational pre-frontal cortex and its longer-term decisions “to save for a rainy day” and tempt us to run up credit card debts to buy goods on impulse – through sophisticated manipulation of our senses and limbic brains. Advertising in the USA is a pre-tax cost for companies – to promote mass-consumption. Today, mass-consumption of goods as an engine of economic growth is unsustainable.⁹³

The critique of economics by mathematicians is that people don't behave like atoms, golf balls or guinea pigs. Unlike the economists “rational economic man,” people are often irrational and their motivations are complex with many, especially women, enjoying sharing and cooperating. Riane Eisler, systems scientist and author of the best-seller, *The Chalice and the Blade*, agrees. Computerized efforts to make economics more scientific may pay off in the future. One recent computer game, “Sugarscape,” funded by gullible foundations, simply recreated poverty gaps and trade wars. If they had programmed half of their “agents” with the behavior females so often exhibit (by choice, or involuntarily in patriarchal societies) they might have produced different results. Economics is patriarchal⁹⁴ to its core, which accounts for the rise of feminist economics, which incorporates sustainability and quality-of-life criteria.

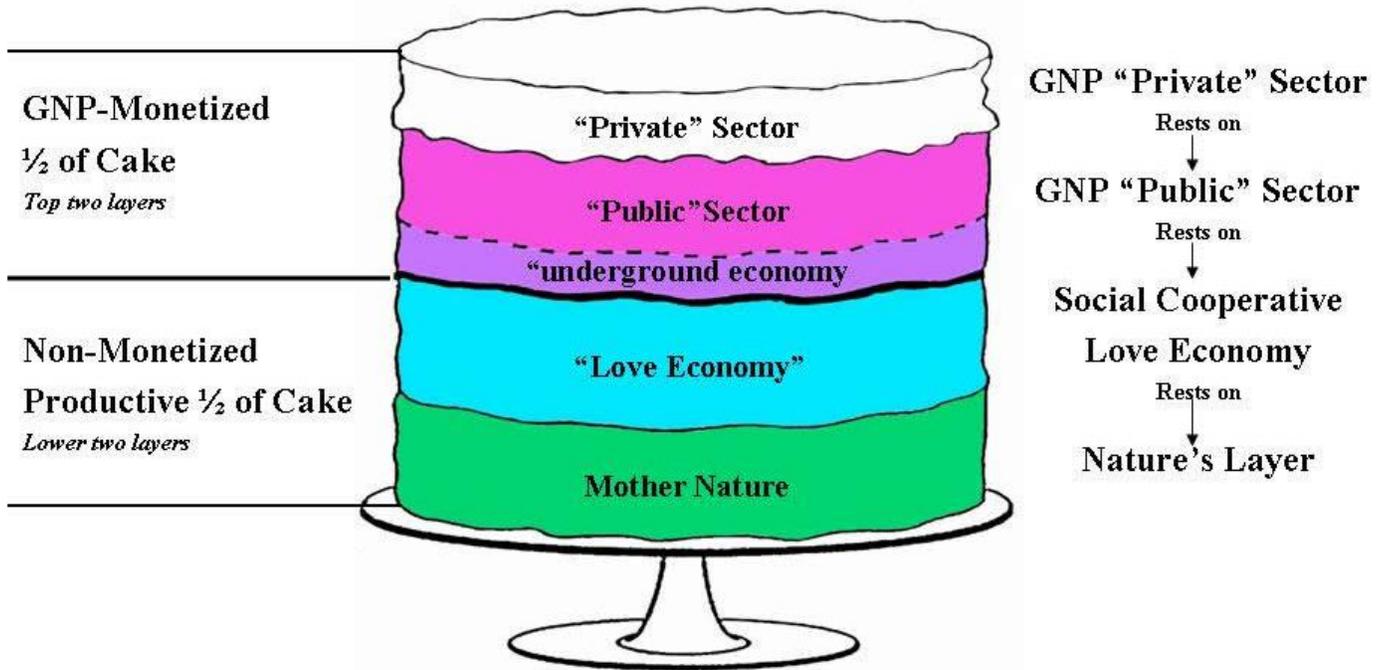
Today, all economies are still mixtures of public and private sectors, two sides of the same coin. Humans invented markets, which are always created by human rules and laws. The “invisible hand” is our own – and we should be proud of this! The two top layers of the “cake” of total productivity, the private and public sectors, rest on two lower layers ignored by economists: the Love Economy of unpaid work and Nature's Productivity (see *Figure 3, Total Productive System of an Industrial Society*). Mass communications and the Internet helped spawn the new “Third Sector:” the citizen non-profit groups, charities and foundations of global civic society. The annual World Social Forum, launched in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in 2000, has focused the global debate about new paths to sustainable human development.

⁹³ Hazel Henderson and Alan F. Kay, “Proposal for a Truth in Advertising Assurance Set-Aside” outlines a way to reduce the volume of advertising fairly and without curbing freedom of speech, *Human Development Report*, United Nations Development Program, 1998, NY

⁹⁴ Patriarchy refers to social systems based on the domination of males and the subjugation of females.

Figure 3

Total Productive System of an Industrial Society
(Layer Cake with Icing)



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Economic Budgets

Economics is politics in disguise as we see with military budgets, such as “Strengthening the US Military – AND Cutting Costs,” Chapter 6. Cost-benefit analysis or a carefully crafted economic impact statement can squelch any government reform or new peace, social or environmental initiative. Such analyses emphasize the costs of change to existing interests, while ignoring or downplaying the current costs of the status quo on other actors, the environment or future generations. Military expenditures are excluded from national budgets’ discretionary options. Cost-benefit analyses fail to estimate the future benefits of alternative policies, and average out costs and benefits so as to obscure who are the winners and who the losers of a proposed policy. All this confuses the general public into believing that these issues are “technical” rather than political.

Some economists borrowing from psychologists and real world observation now admit that we humans are not always competitively maximizing our own self-interest – the standard economic view of *homo economicus*. Many people enjoy giving as well as

receiving, care about what kind of world we are leaving our children – “irrational” behavior to an economist. No wonder economics is called “dismal.” This re-think undermines orthodoxy in such major policy areas as defense, free trade, taxes, school vouchers, as well as globalization and the environment.

This new research also challenges game theorist John Nash’s famous equilibrium, for which he won a Bank of Sweden Prize in Economics, and which “predicts” that in economic transactions between strangers that the optimal level of trust is zero! Economics is based on patriarchies. It minimizes the value of trust, without which economies and societies cannot function and in GNP dismisses the work of women in child rearing, caring for the old, and community volunteering as “uneconomic.” Economics did not predict the rise of socially-responsible investing. Those funds that exclude stock of military companies were valued at \$2.3 trillion in the USA alone, and textbooks still imply that caring, sharing, volunteering and cooperating are irrational unless self-serving!

Unsung women economists revealed the patriarchal bias of economic theories and led the way in pinpointing these and other errors. More realistic models were devised by such deeply involved women as Sweden’s Alva Myrdal, India’s Devaki Jain, Denmark’s Esther Boserup, Argentina’s Graciela Chichilnisky, Brasil’s Aspasia Camargo and futurist Rosa Alegria, Germany’s Inge Kaul, New Zealand’s Marilyn Waring, Hazel Henderson and many others in the US and other countries.

Statistical revisions, including those to overhaul GNP and GDP national accounts, were pledged by 170 governments at the Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit in 1992. (See Figure 4, *Gross National Product Problems*). They were also recommended by the largest-ever global convening of statisticians of sustainable development and Quality of Life (ICONS) in Curitiba, Brasil October 2003.⁹⁵ Such statisticians have also repeatedly recommended that GNP and GDP record national assets: the value of public infrastructure investments in roads, public health facilities, sewage-treatment, ports, airports, schools and universities that underpin the productivity of modern economies. In too many countries, these asset accounts, which properly balance the public debts undertaken to construct such vital infrastructure – are not recorded. Such public works, buildings and facilities are immensely valuable and should be amortized over their lifetime of use – often over a 100 years! Try running a company like this, where your balance sheet could not include the value of your factories and capital assets! The US` made some of these needed corrections in January 1996 and these “stroke of the pen” corrections accounted for one third of the budget surplus of the Clinton administration. Canada followed suit in 1999 and went from a deficit to a \$50 billion budget surplus.⁹⁶ The investments called for in the Millennium Development Goals (see *Chapter End Notes*), the Monterrey Consensus⁹⁷ and other proposals, such as the Global Marshall Plan (see Chapter 12), must be properly

⁹⁵ H.Henderson, [Statisticians of the World Unite](http://www.sustentabilidade.org.br), InterPress Service, Nov. 2003 and www.sustentabilidade.org.br

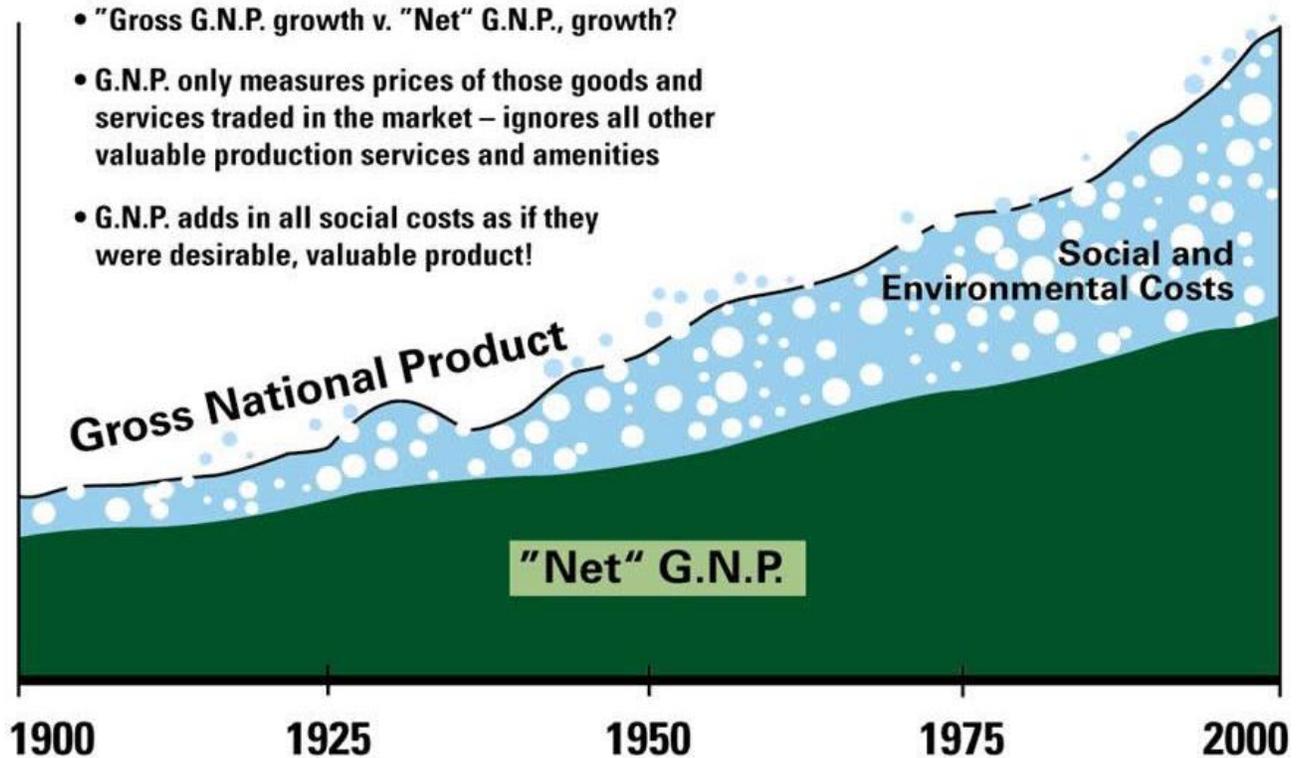
⁹⁶ H.Henderson, *Beyond Globalization: Shaping a Sustainable Global Economy*, Kumarian Press (1999)

⁹⁷ Monterrey Consensus is the major reference point for international development cooperation promoted by the UN

accounted as assets, since they will also produce dividends for societies as they transition to sustainability.

Figure 4

Gross National Product Problems Schematic



©1978 Hazel Henderson • Source: Creating Alternative Futures, 1978, 1996, Kumarian Press, West Hartford, CT, USA

The "Beyond GDP" Conference in the European Parliament, Nov 19-20th, 2007, released a survey by GLOBESCAN for Ethical Markets Media, LLC, which finds three quarters of people in ten countries agreeing that their governments should look beyond economics and include health, social and environmental statistics in measuring national progress. The survey can be accessed at www.ethicalmarkets.com, www.globescan.com and at the conference website www.beyond-gdp.eu. Around 1,000 respondents in France, Italy, Britain, Germany, Russia, Brazil, India, Canada, Australia and Kenya were asked which of two points of view was closest to their own:

- That governments should measure national progress using money-based statistics because economic growth is the most important focus for their country; or

- That health, social and environmental statistics are as important as economic ones and that governments should also use these for measuring progress.

Support is especially strong in mature industrial societies in the European Union. French and Italians are most enthusiastic with 86% and 85% support respectively. The British agreed with the “Beyond GDP” approach by 80%; Germans by 71%. Three of the so-called BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China) showed similar support: Brazilians approved by 69%, Russians by 75% and Indians by 70%. While China was not surveyed, it led the world in 2004 by unveiling China’s “Green GDP,” which sought to adjust China’s economic model to take more account of its environmental and social consequences. This “Green GDP” was popular with Chinese people suffering from pollution and land grabs by developers. Original “Green GDP” calculations deducted some 3% from China’s reported 11% growth of conventional GDP, used by virtually all other countries and financial media. Chinese business leaders and local officials whose performance is still judged by conventional GDP growth objected. These controversies were enough to halt the “Green GDP” experiment. However, with health costs and fears of pollution during the Olympic games in Beijing in 2008, China may have to revive its “Green GDP.” In other countries in the GLOBESCAN survey, Australians agreed with the “Beyond GDP” position by 79%, Canadians by 65% and Kenyans by 71%. Earlier surveys in 1993 by the former Americans Talk Issues Foundation found similar super-majorities in favor of broadening GDP to include health, education and other social and environmental indicators.

Today, in our Information Age, we acknowledge the value of investments in Research and Development, management education and employee training programs. Accountants are learning to account for intangible assets, goodwill, brands and other reputational risks and benefits.⁹⁸ Risk-analysis models, such as those of Innovest Strategic Value Advisors now calculate social, reputational and environmental risks overhanging a company’s balance sheet – which if not recorded, can be overlooked and lead to sudden loss of shareholder value.⁹⁹ The largest risks are of wars or conflict which raise oil prices and put many companies out of business. Multi-billion dollar US public pension funds now require companies in their portfolios to disclose their plans to mitigate risks of climate change. Similar disclosures are mandatory in the European Union. Corporate advertising is coming under increasing public criticism. The EthicMark® recognizes advertising campaigns that inspire and enhance the human spirit and society. (See www.worldbusiness.org)

The World Bank is catching up with all these statistical innovations – beyond macroeconomic models to multi-disciplinary systems approaches – using all the multiple metrics beyond money to map these diverse aspects of human development and progress. The Calvert Group of socially-responsible mutual funds use the multi-discipline approach in their *Calvert-Henderson Quality of Life Indicators*, co-created with futurist Hazel Henderson. The **Calvert-Henderson Quality of Life Indicators** are a contribution to the worldwide effort to develop comprehensive statistics of national well-being that go

⁹⁸ See for example, Verna Allee, *Increasing Prosperity Through Value Networks* (2003)

⁹⁹ Innovest Strategic Value Advisors, New York, London, Toronto, Hong Kong

beyond traditional macroeconomic indicators. A systems approach is used to illustrate the dynamic state of US social, economic and environmental quality of life. The dimensions of life examined include: education, employment, energy, environment, health, human rights, income, infrastructure, national security, public safety, re-creation and shelter. Statistics, graphs, and tables, are updated regularly at www.CalvertHenderson.com. The reference manual, Calvert-Henderson Quality of Life Indicators (2000) is available on Amazon.

The World Bank is also going multi-disciplinary, replacing some of its macroeconomists with sociologists, anthropologists, epidemiologists, educators, and even civic society representatives. In its 1995 report on the Wealth of Nations, the Bank acknowledged that 60% of this wealth is comprised of human capital and 20% ecological capital. Financial and built capital (factories and monetary assets) represented only 20%. For 50 years the Bank focused most of its attention on “economic” growth of this 20% of countries’ wealth. Now, the Bank is shifting its focus to that 60% of human capital with more health and education investments – recently citing the education of girls as a country’s best investment. Yet the Bank has not, so far, campaigned to add even public asset accounts to GNP/GDP. Neither the Bank nor the International Monetary Fund (IMF) require the addition of asset accounts, even for infrastructure assets, let alone for education and health – the most vital investments to maintain that 60% of the human capital comprising the wealth of nations. These accounting corrections will shift statistical focus to longer-term and sustainable investments.

The IMF should not only set up proper accrual accounting of assets for all investments in public infrastructure – but should re-categorize education and public health from “consumption” to “investment” in human capital. The World Bank and the UN System of National Accounts (UNSNA) should make similar corrections and add nations’ public investments in education and public health to these asset accounts and amortize them over 20 years – the time it takes to raise a child to a healthy, well educated, productive adult. It is these accounting corrections for long term sustainability that can reveal the opportunities for long-term financial and social returns in the Millennium Development Goals, as Jeffrey Sachs shows (see *Chapter End Notes*, p 121).

Helping Eliminate War

In 2007, the European Parliament’s “Beyond GDP conference debated these issues and recommended overhauling GDP (www.beyond-gdp.eu). As these statistical innovations reflect the technological changes in our information-based societies, and are reported in mass media, citizens in all democratic societies can align with these evolving values. They will see the waste, stupidity and inefficiency of war-making and the effectiveness of diplomacy. New business school curricula now cover all these new issues and indicators. Citizens will understand and place education and self-development as the best investment individuals, companies and societies can make in a better future for all.¹⁰⁰ Educators and public health professionals and the majority of citizens can support these sectors so crucial to their children’s futures. Teachers can be better paid and schools will no longer

¹⁰⁰ H.Henderson “Education: Key Investments in the Wealth of Nations,” Boston Research Center Newsletter #23, Fall-Winter 2004

have to fight in annual government budgeting with wasteful weapons systems or other needed expenditures for police, fire protection and other public services in budgets.

As all such new score cards of real wealth and sustainable human progress are implemented, societies and companies can steer themselves on sounder paths toward order and prosperity. Companies will identify avoided costs in full-cost pricing, life-cycle costing and risk-analyses – while fully crediting their intangible assets and investments in R&D. For big companies, these changes are less arduous than for smaller companies. So it is important to also recognize the efforts of small and medium-size enterprises and salute their progress.

The new GNP/GDP asset accounts will end today's egregious over-stating of public debts and the excuses it offered financiers for excessive interest rates, sovereign bond yields and currency speculation. Developing countries in the HIPIC¹⁰¹ group are already being relieved of un-repayable, often odious debt. Former IMF chief economist, Kenneth Rogoff, suggested many reforms in his article in *The Economist*, July 24, 2004 and in the five TV debates (at www.ethicalmarkets.tv) on "Reforming International Finance" with John B. Perkins, author of best seller *Confessions of an Economic Hitman* and Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, lead author of the UN's Human Development Report, moderated by futurist Hazel Henderson, author of *Building A Win Win World* (1996), *Beyond Globalization* (1999) and co-editor of *The UN: Policy and Financing Alternatives* (1995).

In this new century, long-held ideas are changing. The European Union is a new model of integration of formerly warring countries. Negotiation, cooperation and multi-lateral agreements are the way forward. The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have revealed the many problems that even politicians and military leaders now admit are not susceptible to military solutions. New approaches to terrorism now favor funding education and building schools in countries where poor parents have no choice but to send their children to fundamentalist "madrassahs" where they are taught the ways of "jihad" and suicidal "martyrdom" to kill others in the name of God.

Indeed, in our age of weapons of mass destruction, wars are the most dangerous and ineffective options. We see already in our 21st century that the new weapons of choice are currencies, as well as better diplomacy, intelligence and widely shared information. Investments geared toward the Global Marshall Plan, explained in Chapter 12, www.globalmarshallplan.org will help guide the re-prioritizing needed to steer societies toward equitable resource-use and reduction of conflicts.

The UN General Assembly should take up all the alternative financing mechanisms, including those of the 2002 UN Monterrey Consensus, the Global Marshall Plan, so as to implement the Millennium Development Goals. The time has come for global taxes on arms sales, currency trading, airline tickets and e-mail to provide global public goods: education, health care, sounder international financial architecture and peace-keeping. These revenues will provide ample funding as documented in *Global Public Goods*

¹⁰¹ Heavily Indebted Poor Countries

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(1999) and *Providing Global Public Goods* (2007) by Inge Kaul, who also co-developed the UN's *Human Development Index*.

Human skills now have laid before us a rich array of potentials for astounding, widespread, shared prosperity, peace, restoring and our planet's ecosystems. These new visions and values underlie in the United Nations Millennium Development Goals, in the UN Global Compact; in the Prague Declaration on Humanizing Globalization; the Global Marshall Plan; the ILO's Report of the Commission on the Human Dimensions of Globalization; and the 16 principles of the Earth Charter, now ratified by hundreds of municipalities, companies and NGOs in over one hundred countries. The way forward to the transition to peaceful sustainable societies is possible and the clear choice for humanity's future.

End Notes

1. Jeffrey Sachs, "The End of Poverty" (2005) and "Common Wealth" (2008)
2. Portions of this Chapter are excerpted from "Sustainable Societies and Development: Limits and Possibilities," by Hazel Henderson, University of Sao Leopoldo, Sao Leopoldo, Brazil, May, 2005 (downloadable at www.HazelHenderson.com. See also *Nervous Investors Searching for New Asset Classes*, InterPress Service, July, 2008).

Chapter 12

New Ideas and Modalities for Eliminating War

The Global Marshall Plan

The Global Marshall Plan, www.globalmarshallplan.org, originally developed in Germany by Prof. Dr. F. J. Radermacher and Prof. Dr. Frithjof Finkbeiner has rapidly expanded interest around the world. The organizations www.global-commons.org and www.save-the-world-now.org support the Global Marshall Plan which now has several hundred supporting organizations in many different countries. Rabbi Michael Lerner, editor of TIKKUN, a progressive Jewish journal in the US, has promoted the Global Marshall Plan and given his support to the Members of the House of Representative who signed onto Resolution 1078, originally filed on 6/23/08, soon signed by over 20 Members. The Resolution rests on the needs of the world that a Global Marshall Plan could satisfy. An estimated annual amount of 1 or 2 percent of GDP coming from the US would make available about \$50 billion annually for carefully chosen, experienced and proven groups and individuals to achieve best results satisfying the diverse needs of the poor in many hundreds and thousands of locations around the world. Compare this with the \$350 billion of the US Treasury's TARP funds dispensed to big banks in 2008 without even much oversight. Why was the original Marshall Plan so successful and how can it be replicated by the Global Marshall Plan now?

The Original Marshall Plan

The Original Marshall Plan was created in 1947 to bring European countries devastated by WWII, both allies and former enemies, back to pre-war conditions. It was not only successful in achieving that goal for less money than anticipated, but Europe was so beholden to the US for decades following WWII that through the growth of profitable trade and successful political cooperation the US received back from the Marshall Plan far more benefits, financial and otherwise, than the US cost for the original Plan. This was a prime example of doing well by doing good. The "Global Marshall Plan," named after this successful program, seeks the same success for the whole world, based on accelerating the global shift from fossil fuel industrialism to the cleaner, green technologies: solar, wind, geothermal and ocean power.

One purpose of the original Marshall Plan was to keep the Soviets from being tempted to take over western European countries that Joseph Stalin might covet. A healthy western Europe would be a bulwark restraining Stalin's aggression, that proved never to be a problem. Five decades later the expansion went the other way. Pieces of the Soviet Union became independent and joined the European Union.

The more relevant and important purpose of the 1947 Marshall Plan based on donating \$12.7 billion to aid Western Europe emerge viable and healthy again, thus avoiding yet a new war, that might explode into a WWIII. The success of the Plan was based on the lessons of both WWI and WWII. The two wars, I and II, were close to each other (with a time gap of less than 21 years between the ending of the first and the start of the second).

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Why was that important? What happened between the two World Wars that were so different?

To begin with, the termination of WWI was botched. The deaths in the trenches on both sides were horrendous, much greater than expected from the previous France vs. Germany war, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871. Led by the French and supported by the representatives of their Allies, primarily from Britain and the US, including the American Pres. Woodrow Wilson, the negotiation of the end of WWI took a long time. The French wanted revenge. Their losses were enormous. In the 1919 Treaty of Versailles that ended the war, the Allies agreed to (a) reparation payments from Germany in wildly unrealistic amounts, (b) steep limitations on German armaments, (c) loss of German territory and (d) a demand that the current German leaders be replaced by a new government, whose leaders were not involved in the war.

The French creation of the Treaty of Versailles led the Allied negotiators to force the Germans to accept demands which backfired and proved disastrous for the Allies. These demands fed into the rise of Adolph Hitler and his National Socialist platform and led within a few years to the world's most expensive and destructive war, WWII. All who survived WWII knew a WWIII could not be permitted to happen. As Albert Einstein, when asked what would the weapons used in WWIII, said "I cannot say, but I can tell you the weapons of WWIV would be sticks and stones." What were these key demands?

As a consequence of the closeness of world wars one and two, many US leaders in WWII knew first-hand the dreadful mistakes made by the Allied negotiators in 1919. If that time gap had been larger, more like 50 or so years, the leaders of the second war would likely not have understood the thinking that actually occurred many years earlier well enough to be willing to spend the enormous sums made available to the Europeans by the Marshall Plan.

As mentioned, the Treaty required a brand new group of Germans, not officials at the time of surrender in 1919, to take over and run what was left of Germany.¹⁰² After slugging it out for four years in the muddy trenches, the Allies apparently considered the war-time German officials repugnant and could not be allowed further participation in negotiations. The reactions of the Germans to the dismissal of their war-time officials were that these officials were weak and largely to blame for the failure of the war. Over time¹⁰³ the Germans found it comforting to increasingly believe Germany was not really defeated at all, rather its leaders during the war were nothing less than *incompetent traitors*.

Another demand was for huge reparations that Germany, devastated by the war, was in no position to pay, if ever, but certainly not under the terms required. In the 1920s the Germans, believing they had been left no other choice, created an enormous inflation, a million-fold and climbing, by which the Germans themselves were devastated. The Allies in the end received no compensating payments whatever from the Germans.

¹⁰² Tragically, a similar mistake was repeated by US Viceroy, L. Paul Bremer, after the Iraq invasion in 2003.

¹⁰³ The twelve year period from the Treaty signing to the great depression

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The French and other European countries in the 1920s were not in much better shape economically than the Germans, but the Allies at least had derived satisfaction from knowing they had won the war. Winning is always better than losing, isn't it? Well no. WWI was sufficiently devastating to the French that they vowed they would never again fight a war like that. With that accepted, it was clear to the French that they did not need offensive weapons and they turned to building up their defense instead. Lacking fortification had allowed the Germans to bring the war into France in 1916. So with the primacy of defense, the French forgot about offense and fortified the Maginot line on the French/German border, loaded with defensive capabilities, weak on offensive weapons but perfectly suitable for the French army that was not expected to be on the offense. This fitted into just what the Germans were thinking. The Germans would never again lead their army into a war as they had in 1916. Even a politically and militarily unknown, low-ranking corporal (Adolf Hitler in WWI), as well as all other Germans knew that they would not attack the French head on. The effect of the French built Maginot line allowed and encouraged the Germans to a war plan that avoided a head-on direct attack. The new better trained and armed German army advanced *around* the French fortifications not through them. At the start of what became WWII, they easily pushed through Belgium with their "blitzkrieg tactics," avoided the fortifications, and plunged quickly into France.

The Allied negotiators, in hind-sight, made a second world war almost inevitable. With the openings they gave the Germans, even if Adolph Hitler had not come to power, it is likely that some organizing group might have risen to power leading to a war as horrible as WWII.

Raising the Benefits of a Global Marshall Plan

As noted on p. 122, the product and service benefits from Europe to the US, accumulating for decades thereafter, became much larger than US cost for the original Plan. The Global Marshall Plan looks toward successfully benefiting the whole world with sponsoring countries making annual grants and investments to the most needy countries to upgrade their education, health, and infrastructure of renewable resources in a similar way as the original Marshall Plan benefited Europe. As the world learned from the original Marshall Plan, sponsoring countries in the Global Marshall Plan would in time expect to get back more money than it cost them, for example by fostering more prosperous, democratic allies and eliminating abject poverty and reducing terrorism and wars. How can the US cooperate with the Global Marshall Plan? A good place to start is to implement the Articles of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 16 Principles of the Earth Charter (see Appendix, p. A-2).

The Global Marshall Plan is an excellent approach to steering the world's economies toward sustainability and re-directing national budgets from military weapons to address the 21st century threats to national and global human security. Happily, there are many similar proposals (e.g. the "Global Climate Prosperity Agreement") that re-direct wasteful and counterproductive industries and such outmoded policies toward global goals: cutting poverty, basic health and education for all, clean water and renewable energy for the 2 billion humans now at risk. These include the UN Millennium

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Development Goals and proposals to collect fees on all commercial exploitation of the global commons and levy fines on misuse.

The Global Commission to Fund the UN proposed in its report¹⁰⁴ to levy taxes on arms sales and small fees on the \$2 trillion of daily currency trading (95% of which is speculation). The Commission's proposal for such currency exchange fees (below 1%), included a computerized program for central banks of any nation wishing to take as much responsibility for its currency as for its sovereign bonds. Central Banks could collect such fees from currency speculators by means of a Foreign Exchange Transaction Reporting System (FXTRS)¹⁰⁵, which would automatically flow into a currency stabilization fund, or could be used to fund the country's share of its regular commitments to such UN agencies as UNICEF, UNDP, or other Millennium Development Goals (see www.un.org/millenniumgoals/).¹⁰⁶

Beyond that, the information and proposals presented here include specific methods to move money out of the military budget into the Global Marshall Plan and the UN Millennium Development Goals. At the same time, our military needs to be capable with spending functionally and universally considered as based on defensive national security necessities.

It could be argued wrongly that the US under current financial pressure does not have the money to participate in a Global Marshall Plan or the UN Millennium Development Goals.

The responses of the world's financial elites – central bankers, economists, financiers and politicians – have revealed that our global financial system itself must be re-designed. Money itself is not scarce and has no intrinsic value, but rather is a brilliant invention of humans to track and keep score of our own production, trade and interactions with the Earth's resources. We have seen on TV that in reality, central bankers simply create money out of thin air, by printing it or allowing banks to create money as debt, by making loans entered into borrowers' accounts with the stroke of a pen. People in many countries are now demanding that banks return to doing what most people thought they did: collect deposits from savers, paying them interest and then loaning out these funds to worthy entrepreneurs, businesses and other individual borrowers. Thus the 20 years of de-regulation that contributed to the financial collapse of 2008 is now being reversed, as rules enacted after the previous financial collapse of 1929 are being re-introduced. These include referring the US Federal Reserve, re-introducing the Glass-Steagall Act which limited banks to their traditional role mentioned above, curbing speculation and other commonsense measures. The traditional cry, "Where is the money coming from?" is

¹⁰⁴ *The United Nations: Policy and Financing Alternatives*, Editors: Harland Cleveland, Hazel Henderson, Inge Kaul, Elsevier Scientific, UK, 1995, 1996

¹⁰⁵ See US Patent 6,882,985 B1, now expired, that contained a bad typo in ABSTRACT ("market maker" NOT "market marker") but does contain valuable drawings Fig 1 – 11(Sheets 1-11) not available in www.alanfky.com/evolve_internet_fxtrs/marketplace_system_fees.shtml

¹⁰⁶ Henderson H; Kay, Alan F. "The Foreign Exchange Transaction Reporting System (FXTRS), FUTURES, Elsevier Scientific, UK, October 1996. or www.alanfky.com/evolve_internet_fxtrs/fxtrs.shtml)

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giving way to the more sophisticated question: “If we can give away \$700 billion of taxpayer’s money to big banks without even demanding that they resume lending it, not hoarding – why can’t we give much lesser amounts to needy children for education and health care, as well as to invest in growing the next economy based on clean solar and renewable energy and resources?” The conventional view evaporates when the Global Marshall Plan is justified as an issue of priorities and goals for society’s future and promoted as necessary for our national security.

Steps Toward “Eliminating War” *Summaries and Schedules*

In earlier chapters 2, 4-5, 6, and 8 we presented four ways to expect that the necessary national security funding will be accepted in the next year or two. Their fates rest only upon the support of Congress and President Obama and can be done in that relatively short time frame. A fifth way, presented in this Chapter 12, pp. 122-126, depending on the leadership of President Obama bringing other world leaders into alignment, may take a little longer. The fate of UNSIA (or similar proposals) described in Chapter 7 rests on the support of the UN. Any totally new proposal for UN implementation can be expected to take a generation of study, analysis, and debate. UNSIA has also generated enormous support for 15 years (see Chapter 7, p. 87, for a summary of support), leading to a reasonable expectation of adoption in another decade.

Chapter 2, pp. 26-34, has shown particularly rapid increase in the number, in the cost and in the near futility in the last decade or so of major US wars, Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan. These major wars have been big, expensive, and many years in length. Even staunch supporters of war in Iraq or Afghanistan know ultimately, sooner or later, the US will have to abandon both countries. The US abandoned Vietnam after 12 years of fighting. The departure moment was observed worldwide – US helicopters rising from the top of the embassy building. Native Vietnamese workers for the US struggled to get on board and many were left behind. It was not a shining moment for the US. Despite this reality true war-believers tend to think, “If the US ever withdraws from a war zone, bringing the troops home without victory, would be waving the white flag of surrender. The American military would be ignored, minimized, or treated thereafter as incompetent and incapable of fighting.” None of this happened after US withdrawal from Vietnam 34 years ago. There was no sign of the widely feared “domino effect,” the collapse of nearby countries, toppled after Vietnam fell. After the US left, Vietnam did not fall. It survived, ultimately prospered, and is now a valued trading partner of the US.

Chapter 4, pages 51-56, and **Chapter 5**, 63-69, have explained and offer a set of improved methods for the military or the Congress and the President, when planning or considering a war. The improved methods are based on the Pentagon producing the best plan of attack possible and one that makes sure that the military forces needed to fight the war have confidence that they are ready to enter the war zone and win the war, or when that is not the case, the same methodology automatically examines whether changed objectives or shuffling alternative units into the plan of attack could make the military ready and confident to fight the war and win it or a finding that the war will be ineffective and should be scrapped.

Chapter 6 pages 70-78 focused on waste, fraud, and abuse in procurement and makes clear that a substantial amount of the huge military budget (est. 10%) can be cut and

Chapter 12 - New Ideas and Modalities for Eliminating War

actually increase the capability and performance of the US military as well. This kind of cut is over and above other cuts likely to be made in 2009. Cutting the military budget 10% allows funding \$70 billion of new non-military requirements needed for US national security (\$70 billion is one tenth of the funds given to Wall Street bailouts).

The large number of companies that rely on military expenditures and whose interests are handled in Washington by well-paid lobbyists can be side-stepped by President Obama if he takes his first year in office to handle how this major cut can be done practically and effectively in his second year by methods described in **Chapter 6**, pp.76-78. In addition, the way to eliminate unnecessary bases now located in many countries, has been presented in **Chapter 6**, p.76, further freeing up military budgets for activities truly in the security needs of the nation.

Chapter 7 pages 79-87. Most war might now be eliminated if the UN had adopted this proposal in 1995. The UNSIA organization, working under General Assembly oversight, would act as a “fire-break” when disputes threaten to escalate into war. Its chief tool for preventing war is preemptive diplomacy: the creation of binding agreements with individual countries willing to subscribe to guaranteed timely UN-sponsored intervention against real or perceived threats to the individual country’s security whether potential, feared, or looming.

Chapter 8 pages 88-92 cites the threat of global climate change that requires the US, considered the militarily strongest country in the world, take a leadership role to stop the increase of greenhouse gasses, primarily carbon dioxide the principal product of the combustion of oil, coal, or natural gas that comes from the consumption of any of the fossil fuels. The US needs to shift to renewable energy, wind, solar, geothermal, and ocean sources, shift its vehicle fleet from oil and other liquid fuels to electric power (proven since the 1880’s). The shift is in the US’s national self-interest, and will create the next technology boom, similar to earlier industrial revolutions: automobile, electricity, and computers. This next green economy, together with revitalizing our sagging infrastructure, will stimulate our economy and create several million jobs (see bibliography¹⁰⁷). If we fail to make the transition, our economy will continue hemorrhaging some \$700 billion a year to pay for oil imports, which funds both sides of our wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and the forever war against terrorists. In addition, our planet will become increasingly hot on average over the whole globe and, beyond that, record-breaking floods, droughts and wind velocities will be found occurring everywhere. Ultimately as the recent US Government Report shows, even in the US, weather will become too extreme for the adaptability of humans, animals and much foliage, plants and trees. Global climate change is, if not already a national security matter, in the longer run will be more important than fighting expensive wars.

Concepts and background research for this chapter was provided by futurist Hazel Henderson, including excerpts from her *21st Century Strategies for Sustainability*, FORESIGHT, Cambridge, UK, Feb. 2006.

¹⁰⁷ Hazel Henderson *Ethical Markets Growing The Green Economy*, Chelsea Green, 2007; Brown, Brutoco, Cusimano, *Freedom from Mideast Oil*, World Business Academy, 2007. Jay Hakes, *A Declaration of Energy*, Wiley, 2008, Andrew Bacevich, *The Limits to Power*, Metropolitan Books, 2008.

Appendix

The UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and its counterpart Earth Charter, developed since 1992's UN Earth Summit by non-profit civic groups around the world stresses human responsibilities. Together they provide a reliable path to eliminating war and creating the peace we seek. Thanks to Brazilian business leader, Oscar Motomura, who is President of the management institute, Amana-Key, Sao Paulo, Brazil, and is distributing tens of thousands of copies of the following pages, A2-A9.



UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

PREAMBLE

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity



THE EARTH CHARTER

PREAMBLE

We stand at a critical moment in Earth's history, a time when humanity must choose its future. As the world becomes increasingly interdependent and fragile, the future at once holds great peril and great promise. To move forward we must recognize that in the midst of a magnificent diversity of cultures and life forms we are one human family and one Earth community with a common destiny. We must join together to bring forth a sustainable global society founded on respect for nature, universal human rights, economic justice, and a culture of peace. Towards this end, it is imperative that we, the peoples of Earth, declare our responsibility to one another, to the greater community of life, and to future generations.

EARTH, OUR HOME

Humanity is part of a vast evolving universe. Earth, our home, is alive with a unique community of life. The forces of nature make existence a demanding and uncertain adventure, but Earth has provided the conditions essential to life's evolution. The resilience of the community of life and the well-being of humanity depend upon preserving a healthy biosphere with all its ecological systems, a rich variety of plants and animals, fertile soils, pure waters, and clean air. The global environment with its finite resources is a common concern of all peoples. The protection of Earth's vitality, diversity, and beauty is a sacred trust.

and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, therefore,

The General Assembly,

Proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

THE GLOBAL SITUATION

The dominant patterns of production and consumption are causing environmental devastation, the depletion of resources, and a massive extinction of species. Communities are being undermined. The benefits of development are not shared equitably and the gap between rich and poor is widening. Injustice, poverty, ignorance, and violent conflict are widespread and the cause of great suffering. An unprecedented rise in human population has overburdened ecological and social systems. The foundations of global security are threatened. These trends are perilous—but not inevitable.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD

The choice is ours: form a global partnership to care for Earth and one another or risk the destruction of ourselves and the diversity of life. Fundamental changes are needed in our values, institutions, and ways of living. We must realize that when basic needs have been met, human development is primarily about being more, not having more. We have the knowledge and technology to provide for all and to reduce our impacts on the environment. The emergence of a global civil society is creating new opportunities to build a democratic and humane world. Our environmental, economic, political, social, and spiritual challenges are interconnected, and together we can forge inclusive solutions.

UNIVERSAL RESPONSIBILITY

To realize these aspirations, we must decide to live with a sense of universal responsibility, identifying ourselves with the whole Earth community as well as our local communities. We are at once citizens of different nations and of one world in which the local and global are linked. Everyone shares responsibility for the present and future well-being of the human family and the larger living world. The spirit of human solidarity and kinship with all life is strengthened when we live with reverence for the mystery of being, gratitude for the gift of life, and humility regarding the human place in nature.

We urgently need a shared vision of basic values to provide an ethical foundation for the emerging world community. Therefore, together in hope we affirm the following interdependent principles for a sustaina-

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

ble way of life as a common standard by which the conduct of all individuals, organizations, businesses, governments, and transnational institutions is to be guided and assessed.

PRINCIPLES

I. RESPECT AND CARE FOR THE COMMUNITY OF LIFE

1. Respect Earth and life in all its diversity.

Recognize that all beings are interdependent and every form of life has value regardless of its worth to human beings.

Affirm faith in the inherent dignity of all human beings and in the intellectual, artistic, ethical, and spiritual potential of humanity.

2. Care for the community of life with understanding, compassion, and love.

Accept that with the right to own, manage, and use natural resources comes the duty to prevent environmental harm and to protect the rights of people.

Affirm that with increased freedom, knowledge, and power comes increased responsibility to promote the common good.

3. Build democratic societies that are just, participatory, sustainable, and peaceful.

Ensure that communities at all levels guarantee human rights and fundamental freedoms and provide everyone an opportunity to realize his or her full potential.

Promote social and economic justice, enabling all to achieve a secure and meaningful livelihood that is ecologically responsible.

4. Secure Earth's bounty and beauty for present and future generations.

Recognize that the freedom of action of each generation is qualified by the needs of future generations.

Transmit to future generations values, traditions, and institutions that support the long-term flourishing of Earth's human and ecological communities.

Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11

Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against

II. ECOLOGICAL INTEGRITY

5. Protect and restore the integrity of Earth's ecological systems, with special concern for biological diversity and the natural processes that sustain life.

Adopt at all levels sustainable development plans and regulations that make environmental conservation and rehabilitation integral to all development initiatives.

Establish and safeguard viable nature and biosphere reserves, including wild lands and marine areas, to protect Earth's life support systems, maintain biodiversity, and preserve our natural heritage.

Promote the recovery of endangered species and ecosystems.

Control and eradicate non-native or genetically modified organisms harmful to native species and the environment, and prevent introduction of such harmful organisms.

Manage the use of renewable resources such as water, soil, forest products, and marine life in ways that do not exceed rates of regeneration and that protect the health of ecosystems.

Manage the extraction and use of non-renewable resources such as minerals and fossil fuels in ways that minimize depletion and cause no serious environmental damage.

6. Prevent harm as the best method of environmental protection and, when knowledge is limited, apply a precautionary approach.

Take action to avoid the possibility of serious or irreversible environmental harm even when scientific knowledge is incomplete or inconclusive.

Place the burden of proof on those who argue that a proposed activity will not cause significant harm, and make the responsible parties liable for environmental harm.

Ensure that decision making addresses the cumulative, long-term, indirect, long distance, and global consequences of human activities.

Prevent pollution of any part of the environment and allow no build-up of radioactive, toxic, or other hazardous substances.

Avoid military activities damaging to the environment.

such interference or attacks.

Article 13

Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.

Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14

Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

Everyone has the right to a nationality.

No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16

Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

7. Adopt patterns of production, consumption, and reproduction that safeguard Earth's regenerative capacities, human rights, and community well-being.

Reduce, reuse, and recycle the materials used in production and consumption systems, and ensure that residual waste can be assimilated by ecological systems.

Act with restraint and efficiency when using energy, and rely increasingly on renewable energy sources such as solar and wind.

Promote the development, adoption, and equitable transfer of environmentally sound technologies.

Internalize the full environmental and social costs of goods and services in the selling price, and enable consumers to identify products that meet the highest social and environmental standards.

Ensure universal access to health care that fosters reproductive health and responsible reproduction.

Adopt lifestyles that emphasize the quality of life and material sufficiency in a finite world.

8. Advance the study of ecological sustainability and promote the open exchange and wide application of the knowledge acquired.

Support international scientific and technical cooperation on sustainability, with special attention to the needs of developing nations.

Recognize and preserve the traditional knowledge and spiritual wisdom in all cultures that contribute to environmental protection and human well-being.

Ensure that information of vital importance to human health and environmental protection, including genetic information, remains available in the public domain.

III. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE

9. Eradicate poverty as an ethical, social, and environmental imperative.

Guarantee the right to potable water, clean air, food security, uncontaminated soil, shelter, and safe sanitation, allocating the national and international resources required.

Empower every human being with the education and

Article 17

Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20

Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21

Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal

resources to secure a sustainable livelihood, and provide social security and safety nets for those who are unable to support themselves.

Recognize the ignored, protect the vulnerable, serve those who suffer, and enable them to develop their capacities and to pursue their aspirations.

10. Ensure that economic activities and institutions at all levels promote human development in an equitable and sustainable manner.

Promote the equitable distribution of wealth within nations and among nations.

Enhance the intellectual, financial, technical, and social resources of developing nations, and relieve them of onerous international debt.

Ensure that all trade supports sustainable resource use, environmental protection, and progressive labor standards.

Require multinational corporations and international financial organizations to act transparently in the public good, and hold them accountable for the consequences of their activities.

11. Affirm gender equality and equity as prerequisites to sustainable development and ensure universal access to education, health care, and economic opportunity.

Secure the human rights of women and girls and end all violence against them.

Promote the active participation of women in all aspects of economic, political, civil, social, and cultural life as full and equal partners, decision makers, leaders, and beneficiaries.

Strengthen families and ensure the safety and loving nurture of all family members.

12. Uphold the right of all, without discrimination, to a natural and social environment supportive of human dignity, bodily health, and spiritual well-being, with special attention to the rights of indigenous peoples and minorities.

Eliminate discrimination in all its forms, such as that based on race, color, sex, sexual orientation, religion, language, and national, ethnic or social origin.

suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23

Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and

Affirm the right of indigenous peoples to their spirituality, knowledge, lands and resources and to their related practice of sustainable livelihoods.

Honor and support the young people of our communities, enabling them to fulfill their essential role in creating sustainable societies.

Protect and restore outstanding places of cultural and spiritual significance.

IV. DEMOCRACY, NONVIOLENCE, AND PEACE

13. Strengthen democratic institutions at all levels, and provide transparency and accountability in governance, inclusive participation in decision making, and access to justice.

Uphold the right of everyone to receive clear and timely information on environmental matters and all development plans and activities which are likely to affect them or in which they have an interest.

Support local, regional and global civil society, and promote the meaningful participation of all interested individuals and organizations in decision making.

Protect the rights to freedom of opinion, expression, peaceful assembly, association, and dissent.

Institute effective and efficient access to administrative and independent judicial procedures, including remedies and redress for environmental harm and the threat of such harm.

Eliminate corruption in all public and private institutions.

Strengthen local communities, enabling them to care for their environments, and assign environmental responsibilities to the levels of government where they can be carried out most effectively.

14. Integrate into formal education and life-long learning the knowledge, values, and skills needed for a sustainable way of life.

Provide all, especially children and youth, with educational opportunities that empower them to contribute actively to sustainable development.

Promote the contribution of the arts and humanities as well as the sciences in sustainability education.

Enhance the role of the mass media in raising aware-

necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26

Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27

Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

ness of ecological and social challenges.

Recognize the importance of moral and spiritual education for sustainable living.

15. Treat all living beings with respect and consideration.

Prevent cruelty to animals kept in human societies and protect them from suffering.

Protect wild animals from methods of hunting, trapping, and fishing that cause extreme, prolonged, or avoidable suffering.

Avoid or eliminate to the full extent possible the taking or destruction of non-targeted species.

16. Promote a culture of tolerance, nonviolence, and peace.

Encourage and support mutual understanding, solidarity, and cooperation among all peoples and within and among nations.

Implement comprehensive strategies to prevent violent conflict and use collaborative problem solving to manage and resolve environmental conflicts and other disputes.

Demilitarize national security systems to the level of a non-provocative defense posture, and convert military resources to peaceful purposes, including ecological restoration.

Eliminate nuclear, biological, and toxic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

Ensure that the use of orbital and outer space supports environmental protection and peace.

Recognize that peace is the wholeness created by right relationships with oneself, other persons, other cultures, other life, Earth, and the larger whole of which all are a part.

THE WAY FORWARD

As never before in history, common destiny beckons us to seek a new beginning. Such renewal is the promise of these Earth Charter principles. To fulfill this promise, we must commit ourselves to adopt and promote the values and objectives of the Charter.

Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29

Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

This requires a change of mind and heart. It requires a new sense of global interdependence and universal responsibility. We must imaginatively develop and apply the vision of a sustainable way of life locally, nationally, regionally, and globally. Our cultural diversity is a precious heritage and different cultures will find their own distinctive ways to realize the vision. We must deepen and expand the global dialogue that generated the Earth Charter, for we have much to learn from the ongoing collaborative search for truth and wisdom.

Life often involves tensions between important values. This can mean difficult choices. However, we must find ways to harmonize diversity with unity, the exercise of freedom with the common good, short-term objectives with long-term goals. Every individual, family, organization, and community has a vital role to play. The arts, sciences, religions, educational institutions, media, businesses, nongovernmental organizations, and governments are all called to offer creative leadership. The partnership of government, civil society, and business is essential for effective governance.

In order to build a sustainable global community, the nations of the world must renew their commitment to the United Nations, fulfill their obligations under existing international agreements, and support the implementation of Earth Charter principles with an international legally binding instrument on environment and development.

Let ours be a time remembered for the awakening of a new reverence for life, the firm resolve to achieve sustainability, the quickening of the struggle for justice and peace, and the joyful celebration of life.

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Abraham Fund, www.abrahamfund.org NYC, Ami Nahshon, Pres. & CEO, Founders, Alan B. Slivka & Dr. Eugene Weiner, Abraham Fund Initiatives, 9 E 45th St, NY, NY 10017-8458

Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, 322 Fourth St, NE, Washington DC 20002, 202-546-0795, www.armscontrolcenter.org/, Jerome Grossman, founder; John Isaacs, Exec. Director

Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace & Conflict, Lester Kurtz, Editor in Chief, www.elsevierdirect.com/violenceandpeace

Friends Committee for National Legislation, FCNL, 245 Second St., Washington DC 20002-5795, 800-630-1330, fcnl@fcnl.org, www.fcnl.org, Joe Volk, Exec. Secretary.

Greenpeace, 702 H St., NW, Suite 300, Washington DC 20001, 800-326-0959. www.greenpeace.org, John W Passacantando

Humanizing Religion, Creating Peace, Soko Gakkai International (SGI) 15-3 Samoncho, Shinjuku, Tokyo 160-0017, Japan, Daisaku Ikeda, President SGI

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Nuclear Resistor, Felice and Jack Cohen-Joppa, PO Box 43383, Tucson AZ 85733, 520-323-8697 nukeresistor@igc.org

Oxfam, America, 226 Causeway St., 5th fl, Boston MA, 02114-2206, 800-77-OXFAM, Works to overcome poverty, hunger, and injustice

Peace Action (Sane & Freeze), 1100 Wayne Ave., Suite 1020, Silver Springs, MD 20910, 301-565-4050, www.Peace-Action.org, Kevin Martin, Exec. Director, kmartin@peace_action.org

Directory of Organizations

Peace Alliance, Campaign for a US Department of Peace, 1730 Rhode Island Ave., NW, Suite 712, Wash. DC 20038, 202-684-2553, www.thepeacealliance.org. Kathy Kidd. **The Peace Alliance**, Matthew@thepeacealliance.org

Peace Development Fund, 44 N. Prospect St., Amherst, MA 01004-1280, www.peacedevelopmentfund.org

Physicians for Social Responsibility, 1875 Connecticut Ave, NW, #1012, Washington DC 20009, www.psr.org,

Project on Defense Alternatives, Commonwealth Institute, 186 Hampshire St, Cambridge MA, 02193, 617-547-4474, Charles Knight & Carl Conetta (DC), www.comw.org

Search for Common Ground, 1601 Connecticut Ave., Suite 200, Washington DC 20009-1035 USA, +1 202-265-4300, John Marks, President.

Soka Gakkai International (SGI) Quarterly Magazine,, NYC Ami Nahshon, Pres. & CEO15-3 Samoncho, Shinjuku, Tokyo 160-0017, Japan, Daisaku Ikeda, President SGI

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WAND, 691, Massachusetts Ave, Arlington MA 02476, 781-643-6740, Sayre Sheldon, President Emerita; Susan Shaer, Exec. Director.

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US “War-Making” Heading to Collapse

By Alan F Kay 11/09

Impressive US Conquest

When President George W Bush stood on the aircraft-carrier deck announcing “Mission Accomplished,” Americans including me understood that 19 days of boots-on-the-ground had conquered Iraq. We were justifiably jubilant by a victorious conquest producing so few American deaths. The cost of that conquest was tiny compared to the cost of the major US share of the conquest of Japan and Germany in WWII that started 12/7/41, 62 years before the Iraq war. US WWII victory took almost three years and cost 291,557 US troop deaths. Defense Secretary Rumsfeld had forced on the military a level of capability enhancement that led many to believe that this low cost capability would be true for future US wars. Of course, that implied that lethal wars, like WWII, would never again be required. A little of Rumsfeld’s wizardry peeled off when years later we found out that the number of Iraqis killed in action during the 19 day attack was about 3500, coincidentally somewhat larger than the number of Americans killed by the terrorist attacks of 9/11/01. The real issue was not war-fighting.

Lesson of Iraq War from WWII: Good Governance is Critical for Long Lasting Success

Establishing the government of Iraq has been an abject failure in enormous contrast with the success of the US occupation of Japan and Germany in WWII. Establishing Iraq governance became an expensive, disastrous, and drawn-out, six year plus, nightmare, including well over 4500 US troop deaths and ever-rising costs, recently 660 billion, largely wasted dollars. Compare the Iraq disaster with the achievements of the American Occupation of Japan. In the first year alone, the Occupation established (1) a Constitution that has been accepted by the Japanese without amendment for decades, (2) honest elections that produced a functioning prime minister and parliament (called “the Diet”), (3) Japan as a US ally from 1946 to this day and (4) a rapidly climbing economy that in a few years became the second largest in the world. You want icing on the cake? Unlike the 4500 US troops killed by Iraqis, zero Americans were killed by Japanese during the Occupation -- none at all!

What Drives our Dedication to Success for Major Wars

Sometimes I am asked, “Even in spite of a huge waste of money and manpower, don’t you see that Iraq still could be a success?” My answer is, “Yes it could be for a few years. But you can’t rule out that some day after we have lost interest and paid no attention to Iraq, some other strong-man will come along and Iraq would fall into worse shape than Saddam Hussein’s regime produced. Would we have the guts to go back into Iraq and re-fight this hopeless war again? Of course not. Sometimes I am asked, “Even in spite of a huge waste of money and manpower, don’t you see that Afghanistan still could be a success?” My answer would be similar.

The US military received about \$780 billion for year 2009, double the amount of 8 years earlier. The military now supports over 2 million people mostly not in the war zone who rely on wages and benefits for a living. If the US managed to end the current wars and proceeded for a few years without starting any new major wars (i.e., a cost larger than \$100 billion per year) Americans would soon demand the cutting back on this huge Pentagon drain of tax-payers money. The size of the military could not be sustained unless it found war with another country. (Top of the current list is Iran, North Korea, and Moslem /Arab countries. An assortment of poorly managed, weak countries could also suit the Pentagon’s need.) From the results of the last eight years and still continuing, we seem destined to continue living with one or more major

US “War-Making” Heading to Collapse

wars forever. The military would find a way to justify and utilize the massive variety and amount of everything that’s needed to fight and conquer another country, including for land, sea, and air: administration, troop training, transport, procurement, equipment, ordinance, mobile equipment fire power, production and delivery, etc. The expanded military-industrial complex, flush with many enhancements over the decades, will be justified by big lengthy wars.

The worst aspect of our future is that these are not wars that we win. We remain “losers”. When I was a Japanese language interpreter with military police duties in Tokyo in 1946, I saw first hand how winning a war works to help the US **and** help the losers, the Japanese, too. We have not won a major war since WWII, 63 years ago. I think that nobody in the military today knows what winning a war means. How can I explain that? There are many factors. but the fact that those in the military are always ready to explain, or at the least “agree with” how specific wars can be indefinitely continued on to success even when a new development suggests that failure is beginning again. The best and brightest of the top military officers can explain their proposals for continuing the war on to “success” again and again so impressively that all of the lower level officers are kept in line, with a few exceptions that collectively amount to little clout, really none. The handful of these four-stars can display modesty, as needed for effectiveness as they recommend an improvement of their strategy and tactics, imposing on others a feeling of the great strength of their belief . They explain with care they might have to make some changes, because factors of war sometimes change and can never be completely predicted. The few lower level officers, that might speak out should they fail to see the present moment as “successful”, tend to lose (1) their military friends, or (2) a portion of their incomes, or (3) shifts to remote or undesirable assignments.

Bullies, in school yards or fighting in street gangs, learn how force produces fear in victims. Many grow-up with similar, though usually controlled, beliefs that strength and toughness are the only way to face the world. They imagine often that countries think the same way and use that approach to pressure for or against specific wars. Suppose country A is a victim of a war of country B. A does not act the way an individual or a small group does. A is not hammered down. It does not concede. A’s hatred of B is never expressed to the world. Little seems to be happening with these feelings even over centuries. Still A is not cowed by B that believes that it has won, acting like a bully, feels safe and in control of A, even centuries after their war, although undiminished for a thousand years. Both A and B have had many economy, environment, culture, and language changes, but only historians know or care much about that. Others pay little attention. Suppose a country X is friendly with A and neither are aware that B is considering attacking X. A manages to push X into attacking B by both A and X together. B thought A was under control and instead B was destroyed.

Let’s look at a real example. In the 1870 Franco-Prussian war, Germany defeated France. In WWI, 1919, France defeated Germany. In WWII, 1940, Germany defeated France. Each winner felt it had controlled the loser, but the loser had little trouble seeing how to turn around the outcome in the next war. Finally in the EU, leaders in both countries stopped the nonsense. The real problem is that each country, say A, understands its own analysis and justifications and has little real understanding by B of A itself. Politics, patriotism, narrow mindedness, my country right or wrong attitudes, lead to supporting A’s views over the views of all foreigners especially B, if A believes it is in control of B, but is not. There are many more good examples (surprisingly the US Civil War of 1861-1865 is one) but it would take another book to cover them adequately.

Comments Continued from Title Page

“The two authors bring together a breadth of experience and knowledge which makes this a practical and convincing book about what can be done to end war. It provides real solutions for the place we are in now as well as genuine hope that we are at last ready to tackle war. Groups such as WAND will benefit from ‘Eliminating War’ but it will also engage and challenge the hardliners,”

Sayre Sheldon, President Emerita,
Womans Action for New Directions (WAND)

“Veterans Alan Kay and Dan Smith are valuable allies for our mission, empowering women to tip the balance to peace. The authors bring logic, data, diagrams, and wide-ranging personal experience to the issue. In Kay’s words, “today there is more valid pressure and effort arising for the elimination of war than the world has seen in modern times, if ever.”

Dr Pat Morris, Executive
Mary Liepold PhD, Communications, PeaceXPeace (Peace by Peace)

“This is a master work of two genius level social innovators and transformers. By identifying the flaws in our encoding concerning war, and then describing practical alternatives and methods to achieve peace and prosperity, author Alan Kay in cooperation with Hazel Henderson have given our generation the message, the mandate and the means of co-creating a world far more secure, creative, just, viable, humane, and indeed delightful! A must reading for all interested in the survival and thrival of humanity.”

Barbara Marx Hubbard, founder Foundation for Conscious Evolution

Thank you so very much for granting me the privilege of reading the PDF of Eliminating War. To me, it was a lifetime masterpiece. The extent of your research was second to none, and the message – crucial. Amongst many things, I loved how you brought in the UN MDG’s, the Earth Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights.

Susan Cavanagh, Global Ambassador, Kosmos Journal; CEO Executive
Coaching Corp.

“Eliminating War” empowers every individual to realize our indispensable, personal contribution for a sustainable, peaceful planet. Alan Kay and Dan Smith simplify the steps each of us can take to ensure security and prosperity for our grandchildren’s grandchildren. A valuable read!

Susan J. Zipp, UN Communications Coordinator



Baghdad Burning

www.reformation.org/jesuits-control-pentagon.html



Soldiers Kicking in Door

www.youtube.com/watch?v=myLZyaE7tBY&feature=related

Eliminating War

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Alan F Kay, co-author, Veteran of WWII, Japanese language interpreter with military police duties, army of occupation, Tokyo, 1946. Polymath, inventor, chooser of multiple careers. Pre-internet supplier of electronic transaction networks and email. (More, www.alanfKay.com)

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