The Future of Peace in the Twenty-First Century

Edited by
DR. NICHOLAS N. KITTRIE, KStJ
H.E. RODRIGO CARAZO
H.E. JAMES R. MANCHAM, KBE

Carolina Academic Press
Durham, North Carolina
# Contents

Credits, Acknowledgments, and Editor’s Notes........................................................................................................ vi

**Foreword**  
Oscar Arias, President of Costa Rica (1986–1990) and Nobel Peace Laureate...................................................... xvii

**Preface**  
Jehan Sadat, Former First Lady of Egypt.................................................................................................................. xix

**Prologue**  
*From the War of the Future to the Future of Peace*  
Nicholas N. Kittrie, American University, Washington College of Law................................................................. xxiii

**Part One**  
**Confronting the Prophets of War**

*Why War?—A Letter to Albert Einstein*  
Sigmund Freud, Psychoanalyst ........................................................................................................................................ 3

*Why IS There Evil?*  
Roy F. Baumeister, Case Western Reserve University .................................................................................................. 7

*The Nature of Aggression and Hatred*  
Gordon W. Allport, Psychologist .................................................................................................................................... 13

*War and Aggressiveness*  
H.J. Eysenck, Psychologist ................................................................................................................................................. 19

*The Disparity Between Biological and Cultural Evolution in the Pursuit of Peace*  
David P. Barash, University of Washington ................................................................................................................... 33

**Part Two**  
**Peace Theories and Research: From Restraining War to Planting Seeds of Peace**

*Peace Theory*  
Kenneth E. Boulding, Economist .................................................................................................................................... 53

*The Evolution of Theories on War and Peace*  
A. C. F. Beales, Historian ................................................................................................................................................. 58
## The Future of Peace in the Twenty-First Century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Author and Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Violence and Peace</strong></td>
<td>Johan Galtung, University of Hawaii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Reduction of War and the Creation of Peace</strong></td>
<td>Francis Beer, University of Colorado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Peace Education and Peace Research</strong></td>
<td>Amalendu Guha, Institute for Alternative Development Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Where is Peace Research Headed?</strong></td>
<td>Joseph D. Ben-Dak, University of São Paulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART THREE</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Historical and Multicultural Perspectives of Peace: Global Survey</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perpetual Peace</strong></td>
<td>Immanuel Kant, German Philosopher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Warfare as an Invention</strong></td>
<td>Margaret Mead, American Anthropologist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Peace in Classical Greece</strong></td>
<td>Gerardo Zampaglione, Former Italian Ambassador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Peace in Roman Thinking</strong></td>
<td>Gerardo Zampaglione, Former Italian Ambassador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Peace and Jihad in Moslem History</strong></td>
<td>Majid Khadduri, Johns Hopkins University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The American Dream and the Pursuit of Peace</strong></td>
<td>Michael H. Hunt, University of North Carolina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Violence and the Western Political Tradition</strong></td>
<td>Sheldon S. Wolin, Princeton University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>War and Peace in European Consciousness</strong></td>
<td>Nigel Young, Colgate University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>On the Causes of War and the Efforts that Failed</strong></td>
<td>Nicholas N. Kittrie, American University, Washington College of Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART FOUR</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Militarism, the Military and Deterrence in the Quest for Peace</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Realities of War</strong></td>
<td>Carl von Clausewitz, Prussian Military Thinker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Art of War</strong></td>
<td>Sun Tzu, Chinese Philosopher and General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>An End to Militarism</strong></td>
<td>Jean de Bloch, Entrepreneur and Pacifist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Militarism</strong></td>
<td>C. Delisle Burns, British Historian and Philosopher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cultural Dimensions of Militarism: A Marxist Perspective
Malvern Lumsden, UNESCO .................................................................193

Militarism and the Pursuit of Peace
William Felice, Royal Institute of International Affairs ........................................202

Deterrence and Provocation
Mary Midgley, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne ..................................................207

From Strategic Deterrence to Problem Solving
John Burton, United States Institute of Peace .........................................................211

Confronting Arms Races
Alexander Pikayev, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace .........................219

Nuclear Warfare: Dynamics and Dilemmas of Policy Making
Daniel Deudney, Johns Hopkins University .........................................................238

The Best Antidote to War is a Better Defense
George W. Bush, 43rd President of the United States of America ..........................242

Unorthodox Warfare: Does Terrorism Work?
Richard Clutterbuck, Soldier and Academic .........................................................249

Media in the Service of Terrorism
Harold J. Vetter, Portland State University
and Gary R. Perlstein, Portland State University ..................................................252

Let War Bring Peace
Edward S. Luttwak, Center for Strategic and International Studies .......................258

PART FIVE

Population Growth: Disaster or Blessing?
Peter T. Bauer, London School of Economics .......................................................269

Beyond National Boundaries: Immigration and the Flow of Labor
Marcelo Suárez-Orozco, Harvard Graduate School of Education .........................277

Improving the Health of the Poor
World Health Organization ......................................................................................298

The Risk of Livelihood Conflicts
Leif Ohlsson, University of Goteborg ....................................................................305

Overcoming Deprivation, Hunger, and Poverty
Michael N. Dobkowski, Hobart and William Smith Colleges .................................322

Deprivations and Their Cures
Nazli Choucri, Massachusetts Institute of Technology ...........................................330

Globalization: Evening the Odds
P.J. Simmons, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace ..................................346

Making Globalization Work
James H. Mittelman, American University ............................................................367
PART SIX
Confronting the Universal Quest for Identity: Family, Religion, and Culture

Reflections on the Family at Century’s Unfolding
Jean Bethke Elshtain, University of Chicago ................................................................. 383

Family, Religion, and Globalization: The Implications for World Peace
William R. Garrett, Saint Michael’s College ................................................................. 389

The Worldwide Impact of Religion on Contemporary Society
Huston Smith, University of California, Berkeley ......................................................... 409

The Price of Peace: Religion and Politics in Western Europe
John K. Roth, Claremont McKenna College ................................................................. 417

The Many Faces of Islamic Revivalism
Edward Azar, Scholar and Teacher
and A. Chung-in Moon, Yonsei University, Korea ...................................................... 425

The Religious Foundations of a More Peaceful World
Marc Gopin, Tufts University ......................................................................................... 440

Clash of Civilizations
Samuel P. Huntington, Harvard University ................................................................. 454

Religion and Global Governance: Harmony or Clash?
Richard A. Falk, Princeton University ........................................................................ 463

PART SEVEN
Pluralism and Its Discontents: Harmonizing Domestic and Global Diversity

Beyond Sovereignty
Arnold Brecht, Political Theorist .................................................................................. 487

Attaining Peace in Divided Societies: Five Principles
Ted Robert Gurr, University of Maryland .................................................................... 496

The Myth of Ethnic Warfare
Charles King, Georgetown University ......................................................................... 512

Justice for Minorities
Hurst Hannum, Tufts University .................................................................................. 517

Faith-Based Initiatives
Ray Takeyh, Washington Institute for Near East Policy .............................................. 525

Mediating Racial, Ethnic and Cultural Conflicts: The Lessons of South Africa
Albert Venter, Rand Afrikaans University ..................................................................... 528

PART EIGHT
Arts, Science and Technology in the Service of Peace

Culture, Literature and Arts in the Service of Peace
Ada Aharoni, International Forum for the Culture of Peace ..................................... 553
Contents

The Global Environmental Challenges of the 21st Century
John D. Shilling, World Bank
and James H. Beall, St. John’s College ................................................................. 571

World Scientists Warning to Humanity
Union of Concerned Scientists ................................................................. 575

Making Science Serve Peace
Tor Ragnar Gerholm, University of Stockholm ........................................... 579

Does Modernization Require Westernization?
Deepak Lai, University of California, Los Angeles ........................................... 586

Building a Scientific Basis for a Global Culture of Peace
Walter L. Wallace, Princeton University ........................................................... 601

Mediating the Traumas of Techno–Economic Change: A Case Study in Popular Input
Daniel Bradlow, American University ............................................................. 636

Part Nine
Building Legitimate Governance: Transparency, Human Rights, Democracy, and Accountability

Abuse of Power: War Isn’t the Biggest Killer
R.J. Rummel, University of Hawaii ................................................................. 651

Increasing Transparency in Government
Ann M. Florini, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace ......................... 658

International Human Rights as Instruments for Justice and Peace
Eleanor Roosevelt, First Chair, United Nations Human Rights Commission .......... 678

Human Rights Confront Globalization
Adamantia Pollis, New School University ....................................................... 684

Globalization of Insecurity: The Democratic Imperative
Joseph A. Camilleri, La Trobe University ......................................................... 702

Can European Democracy Survive Globalization?
Ralf Dahrendorf, House of Lords, United Kingdom ......................................... 721

Democracy and War Involvement
Erich Weede, University of Cologne, Germany ................................................. 726

Responding to Claims for Self-Determination
Hurst Hannum, Tufts University ................................................................. 730

An Illusory Fork in the Road to Peace: Justice vs. Accommodation
Paul Williams, American University
and Michael Scharf, New England School of Law ........................................... 736

Part Ten
Humanitarian Intervention and Nation-Building

Shall the United States Intervene in Cuba?
Herbert J. Spinden, Anthrologist ................................................................. 763
The Future of Peace in the Twenty-First Century

The United States Intercedes with the Czarist Government:
President Theodore Roosevelt and Russian Jewry
Isidore Singer, The Jewish Encyclopedia .......................................................... 767

Pope Pius XII and Nazi Germany: A Controversial Role
A. Chronology of Events
Carol Rittner, The Richard Stockton College of New Jersey
and John K. Roth, Claremont McKenna College .............................................. 773
B. The Priests of Dachau
William J. O'Malley, S.J................................................................. 778

Humanitarian Assistance
Allan Gerson, George Washington University
and Nat J. Colletta, George Washington University ........................................ 781

Humanitarian Interventions in a New Era
Thomas G. Weiss, The City University of New York ........................................ 784

Doing It Right: The Future of Humanitarian Intervention
Michael O'Hanlon, Brookings Institution .......................................................... 794

NATO and Humanitarian Intervention
Carla Portela, Consultant to Berlin Information-center for Transatlantic Security ................................. 799

International Political Entanglements and the Building of Political Institutions
Llewellyn D. Howell, University of Hawaii, Manoa .......................................... 807

Nation-Building or Nation-Destroying?
Walker Connor, Middlebury College .............................................................. 810

Revisiting 'Nation-Building'
Allan Gerson, George Washington University
and Nat J. Colletta, George Washington University ....................................... 822

The Sad Lessons of Nation-Building
Nicholas D. Kristof, New York Times Columnist .............................................. 825

The Only Acceptable Purpose of War is to Restore More Durable Peace
Richard Falk, Princeton University ................................................................. 827

On the Merits of Nation-Building
Saibal Mitra, University of Tulsa ................................................................. 831

Part Eleven
Mobilizing for Peace: The Public Sector and Civil Society

The United Nations and Three Great Forces for Peace
Bruce Russett, Yale University ........................................................................... 837

The Role of the United Nations in International Peace and Security
Chantal de Jonge Oudraat, Johns Hopkins University ...................................... 841

Civil Society as a Facilitator of Peace
John Prendergast, International Crisis Group.................................................. 831
Contents

and Emily Plumb, National Aeronautics and Space Administration .............................................856

International Economic Organizations: Working Globally for
Material Well-Being and Peace
Doug Bandow, CATO Institute .................................................................867

Women's Rights, Human Rights: Peace in the New Century
Benazir Bhutto, Former Prime Minister of Pakistan .............................................879

Overcoming America's Estrangement: The Role of Education and Media
Sanford J. Ungar, President, Goucher College .............................................889

Privatizing Peace: From Conflict to Security
Allan Gerson, George Washington University
and Nat J. Colletta, George Washington University .............................................904

Innovative Approaches to the Advancement of Democracy and Peace
Alan Gilbert, University of Denver .................................................................915

PART TWELVE
Building a Culture of Peace: Education, Democracy, Conflict Resolution, Economics, Ethics and Law

Nonviolence as a Strategy for Change
April Carter, Somerville College .................................................................937

Gandhi: The Prophet of Non-Violence
Rodrigo Carazo, President of Costa Rica (1978-1982) .............................................942

Educational Policies and the Peace Process: Not Just the Absence of War
Shlomo Avineri, Hebrew University, Israel .....................................................945

Educating for Peace: The Partnership of Home, School and Community
Tony Devine, International Educational Foundation
and Josephine Hauer, Bridgeport Hope School ................................................947

Toward a Global Initiative on Education
Gene B. Sperling, Brookings Institution .............................................................958

Making the World Safe Through Democracy: A Historical Survey
Spencer Weart, American Institute of Physics .................................................962

Implementing the Institutions of Democracy: A Blessing or Threat?
Minxin Pei, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace .....................................980

Peace and Security: Conceptual Notes
Nigel Dower, University of Aberdeen, Scotland ................................................997

The Peace Process: Sustained Dialogue to Transform Deep-Rooted Human Conflicts
Harold H. Saunders, Kettering Foundation ....................................................1003

The Cause and Resolution of Conflicts
June Saunders, International Educational Foundation .......................................1016

Cross-Cultural Conflict Resolution
Abdul Aziz Said, American University
Nathan C. Funk, American University
and Lynn M. Kunkle, American University ........................................................................ 1028

*Competition vs. Monopoly in the Development of Peaceful Societies*
Gordon L. Anderson, Professors World Peace Academy ........................................ 1035

*The Need for a New World Ethic*
Hans Küng, University of Tübingen ........................................................................ 1042

*International Law as a Deterrent of the Ravages of War*
William Schabas, National University of Ireland at Galway ................................... 1050

**PART THIRTEEN**

**Visions of the Peaceable Kingdom**

*World Peace Index 2000*
Kim Kyong-Dong, Seoul National University .............................................................. 1069

*Peace Search: From the Secular to the Christic*
Bernard Swan, University of New England ............................................................... 1079

*Vision of a Non-Violent Society: What Should Be Society’s Aims?*
Ralph Summy, University of Queensland, Australia ..................................................... 1092

*Creating Spaces for Peace: Zones of Peace*
Majid Tehranian, University of Hawaii ....................................................................... 1098

*Toward a Global Educatve Authority: The Council of Earth*
Michael Salla, American University,
Walter Tenetto, University of Queensland, Australia
and Enrique Martinez, Australian Multicultural Book Review ..................................... 1105

*Toward a Federal World Order?*
Keith Suter, University of Sydney ............................................................................. 1114

*The Struggle for the Soul of the 21st Century*
William J. (Bill) Clinton, 42nd President of the United States of America .................. 1128

*The Future of Peace*
Alvin Toffler and Heidi Toffler, Authors of *Future Shock* and *The Third Wave* .......... 1132

**EPILOGUE**

**Coming to Terms: From the Dream of Peace to an Attainable Truce**
Nicholas N. Kittrie, American University, Washington College of Law ........................ 1143

**AFTERWORDS**

**Multinational and Multicultural Reflections on the Architecture of Peace**

*Since Humans First Scratched Thought on Stone*
Walter Cronkite, Journalist ...................................................................................... 1161

*After the Cold War: An Era of Unprecedented Peace and Prosperity*
Jimmy Carter, 39th President of the United States of America
and 2002 Nobel Peace Laureate ............................................................................. 1163
Contents

Some of My Memories are Painful and Dark  
Nadja Halilbegovich, Youth for Environmental Sanity ................................................................. 1165

...We Still Live in a World in Which We Must Study Politics and War  
Colin Powell, Secretary of State, United States of America .............................................................. 1167

The Roots of War and Violence Go Deep, Into the Earth Herself  
Ingrid Washinawatok el-Issa, Flying Eagle Woman Fund ................................................................. 1169

My Thoughts On Peace Begin with a Story My Dad Told...  
Hafsat Abiola, Kudirat Initiative for Nigerian Democracy .................................................................. 1172

All of Us Need to Take Responsibility for the World’s Violence  
Mairead Corrigan Maguire, Peace People ............................................................................................ 1174

The Century Marked by Unprecedented Violence and Cruelty  
Mahnaz Afkhami, Women’s Learning Partnership ............................................................................. 1176

If You Plant a Mango Seed, You Will Get a Mango Tree  
James R. Mancham, Founding President, Republic of Seychelles (1976-1977) .............................. 1178

Appendix  
Nobel Peace Prize Laureates 1901-2002 ............................................................................................. 1179

About the Contributors ......................................................................................................................... 1183