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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. statement	re: Draft remarks of Samuel R. Berger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, at the Ceremony on the Conferment of Honorary Degrees at Tel Aviv University (19 pages)	05/17/2000	P5

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- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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LEVEL 1 - 42 STORIES

1. The Independent (London), October 21, 1999, Thursday, COMMENT; Pg. 4, 674 words, PODIUM: WE MUST TRY TO CONTAIN FANATICISM; AMOS OZ FROM A LECTURE GIVEN BY THE PROMINENT ISRAELI NOVELIST FOR THE BBC RADIO 3 SERIES 'SOUNDING THE CENTURY', Amos Oz
2. Newsweek, July 19, 1999, Atlantic Edition, SOCIETY AND THE ARTS; Independence Day; Pg. 54, 579 words, When the British Troops Went Home, Surreal Delights, Amos Oz, Frank Mistarz, Ruth Kligman
3. The Washington Post, April 26, 1998, Sunday, Final Edition, OUTLOOK; Pg. C03, 2876 words, A LOOK AT...Israel, Turning 50; Go Forth and Argue, Amos Oz, ARAD, ISRAEL
4. Time, April 13, 1998, TIME 100; Pg. 134, 1416 words, David Ben-Gurion; Part Washington, part Moses, he was the architect of a new nation state that altered the destiny of the Jewish people--and the Middle East, Amos Oz
5. The Evening Standard (London), July 31, 1997, Pg. 4, 627 words, THE VICIOUS 'COALITION' FIGHTING TO KILL HOPE; COMMENTARY, Amos Oz
6. International Herald Tribune (Neuilly-sur-Seine, France), May 29, 1997, Thursday, Opinion; Pg. 8, 547 words, For Israel, Ballots Against Bullets, By Amos Oz; International Herald Tribune, Copyright, Amos Oz, 1997, ARAD, Israel
7. The Guardian (London), March 13, 1997, THE GUARDIAN FEATURES PAGE; Pg. 19, 1254 words, NO ONE IS ALONE IN JERUSALEM, Amos Oz
8. The Guardian (London), January 16, 1997, THE GUARDIAN FEATURES PAGE; Pg. 15 1200 words, A WAY TO EASE THE PAIN OF HEBRON, Amos Oz
9. The New York Times, January 16, 1997, Thursday, Late Edition - Final, Section A; Page 25; Column 2; Editorial Desk, 732 words, A Victory for Pragmatism, By Amos Oz; Amos Oz is the author, most recently, of "Israel, Palestine and Peace.", ARAD, Israel
10. Newsday (New York, NY), November 4, 1996, Monday, ALL EDITIONS, Page A41, 1058 words, DEVOUT PEOPLE, BLIND TO SEEDS OF HATE, By Amos Oz. Amos Oz, an Israeli writer, is the author of "Don't Call it Night."
11. The Times, October 26, 1996, Saturday, Features, 1032 words, So who did kill Yitzhak Rabin?, Amos Oz
12. The Observer, June 2, 1996, Sunday, THE OBSERVER NEWS PAGE; Pg. 16, 1534 words, A FANTASY RETURNS TO THE POLITICAL MARGINS, Amos Oz
13. The New York Times, April 25, 1996, Thursday, Late Edition - Final, Section A; Page 25; Column 1; Editorial Desk, 624 words, Israel's Wrath, Iran's Sweet Grapes, By Amos Oz; Amos Oz is a member of Peace Now and the author, most recently, of "Israel, Palestine and Peace.", ARAD, Israel
14. The Observer, April 21, 1996, Sunday, THE OBSERVER NEWS PAGE; Pg. 18, 920 words, 'MAKING PEACE IS NOT A MILITARY OPERATION', Amos Oz
15. The Guardian (London), March 5, 1996, THE GUARDIAN FEATURES PAGE; Pg. 15, 1200 words, HAND IN HAND TO HELL? Amos Oz pleads for peace in an open letter



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to a Palestinian friend, Amos Oz

16. Newsweek, November 20, 1995, UNITED STATES EDITION, INTERNATIONAL; Israel; Pg. 61, 452 words, Israelis Will Not Stand for Fanaticism, By Amos Oz; (c) AMOS OZ 1995. Oz's latest book is "Israel, Palestine and Peace" (Harvest).

17. The Washington Post, November 12, 1995, Sunday, Final Edition, OUTLOOK; Pg. C04, 479 words, And Death Shall Have No Dominion, Amos Oz,

18. The Times, November 7, 1995, Tuesday, Overseas news, 728 words, Zealot's bullet shatters sacred values of Israel, Amos Oz

19. The New York Times, November 6, 1995, Monday, Late Edition - Final, Section A; Page 17; Column 1; Editorial Desk, 582 words, An Unsentimental Dove, By Amos Oz; Amos Oz is the author of "Israel, Palestine and Peace."

20. The Scotsman, October 28, 1995, Saturday, Pg. 18, 759 words, Man of feeling: Don't call it night by Amos Oz Chatto & Windus 14.99, His Mastery Of The Minutiae Of Everyday Life Marks Out Amos Oz As A Novelist Of Rare Talent, Says Allan Massie

21. The Scotsman, October 28, 1995, Saturday, Pg. 18, 759 words, Man of feeling: Don't call it night by Amos Oz Chatto & Windus 14.99, His Mastery Of The Minutiae Of Everyday Life Marks Out Amos Oz As A Novelist Of Rare Talent, Says Allan Massie

22. The Daily Telegraph, June 17, 1995, Saturday, INTERNATIONAL; Pg. 17, 651 words, Dreams must die to pay for peace Israel and a Palestinian state can flourish together only if both sides are prepared to compromise, says Israeli writer Amos Oz

23. Los Angeles Times, June 16, 1995, Friday, Home Edition, Metro; Part B; Page 7; Metro Desk, 797 words, PERSPECTIVE ON A PALESTINIAN STATE; THERE COMES A TIME TO RELINQUISH DREAMS; WILL LEADERS BE ELECTED WHO ARE CREATIVE ENOUGH TO SEE SOLUTIONS WHERE THERE HAVE ONLY BEEN ROADBLOCKS?, By AMOS OZ, Amos Oz's two collections of essays, Israel, Palestine and Peace, and Under This Blazing Light were published in April, copyrighted 1995 by Amos Oz, Translated from the Hebrew by Ora Cummings., ARAD, Israel

24. The New York Times, April 11, 1995, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final, Section A; Page 25; Column 2; Editorial Desk, 1043 words, The Hamas-Likud Connection By Amos Oz; Amos Oz, a novelist, is author, most recently, of "Fima." He is a leader of the Peace Now movement. (This article was translated from the Hebrew by Ora Cummings.), ARAD, Israel

25. The Times, April 11, 1995, Tuesday, Overseas news, 791 words, Israel's far Right 'collaborates with Hamas in thwarting peace', Amos Oz

26. International Herald Tribune (Neuilly-sur-Seine, France), February 03, 1995, OPINION, 960 words, State of Israel, State of Palestine, Each Side Secure and Responsible, Amos Oz, JERUSALEM

27. Newsday, April 22, 1994, Friday, NASSAU AND SUFFOLK EDITION, VIEWPOINTS; Pg. A59, 912 words, Bridge of Peace Is Nearly Finished, By Amos Oz. Israeli novelist and essayist Amos Oz' latest book is "In the Land of Israel." This



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article was translated from Hebrew by Ora Cummings., TERRORISM; ISRAEL; BUS; ISLAM; PALESTINE; JEWS; VIOLENCE; MURDER; OPINION; PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

28. The New York Times, March 1, 1994, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final, Section A; Page 23; Column 1; Editorial Desk, 779 words, Where Is Israel's Iron Fist?, By Amos Oz; Amos Oz is author, most recently, of "Fima." This excerpt from The Observer of London was translated from the Hebrew by Ora Cummings., JERUSALEM

29. Time, September 20, 1993, U.S. Edition, MIDDLE EAST; Pg. 42, 1903 words, TO PREVAIL OVER THE PAST; The real rift is no longer between Jew and Arab but between backward-looking and forward-looking people on both sides, By AMOS OZ ARAD; Amos Oz is an Israeli novelist, essayist and peace activist. (c) 1993 Amos Oz; With the editorial assistance of Maggie Bar-Tura

30. The Jerusalem Post, September 3, 1993, Friday, Opinion, 1181 words, From battles to bridges, AMOS OZ

31. The Guardian (London), September 1, 1993, THE GUARDIAN FEATURES PAGE; Pg. 18, 1669 words, BUILDING BRIDGES TO THE PROMISED LAND; Israeli writer Amos Oz argues that fanaticism is fatal whereas compromise is the essence of life itself AMOS OZ

32. The Guardian (London), October 5, 1992, THE GUARDIAN FEATURES PAGE; Pg. 21 2391 words, WHEN EVIL IS WRAPPED IN A FLAG; 'Especially now, when national self-determination has deteriorated into bloody disintegration, threatening to turn each of us into an island, there ought to be an alternative vision.' Amos Oz, in Germany, gives his, AMOS OZ

33. The Record, October 31, 1991; THURSDAY; ALL EDITIONS, OPINION; Pg. B11, 681 words, HOPE IN THE MIDEAST, CENTERPIECE, Amos Oz

34. Los Angeles Times, October 30, 1991, Wednesday, Home Edition, Metro; Part B; Page 7; Column 2; Op-Ed Desk, 803 words, PERSPECTIVE ON MIDDLE EAST PEACE; WHAT BLISS TO FIGHT WITH WORDS; AT LAST, NO ONE QUESTIONS ISRAEL'S EXISTENCE; NOW, ALL THAT'S TO BE SETTLED IS HOW THE FORMER ANTAGONISTS WILL COEXIST., By AMOS OZ, Amos Oz is an Israeli novelist. His latest book is To Know a Woman (Harcourt Brace, 1991). This article was translated by Nicholas de Lange., ARAD, Israel

35. The Jerusalem Post, May 24, 1991, Friday, Opinion, 101 words, PEACE DELEGATION, AMOS OZ, A.B. YEHOASHUA, Yael Dayan, David Shaham, Menachem Brinker, Yoram Kaniuk

36. Newsday, November 13, 1990, Tuesday, NASSAU AND SUFFOLK EDITION, VIEWPOINTS; Pg. 67, 209 words, The Promised Land They Cannot Share, By Amos Oz. Amos Oz is an Israeli novelist whose latest book is "The Slopes of Lebanon" (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich). This article first appeared in the Israeli newspaper Yediot Acharonot., OPINION; ISRAEL; JEWS; PALESTINE; BOUNDARIES; ARAB

37. The Independent (London), May 28, 1990, Monday, EDITORIAL PAGE; Page 17, 1356 words, Innocent blood in Israel; Israel's leading author, Amos Oz, delivered the following speech to a Peace Now rally in Tel Aviv on Saturday night, By AMOS OZ



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38. The Washington Post, May 27, 1990, Sunday, Final Edition, EDITORIAL; PAGE B7, 1380 words, Not Vengeance, but Peace, Amos Oz, JERUSALEM, OPINION EDITORIAL
39. The Jerusalem Post, June 8, 1989, Thursday, Features, 2785 words, FOR THE SAKE OF LIFE AND PEACE. STOP THE MONSTER NOW!, Amos Oz
40. Maclean's, April 18, 1988, COVER; Essay; Pg. 32, 1002 words, LIVING WITH THE DREAMS, By AMOS OZ, Born in Jerusalem in 1939, Amos Oz is one of Israel's leading novelists and journalists. He was a member of a kibbutz for three decades and fought as a reservist in the 1967 and 1973 wars
41. The New York Times, July 11, 1982, Sunday, Late City Final Edition, Section 6; Page 26, Column 1; Magazine Desk, 2796 words, HAS ISRAEL ALTERED ITS VISIONS?, By Amos Oz
42. The New York Times, May 19, 1982, Wednesday, Late City Final Edition, Section A; Page 27, Column 1; Editorial Desk, 926 words, ARABS AND ISRAELIS-ALL VICTIMS OF EUROPE, By Amos Oz



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FOCUS - 63 STORIES

1. U.S. News & World Report, April 3, 2000, WORLD REPORT ; Vol. 128 , No. 13; Pg. 30, 852 words, Leaders, leadership, legacy, By Fouad Ajami
2. U.S. News & World Report, June 28, 1999, WORLD REPORT; COMMENTARY; Pg. 41, 717 words, The new Hapsburgs, By Fouad Ajami
3. U.S. News & World Report, April 12, 1999 Correction Appended, WORLD REPORT; Pg. 20, 724 words, The ancient roots of grievance, By Fouad Ajami
4. The National Interest, 1999 SPRING, 1893 words, The Road to Damascus . . . , Review of Itamar Rabinovich's The Brink of Peace: The Syrian-Israeli Negotiations (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), Fouad Ajami
5. The New Republic, JANUARY 18, 1999, Pg. 37, 9129 words, The Fire of Great Designs, Fouad Ajami
6. U.S. News & World Report, December 28, 1998, U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT; COMMENTARY; Vol. 125 , No. 25; Pg. 38, 775 words, An end to cheat and retreat, By Fouad Ajami
7. U.S. News & World Report, November 9, 1998, WORLD REPORT; COMMENTARY; Pg. 38, 814 words, A hard reckoning with peace, By Fouad Ajami
8. The New Republic, JULY 13, 1998, Pg. 34, 6513 words, The Traveler's Luck, Fouad Ajami
9. The Weekly Standard, March 9, 1998, BOOKS & ARTS; Pg. 35, 1569 words, DREAMS OF ARABY, By David Pryce-Jones; A scholar in London, David Pryce-Jones is the author of The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs. Fouad Ajami & the Future of the Islamic Past
10. U.S. News & World Report, January 26, 1998, OUTLOOK; ONE WEEK; Pg. 9, 619 words, Dual containment, dual failure, By Fouad Ajami
11. Foreign Affairs, September, 1997 /October, 1997, 75TH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE; Pg. 133, 5863 words, The Arab Inheritance, Fouad Ajami; FOUAD AJAMI is Majid Khadduri Professor of Middle Eastern Studies at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.
12. The New Republic, MAY 19, 1997, Pg. 28, 5224 words, The Suit in History, Fouad Ajami
13. U.S. News & World Report, February 17, 1997, WORLD REPORT; COMMENTARY; Pg. 44, 870 words, The peace of kings and pharaohs, By Fouad Ajami
14. U.S. News & World Report, October 14, 1996, OUTLOOK; ONE WEEK; Pg. 15, 552 words, The tugging of a dreaded past, By Fouad Ajami
15. U.S. News & World Report, June 3, 1996, OUTLOOK; ONE WEEK; Pg. 8, 523 words, What really happens to lines in the sand, By Fouad Ajami
16. U.S. News & World Report, March 18, 1996, WORLD REPORT; ON THE MIDDLE EAST; Vol. 120 ; Pg. 51, 819 words, Caught in a web of contradictions, By Fouad Ajami



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17. U.S. News & World Report, February 19, 1996, WORLD REPORT; ON WAR CRIMES; Vol. 120 , No. 7; Pg. 67, 780 words, Why Bosnia needs a Nuremberg, By Fouad Ajami
18. The New Republic, JANUARY 1, 1996, Pg. 30, 4833 words, LUCKY JIM, Fouad Ajami
19. U.S. News & World Report, November 20, 1995, OUTLOOK; ONE WEEK; Vol. 119 , No. 20; Pg. 24, 1160 words, The tears of autumn in the promised land, By Fouad Ajami
20. Foreign Affairs, Fall September, 1995 /October, 1995, ESSAYS; Pg. 72, 6532 words, The Sorrows of Egypt, Fouad Ajami; FOUAD AJAMI is Majid Khadduri Professor of Middle Eastern Studies at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.
21. The New Republic, AUGUST 7, 1995, Pg. 15, 1869 words, BEYOND WORDS, Fouad Ajami
22. U.S. News & World Report, June 12, 1995, OUTLOOK; ONE WEEK; Vol. 118 , No. 23; Pg. 6, 519 words, Giving name to a terrible hell, By Fouad Ajami
23. U.S. News & World Report, April 10, 1995, WORLD REPORT; ON THE MIDDLE EAST; Vol. 118 , No. 14; Pg. 55, 796 words, The phantoms of Egypt, By Fouad Ajami
24. The New Republic, NOVEMBER 21, 1994, Pg. 29, 8067 words, In Europe's Shadows, Fouad Ajami
25. U.S. News & World Report, October 24, 1994, WORLD REPORT; ON THE MIDEAST; Vol. 117, No. 16; Pg. 48, 913 words, Hosing down the gulf's arsonist, By Fouad Ajami
26. U.S. News & World Report, August 1, 1994, WORLD REPORT; ON THE MIDEAST; Vol. 117, No. 5; Pg. 48, 836 words, Stalked by the memory of the dead, By Fouad Ajami
27. U.S. News & World Report, June 27, 1994, WORLD REPORT; COMMENTARY; Vol. 116, No. 25; Pg. 42, 2791 words, The battle for Egypt's soul, By Fouad Ajami
28. U.S. News & World Report, May 2, 1994, OUTLOOK; ONE WEEK; Vol. 116, No. 17; Pg. 10, 500 words, Standing up to the Serbs, By Fouad Ajami
29. U.S. News & World Report, March 14, 1994, WORLD REPORT; ON THE MIDEAST; Vol. 116, No. 10; Pg. 38, 816 words, Closing the Zionist circle, By Fouad Ajami
30. U.S. News & World Report, December 13, 1993, WORLD REPORT; Vol. 115, No. 23; Pg. 67, 1396 words, An old city's dreams, By Fouad Ajami, Jericho;
31. U.S. News & World Report, September 13, 1993, OUTLOOK; ONE WEEK; Vol. 115, No. 10; Pg. 10, 498 words, The other side of a dream, By Fouad Ajami
32. Foreign Affairs, 1993, Fall, COMMENTS; Pg. 2, 3661 words, Responses to Samuel P. Huntington's "The Clash of Civilizations?" The Summoning; 'But They



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Said, We Will Not Hearken.' JEREMIAH 6:17, Fouad Ajami; FOUAD AJAMI is Majid Khadduri Professor of Middle Eastern Studies at the School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University.

33. U.S. News & World Report, March 8, 1993, SPECIAL REPORT; Vol. 114, No. 9; Pg. 74, 3203 words, Rediscovering Jerusalem, By Fouad Ajami
34. U.S. News & World Report, December 21, 1992, OUTLOOK; ONE WEEK; Vol. 113, No. 24; Pg. 24, 494 words, Somalia: The work of order and mercy, By Fouad Ajami
35. U.S. News & World Report, November 9, 1992, WORLD REPORT; ON THE MIDDLE EAST; Vol. 113,, No. 18; Pg. 76, 830 words, A post-election agenda, By Fouad Ajami
36. U.S. News & World Report, September 14, 1992, WORLD REPORT; Vol. 113, No. 10; Pg. 55, 889 words, Exploring a road not taken, By Fouad Ajami; David Makovsky
37. U.S. News & World Report, June 8, 1992, WORLD REPORT; Vol. 112, No. 22; Pg. 44, 2214 words, The spoils of war, By Fouad Ajami
38. The New Republic, April 6, 1992, Vol. 206 ; No. 14 ; Pg. 22; ISSN: 0028-6583, 3348 words, The other 1492: Jews and Muslims in Columbus's Spain., Ajami, Fouad, IAC 12088541
39. U.S. News & World Report, March 2, 1992, WORLD REPORT; COMMENTARY; Vol. 112, No. 8; Pg. 48, 898 words, The imperial temptation, By Fouad Ajami
40. U.S. News & World Report, February 17, 1992, WORLD REPORT; ESSAY; Vol. 112, No. 6; Pg. 39, 1944 words, Forgotten voyages of 1492, By Fouad Ajami
41. U.S. News & World Report, December 16, 1991, OUTLOOK; ONE WEEK; Vol. 111, No. 25; Pg. 28, 498 words, A happy end. Now can peace begin?, By Fouad Ajami
42. U.S. News & World Report, November 4, 1991, OUTLOOK; ONE WEEK; Vol. 111, No. 19; Pg. 18, 484 words, This stubborn neighborhood, By Fouad Ajami
43. U.S. News & World Report, October 7, 1991, OUTLOOK; ONE WEEK; Vol. 111, No. 15; Pg. 10, 478 words, Where the warrior comes to rest, By Fouad Ajami
44. U.S. News & World Report, July 8, 1991, WORLD REPORT; COMMENTARY; Vol. 111, No. 2; Pg. 43, 870 words, Tribal fantasies in Europe, By Fouad Ajami
45. U.S. News & World Report, June 24, 1991, WORLD REPORT; COMMENTARY; Vol. 110, No. 24; Pg. 45, 885 words, The gods must be angry, By Fouad Ajami
46. U.S. News & World Report, March 11, 1991, VICTORY IN THE GULF; COMMENTARY; SPECIAL ISSUE; Vol. 110, No. 9; Pg. 24, 1905 words, Into the dangerous twilight, By Fouad Ajami
47. U.S. News & World Report, February 4, 1991 Correction Appended, OUTLOOK; ONE WEEK; Vol. 110, No. 4; Pg. 10, 1069 words, Evils that changed the war, By Fouad Ajami



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48. U.S. News & World Report, December 31, 1990 / January 7, 1991, OUTLOOK 1991; PREDICTIONS FOR THE YEAR AHEAD; Vol. 109, 1650 words, Innocents abroad, By Fouad Ajami
49. Foreign Affairs, 1990, Winter, Pg. 1, 8114 words, THE SUMMER OF ARAB DISCONTENT, Fouad Ajami; Fouad Ajami is Majid Khadduri Professor of Middle Eastern Studies at the School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University. He is author of The Arab Predicament and other works.
50. U.S. News & World Report, August 27, 1990 / September 2, 1990, CURRENTS; ONE WEEK; Vol. 109, No. 9; Pg. 18, 627 words, History reflected in a cracked mirror, By Fouad Ajami
51. U.S. News & World Report, June 11, 1990, CURRENTS; ONE WEEK; Vol. 108, No. 23; Pg. 14, 623 words, Now begins the legend of the Washington summit, By Fouad Ajami
52. U.S. News & World Report, March 19, 1990, CURRENTS; ONE WEEK; Vol. 108, No. 11; Pg. 12, 809 words, Old tales in a new script, By Fouad Ajami
53. U.S. News & World Report, December 25, 1989 / January 1, 1990, OUTLOOK 1990; Politics; Vol. 107, No. 25; Pg. 22, 670 words, The leaders we deserve, By Fouad Ajami
54. U.S. News & World Report, December 4, 1989, WORLD REPORT; Vol. 107, No. 22; Pg. 40, 1994 words, The tentative triumph of the ballot, By Fouad Ajami
55. U.S. News & World Report, October 9, 1989, WORLD REPORT; Vol. 107, No. 14; Pg. 31, 1087 words, Trapped between prison and anarchy, By Fouad Ajami
56. The New Republic, April 10, 1989, Vol. 200 ; No. 15 ; Pg. 23; ISSN: 0028-6583, 7847 words, Collusion Across the Jordan: King Abdullah, the Zionist Movement, and the Partition of Palestine._book reviews, Ajami, Fouad, IAC 07486035
57. The New Republic, April 10, 1989, Vol. 200 ; No. 15 ; Pg. 23; ISSN: 0028-6583, 7899 words, King Abdullah, Britain and the Making of Jordan._book reviews, Ajami, Fouad, IAC 07486037
58. U.S. News & World Report, April 10, 1989, WORLD REPORT; Vol. 106, No. 14; Pg. 44, 1025 words, The folly of absent-minded imperialism, By Fouad Ajami
59. U.S. News & World Report, December 26, 1988 / January 2, 1989, WORLD REPORT; OUTLOOK '89; Vol. 105, No. 25; Pg. 75, 1833 words, Bush's Middle East memo, By Fouad Ajami; Fouad Ajami is professor of Middle Eastern studies at the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University. He is the author of the award-winning book "The Arab Predicament "
60. Foreign Affairs, 1988 / 1989 America and the World, Pg. 135, 8427 words, IRAN: THE IMPOSSIBLE REVOLUTION, Fouad Ajami; Fouad Ajami is Majid Khadduri Professor of Middle Eastern Studies at The School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University. His latest book, with photographer Eli Reed, is Beirut: City of Regrets.



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61. U.S. News & World Report, October 31, 1988, WORLD REPORT; Vol. 105, No. 17; Pg. 45, 998 words, An Arab fascination with the forbidden, By Fouad Ajami; Fouad Ajami is professor of Middle Eastern studies at the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University. He is the author of the award-winning book "The Arab Predicament."

62. Foreign Affairs, 1985, Spring, Pg. 778, 8878 words, LEBANON: THE PROSPECTS: LEBANON AND ITS INHERITORS, Fouad Ajami; Fouad Ajami, born to a Shia family in the south of Lebanon and raised in Beirut, is Director of Middle East Studies at The Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies and author of The Arab Predicament.

63. The New Republic, May 7, 1984, Vol. 190 ; Pg. 29; ISSN: 0028-6583, 2398 words, Jinnah of Pakistan. _book reviews, Ajami, Fouad; IAC 03259196



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Palestine - Israel Conflict

Part 9

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Israel has sought peace with its Arab neighbor states but has steadfastly refused to negotiate with Palestinians directly, until the last few years. Why?

"My friend, take care. When you recognize the concept of 'Palestine', you demolish your right to live in Ein Hahores. If this is Palestine and not the Land of Israel, then you are conquerors and not tillers of the land. You are invaders. If this is Palestine, then it belongs to a people who have lived here before you came. Only if it is the Land of Israel do you have a right to live in Ein Hahores and in Deganiyah B. If it is not your country, your fatherland, the country of your ancestors and of your sons, then what are you doing here? You came to another people's homeland, as they claim, you expelled them and you have taken their land." Menahem Begin, quoted in Noam Chomsky's "Peace in the Middle East?"

More from the horse's mouth

"Why should the Arabs make peace? If I was an Arab leader, I would never make terms with Israel. That is natural: we have taken their country. Sure, God promised it to us, but what does that matter to them? Our God is not theirs, We come from Israel, it's true, but two thousand years ago, and what is that to them? There has been anti-Semitism, the Nazis, Hitler, Auschwitz, but was that their fault? They only see one thing: we came here and stole their country. Why should they accept that?" David Ben-Gurion, quoted in "The Jewish Paradox" by Nathan Goldman, former president of the World Jewish Congress.

More from the horse's mouth

"Before [the Palestinians] very eyes we are possessing the land and the villages where they, and their ancestors, have lived...We are the generation of colonizers, and without the steel helmet and the gun barrel we cannot plant a tree and build a home." Israeli leader Moshe Dayan, quoted in Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, "Original Sins: Reflections on the History of Zionism and Israel"

More from the horse's mouth

"The phenomenon that has prevailed among us for years is that of insensitivity to acts of wrong...[Consequently,] public opinion, the army, the police's...conclusion was that Arab blood can be freely shed. And then came the amnesty for those [convicted of the massacre] at Kafr Qasim, and some conclusions could be drawn again, and I could go on like this...It must make the State appear in the eyes of the world as a savage state that does not recognize the principles of justice as they have been established and accepted by contemporary society." Israel's second prime minister, Moshe Sharett, in 1961, quoted in Livia Rokach, Israel's Sacred Terrorism."

The international consensus on Israel (a very small representative sampling)

"[In the early 1950s] Arab states regularly complained of the reprisals to the UN Security Council, which routinely rejected Israel's claims of self-defense..."

"In June 1982 Israel again invaded Lebanon, and it used aerial bombardment to destroy entire camps of Palestinian Arab refugees, By these means Israel killed 20,000 persons, mostly civilians...Israel claimed self-defense for its invasion, but the lack of PLO attacks into Israel during the previous year made that claim dubious...The [UN] Security Council demanded 'that Israel withdraw all its military forces forthwith and unconditionally to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon'..."

"The UN Human Rights Commission, using the Geneva Convention's provision that certain violations of humanitarian law are 'grave breaches' meriting criminal punishment for perpetrators, found a number of

Israel's practices during the uprising [the intifada] to constitute 'war crimes.' It included physical and psychological torture of Palestinian detainees and their subjection to improper and inhuman treatment; the imposition of collective punishment on towns, villages and camps; the administrative detention of thousands of Palestinians; the expulsion of Palestinian citizens; the confiscation of Palestinian property; and the raiding and demolition of Palestinian houses." John Quigley, "Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice."

Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians have been detained in Israeli prisons, often without trial for many months. In 1996, the Israeli Supreme Court officially sanctioned the use of "force" in interrogating them. What does this mean?

"Israel's two main interrogation agencies in the occupied territories engage in a systematic pattern of ill-treatment and torture - according to internationally recognized definitions of the terms...The methods used in nearly all interrogations are prolonged sleep deprivation; prolonged sight deprivation using blindfolds or tight-fitting hoods; forced, prolonged maintenance of body positions that grow increasingly painful; and verbal threats and insults.

"These methods are almost always combined with some of the following abuses; confinement in tiny, closet-like spaces; exposure to temperature extremes, such as deliberately overcooled rooms, prolonged toilet and hygiene deprivation; and degrading treatment...Beatings are far more routine in IDF interrogations than in GSS interrogations. Sixteen of the nineteen detainees we interviewed [detained between 1992 and 1994] reported having been assaulted in the interrogation room. Beatings and kicks were directed at the throat, testicles, and stomach. Some were repeatedly choked; some had their heads slammed against the walls...

"Israeli interrogations consistently use methods in combination with one another, over long periods of time. Thus, a detainee in the custody of the General Security Service (GSS) may spend weeks during which, except for brief respites, he shuttles from a tiny chair to which he is painfully shackled; to a stifling, tiny cubicle in which he can barely move; to questioning sessions in which he is beaten or violently manhandled; and then back to the chair.

"The intensive, sustained and combined use of these methods inflicts the severe mental or physical suffering that is central to internationally accepted definitions of torture. Israel's political leadership cannot claim ignorance that ill-treatment is the norm in interrogation centers. The number of victims is too large, and the abuses too systematic," 1994 Human Rights Watch report, "Torture and Ill-Treatment: Israel's Interrogation of Palestinians from the Occupied Territories."

The use of "force" - continued

"Amnesty International also observed that, when brought to trial, most Palestinian detainees arrested for 'terrorist' offenses and tortured by the Shin Bet (General Security Services) 'have been accused of offenses such as membership in unlawful associations or throwing stones. They have also included prisoners of conscience such as people arrested solely for raising a flag.' On a related point, Haaretz columnist B. Michael noted that there wasn't a single recorded case in which the Shin Bet's use of torture was prompted by a 'ticking bomb' scenario: 'In every instance of a Palestinian lodging formal complaint about torture, the Shin Bet justified its use in order to extract a confession about something that had already happened, not about something that was about to happen.'" Norman Finkelstein, "The Rise and Fall of Palestine."

The 1997 U.N. Commission Against Torture rules against Israel

"B'Tselem estimates---that the GSS annually interrogates between 1000-1500 Palestinians [as of 1998]. Some eighty-five percent of them - at least 850 persons a year - are tortured during interrogation...

"The U.N. Committee Against Torture...reached an unequivocal conclusion:...The methods of interrogation [used in Israeli prisons]...are in the Committee's view breaches of article 16 and also constitute torture as defined in article 1 of the Convention...As a State Party to the Convention Against

Torture, Israel is precluded from raising before this Committee exceptional circumstances'. The prohibition on torture is, therefore, absolute, and no 'exceptional' circumstances may justify derogating from it." 1998 Report from B'Tselem, The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, "Routine Torture: Interrogation Methods of the General Security Service."

Some arguments used to justify Zionism

"There is clearly no need to justify the Zionist dream, the desire for relief from Jewish suffering... The trouble with Zionism starts when it lands, so to speak, in Palestine. What has to be justified is the injustice to the Palestinians caused by Zionism, the dispossession and victimization of a whole people. There is clearly a wrong here, a wrong which creates the need for justification..."

[E.g., the inheritance claim] The aim of Zionism is the restoration of a Jewish sovereignty to its status 2,000 years ago. Zionism does not advocate an overhauling of the total world situation in the same way. It does not advocate the restoration of the Roman empire... [In addition,] Palestinians have claimed descent from the ancient inhabitants of Palestine 3,000 years ago!...

[Jewish suffering as justification] It was easy to make the Palestinians pay for 2,000 years of persecution. The Palestinians, who have felt the enormous power of this vengeance, were not the historical oppressors of the Jews. They did not put Jews into ghettos and force them to wear yellow stars. They did not plan holocausts. But they had one fault. They were weak and defenseless in the face of real military might, so they were the ideal victims for an abstract revenge....

[Anti-semitism as justification] Unlike the situation of Jews persecuted for being Jews, Israelis are at war with the Arab world because they have committed the sin of colonialism, not because of their Jewish identity...

[The law of the jungle justification.] Presenting the world as naturally unjust, and oppression as nature's way, has always been the first refuge of those who want to preserve their privileges... The need to justify Zionism, and the lack of other defenses, has made it part of the Israeli world view... In Israel, one common outcome is cynicism, for which Israelis have become famous...

[The effect on Israelis] Israelis seem to be haunted by a curse. It is the curse of the original sin against the native Arabs. How can Israel be discussed without recalling the dispossession and exclusion of non-Jews? This is the most basic fact about Israel, and no understanding of Israeli reality is possible without it. The original sin haunts and torments Israelis; it marks everything and taints everybody. Its memory poisons the blood and marks every moment of existence." Israeli author, Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, "Original Sins: Reflections on the History of Zionism and Israel."

Zionism's 'historical right' to Palestine

"Zionism's 'historical right' to Palestine was neither historical nor a right. It was not historical inasmuch as it voided the two millennia of non-Jewish settlement in Palestine and the two millennia of Jewish settlement outside it. It was not a right, except in the Romantic 'mysticism' of 'blood and soil' and the Romantic 'cult' of 'death, heroes and graves'..."

"The claim of Jewish 'homelessness' is founded on a cluster of assumptions that both negates the liberal idea of citizenship and duplicates the anti-Semitic one that the state belongs to the majority ethnic nation. In a word, the Zionist case for a Jewish state is as valid as the anti-Semitic case for an ethnic state that marginalizes Jews." Professor Norman Finkelstein, "Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict,"

How about the Zionist argument that Jordan already is the Palestinian state?

"It is often alleged that there was, in fact, an earlier 'territorial compromise', namely in 1922, when Transjordan was excised from the promised 'national home for the Jewish people,'... a decision that is difficult to criticize in light of the fact that 'the number of Jews living there permanently in 1921 has

reliably been estimated at two, or according to some authorities, three persons." Noam Chomsky, "The Fateful Triangle."

Why doesn't Israel, "the only democracy in the Middle East," have a constitution?

"The abstention from formulating a constitution was no accident. The massive expropriation of lands and other properties from those Arabs who fled the country as a result of the War of Independence and of those who remained but were declared absent, as well as the confiscation of large tracts of land from Arab villages who did not flee, and the laws passed to legalize those acts - all this would have necessarily been declared unconstitutional, null and void, by the Supreme Court, being expressly discriminatory against one part of the citizenry, whereas a democratic constitution obliges the state to treat all of its citizens equally." Israeli author, Boas Evron, "Jewish State or Israeli Nation?"

"The only democracy in the Middle East?" - continued

"The 1989 Israel High Court decision that any political party advocating full equality between Arab and Jew can be barred from fielding candidates in an election...[means] that the Israeli state is the state of the Jews...not their [the Arabs'] state." Professor Norman Finkelstein, "Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict."

First justice, then peace

"The United States has been a terrible 'sponsor' of the peace process. It has succumbed to Israeli pressure on everything, abandoning the principle of land for peace (no U.N. Resolution says anything about returning a tiny percentage, as opposed to all of the land Israel seized in 1967), pushing the lifeless Palestinian leadership into deeper and deeper holes to suit Netanyahu's preposterous demands.

"The fact is that Palestinians are dramatically worse off than they were before the Oslo process began. Their annual income is less than half of what it was in 1992; they are unable to travel from place to place; more of their land has been taken than ever before; more settlements exist; and Jerusalem is practically lost...

"Every house demolition, every expropriated dunum, every arrest and torture, every barricade, every closure, every gesture of arrogance and intended humiliation simply revives the past and reenacts Israel's offenses against the Palestinian spirit, land, body politic. To speak about peace in such a context is to try to reconcile the irreconcilable...

"The first challenge, then, is to extract acknowledgement from Israel for what it did to us...But then, I believe, we must also hold out the possibility of some form of coexistence in which a new and better life, free of ethnocentrism and religious intolerance, could be available...If we present our claims about the past as ushering in a form of mutuality and coexistence in the future, a long-term positive echo on the Israeli and Western side will reverberate." Edward Said in "The Progressive", March 1998

Israeli professor calls for a new Zionism for an open society

"It was our nationalism...which drew the country into an occupation and settlement of the West Bank...None of the leaders of the Labor movement believed that the Palestinians deserved the same right [as Jews] because none of them believed in universal rights. Pretending, like [Arthur] Hertzberg and others do, that the Occupation and the colonial situation created in the last thirty years was merely the product of the Arab refusal to recognize Israel, is no more than looking for an alibi and falsifying history...

"The time has come to say that if the settlements in Judea and Samaria or in the very heart of Hebron are the natural, logical and legitimate continuation of the original intention of Zionism, then we need another Zionism. If a 'Jewish State' that does not recognize the absolute equality of all human beings is considered to be closer to the spirit of the founding fathers than a new liberal Zionism, then it is time to say good-bye to the ghosts of the founders, and to start forging for ourselves an identity detached from

the mystical ramifications of our religion and the irrational side of our history." Israeli professor of political science, Ze'ev Sternhell, in "Tikkun", May/June 1998.

The answer? A sovereign Palestinian state.

"The final destination of a Palestinian-Israeli peace settlement has begun to emerge from the political haze. Such a settlement must...give the Palestinian people a sovereign, uncontested, independent state of their own. This is a matter of justice and practicality. If a truly lasting and stable peace is the goal, there is no other option...The mere trappings of statehood will not suffice. The state has to be real and workable. The following are its essential conditions.

Territorial integrity and contiguity...Any further dissection of Palestinian territory would make it politically and economically impossible to maintain a state...There can be no civilian pockets under Israeli rule on Palestinian land...

A sovereign capital in Jerusalem. East Jerusalem is Palestine's historical, spiritual and commercial heart. To exclude it from a Palestinian state is unthinkable...

Justice and fairness for refugees...As a matter of principle, the Palestinians' right to return or be compensated for their lost homes and land is nonnegotiable...Israel must acknowledge the suffering and hardship Palestinian refugees have faced as a result of their eviction from their homeland, and must assist in their rehabilitation and reabsorption." A.S. Khalidi, Op-Ed piece in the New York Times, February 11, 1997.

Part 10

Back to Palestine

Back to Islam Awareness Homepage

LEVEL 1 - 5 OF 55 STORIES

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Justice Minister Yossi Beilin calls it a "quiet revolution."

Through the years, Israel has been consistently criticized by many human and civil rights organizations for invoking national security to explain practices that were considered exclusionary, discriminatory and coercive toward Israeli Arabs and Palestinians.

But since the right-wing government was replaced last summer by a broad coalition including several leftists and human rights advocates, crucial policy changes have been made that, together with a spate of High Court decisions, point toward a sea change.

The torture of Palestinian suspects has been banned. The practice of stripping Palestinians of their residency rights in East Jerusalem has all but ended. In a landmark ruling, the equal right of Arabs to land allocated by the state has been affirmed. And for the first time in Israel's history, land long considered part of a Jewish town was taken away and returned to the Arab village from which it was expropriated decades ago.

The number of Palestinian administrative detainees, those imprisoned without charges, has plummeted to 9 from 66 last April and hundreds in previous years. On Wednesday, Israel released one of 16 remaining Lebanese who are being held, in contravention of international law, as "bargaining chips" for captured Israelis.

In some ways, it is almost a stealth liberalization process, an incremental phenomenon rather than a declared program. Committed to peace, Israel is dropping several policies that it justified by its near perpetual state of armed conflict with its neighbors. As it undergoes normalization, many say, Israel is slowly letting down its guard, losing its fear and relinquishing a sense of itself as a special nation living under such special circumstances that it cannot be judged by the norms applied to others.

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The New York Times, April 7, 2000

"During war, democracy can be more restricted," said Natan Sharansky, the interior minister and a former Soviet dissident and human rights champion. "But we are not at war. We are engaged in a peace process, and we are trying to live a more normal life. That means dealing with questions we have avoided answering for years. That means removing inequality in our society."

The process of normalization is incremental, and it involves the shedding of deep-seated anxieties and ingrained habits. Israeli-Arab lawmakers have responded to some decisions with something approaching wonderment. Muhammad Barakeh, a legislator who often refers to Israel as an apartheid state, suggested recently that perhaps Israel "was moving toward being a democratic state for all its citizens."

But he and other Israeli-Arab lawmakers, critics of Israel's settlement policies and Palestinian leaders are quick to add that Israel still has a long way to go. They point to continued abuses by border police officers, to the continued expropriation of Arab land, to habitual discrimination in education, employment and housing.

But Mr. Beilin, who like Mr. Sharansky is a leading catalyst of the change, said the process was an evolution. He is working to eliminate the underlying legal justification for Israel's self-definition as a special-case society.

The Justice Ministry is preparing the groundwork to end by this summer a 52-year-old legal state of emergency, which has given the Israeli cabinet the power to supersede the legislative process.

Mr. Beilin said he thinks that it has taken Israelis many years to internalize the peace process. "And then it began to happen," he said. "And we said to ourselves, 'We are approaching peace, and we still have a legal system that acts as if it were in a state of war. And it justifies things that are no longer, if they ever were, justifiable.'"

Some Israeli Arab leaders say mainstream Israelis see as groundbreaking some events that appear to them to be token or trivial -- like the recent employment of four Arab flight attendants by El Al, or the crowning last year of the first Arab woman as Miss Israel. Enough rage is still bubbling in their communities to have fueled a strident Land Day protest last week, after which an elderly woman died and her fellow villagers instantly asserted -- despite the hospital's denial -- that her death was caused by exposure to the Israeli troops' tear gas.

But other changes, even unofficial ones, are undeniably fundamental, changes that reflect a relaxation of Israel's eternally security-conscious attitudes toward territory and the use of force.

The demolition of illegal Arab homes in East Jerusalem and the West Bank, for instance, has declined sharply since Prime Minister Ehud Barak took office in July, according to statistics kept by the Btselem human rights organization. In East Jerusalem, all the demolitions since November were done by the municipality, which is run by a right-wing mayor, and none by the national government, which also has the authority.

This is not an official policy change, which could provoke intense political debate, but a quiet change in practice -- like a recent freeze in the



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The New York Times, April 7, 2000

authorization of new settlement construction and in the paving of "bypass roads" that connect settlements to Israel, circumventing Palestinian towns. Settler leaders say none of the 60 or 70 construction permits requested recently were authorized, although construction authorized by Benjamin Netanyahu when he was prime minister has not been frozen, infuriating the Palestinians.

The relaxation began under Yitzhak Rabin, the assassinated prime minister, and went into abeyance during the anti-liberal tenure of Mr. Netanyahu, experts say. It began picking up steam again when the election of Mr. Barak, who reinvigorated the peace effort, emboldened the High Court and even politicians who served in the Netanyahu government.

In September, the High Court stunned Israel by handing down a decision to outlaw brutal methods used by Israeli security agents during the interrogation of Palestinian suspects. Since then, Amnesty International experts say, while there are reports of isolated cases and some evidence that the use of solitary confinement has increased, the systematic use of torture has indeed ground to a halt.

Significantly, in the ensuing political debate, when right-wing lawmakers proposed circumventing the court with legislation permitting the use of torture, several centrist legislators publicly revealed a new sensitivity to Israel's image. Ophir Pines-Paz, who heads the One Israel faction, brought to the Parliament floor a briefcase filled with letters from around the world urging Israel not to "go backward."

While the High Court is supposedly above the political fray, its rulings, and the timing of their release, appear to be affected by the political climate, many say. Legal experts think that the court had sidestepped an overarching ruling on the torture issue for years. Chief Justice Aharon Barak had written in 1997 that it was a "grave mistake" to view human rights issues in times of war and emergency as similar to those in times of peace. That was the prevailing attitude of the court for decades.

Several experts said the torture decision revealed a fundamental evolution of Israel from "a defense state to a much more open and internally dynamic society," as Yaron Ezrahi, a political scientist, said. "The Israeli society," he continued, "is in a process of demobilization, reflecting its sense of security, militarily and economically. The fact that it is willing to give up its practice of using these torture methods indicates that security is no longer invoked as the be all and the end all."

Not everyone is thrilled, of course. Several right-wing lawmakers think that such thinking is just denial, and that recent court decisions and new policies will be self-defeating for Israel. "Israel is still fighting for its very existence as a state and for the very existence of its people against the possibility of a new Jewish holocaust," said Yuval Steinitz, a lawmaker from the opposition Likud Party. "If anyone here thinks different, he deludes himself."

Some lawmakers oppose Mr. Beilin's move to end the state of emergency for that reason -- because the state of emergency, they say, is a chronic one.

But Mr. Beilin, supported by many others here, disagrees, arguing that "we shouldn't be screaming 'fire' every day." In the case of a genuine emergency, the government always retains the power to declare one, he said.



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The New York Times, April 7, 2000

A panoply of laws, from those regulating the permitted uses of baking powder to those permitting administrative detention, are technically emergency provisions. Striking workers are ordered back to work, as happened with lifeguards last year, under a legal mechanism designed for quick governmental response during actual war. When tens of thousands of Russian immigrants poured into Israel, the government used the emergency regulations to circumvent planning boards and building procedures and slap up inexpensive and often shoddily constructed housing developments.

"If you're talking about being a real democracy, this is a basic flaw in the structure," said Anat Scolnicov, a civil rights lawyer. "The executive branch has the constant power to overtake and overturn the legislative.

"You're running a country on the premise that, technically, anything goes."

Other recent decisions, or new practices, show that security is not the sacred cow it once was here. In the last few years, the identity of the security chiefs, always top secret, has become public, and the recent process of nominating a new General Security Services director was even publicly debated. The Justice Ministry is seeking to create open government oversight of security agency's activities.

Several army decisions, formerly sacrosanct, have been overturned by the courts and the government in the last few months. Facing unrelenting pressure from environmentalists, Mr. Barak, who is also the defense minister, recently overrode an army plan to build a base in the Shaked Forest. It was the first time that a popular revolt interfered with the army's construction plans. And the High Court recently ordered the army to return some Palestinian cave dwellers to their homes; they had been evicted from what was termed a firing range, even though it was not in use.

After the High Court decision on torture, the ground shifted again when, despite right-wing protests, Israeli-Arab lawmakers were appointed to security-sensitive government positions. Then Mr. Sharansky halted the Israeli practice of stripping Palestinians in East Jerusalem of their residency if they had moved the center of their life elsewhere for seven years or more.

Statistics show that the phenomenon, which human rights group had called a "silent deportation" and Palestinians considered "ethnic cleansing," has essentially ended. Fifty-five Palestinians lost their residency rights last June, the month before Mr. Barak took office, and only three in December, the last month for which statistics are available. Additionally, Mr. Sharansky recently decided to make his policy retroactive and return residency rights to some of the thousands who lost them.

Mr. Sharansky has surprised many here, because he is a hard-liner on the peace effort. But he explains his positions as consistent. He does not trust peacemaking with undemocratic partners who do not respect human rights, he said, and he is determined to raise Israel's standards of democracy as well.

In a more radical decision, Mr. Sharansky returned to Kfar Kassem, an Arab village, some land that had been confiscated "for security reasons" in the 1950's. This involved taking the land, which is zoned for an industrial park,



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The New York Times, April 7, 2000

away from the Jewish town of Rosh Ha'ayin.

The decision, in addition to being the first of its kind, reverberated here because of the history of the village. Israeli border guards massacred 49 Arab villagers in Kfar Kassem in 1956, and this year, for the first time, in another sign of the changes, the massacre is included in the Israeli history curriculum.

"Some people here see it as an anti-Zionist move," Mr. Sharansky said. "I think we can no longer justify those lands being confiscated for security reasons. It's a rather safe area. And this village deserves an industrial park, the jobs and the tax benefits, as much as Rosh Ha'ayin. If you want to have a stable, normal, democratic Zionist society, you have to give minimal rights, at the least."

Similarly, in a watershed legal decision, the High Court ruled that a Jewish community on state land may not exclude Arab residents. Speaking to the heart of Israel's complicated definition as a Jewish, democratic state, the court said the country's identity as a refuge for Jews cannot be used as a basis for discriminating against any of its citizens. It cited the American Brown v. Board of Education school desegregation decision, saying separate but equal is a policy that inherently hurts the minority.

Dan Yakir, legal adviser to the Association for Civil Rights in Israel, said that in an informal hearing two years ago, Justice Barak fretted about the "unforeseen ramifications" of a such a decision. The justice urged the parties to settle the matter among themselves, to find a way to allow the plaintiffs, an Arab family, to moved into the Jewish community of Katzir.

At the same time, Mr. Yakir said, the judge added, "Imagine if Brown v. the Board of Ed had been solved by mediation."

The mediation failed, and with one of the justices presiding in the case slated to retire this spring, the court was forced to rule.

"I think that the change of government eased the way for such a decision, because it was clear that at least the government would not attack the court," Mr. Yakir said. "Also, that the change in government reflected a growing tolerance in society."

Another change in government, back to the right, could once again slow the process. Or, in the volatile Middle East, anything that once again raises the anxiety level in Israel -- a spate of fatal terrorism or a border war -- could retard it, too. But most here, both those opposed and supportive, think that there is a kind of inexorable evolution taking place, a willful, if in some cases tentative, hike toward normalization.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

GRAPHIC: Photo: The Israeli High Court recently ordered the army to allow the return of some Palestinian cave dwellers who had been evicted. One family stood outside its home in the Mount Hebron region of the occupied West Bank. (Agence France-Presse) (pg. A12)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH



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Terms

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prism of future ↔ Act has something
Isb skull

→ Rejoice history is prologue

Modern West / modern
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William Faulkner



William Faulkner (1897-1962), who came from an old southern family, grew up in Oxford, Mississippi. He joined the Canadian, and later the British, Royal Air Force during the First World War, studied for a while at the University of Mississippi, and temporarily worked for a New York bookstore and a New Orleans newspaper. Except for some trips to Europe and Asia, and a few brief stays in Hollywood as a scriptwriter, he worked on his novels and short stories on a farm in Oxford.

In an attempt to create a saga of his own, Faulkner has invented a host of characters typical of the historical growth and subsequent decadence of the South. The human drama in Faulkner's novels is then built on the model of the actual, historical drama extending over almost a century and a half. Each story and each novel contributes to the construction of a whole, which is the imaginary Yoknapatawpha County and its inhabitants. Their theme is the decay of the old South, as represented by the Sartoris and Compson families, and the emergence of ruthless and brash newcomers, the Snopeses. Theme and technique - the distortion of time through the use of the inner monologue are fused particularly successfully in *The Sound and the Fury* (1929), the downfall of the Compson family seen through the minds of several characters. The novel *Sanctuary* (1931) is about the degeneration of Temple Drake, a young girl from a distinguished southern family. Its sequel, *Requiem For A Nun* (1951), written partly as a drama, centered on the courtroom trial of a Negro woman who had once been a party to Temple Drake's debauchery. In *Light in August* (1932), prejudice is shown to be most destructive when it is internalized, as in Joe Christmas, who believes, though there is no proof, that one of his parents was a Negro. The theme of racial prejudice is brought up again in *Absalom, Absalom!* (1936), in which a young man is rejected by his father and brother because of his mixed blood. Faulkner's most outspoken moral evaluation of the relationship and the problems between Negroes and whites is to be found in *Intruder In the Dust* (1948).

In 1940, Faulkner published the first volume of the Snopes trilogy, *The Hamlet*, to be followed by two volumes, *The Town* (1957) and *The Mansion* (1959), all of them tracing the rise of the insidious Snopes family to positions of power and wealth in the community. *The reivers*, his last - and most humorous - work, with great many similarities to MarkTwain's *Huckleberry Finn*, appeared in 1962, the year of Faulkner's death.

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Acceptance Speech*

I feel that this award was not made to me as a man, but to my work - a life's work in the agony and sweat of the human spirit, not for glory and least of all for profit, but to create out of the materials of the human spirit something which did not exist before. So this award is only mine in trust. It will not be difficult to find a dedication for the money part of it commensurate with the purpose and significance of its origin. But I would like to do the same with the acclaim too, by using this moment as a pinnacle from which I might be listened to by the young men and women already dedicated to the same anguish and travail, among whom is already that one who will some day stand here where I am standing.

Our tragedy today is a general and universal physical fear so long sustained by now that we can even bear it. There are no longer problems of the spirit. There is only the question: When will I be blown up? Because of this, the young man or woman writing today has forgotten the problems of the human heart in conflict with itself which alone can make good writing because only that is worth writing about, worth the agony and the sweat.

He must learn them again. He must teach himself that the basest of all things is to be afraid; and, teaching himself that, forget it forever, leaving no room in his workshop for anything but the old verities and truths of the heart, the old universal truths lacking which any story is ephemeral and doomed - love and honor and pity and pride and compassion and sacrifice. Until he does so, he labors under a curse. He writes not of love but of lust, of defeats in which nobody loses anything of value, of victories without hope and, worst of all, without pity or compassion. His griefs grieve on no universal bones, leaving no scars. He writes not of the heart but of the glands.

Until he relearns these things, he will write as though he stood among and watched the end of man. I decline to accept the end of man. It is easy enough to say that man is immortal simply because he will endure: that when the last dingdong of doom has clanged and faded from the last worthless rock hanging tideless in the last red and dying evening, that even then there will still be one more sound: that of his puny inexhaustible voice, still talking. I refuse to accept this. I believe that man will not merely endure: he will prevail. He is immortal, not because he alone among creatures has an inexhaustible voice, but because he has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance. The poet's, the writer's, duty is to write about these things. It is his privilege to help man endure by lifting his heart, by reminding him of the courage and honor and hope and pride and compassion and pity and sacrifice which have been the glory of his past. The poet's voice need not merely be the record of man, it can be one of the props, the pillars to help him endure and prevail.

*The acceptance speech was apparently revised by the author for publication in *The Faulkner Reader*. These minor changes, all of which improve the address stylistically have been incorporated here.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 22, 1998

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT CLINTON
AND PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA

AT AFRICAN AMERICAN RELIGIOUS LEADERS RECEPTION

East Room

6:30 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. The Scripture says, it's more blessed to give than to receive. I was sitting here thinking, in this case, I wish I were on the giving rather than the receiving end. It is difficult to absorb the depth and breadth of what I have heard and what you have given to me through the words of Reverend King and through your expression, and I thank you.

I thank you also for what you have given to our country. I thank the members of Congress and the administration, the educators, the ministers, the ambassadors -- all of you who are here -- and our friends from South Africa.

Hillary and I are delighted to have President Mandela and Graca here. We thank you, Graca, for your concern for the children who have been made victims of war by being impressed into combat as children and the scars they bear from it. And we thank you, Mr. President, for being the person we'd all like to be on our best day. (Applause.)

I would like you all to think for a few moments before I bring President Mandela on -- not about the terrible unjust sacrifice of his 27 years in prison, but about what he's done with the years since he got out of prison; not about how he purged his heart of bitterness and anger while still a prisoner, but how he resists every day the temptation to take it up again in the pettiness and meanness of human events. In some ways, that is all the more remarkable.

There have been many blessings for Hillary and for me far outweighing all the trials of being given the opportunity by the American people to serve in this position and live in this house. But certainly one of the greatest ones has been the friendship of this good man.

And I want to tell you one little story -- I try never to betray any private conversations I have with anybody, but I want to tell you this. (Laughter.) When President Mandela -- once I was talking to him and I said to him, you know, I have listened carefully to everything you have said, to how you laid your anger and your bitterness down. But on the day you got out of prison -- Hillary and I were living in Arkansas in the Governor's Mansion, our daughter was a very young girl. I got her up early on a Sunday morning and I sat her down on the counter in the kitchen, because we had an elevated television. And I said, Chelsea, I want you to watch this. This is one of the great events of your lifetime, and I want you to watch this.

And she watched President Mandela walk down that last road toward freedom, after all those years in prison. So I said to him one day, I said, now, tell me this. I know you invited your jailers to the inauguration, and I know how hard you've worked on this. But weren't you angry one more time when you were walking down that road? He said, yes, briefly, I was. I don't know if he remembers this. He said, "Yes, briefly, I was. And then I remembered, I have waited so long for freedom. And if my anger goes with me out of this place I will still be their prisoner, and I want to be free." I want to be free. (Applause.)

I say that to set the stage for what is now happening in Nelson Mandela's life. Yesterday we were at the United Nations, and he and I spoke back to back, and then we had this luncheon. And we were talking about the troubles in the Congo; we were talking about the continuing, almost compulsive destructiveness of the people there and all the countries outside, trying to get into the act, to make sure that whoever they don't like doesn't get a leg up. And we were lamenting the colossal waste of human potential in that phenomenally rich country.

And I thought to myself, apartheid is gone in the law in South Africa, but it is still alive in the heart of nearly everybody on Earth in some way or another. And here is this man still giving of himself to try to take the apartheid out of the heart of the people of his continent and, indeed, the people of the world.

We were talking just before we came down about a mutual friend of ours who is the leader of a country, and how he had called and admonished him to try to work through a problem that he has had for too long. And so, I say -- I have to say one thing that is slightly amusing about this. Now, President Mandela will probably get up here and make some crack about being an old man and how his time is running out, and all that. The truth is he's leaving office because he feels like he's about 25 years old again. (Laughter.) And he's so happily married he can't be troubled with all these boring affairs of politics. (Applause.) But I must say, it's the only time I've ever known him to misrepresent the facts, but that is, I'm sure, what is going on here. (Laughter.)

But I ask you to think about that. Every time Nelson Mandela walks into a room we all feel a little bigger, we all want to stand up, we all want to cheer, because we'd like to be him on our best day. But what I would say to you is, there is a little bit of apartheid in everybody's heart. And in every gnarly, knotted, distorted situation in the world where people are kept from becoming the best they can be, there is an apartheid of the heart. And if we really honor this stunning sacrifice of 27 years, if we really rejoice in the infinite justice of seeing this man happily married in the autumn of his life, if we really are seeking some driven wisdom from the power of his example, it will be to do whatever we can, however we can, wherever we are, to take the apartheid out of our own and other's hearts.

Ladies and gentlemen, the President of South Africa. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT MANDELA: President Clinton and Mrs. Clinton, Reverend Bernice King, distinguished guests and friends. When I turned 70, a young lady who is now principal of a leading university in the country came to see me in prison. She was blunt and straightforward, did not flatter me. She didn't say, I came to see you here because of my interest in you. She said, if my father were alive today he would have been 70. And when I read in the paper that you were turning 70 today, I thought I should come and see how a man of 70 looks like. (Laughter.) Now I've turned 80. I suspect that many of you came here to see -- (laughter) -- to see what a man of 80 looks like. (Laughter.)

No visit to the United States by a representative for the South African people would be complete without an opportunity to meet with those who are gathered here tonight. For us, probably on our last official visit to your country, it has special meaning, and I most sincerely thank our host for making it possible.

More than friends, we are among those on whom history has visited the same pains and deprivation, and who have shared our victories. The founders of our liberation movement drew deep inspiration at the turn of the century from black America striving under difficult circumstances to fulfill our common aspiration for the restoration of human dignity. It is small wonder that the struggle to end apartheid drew such strength from here, or that we now look to you to work with us as we seek to banish poverty, hunger, illiteracy, and ignorance from our land.

Mr. President, by embodying your identification with these said aspirations in the program of your administration, you have won for yourself a warm place in the heart of the South African people, as you witnessed on your visit to our country earlier this year. We know that we have your understanding as we seek with the countries of the south to shift the world economic system towards the needs of the poor and the weak.

We are aware of the national debate that is taking place in this country about the President, and it is not our business to interfere in this matter. But we do wish to say that President Clinton is a friend of South Africa and Africa, and I believe the friend of the great mass of black people, and the minorities, and the disabled of the United States. (Applause.) Few leaders of the United States have such a feeling for the position of the black people and the minorities in this country. (Applause.)

We have often said that our morality does not allow us to desert our friends. (Applause.) And we have got to say tonight, we are thinking of you in this difficult and uncertain time in your life.

Two days ago, the President of Zambia, Frederick Chiluba, phoned me. Now, he is far younger than me -- I think he's in his 60s. (Laughter.) And in meetings he only speaks to me with great respect, and sometimes when we don't agree, he says, now, look, I'm not convinced, Mr. President, of what you're saying, but in our custom, we never challenge an old man. (Laughter.) But he projected a new image two days ago when he phoned me. He did not make a request to me; he gave me an instruction. And he said, Madiba, I want you to support President Clinton. (Applause.) He was not speaking for himself, and he said so. He said, I'm speaking for the continent of Africa. (Applause.)

When he addressed our Parliament, he almost brought down the walls of that building when he said, "We, in the United States, have been asking the wrong question. We have been saying, what can we do for Africa? That was the wrong question. The right question was, what can we do with Africa?" (Applause.)

That is the man, my friend, who I respect so much. But it clearly is changing American foreign policy, to the satisfaction of all those who accepted the United States as a world leader, with the biggest economy in the world, and he is decisively changing American policy.

I repeat that I will not interfere in the domestic affairs of this country. (Laughter and applause.) But you should have seen the way he was received by the General Assembly of the United Nations. (Applause.) The applause was spontaneous and overwhelming. All of us rose to our feet when he came in. It was the same after he delivered his speech.

That sent a strong message as to what the world thinks on this matter -- (applause.)

The men and women who were there come from every part of the globe. They are leaders of thoughts -- Presidents, Prime Ministers, Foreign Ministers, and other opinion makers. That was the strong message they sent. If you judge from the reaction of the National Assembly, the United States is completely isolated on this question. (Applause.)

But if our expectations, if our fondest prayers and dreams are not realized, then we should all bear in mind that the greatest glory of living lies not in never falling, but in rising every time you fall. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT CLINTON: I want to leave you on a high note here. (Laughter.) I want to tell you a story that I never told the President. I have a friend who is a minister -- a white minister who was in South Africa recently. And he was given the chance to meet the President, but he was told, you'll have to go to the airport if you want to meet the President. He said, I'll go anywhere to shake his hand. So he said, I was standing off here waiting for him to come, and here comes the President across the lobby of the airport. And he said, President Mandela walked up to this gorgeous little blond-haired, blue-eyed girl, about six years old. And my friend went up to hear the conversation.

And he said to the little girl, "Do you know who I am? She said, "Yes, you're President Mandela." And he looked at her and he said, "If you study hard and learn a lot you can grow up to be President of South Africa some day." (Applause.)

That's a lot to say after this life. Remember the point. God bless you all. Thank you. (Applause.)

END

6:55 P.M. EDT

fifteen or twenty years, others for lesser periods. Nearly fifty men were sentenced to death. Most of the trials were held in relative obscurity.

In trying to explain the collapse of Umkhonto, Joe Slovo spoke of 'an heroic failure'. The reality, however, was that right from the start the conspirators had made a fatal miscalculation about the power of the government and the ways in which the government was willing to use it. They also underestimated the effectiveness of police techniques. 'Having talked of fascism for a decade or more, the movements were nevertheless caught by surprise when the police behaved like fascists,' noted Ben Turok. All the other mistakes and errors committed by the conspirators – the 'mood of carelessness and bravado' which Slovo admitted had overtaken the conspirators, the neglect of political work among their African constituency that Kotane wanted to continue, the failure to develop a real underground organization of the kind that Mandela had once proposed – all this merely compounded the process of defeat. Whatever reasons were given, what was ultimately proved was that a collection of amateur revolutionaries were no match for the brute strength of the South African state.

The price for this miscalculation was huge. With the nationalist movement destroyed, a silence descended for more than a decade. On Robben Island, Mandela and his colleagues became largely forgotten men.

CHAPTER 13

Prisoner 466/64

The winter of 1964 on Robben Island, when Mandela and six other Rivonia prisoners arrived there, was the coldest that anyone could remember. So fierce were the Atlantic winds sweeping across the island that prisoners working in the quarries were numbed to the bone, hardly able to raise their picks; at night they huddled together in groups, desperate for warmth. On the day that the Dakota aircraft bringing the Rivonia men landed, it was bitterly cold, wet and windy.

In the year since Mandela had left the island, a new maximum-security prison had been constructed, close to Murray's Bay harbour, not far from the old prison buildings. A special section within it, a single-storey rectangular block with a cement courtyard in the centre, had been built at the south-eastern corner of the compound to house prisoners whom the authorities wanted to isolate from the mass of the prison population. This prison within a prison was intended to be the home of the Rivonia group for the rest of their lives.

Mandela's cell, like the others in B Section, was no more than about seven feet square. A barred window looked out on to a cement courtyard and beyond it to a high wall patrolled by guards. The walls of the cell were damp. There was no bed. Mandela was provided with a sisal mat on which to sleep, three flimsy blankets, a toilet bucket and a plastic bottle of water. In the winter months, his cell was so cold he slept fully dressed in prison garb. Outside the cell was fixed a white card giving his name and identification number: 466/64.

As well as the Rivonia group, a number of other political

Returning to the prison at 4 p.m. for a shower and supper, Mandela was locked up in his cell for the rest of the night by 5 p.m. He used the time for study and writing letters. He also surreptitiously undertook legal work for prisoners in the general section who wanted help preparing judicial appeals. As an A-grade prisoner, he was entitled to three outgoing and three incoming letters each month, as well as two half-hour visits of two people at a time each month.

His cell, seven feet square, had taken on a more homely appearance. As a result of high blood pressure, from which he had suffered for more than ten years, in 1973 Mandela was provided with a bed; and because of back problems, he was given a chair instead of a bench. On a bookshelf stood a picture of Winnie which he would dust affectionately each day, rubbing his nose against hers.

Weekends were spent either in the confines of the courtyard or in the cells. Mandela devoted considerable time to trying to improve relations between the ANC and the PAC, seeking out PAC leaders in the isolation section, believing that if the two organizations could settle their differences on Robben Island, that might provide a basis for national reconciliation. Both the ANC and PAC participated in a prisoners' committee known as Ulundi which represented all groups in the isolation section. But every other attempt at producing a united front proved fruitless.

On Sundays, Mandela attended church services of whatever denomination had been chosen for the day, listening with equal attention to the sermons by Catholic, Hindu, Muslim and Dutch Reformed Church priests who visited the island. Though brought up in the Methodist Church and still regarding himself as a staunch member, he favoured a broad attitude towards religion. The priest whom Mandela most appreciated and who always gained the largest congregation was an Anglican minister named Father Hughes, a burly Welshman who endeavoured to lace his sermons with titbits of news and words of encouragement. One of his favourite quotations was: 'I groused and groused because I had no shoes until I saw a man who had no feet.' Father Hughes brought with him a portable organ with which he accompanied the prisoners, praising them for their singing. During Kid Ruckton's regime, the portable organ was prohibited. Mandela took holy communion on a regular basis: 'The sacrament gave me a sense of inner quiet

and calm.' But he spoke of himself as not being particularly religious or spiritual: 'I am just an ordinary person interested in trying to make sense of the mysteries of life.'

For relaxation, Mandela enjoyed playing draughts, competing each year in the draughts competition and occasionally winning it. His style of play was slow and deliberate, with each move considered carefully. Once a fortnight he watched a film show in the isolation section, though he tended to become bored with the mediocre selection of films on offer.

His favourite occupation, though, was gardening. He had acquired a love of gardening and growing vegetables during his schooldays at Clarkebury, working in the garden belonging to the principal, Reverend Harris. Soon after arriving on Robben Island, he had asked the authorities for permission to start a garden in the courtyard, but it had taken years for them to agree. Given a narrow patch of earth alongside a perimeter wall, he worked assiduously to nurture plants in the dry, stony soil, studying horticultural techniques from library books, and he took immense satisfaction in the resulting tomatoes and onions he produced.

The highlight of Mandela's routine was the arrival of a letter or a visitor from his family, especially Winnie. She was the focus of his emotions. Without a letter from Winnie, he said, he felt as dry as the desert. A letter from her was like the coming of the summer rains. His own letters in return were full of love and affection and a deep longing for her presence. He constantly referred to memories of their time together, of touching her hand, hugging her, tasting the delicious dishes she cooked, and of the hours they had spent in the bedroom.

On the occasions when they met in the visiting room, separated by a panel of thick glass, Winnie was always careful to dress with flair, knowing that he would cherish the details for weeks to come. Each time, he said, he felt like lingering in the room after she had gone to savour the moment a little longer but forced himself to leave lest emotion overtook him. His next letter would be full of compliments about her dress and about the effect her beauty had on him.

Winnie was also the focus of his main concern. There seemed to be no respite from the harassment the security police meted out to her, nor to her propensity for becoming entangled with police

**Muhammad Anwar
El-Sadat**
speech in Cairo
Mar 8, 1978

Ronald Reagan
The Observer
Jun 29, 1980

Kenneth Kaunda
Kaunda on Violence
1980

Kenneth Kaunda
"On the State of South
Africa"
Kaunda on Violence
1980

Kenneth Kaunda
Kaunda on Violence
1980

Jimmy Carter
televised address to the
nation on the invasion of
Afghanistan by the USSR
Jan 4, 1980

Max Cleland
speech at the dedication
of Vietnam Veterans
Mem-orial; Washington
D.C.
Time
Nov 22, 1982

Ernest F. Hollings
on U.S. Marines in
Lebanon
Time
Dec 26, 1983

Ronald Reagan
speech to the United Na-
tions General Assembly
Sep 26, 1983

Ronald Reagan
referring to veterans of
the Vietnam War, at a
press conference
Nov 11, 1984

Ronald Reagan
on the Unknown Soldier
of the Vietnam War
May 25, 1984

**Gen. John W. Vessey
Jr.**
The New York Times
Jul 15, 1984

Peace is much more precious than a piece of land.

Of the four wars in my lifetime, none came about because the U.S. was too strong.

Passive resistance is a sport for gentlemen (and ladies)—just like the pursuit of war, a heroic enterprise for the ruling classes but a grievous burden on the rest.

The drama can only be brought to its climax in one of two ways—through the selective brutality of terrorism or the impartial horrors of war.

War is just like bush-clearing—the moment you stop, the jungle comes back even thicker, but for a little while you can plant and grow a crop in the ground you have won at such a terrible cost.

Aggression unopposed becomes a contagious disease.

Within the soul of each Vietnam veteran there is probably something that says "Bad war, good soldier." (It is time to) separate the war from the warrior.

If they've been put there to fight, there are far too few. If they've been put there to be killed, there are far too many.

The awful truth is that the use of violence for political gain has become more, not less widespread in the last decade.

Some of your countrymen were unable to distinguish between their native dislike for war and the stainless patriotism of those who suffered its scars. But there has been a rethinking (and) now we can say to you, and say as a nation, thank you for your courage.

We pray for the wisdom that this hero be America's last unknown.

(My job is) to give the president and secretary of defense military advice before they know they need it.

We don't thrive on military acts. We do them because we have to, and thank God we are efficient.

You will kill 10 of our men, and we will kill 1 of yours, and in the end it will be you who tire of it.

It is not enough just to be for peace. The point is, what can we do about it?

That was the order of the day.

They were all enemy. They were all to be destroyed.

If there is any one lesson to be plainly derived from the experiences we have had with disarmament in the past half-century, it is that armaments are a function and not a cause of political tensions and that no limitation of armaments on a multilateral scale can be effected as long as the political problems are not tackled and regulated in some realistic way.

The sergeant is the Army.

Not war but peace is the father of all things.
Nicht der Krieg, der Friede ist der Vater aller Dinge.

If the Third World War is fought with nuclear weapons, the fourth will be fought with bows and arrows.

I don't think the contradictions between capitalism and socialism can be resolved by war. This is no longer the age of the bow and arrow. It's the nuclear age, and war can annihilate us all. The only way to achieve solutions seems to be for the different social systems to coexist.

A war regarded as inevitable or even probable, and therefore much prepared for, has a very good chance of eventually being fought.

The superpowers have the privilege of being able to destroy our planet several times in rapid succession, and yet there are still those who try to score political points by declaring that one or other of them is lagging dangerously behind the other in potential for obliteration.

Golda Meir
Vogue
Jul, 1969

Ho Chi Minh
recalled on his death
Sep 3, 1969

Richard M. Nixon
interview with C.L.
Sulzberger
The New York Times
Mar 10, 1971

William L. Calley Jr.
on killing Vietnamese civilians at My Lai in 1968
Feb 23, 1971

William L. Calley Jr.
on killing Vietnamese civilians at My Lai in 1968
Feb 23, 1971

George F. Kennan
Memoirs
1972

Dwight D. Eisenhower
The New York Times
Dec 24, 1972

Willy Brandt
Über den Tag hinaus
1974

Lord Louis Mountbatten
Maclean's
Nov 17, 1975

Fidel Castro
Seven Days
Jun 20, 1977

George F. Kennan
The Cloud of Danger
1977

Peter Ustinov
Dear Me
1977

Herbert Block
"Herblock"
Herblock Gallery
1968

Will Durant
The Lessons of History
1968

Dwight D. Eisenhower
news conference in Indio,
California
Mar 15, 1968

Robert McNamara
on the utility of nuclear
weapons
The Essence of Security
1968

Lyndon Baines
Johnson
quoted
Time
Apr 15, 1985

Norman Thomas
recalled on his death
Dec 19, 1968

Lyndon Baines
Johnson
quoted
Time
Apr 15, 1985

Charles De Gaulle
quoted
The New York Times
Magazine
May 12, 1968

Richard M. Nixon
televised speech
Nov 3, 1969

Richard M. Nixon
first inaugural address
Jan 20, 1969

Golda Meir
Life
Oct 3, 1969

Gamal Abdel Nasser
speech to the National
Assembly
Jan 20, 1969

This is particularly true of those bellicose Republican "conservatives" and Dixiecrats who are more ready to lay down lives than prejudices and who can hear the most distant drum more clearly than the cry of a hungry child in the street.

Peace is an unstable equilibrium, which can be preserved only by acknowledged supremacy or equal power.

I say when you get into a war, you should win as quick as you can, because your losses become a function of the duration of the war. I believe when you get in a war, get everything you need and win it.

One cannot fashion a credible deterrent out of an incredible action.

I don't know what it will take out there—500 casualties maybe, maybe 500,000. It's the aughts that scare me.

(President John F.) Kennedy said that if we had nuclear war we'd kill 300 million people in the first hour. (Secretary of Defense Robert) McNamara, who is a good businessman and likes to save, says it would be only 200 million.

It is always a strain when people are being killed. I don't think anybody has held this job who hasn't felt personally responsible for those being killed.

No country without an atom bomb could properly consider itself independent.

North Vietnam cannot defeat or humiliate the United States. Only Americans can do that.

The greatest honor history can bestow is the title of peacemaker. This honor now beckons America. . . . This is our summons to greatness.

We have always said that in our war with the Arabs we had a secret weapon—no alternative.

People do not want words—they want the sound of battle . . . the battle of destiny.

Sir Winston S.
Churchill
The New York Times
Jun 27, 1954

Sir Winston S.
Churchill
80th birthday address to
Parliament
Nov 30, 1954

Jawaharlal Nehru
London Observer
Aug 29, 1954

Dwight D. Eisenhower
reported remarks
Mar 17, 1954

Charles De Gaulle
Mémoires de guerre:
L'Appel
1955

Capt. Robert Lewis
comments on 10th anni-
versary of first
nuclear bomb
Enola Gay
May 19, 1955

Dwight D. Eisenhower
letter to Everett E.
Hazlett
Aug 20, 1956

John Foster Dulles
Life
Jan 11, 1956

Harry S Truman
Memoirs
1955-56

Gen. Nathan F.
Twining
The New York Times
Mar 31, 1956

Eleanor Roosevelt
letter to Gus Ranis
Jan 23, 1956

To jaw-jaw always is better than to war-war.

I have never accepted what many people have kindly said—namely that I inspired the nation. Their will was resolute and remorseless, and as it proved, unconquerable. It fell to me to express it. It was the nation and the race dwelling all round the globe that had the lion's heart. I had the luck to be called upon to give the roar. I also hope that I sometimes suggested to the lion the right place to use his claws.

The only alternative to coexistence is codestruction.

The most terrible warfare is to be a second lieutenant leading a platoon when you are on the battlefield.

The war has started incredibly badly. Therefore, it must be continued.

La guerre commence infiniment mal. Il faut donc qu'elle continue.

As the bomb fell over Hiroshima and exploded, we saw an entire city disappear. I wrote in my log the words: "My God, what have we done?"

Some day there is going to be a man sitting in my present chair who has not been raised in the military services and who will have little understanding of where slashes in their estimates can be made with little or no damage. If that should happen while we still have the state of tension that now exists in the world, I shudder to think of what could happen in this country.

You have to take chances for peace, just as you must take chances in war. Some say that we were brought to the verge of war. The ability to get to the verge of war without getting into the war is the necessary art.

Warfare, no matter what weapons it employs, is a means to an end, and if that end can be achieved by negotiated settlements of conditional surrender, there is no need for war.

If our air forces are never used, they have achieved their finest goal.

Mr. Dulles has just frightened most of our allies to death with a statement that there is an art in actually threatening war and coming to the brink but retreating from the brink.

I tell you there's nothing to stop war from going on forever.
... A slight case of negligence, and it's bogged down up to the axles. And then it's a matter of hauling the war out of the mud again. But emperor and kings and popes will come to its rescue.

Ich sag: dass der Krieg einmal aufhort, ist nicht gesagt. . . . Vielleicht ein Uebersehn, und das Schlamassel ist da. Und dann kann man den Krieg wieder aus dem Dreck ziehn! Aber die Kaiser und Konige und der Papst wird ihm zu Hilf kommen in seiner Not.

I hear the same talk about "sanctity of treaties," "law and order," "resisting aggression" and "enforcement of morality." Such phrases have always been the stock in trade of those who have vested interests which they want to preserve against those in revolt against a rigid system.

Victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror, victory however long and hard the road may be; for without victory there is no survival.

Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few.

You ask, what is our policy? I will say, it is to wage war by sea, land, and air, with all our might and with all the strength that God can give us.

We shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end. We shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender.

We cannot accept the doctrine that war must be forever a part of man's destiny.

War challenges virtually every other institution of society—the justice and equity of its economy, the adequacy of its political systems, the energy of its productive plant, the bases, wisdom and purposes of its foreign policy.

In the Soviet Army it takes more courage to retreat than to advance.

Bertolt Brecht
Mother Courage
1939

John Foster Dulles
speech opposing U.S. entry into World War II,
Detroit, Michigan
Oct 29, 1939

Sir Winston S. Churchill
speech in the House of Commons
May 13, 1940

Sir Winston S. Churchill
speech in the House of Commons on role of the R.A.F. during Battle of Britain
Aug 20, 1940

Sir Winston S. Churchill
speech in the House of Commons
May 13, 1940

Sir Winston S. Churchill
speech in the House of Commons following the Dunkirk evacuation
Jun 4, 1940

Franklin D. Roosevelt
campaign speech in Cleveland, Ohio
Nov 2, 1940

Walter Millis
The Faith of an American
1941

Joseph Stalin
reported conversation with Averell Harriman
Sep, 1941

I am proud of the fact that I never invented weapons to kill.

There is a price which is too great to pay for peace, and that price can be put in one word. One cannot pay the price of self-respect.

The belief that public opinion or international public opinion, unbacked by force, had the slightest effect in restraining a powerful military nation in any course of action . . . has been shown to be a pathetic fallacy.

Only a peace between equals can last. Only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit.

I want to stand by my country, but I cannot vote for war. I vote no.

All wars are wars among thieves who are too cowardly to fight and who therefore induce the young manhood of the whole world to do the fighting for them.

The government will . . . go on in the highly democratic method of conscripting American manhood for European slaughter.

The right is more precious than peace.

This may be safely turned down. No sane enemy, acquainted with our institutions, would destroy the War Office.

War is much too serious a matter to be left to generals.
La guerre est une chose beaucoup trop sérieuse pour être confiée à des généraux.

My home policy? I wage war. My foreign policy? I wage war. Always, everywhere, I wage war.

It is far easier to make war than to make peace.

Injustice, arrogance, displayed in the hour of triumph will never be forgotten or forgiven.

Thomas Alva Edison
The New York Times
Jun 8, 1915

Woodrow Wilson
speech in Des Moines,
Iowa
Feb 1, 1916

Theodore Roosevelt
Metropolitan
Feb, 1916

Woodrow Wilson
speech to the U.S. Senate
Jan 22, 1917

Jeanette Rankin
casting her vote against
declaration of war
Apr 6, 1917

Emma Goldman
"Address to the Jury"
Mother Earth
Jul, 1917

Emma Goldman
"Address to the Jury"
Mother Earth
Jul, 1917

Woodrow Wilson
speech to Congress
Apr 2, 1917

Sir George Murray
comment on a World War
I defence memo, quoted
by Austen Chamberlain
Down the Years
1935

Georges Clemenceau
quoted
New York Times
Jul 14, 1944

Georges Clemenceau
speech to the Chamber of
Deputies
Mar 8, 1918

Georges Clemenceau
speech at Verdun, France
Jul 14, 1919

David Lloyd George
memorandum written dur-
ing the Paris peace
conference
1919

Thomas Jefferson
letter to Noah Worcester
Nov 26, 1817

Charles Caleb Colton
Lacón
1825

Karl von Clausewitz
War, Politics and Power
1962

Karl von Clausewitz
On War
1832

Karl von Clausewitz
On War
1833

Andrew Jackson
farewell address
Mar 4, 1837

3rd Viscount Palmerston
letter to Lord Granville of
France
Jun 10, 1839

Joseph Joubert
Pensées
1842

Andrew Jackson
letter to James A. Polk
May 2, 1845

Heinrich Heine
"Zwei Ritter"
Romancero
1851

Lord John Russell
speech in Greenock,
Scotland
Sep 19, 1853

John Greenleaf Whittier
"The Hero"
1853

John Bright
speech in the House of
Commons
Mar 31, 1854

My views and feelings (are) in favor of the abolition of war . . . and I hope it is practicable, by improving the mind and morals of society, to lessen the disposition to war; but of its abolition I despair.

War is a game in which princes seldom win, the people never.

War is the province of chance. In no other sphere of human activity must such a margin be left for this intruder. It increases the uncertainty of every circumstance and deranges the course of events.

War therefore is an act of violence intended to compel our opponents to fulfil our will.

War is regarded as nothing but the continuation of state policy with other means.

Der Krieg ist nichts anderes als die Fortsetzung der Politik mit anderen Mitteln.

We shall more certainly preserve peace when it is well understood that we are prepared for war.

A quarter of a century of peace does not pass over a nation in vain.

The sound of the drum drives out thought; for that very reason it is the most military of instruments.

War is a blessing compared with national degradation.

Living, just as much as dying/ For one's fatherland, is sweet.
Leben bleiben, wie das Sterben/ Für das Vaterland ist süß.

If peace cannot be maintained with honor, it is no longer peace.

Peace hath higher tests of manhood/ Than battle ever knew.

If this phrase of the "balance of Power?" is to be always an argument for war, the pretence for war will never be wanting, and peace can never be secure.

P 327 Wilson -

P 331 FDR

P 336 Nehru

P 340-1

P 342 Saddam

show me, dear Christ, Thy spouse, so bright and clear.

Ibid. 18,¹ l. 1

Since I am coming to that holy room,
Where, with thy choir of saints forevermore,
I shall be made thy music; as I come
I tune the instrument here at the door,
And what I must do then, think here before.
Hymn to God My God, in My Sickness [written
c. 1623 or 1631], st. 1

Whilst my physicians by their love are grown
Cosmographers, and I their map, who lie
Flat on this bed.

Ibid. st. 2

Wilt thou forgive that sin where I begun,
Which was my sin, though it were done before?
Wilt thou forgive that sin; through which I run,
And do run still: though still I do deplore?
When thou hast done, thou hast not done,
For, I have more.

A Hymn to God the Father [first published
1633]

I observe the physician with the same diligence as
he the disease.

Devotions upon Emergent Occasions [1624],
no. 6

I do nothing upon myself, and yet am mine own
executioner.²

Ibid. 12

The flea, though he kill none, he does all the harm
he can.

Ibid.

No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is
a piece of the continent,³ a part of the main; if a clod
be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less, as well
as if a promontory were, as well as if a manor of thy
friends or of thine own were; any man's death dimin-
ishes me, because I am involved in mankind; and
therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls;
it tolls for thee.

Ibid. 17

What gnashing is not a comfort, what gnawing of
the worm is not a tickling, what torment is not a
marriage bed to this damnation, to be secluded eter-
nally, eternally, eternally from the sight of God?

LXXX Sermons [1640], no. 76, preached to the
Earl of Carlisle, c. autumn 1622

Now God comes to thee, not as in the dawning of
the day, not as in the bud of the spring, but as the
sun at noon to illustrate all shadows, as the sheaves
in harvest, to fill all penuries, all occasions invite his
mercies, and all times are his seasons.

Ibid. 3, preached on Christmas Day, 1625

I throw myself down in my chamber, and I call in
and invite God and his angels thither, and when they

are there, I neglect God and his angels, for the noise
of a fly, for the rattling of a coach, for the whining
of a door.

Ibid. 80, preached at the funeral of Sir William
Cokayne, December 12, 1626

12 And what is so intricate, so entangling as death?
Who ever got out of a winding sheet?

Ibid. 54, preached to the King at Whitehall,
April 5, 1628

13 Poor intricate soul! Riddling, perplexed, laby-
rinthical soul!

Ibid. 48, preached upon the Day of St. Paul's
Conversion, January 25, 1629

14 When my mouth shall be filled with dust, and the
worm shall feed, and feed sweetly upon me,⁴ when
the ambitious man shall have no satisfaction if the
poorest alive tread upon him, nor the poorest receive
any contentment in being made equal to princes, for
they shall be equal but in dust.

XXVI Sermons [1661], no. 26, *Death's Duel*,
last sermon, February 15, 1631⁵

Ben Jonson⁶

c. 1573–1637

15 As sure as death.⁷

Every Man in His Humour [1598], act II, sc. i

16 As he brews, so shall he drink.

Ibid.

17 It must be done like lightning.

Ibid. IV, 5

18 Art hath an enemy called Ignorance.

Every Man out of His Humour [1599], act I,
sc. i

19 There shall be no love lost.

Ibid. II, i

20 True happiness

Consists not in the multitude of friends,
But in the worth and choice.

Cynthia's Revels [1600], act III, sc. ii

21 Queen and huntress, chaste and fair,

Now the sun is laid to sleep,

Seated in thy silver chair,

State in wonted manner keep:

Hesperus entreats thy light,

Goddess, excellently bright.

Ibid. V, iii

⁴See Job 24:20, 14:36.

⁵Called by His Majesty's household the Doctor's Own Fu-
neral Sermon.—Preface to the first edition [1632]

⁶O rare Ben Jonson!—JOHN YOUNG, *Epitaph*

Which was done at the charge of Jack Young, who, walking
there when the grave was covering, gave the fellow 18 pence to
cut it.—AUBREY, *Brief Lives*

⁷Come del morire [Sure as death].—GIOVANNI BOCCACCIO
[1313–1375], *Il Filostrato*, canto IV, st. 140

¹First published in 1899.

²See Thomas Browne, 248:18.

³See Romans 14:7, 42:26; Francis Bacon, 159:15; and
Quarles, 242:5.

what we have known as "race." There are four major blood types and all four are found in every racial group. There are no superior and inferior races.

The next truth is evidential in the history of mankind. Not only are all men alike (generically speaking), but man is by nature a societal creature. Aside from the strength and weakness found in *Homo sapiens*, man has been working from the beginning at the great adventure of "community." Whenever Cro-magnon man, under whatever strange impulse, put aside his stone ax and decided to mutually cooperate with his cave-man neighbor, it marked the most creative turn of events in his existence. That seemingly elementary decision set in motion what we now know as civilization. At the heart of all that civilization has meant and developed is "community"—the mutually cooperative and voluntary venture of man to assume a semblance of responsibility for his brother. What began as the closest answer to a desperate need for survival from the beast of prey and the danger of the jungle was the basis of present-day cities and nations. Man could not have survived without the impulse which makes him the societal creature he is.

The universe is so structured that things do not quite work out rightly if men are not diligent in their concern for others. The self cannot be self without other selves. I cannot reach fulfillment without thou. Social psychologists tell us that we cannot truly be persons unless we interact with other persons. All life is interrelated. All men are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. This is what John Donne meant.

GOD AND HUMAN WORTH

Now let me hasten to say that while all of the three aforementioned points are basic, they represent Christianity's minimal declaration of human unity. In the final analysis, says the Christian ethic, every man must be respected because God loves him. The worth of an individual does not lie in the measure of his intellect, his racial origin, or his social position. Human worth lies in relatedness to God. An individual has value because he has value to God. Whenever this is recognized, "whiteness" and "blackness" pass away as determinants in a relationship and "son" and "brother" are substituted.

For me, this is a welcome conference. In the last few years we have had to face admittedly some very sharp changes in our customs and mores in the South. They have been difficult changes, not only to whites, but also at times to Negroes.

"... BECAUSE IT IS RIGHT!"

Nevertheless, as difficult as the changes may be, it is change produced

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this eagle, with this serpent—not to a new life, or a better life, or a similar life:

—I come again eternally to this identical and selfsame life, in its greatest and its smallest, to teach again the eternal return of all things,—

—To speak again the word of the great noon-tide of earth and man, to announce again to man the Superman.

Nietzsche, *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, III, 57

- 73 This life, as thou livest it now, as thou hast lived it, thou needst must live again, and an infinite number of times; and there will be in it nothing new; but every grief and every joy, every thought and every sigh, all the infinitely great and the infinitely little in thy life must return for thee, and all this in the same sequence and the same order. And also this spider and the moonlight through the trees, and also this moment and myself. The eternal hour-glass of existence will ever be turned again, and thou with it, dust of dust.

Nietzsche, *Joyful Wisdom*, 341

- 74 The more ignorant men are, the more convinced are they that their little parish and their little chapel is an apex to which civilization and philosophy has painfully struggled up the pyramid of time from a desert of savagery. Savagery, they think, became barbarism; barbarism became ancient civilization; ancient civilization became Pauline Christianity; Pauline Christianity became Roman Catholicism; Roman Catholicism became the Dark Ages; and the Dark Ages were finally enlightened by the Protestant instincts of the English race. The whole process is summed up as Progress with a capital P. And any elderly gentleman of Progressive temperament will testify that the improvement since he was a boy is enormous.

The notion that there has been any such Progress since Cæsar's time (less than 20 centuries) is too absurd for discussion. All the savagery, barbarism, dark ages and the rest of it of which we have any record as existing in the past exists at the present moment.

Shaw, *Caesar and Cleopatra*, Notes

- 75 We must . . . frankly give up the notion that Man as he exists is capable of net progress. There will always be an illusion of progress, because wherever we are conscious of an evil we remedy it, and therefore always seem to ourselves to be progressing, forgetting that most of the evils we see are the effects, finally become acute, of long-unnoticed retrogressions; that our compromising remedies seldom fully recover the lost ground; above all, that on the lines along which we are degenerating, good has become evil in our eyes, and is being undone in the name of progress precisely as evil is undone and replaced by good on the lines along which we are evolving. This is in-

deed the Illusion of Illusions; for it gives us infallible and appalling assurance that if our political ruin is to come, it will be effected by ardent reformers and supported by enthusiastic patriots as a series of necessary steps in our progress. Let the Reformer, the Progressive, the Meliorist then reconsider himself and his eternal ifs and ans which never become pots and pans. Whilst Man remains what he is, there can be no progress beyond the point already attained and fallen headlong from at every attempt at civilization; and since even that point is but a pinnacle to which a few people cling in giddy terror above an abyss of squalor, mere progress should no longer charm us.

Shaw, *Man and Superman*, Revolutionist's Handbook

- 76 The reasonable man adapts himself to the world: the unreasonable one persists in trying to adapt the world to himself. Therefore all progress depends on the unreasonable man.

Shaw, *Man and Superman*, Maxims for Revolutionists

- 77 The differences between the nations and races of mankind are required to preserve the conditions under which higher development is possible. One main factor in the upward trend of animal life has been the power of wandering. Perhaps this is why the armour-plated monsters fared badly. They could not wander. Animals wander into new conditions. They have to adapt themselves or die. Mankind has wandered from the trees to the plains, from the plains to the seacoast, from climate to climate, from continent to continent, and from habit of life to habit of life. When man ceases to wander, he will cease to ascend in the scale of being. Physical wandering is still important, but greater still is the power of man's spiritual adventures—adventures of thought, adventures of passionate feeling, adventures of aesthetic experience. A diversification among human communities is essential for the provision of the incentive and material for the Odyssey of the human spirit. Other nations of different habits are not enemies: they are godsend. Men require of their neighbours something sufficiently akin to be understood, something sufficiently different to provoke attention, and something great enough to command admiration. We must not expect, however, all the virtues. We should even be satisfied if there is something odd enough to be interesting.

Modern science has imposed on humanity the necessity for wandering. Its progressive thought and its progressive technology make the transition through time, from generation to generation, a true migration into uncharted seas of adventure. The very benefit of wandering is that it is dangerous and needs skill to avert evils. We must expect, therefore, that the future will disclose dangers. It is the business of the future to be dangerous; and

an unjust war by those who do not refuse to sustain the unjust government which makes the war; is applauded by those whose own act and authority he disregards and sets at naught; as if the state were penitent to that degree that it hired one to scourge it while it sinned, but not to that degree that it left off sinning for a moment.

Thoreau, *Civil Disobedience*

- 99 The shield may be as important for victory, as the sword or spear.

Darwin, *Origin of Species*, IV

- 100 In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.

Marx and Engels, *Communist Manifesto*, II

- 101 "If no one fought except on his own conviction, there would be no wars," he said.

"And that would be splendid," said Pierre.

Prince Andrew smiled ironically.

"Very likely it would be splendid, but it will never come about. . . ."

Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, I, 6

- 102 The younger Emperor could not restrain his wish to be present at the battle and, in spite of the remonstrances of his courtiers, at twelve o'clock left the third column with which he had been and galloped toward the vanguard. Before he came up with the hussars, several adjutants met him with news of the successful result of the action.

This battle, which consisted in the capture of a French squadron, was represented as a brilliant victory over the French, and so the Emperor and the whole army, especially while the smoke hung over the battlefield, believed that the French had been defeated and were retreating against their will. A few minutes after the Emperor had passed, the Pávlograd division was ordered to advance. In Wischau itself, a petty German town, Rostóv saw the Emperor again. In the market place, where there had been some rather heavy firing before the Emperor's arrival, lay several killed and wounded soldiers whom there had not been time to move. The Emperor, surrounded by his suite of officers and courtiers, was riding a bobtailed chestnut mare, a different one from that which he had ridden at the review, and bending to one side he gracefully held a gold lorgnette to his eyes and looked at a soldier who lay prone, with blood on his uncovered head. The wounded soldier was so dirty, coarse, and revolting that his proximity to the Emperor shocked Rostóv. Rostóv saw how the Emperor's rather round shoulders shuddered as if a cold shiver had run down them, how his left foot began convulsively tapping the horse's side with

the spur, and how the well-trained horse looked round unconcerned and did not stir. An adjutant, dismounting, lifted the soldier under the arms to place him on a stretcher that had been brought. The soldier groaned.

"Gently, gently! Can't you do it more gently?" said the Emperor apparently suffering more than the dying soldier, and he rode away.

Rostóv saw tears filling the Emperor's eyes and heard him, as he was riding away, say to Czartoryski: "What a terrible thing war is: what a terrible thing! *Quelle terrible chose que la guerre!*"

Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, III, 10

- 103 One has renounced *grand* life when one renounces war.

Nietzsche, *Twilight of the Idols*.
Morality as Anti-Nature

- 104 Many . . . substitutes for war will be discovered, but perhaps precisely thereby it will become more and more obvious that such a highly cultivated and therefore necessarily enfeebled humanity as that of modern Europe not only needs wars, but the greatest and most terrible wars,—consequently occasional relapses into barbarism,—lest, by the means of culture, it should lose its culture and its very existence.

Nietzsche, *Human, All-Too-Human*, 477

- 105 The beauty of war . . . is that it is so congruous with ordinary human nature. Ancestral evolution has made us all potential warriors; so the most insignificant individual, when thrown into an army in the field, is weaned from whatever excess of tenderness towards his precious person he may bring with him, and may easily develop into a monster of insensibility. . . . The immediate aim of the soldier's life is . . . destruction, and nothing but destruction; and whatever constructions wars result in are remote and non-military. Consequently the soldier cannot train himself to be too feelingless to all those usual sympathies and respects, whether for persons or for things, that make for conservation. Yet the fact remains that war is a school of strenuous life and heroism; and, being in the line of aboriginal instinct, is the only school that as yet is universally available. But when we gravely ask ourselves whether this wholesale organization of irrationality and crime be our only bulwark against effeminacy, we stand aghast at the thought, and think more kindly of ascetic religion. One hears of the mechanical equivalent of heat. What we now need to discover in the social realm is the moral equivalent of war: something heroic that will speak to men as universally as war does, and yet will be as compatible with their spiritual selves as war has proved itself to be incompatible. I have often thought that in the old monkish poverty-worship, in spite of the pedantry which infested it, there might be some-

duction, I see that war becomes absurd and impossible from its own monstrosity. Extravagant ambitions will have to be replaced by reasonable claims, and nations must make common cause against them. I see no reason why all this should not apply to yellow as well as to white countries, and I look forward to a future when acts of war

shall be formally outlawed as between civilized peoples.

William James, *Moral Equivalent of War*

48 The only way to abolish war [is] to make peace heroic.

Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*, II, 3

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Section II, Intro.

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dison, *Federalist* 43

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Emerson, *War*

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involving a duty, and founded upon the right of individual men and states.

Kant, *Science of Right*, 61

- 40 The morally practical reason utters within us its irrevocable veto: *There shall be no war*. So there ought to be no war, neither between me and you in the condition of nature, nor between us as members of states which, although internally in a condition of law, are still externally in their relation to each other in a condition of lawlessness; for this is not the way by which any one should prosecute his right. Hence the question no longer is as to whether perpetual peace is a real thing or not a real thing, or as to whether we may not be deceiving ourselves when we adopt the former alternative, but we must *act* on the supposition of its being real. We must work for what may perhaps not be realized, and establish that constitution which yet seems best adapted to bring it about (mayhap republicanism in all states, together and separately). And thus we may put an end to the evil of wars, which have been the chief interest of the internal arrangements of all the states without exception. And although the realization of this purpose may always remain but a pious wish, yet we do certainly not deceive ourselves in adopting the maxim of action that will guide us in working incessantly for it; for it is a duty to do this. To suppose that the moral law within us is itself deceptive, would be sufficient to excite the horrible wish rather to be deprived of all reason than to live under such deception, and even to see oneself, according to such principles, degraded like the lower animals to the level of the mechanical play of nature.

Kant, *Science of Right*, Conclusion

- 41 Confidence in the principles of an enemy must remain even during war, otherwise a peace could never be concluded; and hostilities would degenerate into a war of extermination since war in fact is but the sad resource employed in a state of nature in defence of rights; force standing there in lieu of juridical tribunals. Neither of the two parties can be accused of injustice, since for that purpose a juridical decision would be necessary. But here the event of a battle (as formerly the *judgments of God*) determine the justice of either party; since between states there cannot be a war of punishment no subordination existing between them. A war, therefore, which might cause the destruction of both parties at once, together with the annihilation of every right, would permit the conclusion of a perpetual peace only upon the vast burial-ground of the human species.

Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, Section I, 6

- 42 With men, the state of nature is not a state of peace, but of war; though not of open war, at

least, ever ready to break out. A state of peace must therefore be established; for, in order to be sheltered against every act of hostility, it is not sufficient that none is committed; one neighbour must guarantee to another his personal security, which cannot take place except in a state of legislation; without which one may treat another as an enemy, after having in vain demanded this protection.

Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, Section II, Intro.

- 43 If it is a duty, if the hope can even be conceived, of realizing, though by an endless progress, the reign of public right—perpetual peace, which will succeed to the suspensions of hostilities, hitherto named treaties of peace, is not then a chimera, but a problem, of which time, probably abridged by the uniformity of the progress of the human mind, promises us the solution.

Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, Appendix, 2

- 44 In cases where it may be doubtful on which side justice lies, what better umpires could be desired by two violent factions, flying to arms and tearing a State to pieces, than the representatives of confederate States not heated by the local flame? To the impartiality of judges they would unite the affection of friends. Happy would it be if such a remedy for its infirmities could be enjoyed by all free governments; if a project equally effectual could be established for the universal peace of mankind!

Madison, *Federalist* 43

- 45 War is on its last legs; and a universal peace is as sure as is the prevalence of civilization over barbarism, of liberal governments over feudal forms. The question for us is only How soon?

Emerson, *War*

- 46 The war-drum throb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.

There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe.
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law.

Tennyson, *Locksley Hall*, 127

- 47 I devoutly believe in the reign of peace and in the gradual advent of some sort of a socialistic equilibrium. The fatalistic view of the war-function is to me nonsense, for I know that war-making is due to definite motives and subject to prudential checks and reasonable criticisms, just like any other form of enterprise. And when whole nations are the armies, and the science of destruction vies in intellectual refinement with the sciences of pro-

this means we are at peace, which is the greatest of boons.

Pascal, *Pensées*, V, 319

- 31 No War, or Battails sound
Was heard the World around,
The idle spear and shield were high up hung;
The hooked Chariot stood
Unstain'd with hostile blood,
The Trumpet spake not to the armed throng,
And Kings sate still with awfull eye,
As if they surely knew their sovran Lord was by.
Milton, *On the Morning of Christs Nativity*, 53

- 32 Peace hath her victories
No less renown'd than warr, new foes aries
Threatning to bind our soules with secular
chains:
Helpe us to save free Conscience from the paw
Of hireling wolves whose Gospell is their maw.
Milton, *To the Lord Generall
Cromwell May 1652*

- 33 The more commonwealths there are, that have
contracted a joint treaty of peace, the less each of
them by itself is an object of fear to the remainder,
or the less it has the authority to make war. But it
is so much the more bound to observe the condi-
tions of peace; that is, the less independent, and
the more bound to accommodate itself to the gen-
eral will of the contracting parties.
Spinoza, *Political Treatise*, III, 16

- 34 If the innocent honest man must quietly quit all
he has for peace sake to him who will lay violent
hands upon it, I desire it may be considered what
kind of a peace there will be in the world which
consists only in violence and rapine, and which is
to be maintained only for the benefit of robbers
and oppressors. Who would not think it an admi-
rable peace betwixt the mighty and the mean,
when the lamb, without resistance, yielded his
throat to be torn by the imperious wolf?
Locke, *II Civil Government*, XIX, 228

- 35 I should have wished to choose myself a country,
diverted, by a fortunate impotence, from the bru-
tal love of conquest, and secured, by a still more
fortunate situation, from the fear of becoming it-
self the conquest of other States: a free city situat-
ed between several nations, none of which should
have any interest in attacking it, while each had
an interest in preventing it from being attacked
by the others; in short, a Republic which should
have nothing to tempt the ambition of its neigh-
bours, but might reasonably depend on their assis-
tance in case of need. It follows that a republican
State so happily situated could have nothing to
fear but from itself; and that, if its members
trained themselves to the use of arms, it would be
rather to keep alive that military ardour and cou-

rageous spirit which are so proper among free-
men, and tend to keep up their taste for liberty,
than from the necessity of providing for their de-
fence.

Rousseau, *Origin of Inequality*, Dedication

- 36 Johnson. It is thus that mutual cowardice keeps us
in peace. Were one half of mankind brave, and
one half cowards, the brave would be always beat-
ing the cowards. Were all brave, they would lead
a very uneasy life; all would be continually fight-
ing: but being all cowards, we go on very well.
Boswell, *Life of Johnson* (Apr. 28, 1778)

- 37 Hereafter, perhaps, . . . the inhabitants of all the
different quarters of the world may arrive at that
equality of courage and force which, by inspiring
mutual fear, can alone overawe the injustice of
independent nations into some sort of respect for
the rights of one another. But nothing seems more
likely to establish this equality of force than that
mutual communication of knowledge and of all
sorts of improvements which an extensive com-
merce from all countries to all countries naturally,
or rather necessarily, carries along with it.
Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, IV, 7

- 38 The . . . daring [Roman General] Probus pur-
sued his Gallic victories, passed the Rhine, and
displayed his invincible eagles on the banks of the
Elbe and the Neckar. He was fully convinced that
nothing could reconcile the minds of the barbar-
ians to peace, unless they experienced in their
own country the calamities of war.

Gibbon, *Decline and Fall
of the Roman Empire*, XII

- 39 The natural state of nations as well as of individu-
al men is a state which it is a duty to pass out of,
in order to enter into a legal state. Hence, before
this transition occurs, all the right of nations and
all the external property of states acquirable or
maintainable by war are merely provisory; and
they can only become peremptory in a universal
union of states analogous to that by which a na-
tion becomes a state. It is thus only that a real
state of peace could be established. But with the
too great extension of such a union of states over
vast regions; any government of it, and conse-
quently the protection of its individual members,
must at last become impossible; and thus a multi-
tude of such corporations would again bring
round a state of war. Hence the perpetual peace,
which is the ultimate end of all the right of na-
tions, becomes in fact an impracticable idea. The
political principles, however, which aim at such
an end, and which enjoin the formation of such
unions among the states as may promote a contin-
uous approximation to a perpetual peace, are not
impracticable; they are as practicable as this ap-
proximation itself, which is a practical problem

the sense that it governs mankind on the basis of what all have in common and that by a common law it leads all toward peace. This common norm or law should be received by local governments in the same way that practical intelligence in action receives its major premises from the speculative intellect. To these it adds its own particular minor premises and then draws particular conclusions for the sake of its action. These basic norms not only can come from a single source, but must do so in order to avoid confusion among universal principles. Moses himself followed this pattern in the law which he composed, for, having chosen the chiefs of the several tribes, he left them the lesser judgments, reserving to himself alone the higher and more general. These common norms were then used by the tribal chiefs according to their special needs. Therefore, it is better for mankind to be governed by one, not by many; and hence by a single governor, the world ruler; and if it is better, it is pleasing to God, since He always wills the better. And when there are only two alternatives—the better is also the best, and is consequently not only pleasing to God, but the choice of “one” rather than “many” is what most pleases Him. Hence it follows that mankind lives best under a single government, and therefore that such a government is necessary for the well-being of the world.

Dante, *De Monarchia*, I, 14

- 27 The reins of man are held by a double driver according to man's twofold end; one is the supreme pontiff, who guides mankind with revelations to life eternal, and the other is the emperor, who guides mankind with philosophical instructions to temporal happiness. And since none or very few (and these with difficulty) can reach this goal, unless a free mankind enjoys the tranquility of peace and the waves of distracting greed are stilled, this must be the constant aim of him who guides the globe and whom we call Roman Prince, in order that on this threshing floor of life mortals may exist free and in peace.

Dante, *De Monarchia*, III, 16

- 28 Let none presume to tell me that the Pen is preferable to the Sword; for be they who they will, I shall tell them they know not what they say: For the Reason they give, and on which chiefly they rely, is, that the Labour of the Mind exceeds that of the Body, and that the Exercise of Arms depends only the Body, as if the use of them were the Business of Porters, which requires nothing but much Strength. Or, as if This, which we who profess it call Chivalry, did not include the Acts of Fortitude, which depend very much upon the Understanding. Or else, as if that Warriour, who commands an Army or defends a City besieged, did not labour as much with the Mind as with the Body. If this be not so, let Experience teach us

whether it be possible by bodily Strength to discover or guess the Intentions of an Enemy. The forming Designs, laying of Stratagems, overcoming of Difficulties, and shunning of Dangers, are all Works of the Understanding, wherein the Body has no Share. It being therefore evident, that the Exercise of Arms requires the Help of the Mind as well as Learning, let us see in the next place, whether the Scholar or the Soldier's Mind undergoes the greatest Labour. Now this may be the better known, by regarding the End and Object each of them aims at; for that Intention is to be most valued, which makes the noblest End its Object. The Scope and End of Learning, I mean, human Learning (in this Place I speak not of Divinity, whose aim is to guide Souls to Heaven, for no other can equal a Design so infinite as that) Is to give a Perfection to distributive Justice, bestowing upon every one his due, and to procure and cause good Laws to be observ'd; an End really Generous, Great, and worthy of high Commendation; but yet not equal to that which Knight-Erantry tends to, whose Object and End is Peace, which is the greatest Blessing Man can wish for in this Life. And therefore the first good News the World receiv'd, was that the Angels brought in the Night, which was the Beginning of our Day, when they sang in the Air, Glory to God on high, Peace upon Earth, and to Men Good-will. And the only manner of Salutation taught by the best Master in Heaven, or upon Earth, to his Friends and Favourites, was, that entering any House they should say, Peace be to this House. And at other times he said to them, My Peace I give to you, My Peace I leave to you, Peace be among you. A Jewel and Legacy worthy of such a Donor, a Jewel so precious, that without it there can be no Happiness either in Earth or Heaven. This Peace is the true End of War; for Arms and War are one and the same thing.

Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, I, 37

- 29 In the very heat of war the greatest security and expectation of divine support must be in the unabated desire, and invariable prospect of peace, as the only end for which hostilities can be lawfully begun. So that in the prosecution of war we must never carry the rage of it so far, as to unlearn the nature and dispositions of men.

Grotius, *Rights of War and Peace*,
Bk. III, XXV, 2

- 30 How rightly do we distinguish men by external appearances rather than by internal qualities! Which of us two shall have precedence? Who will give place to the other? The least clever. But I am as clever as he. We should have to fight over this. He has four lackeys, and I have only one. This can be seen; we have only to count. It falls to me to yield, and I am a fool if I contest the matter. By

r'd slave to free:
worthy thee.

Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI

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all that kind of cour-
to fight in defence of
e licence that breaks
rapacity.

arch, *Numa Pompilius*

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rch, *Numa Pompilius*

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Tacitus, *Agricola*

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opposing parties who contested for the enjoyment of those things which were too small to satisfy both. This peace is purchased by toilsome wars; it is obtained by what they style a glorious victory. Now, when victory remains with the party which had the juster cause, who hesitates to congratulate the victor, and style it a desirable peace? These things, then, are good things, and without doubt the gifts of God. But if they neglect the better things of the heavenly city, which are secured by eternal victory and peace never-ending, and so inordinately covet these present good things that they believe them to be the only desirable things, or love them better than those things which are believed to be better—if this be so, then it is necessary that misery follow and ever increase.

Augustine, *City of God*, XV, 4

- 17 Peace is a good so great, that even in this earthly and mortal life there is no word we hear with such pleasure, nothing we desire with such zest, or find to be more thoroughly gratifying.

Augustine, *City of God*, XIX, 11

- 18 It is . . . with the desire for peace that wars are waged, even by those who take pleasure in exercising their warlike nature in command and battle. And hence it is obvious that peace is the end sought for by war. For every man seeks peace by waging war, but no man seeks war by making peace. For even they who intentionally interrupt the peace in which they are living have no hatred of peace, but only wish it changed into a peace that suits them better. They do not, therefore, wish to have no peace, but only one more to their mind.

Augustine, *City of God*, XIX, 12

- 19 Even wicked men wage war to maintain the peace of their own circle, and wish that, if possible, all men belonged to them, that all men and things might serve but one head, and might, either through love or fear, yield themselves to peace with him!

Augustine, *City of God*, XIX, 12

- 20 Peace between man and man is well-ordered concord. Domestic peace is the well-ordered concord between those of the family who rule and those who obey. Civil peace is a similar concord among the citizens. The peace of the celestial city is the perfectly ordered and harmonious enjoyment of God, and of one another in God. The peace of all things is the tranquillity of order.

Augustine, *City of God*, XIX, 13

- 21 If one man concord with another, not by a spontaneous will but through being forced, as it were, by the fear of some evil that threatens him, such concord is not really peace, because the order of each concordant is not observed, but is disturbed

by some fear-inspiring cause.

Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II-II, 29, 1

- 22 Even those who seek war and dissension desire nothing but peace, which they do not consider themselves to have. For . . . there is no peace when a man agrees with another man counter to what he would prefer. Consequently men seek by means of war to break this concord, because it is a defective peace, in order that they may obtain a peace in which nothing is contrary to their will. Hence all wars are waged that men may find a more perfect peace than that which they had before.

Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II-II, 29, 2

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

Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II-II, 29, 3

- 24 The proper work of mankind taken as a whole is to exercise continually its entire capacity for intellectual growth, first, in theoretical matters, and secondarily, as an extension of theory in practice. And since the part is a sample of the whole, and since individual men find that they grow in prudence and wisdom when they can sit quietly, it is evident that mankind, too, is most free and easy to carry on its work when it enjoys the quiet and tranquillity of peace.

Dante, *De Monarchia*, I, 4

- 25 Wherever there can be contention, there judgment should exist; otherwise things would exist imperfectly, without their own means of adjustment or correction, which is impossible, since in things necessary, God or Nature is not defective. Between any two governments, neither of which is in any way subordinate to the other, contention can arise either through their own fault or that of their subjects. This is evident. Therefore there should be judication between them. And since neither can know the affairs of the other, not being subordinated (for among equals there is no authority), there must be a third and wider power which can rule both within its own jurisdiction. This third power is either the world-government or it is not. If it is, we have reached our conclusion; if it is not, it must in turn have its equal outside its jurisdiction, and then it will need a third party as judge, and so *ad infinitum*, which is impossible. So we must arrive at a first and supreme judge for whom all contentions are judicable either directly or indirectly; and this will be our world-governor or emperor. Therefore, world-government is necessary for the world.

Dante, *De Monarchia*, I, 10

- 26 World government . . . must be understood in

forcing an opponent to swear to a treaty to his disadvantage, but when the more fortunate combatant waives these his privileges, to be guided by gentler feelings, conquers his rival in generosity, and accords peace on more moderate conditions than he expected. From that moment, instead of the debt of revenge which violence must entail, his adversary owes a debt of generosity to be paid in kind, and is inclined by honour to stand to his agreement. And men oftener act in this manner towards their greatest enemies than where the quarrel is of less importance; they are also by nature as glad to give way to those who first yield to them, as they are apt to be provoked by arrogance to risks condemned by their own judgment.

Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, IV, 19

- 7 *Hermocrates*. In the face of the universal consent that peace is the first of blessings, how can we refuse to make it amongst ourselves; or do you not think that the good which you have, and the ills that you complain of, would be better preserved and cured by quiet than by war; that peace has its honours and splendours of a less perilous kind, not to mention the numerous other blessings that one might dilate on, with the not less numerous miseries of war?

Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, IV, 62

- 8 *Athenian Stranger*. No one can be a true statesman, whether he aims at the happiness of the individual or state, who looks only, or first of all, to external warfare; nor will he ever be a sound legislator who orders peace for the sake of war, and not war for the sake of peace.

Plato, *Laws*, I, 628B

- 9 Facts, as well as arguments, prove that the legislator should direct all his military and other measures to the provision of leisure and the establishment of peace. For most of these military states are safe only while they are at war, but fall when they have acquired their empire; like unused iron they lose their temper in time of peace. And for this the legislator is to blame, he never having taught them how to lead the life of peace.

Aristotle, *Politics*, 1334^a3

- 10 An unjust peace is better than a just war.

Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, VII, 14

- 11 The only excuse for going to war is to be able to live in peace undisturbed. When victory is won we should spare those who have not been blood-thirsty or barbarous in their warfare.

Cicero, *De Officiis*, I, 11

- 12 Rome, 't is thine alone, with awful sway,
To rule mankind, and make the world obey,
Disposing peace and war by thy own majestic way;

To tame the proud, the fetter'd slave to free:
These are imperial arts, and worthy thee.

Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI

- 13 There is no employment that gives so keen and quick a relish for peace as husbandry and a country life, which leave in men all that kind of courage that makes them ready to fight in defence of their own, while it destroys the licence that breaks out into acts of injustice and rapacity.

Plutarch, *Numa Pompilius*

- 14 Janus, whether in remote antiquity he were a demigod or a king, was certainly a great lover of civil and social unity, and one who reclaimed men from brutal and savage living; for which reason they figure him with two faces, to represent the two states and conditions out of the one of which he brought mankind, to lead them into the other. His temple at Rome has two gates, which they call the gates of war, because they stand open in the time of war, and shut in the times of peace; of which latter there was very seldom an example, for, as the Roman empire was enlarged and extended, it was so encompassed with barbarous nations and enemies to be resisted, that it was seldom or never at peace. Only in the time of Augustus Caesar, after he had overcome Antony, this temple was shut; as likewise once before, when Marcus Atilius and Titus Manlius were consuls; but then it was not long before, wars breaking out, the gates were again opened.

But, during the reign of Numa, those gates were never seen open a single day, but continued constantly shut for a space of forty-three years together; such an entire and universal cessation of war existed. For not only had the people of Rome itself been softened and charmed into a peaceful temper by the just and mild rule of a pacific prince, but even the neighbouring cities, as if some salubrious and gentle air had blown from Rome upon them, began to experience a change of feeling, and partook in the general longing for the sweets of peace and order, and for life employed in the quiet tillage of soil, bringing up of children, and worship of the gods. Festival days and sports, and the secure and peaceful interchange of friendly visits and hospitalities prevailed all through the whole of Italy.

Plutarch, *Numa Pompilius*

- 15 To robbery, slaughter, plunder, they [the Romans] give the lying name of empire; they make a desolation and call it peace.

Tacitus, *Agricola*

- 16 [The earthly city] desires earthly peace for the sake of enjoying earthly goods, and it makes war in order to attain to this peace; since, if it has conquered, and there remains no one to resist it, it enjoys a peace which it had not while there were

tells us, is a state of peace in which the um-
 piracy of government and the reign of law
 provide the instrumentalities for settling dis-
 putes without recourse to violence; for the
 use of authorized force by government is not
 violence. Other writers, notably Augustine
 and Aquinas, fill out this positive conception
 of peace by the notion that genuine concord
 is essential to the tranquility of order and by
 the insistence that genuine concord is impos-
 sible without justice and love.

Both here and in Section 14.1, there is
 some discussion of the possibility of abolish-
 ing war—not merely actual warfare, but
 also the state of war. The negative voices on
 this subject, found mainly in Section 14.1,
 regard war as inevitable and irremediable,
 given man as he is and societies as they are.
 Sometimes this is said with regret, as by
 Freud, and sometimes with acquiescence, as

by Hegel. Of an opposite tenor is the hope
 that emerges here from the recognition that,
 the ultimate cause of war being anarchy, the
 ultimate condition of peace is government.
 If local civil peace has been established here
 and there by local government, then per-
 haps there is some prospect for world civil
 peace through world government. The read-
 er will find this insight presented and this
 hope weighed in passages drawn from
 Dante, Kant, *The Federalist*, and Tennyson;
 but in the absence of twentieth-century
 voices, the impact of the discussion is not as
 encouraging as it might be.

As already indicated, materials of rele-
 vance to the future of war and peace will be
 found in Section 14.1; and with regard to
 the role of government in the establishment
 of civil peace, turn to Section 10.3 on Gov-
 ERNMENT: ITS NATURE, NECESSITY, AND FORMS.

1 Great peace have they which love thy law: and
 nothing shall offend them.
Psalm 119:165

2 When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh
 even his enemies to be at peace with him.
Proverbs 16:7

3 [The Lord] shall judge among the nations, and
 shall rebuke many people: and they shall beat
 their swords into plowshares, and their spears into
 pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword
 against nation, neither shall they learn war any-
 more.
Isaiah 2:4

4 The wolf . . . shall dwell with the lamb, and the
 leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf
 and the young lion and the fatling together; and a
 little child shall lead them.
Isaiah 11:6

5 *Trygaeus*. Think of all the thousand pleasures,
 Comrades, which to Peace we owe,
 All the life of ease and comfort
 Which she gave us long ago:
 Figs and olives, wine and myrtles,
 Luscious fruits preserved and dried,
 Banks of fragrant violets, blowing
 By the crystal fountain's side;

Scenes for which our hearts are yearning,
 Joys that we have missed so long—
 —Comrades, here is Peace returning,
 Greet her back with dance and song!
Chorus. Welcome, welcome, best and dearest,
 welcome, welcome, welcome, home.
 We have looked and longed for thee,
 Looking, longing, wondrously,
 Once again our farms to see.
 O the joy, the bliss, the rapture, really to behold
 thee come.
 Thou wast aye our chief enjoyment, thou wast aye
 our greatest gain.
 We who ply the farmer's trade
 Used, through thy benignant aid,
 All the joys of life to hold.
 Ah! the unbought pleasures free
 Which we erst received of thee
 In the merry days of old,
 When thou wast our one salvation and our roast-
 ed barley grain.
 Now will all the tiny shoots,
 Sunny vine and fig-tree sweet,
 All the happy flowers and fruits,
 Laugh for joy thy steps to greet.

Aristophanes, Peace, 571

6 *Lacedaemonian envoys*. If great enmities are ever to
 be really settled, we think it will be, not by the
 system of revenge and military success, and by

to demonstrate their merits, when they relate to a battle that has been won.

Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, X, 28

- 72 The result of a battle is decided not by the orders of a commander in chief, nor the place where the troops are stationed, nor by the number of cannon or of slaughtered men, but by that intangible force called the spirit of the army.

Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, X, 35

- 73 The activity of a commander in chief does not at all resemble the activity we imagine to ourselves when we sit at ease in our studies examining some campaign on the map, with a certain number of troops on this and that side in a certain known locality, and begin our plans from some given moment. A commander in chief is never dealing with the *beginning* of any event—the position from which we always contemplate it. The commander in chief is always in the midst of a series of shifting events and so he never can at any moment consider the whole import of an event that is occurring.

Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, XI, 2

- 74 The army has always been the basis of power, and it is so today. Power is always in the hands of

those who command it.

Tolstoy, *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*

- 75 An army, considered ideally, is an organ for the state's protection; but it is far from being such in its origin, since at first an army is nothing but a ravenous and lusty horde quartered in a conquered country; yet the cost of such an incubus may come to be regarded as an insurance against further attack, and so what is in its real basis an inevitable burden resulting from a chance balance of forces may be justified in afterthought as a rational device for defensive purposes.

Santayana, *Life of Reason*, II, 3

- 76 The military classes, since they inherit the blood and habits of conquerors, naturally love war and their irrational combativeness is reinforced by interest; for in war officers can shine and rise, while the danger of death, to a brave man, is rather a spur and a pleasing excitement than a terror. A military class is therefore always recalling, foretelling, and meditating war; it fosters artificial and senseless jealousies toward other governments that possess armies; and finally, as often as not, it precipitates disaster by bringing about the objectless struggle on which it has set its heart.

Santayana, *Life of Reason*, II, 3

14.3 | The Conditions of Peace

It is said, in some of the passages below, that war is for the sake of peace; and it is also said that an unjust peace is to be preferred to a just war. The latter statement is challenged by those who question the genuineness of peace without justice and who point out that oppressive injustice breeds violence and rebellion which, as Locke observes in commenting on the etymology of the word (*re-bellare*), is a return to war. This difference of opinion is epitomized in two views of the *Pax Romana*—the Virgilian view of it as a boon that Rome conferred by conquest and the opposite view that Tacitus

gives voice to in the words of the defeated British chieftain, Galgacus: the Romans make a desolation, he said, and call it peace.

The basic distinction that emerges in Section 14.1 on WARFARE AND THE STATE OF WAR is of primary relevance to the conception of peace as a positive, not merely a negative, state of affairs—not just the absence of actual fighting, but the elimination of the need for recourse to violence in order to settle disputes. Animals, it has been asserted, have only one way of settling their differences—by fighting; but men have two ways—by fighting and by law. Civil society, Locke

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THE WHITE HOUSE

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March 22, 2000

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE INDIAN JOINT SESSION OF PARLIAMENT

Parliament
New Delhi, India

11:10 A.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Vice President, Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Speaker, members of the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha, I am privileged to speak to you and, through you, to the people of India. I am honored to be joined today by members of my Cabinet and staff at the White House, and a very large representation of members of our United States Congress from both political parties. We're all honored to be here and we thank you for your warm welcome. (Applause.)

I would also like to thank the people of India for their kindness to my daughter and my mother-in-law and, on their previous trip, to my wife and my daughter. (Applause.)

I have looked forward to this day with great anticipation. This whole trip has meant a great deal to me, especially to this point, the opportunity I had to visit the Gandhi memorial, to express on behalf of all the people of the United States our gratitude for the life, the work, the thought of Gandhi, without which the great civil rights revolution in the United States would never have succeeded on a peaceful plane. (Applause.)

As Prime Minister Vajpayee has said, India and America are natural allies, two nations conceived in liberty, each finding strength in its diversity, each seeing in the other a reflection of its own aspiration for a more humane and just world.

A poet once said the world's inhabitants can be divided into "those that have seen the Taj Mahal and those that have not." (Laughter.) Well, in a few hours I will have a chance to cross over to the happier side of that divide. But I hope, in a larger sense, that my visit will help the American people to see the new India and to understand you better. And I hope that the visit will help India to understand America better. And that by listening to each other we can build a true partnership of mutual respect and common endeavor.

From a distance, India often appears as a kaleidoscope of competing, perhaps superficial, images: Is it atomic weapons, or ahimsa? A land struggling against poverty and inequality, or the world's largest middle-class society? Is it still simmering with communal tensions, or history's most successful melting pot? Is it Bollywood or Satyajit Ray? Swetta Chetty or Alla Rakha? Is it the handloom or the hyperlink?

The truth is, no single image can possibly do justice to your great nation. But beyond the complexities and the apparent contradictions, I believe India teaches us some very basic lessons.

The first is about democracy. There are still those who deny that democracy is a universal aspiration; who say it works only for people of a certain culture, or a certain degree of economic development. India has been proving them wrong for 52 years now. Here is a country where more than 2 million people hold elected office in local government; a country that shows at every election that those who possess the least cherish their vote the most. Far from washing away the uniqueness of your culture, your democracy has brought out the richness of its tapestry, and given you the knot that holds it together.

A second lesson India teaches is about diversity. You have already heard remarks about that this morning. But around the world there is a chorus of voices who say ethnic and religious diversity is a threat; who argue that the only way to keep different people from killing one another is to keep them as far apart as possible. But India has shown us a better way. For all the troubles you have seen, surely the subcontinent has seen more innocence hurt in the efforts to divide people by ethnicity and faith than by the efforts to bring them together in peace and harmony.

Under trying circumstances, you have shown the world how to live with difference. You have shown that tolerance and mutual respect are in many ways the keys to our common survival. That is something the whole world needs to learn.

A third lesson India teaches is about globalization and what may be the central debate of our time. Many people believe the forces of globalization are inherently divisive; that they can only widen the gap between rich and poor. That is a valid fear, but I believe wrong.

As the distance between producers large and small, and customers near and far becomes less relevant, developing countries will have opportunities not only to succeed, but to lead in lifting more people out of poverty more quickly than at any time in human history. In the old economy, location was everything. In the new economy, information, education and motivation are everything -- and India is proving it.

You liberated your markets and now you have one of the 10 fastest growing economies in the world. At the rate of growth within your grasp, India's standard of living could rise by 500 percent in just 20 years. You embraced information technology and now, when Americans and other big software companies call for consumer and customer support, they're just as likely to find themselves talking to an expert in Bangalore as one in Seattle. (Applause.)

You decentralized authority, giving more individuals and communities the freedom to succeed. In that way, you affirmed what every successful country is finding in its own way: globalization does not favor nations with a licensing raj, it does favor nations with a panchayat raj. And the world has been beating a path to your door.

In the new millennium, every great country must answer one overarching question: how shall we define our greatness? Every country -- America included -- is tempted to cling to yesterday's definition of economic and military might. But true leadership for the United States and India derives more from the power of our example and the potential of our people.

I believe that the greatest of India's many gifts to the world is the example its people have set "from Midnight to Millennium." Think of it: virtually every challenge humanity knows can be found here in India. And every solution to every challenge can be found here as well: confidence in democracy; tolerance for diversity; a willingness to

embrace social change. That is why Americans admire India; why we welcome India's leadership in the region and the world; and why we want to take our partnership to a new level, to advance our common values and interests, and to resolve the differences that still remain.

There were long periods when that would not have been possible. Though our democratic ideals gave us a starting point in common, and our dreams of peace and prosperity gave us a common destination, there was for too long too little common ground between East and West, North and South. Now, thankfully, the old barriers between nations and people, economies and cultures, are being replaced by vast networks of cooperation and commerce. With our open, entrepreneurial societies, India and America are at the center of those networks. We must expand them, and defeat the forces that threaten them.

To succeed, I believe there are four large challenges India and the United States must meet together -- challenges that should define our partnership in the years ahead.

The first of these challenges is to get our own economic relationship right. Americans have applauded your efforts to open your economy, your commitment to a new wave of economic reform; your determination to bring the fruits of growth to all your people. We are proud to support India's growth as your largest partner in trade and investment. And we want to see more Indians and more Americans benefit from our economic ties, especially in the cutting edge fields of information technology, biotechnology and clean energy.

The private sector will drive this progress, but our job as governments is to create the conditions that will allow them to succeed in doing so, and to reduce the remaining impediments to trade and investment between us.

Our second challenge is to sustain global economic growth in a way that lifts the lives of rich and poor alike, both across and within national borders. Part of the world today lives at the cutting edge of change, while a big part still exists at the bare edge of survival. Part of the world lives in the information age. Part of the world does not even reach the clean water age. And often the two live side by side. It is unacceptable, it is intolerable; thankfully, it is unnecessary and it is far more than a regional crisis. Whether around the corner or around the world, abject poverty in this new economy is an affront to our common humanity and a threat to our common prosperity.

The problem is truly immense, as you know far better than I. But perhaps for the first time in all history, few would dispute that we know the solutions. We know we need to invest in education and literacy, so that children can have soaring dreams and the tools to realize them. We know we need to make a special commitment in developing nations to the education of young girls, as well as young boys. Everything we have learned about development tells us that when women have access to knowledge, to health, to economic opportunity and to civil rights, children thrive, families succeed and countries prosper.

Here again, we see how a problem and its answers can be found side by side in India. For every economist who preaches the virtues of women's empowerment points at first to the achievements of India's state of Kerala -- I knew there would be somebody here from Kerala -- (laughter and applause.) Thank you.

To promote development, we know we must conquer the diseases that kill people and progress. Last December, India immunized 140 million children against polio, the biggest public health effort in human

history. I congratulate you on that. (Applause.)

I have launched an initiative in the United States to speed the development of vaccines for malaria, tuberculosis and AIDS -- the biggest infectious killers of our time. This July, when our partners in the G-8 meet in Japan, I will urge them to join us.

But that is not enough, for at best, effective vaccines are years away. Especially for AIDS, we need a commitment today to prevention, and that means straight talk and an end to stigmatizing. As Prime Minister Vajpayee said, no one should ever speak of AIDS as someone else's problem. This has long been a big problem for the United States. It is now a big problem for you. I promise you America's partnership in the continued struggle. (Applause.)

To promote development, we know we must also stand with those struggling for human rights and freedom around the world and in the region. For as the economist Amartya Sen has said, no system of government has done a better job in easing human want, in averting human catastrophes, than democracy. I am proud America and India will stand together on the right side of history when we launch the Community of Democracies in Warsaw this summer.

All of these steps are essential to lifting people's lives. But there is yet another. With greater trade and the growth it brings, we can multiply the gains of education, better health and democratic empowerment. That is why I hope we will work together to launch a new global trade round that will promote economic development for all.

One of the benefits of the World Trade Organization is that it has given developing countries a bigger voice in global trade policy. Developing countries have used that voice to urge richer nations to open their markets further so that all can have a chance to grow. That is something the opponents of the WTO don't fully appreciate yet.

We need to remind them that when Indians and Brazilians and Indonesians speak up for open trade, they are not speaking for some narrow corporate interest, but for a huge part of humanity that has no interest in being saved from development. Of course, trade should not be a race to the bottom in environmental and labor standards, but neither should fears about trade keep part of our global community forever at the bottom.

Yet we must also remember that those who are concerned about the impact of globalization in terms of inequality, in environmental degradation do speak for a large part of humanity. Those who believe that trade should contribute not just to the wealth, but also to the fairness of societies; those who share Nehru's dream of a structure for living that fulfills our material needs, and at the same time sustains our mind and spirit.

We can advance these values without engaging in rich-country protectionism. Indeed, to sustain a consensus for open trade, we must find a way to advance these values as well. That is my motivation, and my only motivation, in seeking a dialogue about the connections between labor, the environment, and trade and development.

I would remind you -- and I want to emphasize this -- the United States has the most open markets of any wealthy country in the world. We have the largest trade deficit. We also have had a strong economy, because we have welcomed the products and the services from the labor of people throughout the world. I am for an open global trading system. But we must do it in a way that advances the cause of social justice around the world. (Applause.)

The third challenge we face is to see that the prosperity and growth of the information age require us to abandon some of the outdated truths of the Industrial Age. As the economy grows faster today, for example, when children are kept in school, not put to work. Think about the industries that are driving our growth today in India and in America. Just as oil enriched the nations who had it in the 20th century, clearly knowledge is doing the same for the nations who have it in the 21st century. The difference is, knowledge can be tapped by all people everywhere, and it will never run out.

We must also find ways to achieve robust growth while protecting the environment and reversing climate change. I'm convinced we can do that as well. We will see in the next few years, for example, automobiles that are three, four, perhaps five times as efficient as those being driven today. Soon scientists will make alternative sources of energy more widely available and more affordable. Just for example, before long chemists almost certainly will unlock the block that will allow us to produce eight or nine gallons of fuel from bio-fuels, farm fuels, using only one gallon of gasoline.

Indian scientists are at the forefront of this kind of research -- pioneering the use of solar energy to power rural communities; developing electric cars for use in crowded cities; converting agricultural waste into electricity. If we can deepen our cooperation for clean energy, we will strengthen our economies, improve our people's health and fight global warming. This should be a vital element of our new partnership.

A fourth challenge we face is to protect the gains of democracy and development from the forces which threaten to undermine them. There is the danger of organized crime and drugs. There is the evil of trafficking in human beings, a modern form of slavery. And of course, there is the threat of terrorism. Both our nations know it all too well.

Americans understood the pain and agony you went through during the Indian Airlines hijacking. And I saw that pain firsthand when I met with the parents and the widow of the young man who was killed on that airplane. (Applause.) We grieve with you for the Sikhs who were killed in Kashmir -- (applause) -- and our heart goes out to their families. We will work with you to build a system of justice, to strengthen our cooperation against terror. (Applause.) We must never relax our vigilance or allow the perpetrators to intimidate us into retreating from our democratic ideals.

Another danger we face is the spread of weapons of mass destruction to those who might have no reservations about using them. I still believe this is the greatest potential threat to the security we all face in the 21st century. It is why we must be vigilant in fighting the spread of chemical and biological weapons. And it is why we must both keep working closely to resolve our remaining differences on nuclear proliferation.

I am aware that I speak to you on behalf of a nation that has possessed nuclear weapons for 55 years and more. But since 1988, the United States has dismantled more than 13,000 nuclear weapons. We have helped Russia to dismantle their nuclear weapons and to safeguard the material that remains. We have agreed to an outline of a treaty with Russia that will reduce our remaining nuclear arsenal by more than half. We are producing no more fissile material, developing no new land- or submarine-based missiles, engaging in no new nuclear testing.

From South America to South Africa, nations are foreswearing these

weapons, realizing that a nuclear future is not a more secure future. Most of the world is moving toward the elimination of nuclear weapons. That goal is not advanced if any country, in any region, it moves in the other direction.

I say this with great respect. Only India can determine its own interests. Only India -- (applause) -- only India can know if it truly is safer today than before the tests. Only India can determine if it will benefit from expanding its nuclear and missile capabilities, if its neighbors respond by doing the same thing. Only India knows if it can afford a sustained investment in both conventional and nuclear forces while meeting its goals for human development. These are questions others may ask, but only you can answer.

I can only speak to you as a friend about America's own experience during the Cold War. We were geographically distant from the Soviet Union. We were not engaged in direct armed combat. Through years of direct dialogue with our adversary, we each had a very good idea of the other's capabilities, doctrines, and intentions. We each spent billions of dollars on elaborate command and control systems, for nuclear weapons are not cheap.

And yet, in spite of all of this -- and as I sometimes say jokingly, in spite of the fact that both sides had very good spies, and that was a good thing -- (laughter) -- in spite of all of this, we came far too close to nuclear war. We learned that deterrence alone cannot be relied on to prevent accident or miscalculation. And in a nuclear standoff, there is nothing more dangerous than believing there is no danger.

I can also repeat what I said at the outset. India is a leader, a great nation, which by virtue of its size, its achievements, and its example, has the ability to shape the character of our time. For any of us, to claim that mantle and assert that status is to accept first and foremost that our actions have consequences for others beyond our borders. Great nations with broad horizons must consider whether actions advance or hinder what Nehru called the larger cause of humanity.

So India's nuclear policies, inevitably, have consequences beyond your borders: eroding the barriers against the spread of nuclear weapons, discouraging nations that have chosen to forswear these weapons, encouraging others to keep their options open. But if India's nuclear test shook the world, India's leadership for nonproliferation can certainly move the world.

India and the United States have reaffirmed our commitment to forego nuclear testing. And for that I thank the Prime Minister, the government and the people of India. But in our own self-interest -- and I say this again -- in our own self-interest we can do more. I believe both nations should join the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty; work to launch negotiations on a treaty to end the production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons; strengthen export controls. And India can pursue defense policies in keeping with its commitment not to seek a nuclear or missile arms race, which the Prime Minister has forcefully reaffirmed just in these last couple of days.

Again, I do not presume to speak for you or to tell you what to decide. It is not my place. You are a great nation and you must decide. But I ask you to continue our dialogue on these issues. And let us turn our dialogue into a genuine partnership against proliferation. If we make progress in narrowing our differences, we will be both more secure, and our relationship can reach its full potential.

I hope progress can also be made in overcoming a source of tension in this region, including the tensions between India and Pakistan. I share many of your government's concerns about the course Pakistan is taking; your disappointment that past overtures have not always met with success; your outrage over recent violence. I know it is difficult to be a democracy bordered by nations whose governments reject democracy.

But I also believe -- I also believe India has a special opportunity, as a democracy, to show its neighbors that democracy is about dialogue. It does not have to be about friendship, but it is about building working relationships among people who differ.

One of the wisest things anyone ever said to me is that you don't make peace with your friends. That is what the late Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin told me before he signed the Oslo Accords with the Palestinians, with whom he had been fighting for decades. It is well to remember -- I remind myself of it all the time, even when I have arguments with members of the other party in my Congress -- (laughter) -- you don't make peace with your friends.

Engagement with adversaries is not the same thing as endorsement. ~~It does not require setting aside legitimate grievances.~~ Indeed, I strongly believe that what has happened since your Prime Minister made his courageous journey to Lahore only reinforces the need for dialogue. (Applause.)

I can think of no enduring solution to this problem that can be achieved in any other way. In the end, for the sake of the innocents who always suffer the most, someone must end the contest of inflicting and absorbing pain.

Let me also make clear, as I have repeatedly, I have certainly not come to South Asia to mediate the dispute over Kashmir. Only India and Pakistan can work out the problems between them. And I will say the same thing to General Musharraf in Islamabad. But if outsiders cannot resolve this problem, I hope you will create the opportunity to do it yourselves, calling on the support of others who can help where possible, as American diplomacy did in urging the Pakistanis to go back behind the line of control in the Kargil crisis. (Applause.)

In the meantime, I will continue to stress that this should be a time for restraint, for respect for the line of control, for renewed lines of communication.

Addressing this challenge and all the others I mentioned will require us to be closer partners and better friends, and to remember that good friends, out of respect, are honest with one another. And even when they do not agree, they always try to find common ground.

I have read that one of the unique qualities of Indian classical music is its elasticity. The composer lays down a foundation, a structure of melodic and rhythmic arrangements, but the player has to improvise within that structure to bring the raga* to life.

Our relationship is like that. The composers of our past have given us a foundation of shared democratic ideals. It is up to us to give life to those ideals in this time. The melodies do not have to be the same to be beautiful to both of us. But if we listen to each other, and we strive to realize our vision together, we will write a symphony far greater than the sum of our individual notes.

The key is to genuinely and respectfully listen to each other. If we do, Americans will better understand the scope of India's

achievements, and the dangers India still faces in this troubled part of the world. We will understand that India will not choose a particular course simply because others wish it to do so. It will choose only what it believes its interests clearly demand and what its people democratically embrace.

If we listen to each other, I also believe Indians will understand better that America very much wants you to succeed. Time and again -- (applause) -- time and again in my time as President, America has found that it is the weakness of great nations, not their strength, that threatens our vision for tomorrow.

So we want India to be strong; to be secure; to be united; to be a force for a safer, more prosperous, more democratic world. Whatever we ask of you, we ask in that spirit alone. After too long a period of estrangement, India and the United States have learned that being natural allies is a wonderful thing, but it is not enough. Our task is to turn a common vision into common achievements so that partners in spirit can be partners in fact. We have already come a long way to this day of new beginnings, but we still have promises to keep, challenges to meet and hopes to redeem.

So let us seize this moment with humility in the fragile and fleeting nature of this life, but absolute confidence in the power of the human spirit. Let us seize it for India, for America, for all those with whom we share this small planet, and for all the children that together we can give such bright tomorrows.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END 11:45 A.M. (L)

our destination; bumping up and down in a plane at fifteen thousand feet seemed far more perilous than being locked in a cell behind high walls.

After about an hour in the air, dawn lightened the terrain below. The plane had portholes, and as soon as we could see in the half-light, my comrades pressed their faces to the glass. We flew southeast, over the dry, flat plains of the Orange Free State and the green and mountainous Cape peninsula. I, too, craned to see out the portholes, examining the scenery not as a tourist but as a strategist, looking for areas where a guerrilla army might hide itself.

There had been a running argument since the formation of MK as to whether the countryside of South Africa could support a guerrilla army. Most of the High Command thought that it could not. When we flew over a wooded, mountainous area called Matroosberg in the Cape, I yelled to my colleagues that here was terrain where we could fight. The men became excited and craned to get a better look, and indeed, the heavily forested area appeared as though it could shelter a nascent guerrilla force.

Minutes later we approached the outskirts of Cape Town. Soon, we could see the little matchbox houses of the Cape Flats, the gleaming towers of downtown, and the horizontal top of Table Mountain. Then, out in Table Bay, in the dark blue waters of the Atlantic, we could make out the misty outline of Robben Island.

We landed on an airstrip on one end of the island. It was a grim, overcast day, and when I stepped out of the plane, the cold winter wind whipped through our thin prison uniforms. We were met by guards with automatic weapons; the atmosphere was tense but quiet, unlike the boisterous reception I had received on my arrival on the island two years before.

We were driven to the old jail, an isolated stone building, where we were ordered to strip while standing outside. One of the ritual indignities of prison life is that when you are transferred from one prison to another, the first thing that happens is that you change from the garb of the old prison to that of the new. When we were undressed, we were thrown the plain khaki uniforms of Robben Island.

Apartheid's regulations extended even to clothing. All of us, except Kathy, received short trousers, an insubstantial jersey, and a canvas jacket. Kathy, the one Indian among us, was given long trousers. Normally Africans would receive sandals made from car tires, but in this instance we were given shoes. Kathy, alone, received socks. Short trousers for Africans were meant to remind us that we were "boys." I put on the short

trousers that day, but I vowed that I would not put up with them for long.

The warders pointed with their guns where they wanted us to go, and barked their orders in simple one-word commands: "Move!" "Silence!" "Halt!" They did not threaten us in the swaggering way that I recalled from my previous stay, and betrayed no emotion.

The old jail was only temporary quarters for us. The authorities were in the process of finishing an entirely separate maximum-security structure for political prisoners. While there, we were not permitted to go outside or have any contact with other prisoners.

The fourth morning we were handcuffed and taken in a covered truck to a prison within a prison. This new structure was a one-story rectangular stone fortress with a flat cement courtyard in the center, about one hundred feet by thirty feet. It had cells on three of the four sides. The fourth side was a twenty-foot-high wall with a catwalk patrolled by guards with German shepherds.

The three lines of cells were known as sections A, B, and C, and we were put in section B, on the easternmost side of the quadrangle. We were each given individual cells on either side of a long corridor, with half the cells facing the courtyard. There were about thirty cells in all. The total number of prisoners in the single cells was usually about twenty-four. Each cell had one window, about a foot square, covered with iron bars. The cell had two doors: a metal gate or grille with iron bars on the inside and a thick wooden door outside of that. During the day, only the grille was locked; at night, the wooden door was locked as well.

The cells had been constructed hurriedly, and the walls were perpetually damp. When I raised this with the commanding officer, he told me our bodies would absorb the moisture. We were each issued three blankets so flimsy and worn they were practically transparent. Our bedding consisted of a single sisal, or straw, mat. Later we were given a felt mat, and one placed the felt mat on top of the sisal one to provide some softness. At that time of year, the cells were so cold and the blankets provided so little warmth that we always slept fully dressed.

I was assigned a cell at the head of the corridor. It overlooked the courtyard and had a small eye-level window. I could walk the length of my cell in three paces. When I lay down, I could feel the wall with my feet and my head grazed the concrete at the other side. The width was about six feet, and the walls were at least two feet thick. Each cell had a white card posted outside of it with our name and our prison service number. Mine read, "N Mandela 466/64," which meant I was the 466th

prisoner admitted to the island in 1964. I was forty-six years old, a political prisoner with a life sentence, and that small cramped space was to be my home for I knew not how long.

We were immediately joined by a number of prisoners who had been held in the general section of the prison, a squat brick building not far from Section B. The general prison, known as sections F and G, contained about a thousand mostly common-law prisoners. As many as a quarter of them were political prisoners, and a handful of those men were put with us in Section B. We were isolated from the general prisoners for two reasons: we were considered risky from a security perspective, but even more dangerous from a political standpoint. The authorities were concerned we might "infect" the other prisoners with our political views.

Among the men put with us was George Peake, one of the founders of the South African Coloured People's Organization, a Treason Trialist, and most recently a member of the Cape Town City Council. He had been sentenced for planting explosives outside a Cape Town prison. Dennis Brutus, another Coloured political activist, was a poet and writer from Port Elizabeth imprisoned for violating his bans. We were also joined by Billy Nair, a longtime member of the Natal Indian Congress, sentenced for sabotage as a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Within a few days we had more company, including Neville Alexander, a prominent Coloured intellectual and member of the Non-European Unity Movement, who had formed a tiny radical offshoot called the Yu Chi Chan Club in Cape Town which studied guerrilla warfare. Neville had a B.A. from the University of Cape Town and a doctorate in German literature from Tübingen University in Germany. Along with Neville, there was Fikile Bam, a law student of the University of Cape Town and another member of the Yu Chi Chan Club; and Zephania Mothopeng, a member of the PAC National Executive. Zeph had been a teacher in Orlando, and was a staunch opponent of Bantu Education, and one of the most level-headed of the PAC's leaders. Three aged peasants from the Transkei, sentenced for plotting to assassinate K. D. Matanzima, now the chief minister of the "self-governing" Transkei, were also imprisoned with us.

This became our core group of about twenty prisoners. Some I knew, some I had heard of, while others I did not know at all. Normally, in prison, one of the few festive times is seeing old friends and new faces, but the atmosphere in those first few weeks was so oppressive we were not even able to greet each other. We had as many guards as prisoners, and they enforced every regulation with threats and intimidation.

* * *

That first week we began the work that would occupy us for the next few months. Each morning, a load of stones about the size of volleyballs was dumped by the entrance to the courtyard. Using wheelbarrows, we moved the stones to the center of the yard. We were given either four-pound hammers or fourteen-pound hammers for the larger stones. Our job was to crush the stones into gravel. We were divided into four rows, about a yard-and-a-half apart, and sat cross-legged on the ground. We were each given a thick rubber ring, made from tires, in which to place the stones. The ring was meant to catch flying chips of stone, but hardly ever did so. We wore makeshift wire masks to protect our eyes.

Warders walked among us to enforce the silence. During those first few weeks, warders from other sections and even other prisons came to stare at us as if we were a collection of rare caged animals. The work was tedious and difficult; it was not strenuous enough to keep us warm but it was demanding enough to make all our muscles ache.

June and July were the bleakest months on Robben Island. Winter was in the air, and the rains were just beginning. It never seemed to go above forty degrees Fahrenheit. Even in the sun, I shivered in my light khaki shirt. It was then that I first understood the cliché of feeling the cold in one's bones. At noon we would break for lunch. That first week all we were given was soup, which stank horribly. In the afternoon, we were permitted to exercise for half an hour under strict supervision. We walked briskly around the courtyard in single file.

On one of our first days pounding rocks, a warder commanded Kathy to take a wheelbarrow filled with gravel to the truck parked by the entrance. Kathy was a slender fellow unused to hard physical labor. He could not budge the wheelbarrow. The warders yelled: "*Laat daardie kruifwa loop!*" (Let that wheelbarrow move!) As Kathy managed to nudge it forward, the wheelbarrow looked as if it would tip over, and the warders began to laugh. Kathy, I could see, was determined not to give them cause for mirth. I knew how to maneuver the wheelbarrows, and I jumped up to help him. Before being ordered to sit down, I managed to tell Kathy to wheel it slowly, that it was a matter of balance not strength. He nodded and then carefully moved the wheelbarrow across the courtyard. The warders stopped smiling.

The next morning, the authorities placed an enormous bucket in the courtyard and announced that it had to be half full by the end of the week. We worked hard and succeeded. The following week, the warder in charge announced that we must now fill the bucket three-quarters of the way. We worked with great diligence and succeeded. The next week we were ordered to fill the bucket to the top. We knew we could not

12/4/99 12:30 pm

SAMUEL R. BERGER
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS
REMARKS AT AMERICANS FOR PEACE NOW DINNER
NEW YORK
DECEMBER 6, 1999

Thank you, Lesley [Shahl]. It is an honor to be here, in such distinguished company, to present the first "Americans for Peace Now Lifetime Achievement Award." I want to begin by paying tribute to the members of Americans for Peace Now: Thank you for standing firmly and unequivocally for a just peace for Israel and its neighbors. You should be very proud of what you have achieved.

Tonight there are so many things I could say about King Hussein's extraordinary life, about his courage, his determination, his kindness. I have many memories of him, personal as well as public. Let me just recount two episodes, from near the end of his life, that suggest the kind of man he was.

A little over a year ago, Israeli and Palestinian delegations came to Wye River to try to break a long stalemate and get the peace process back on track. Despite his poor health, King Hussein readily accepted President Clinton's invitation to come to Wye. Over the nine days of difficult talks, one side or the other, seeking his counsel, would go to the house where he and the Queen were staying.

On the ninth day, God having long since rested, the President declared that we would finish that day or end the negotiations. We succeeded -- but only by redefining the last day to embrace 36

hours. Straight. At about 10 pm, we hit another impasse. The President called King Hussein and asked him to come over to the building where all three delegations were meeting. The King arrived, sat down at the head of the table, and spoke in a soft but certain voice, for perhaps 10 or 15 minutes, to the weary parties. He said not a word about the immediate issue at hand. Instead, he spoke about the moment of history and the responsibilities and obligations of both sides to their people and to the future. It was a riveting moment, lifting everyone, at least for a time, above their differences and to their common humanity.

Now, I can't say that the waters suddenly parted. There were still at least half a dozen fights to follow in the coming hours, leading one of my colleagues to lament that "the spirit of King Hussein" had lasted about 20 minutes. But in fact the spirit of King Hussein prevailed at Wye. And it is still present today. Because every time the parties have reached a logjam, some of us have recalled that moment, recalled the message of King Hussein and his partner in peace, Yitzhak Rabin: the chance for peace is as fleeting as our lives. There is not a moment to waste. We have to do the right thing -- and make the day of peace come, at last.

The other episode that is vivid in my mind came three months after Wye. The King had completed his treatment at the Mayo Clinic. Before returning to Jordan, he stopped at the White House to see the President. He talked about everything except himself. Although his body was weak, he was filled with energy and determination and a sharp sense of purpose to move the peace process forward.

Soon after, on January 20 of this year, he flew home. Always the pilot, he insisted on taking the controls of his plane for the last leg into Jordan. His people gave him a jubilant embrace. And he embraced them back, despite the cold, cold rain, passing through the streets of Amman, his head and shoulders poking through the sun roof of his car. He smiled and waved to thousands and thousands. These were his people. They loved him, and, in return, he wanted to express his deep love for them, his gratitude to them, his faith in them.

Eleven days later, he was gone. But in his life he transformed his country, made peace with old enemies, and left us his abiding aspiration: to finish the job. It is why we are all here and why King Hussein is such a fitting recipient of your first lifetime achievement award.

Our sadness that King Hussein is not here to accept this award is tempered by our joy that Queen Noor will receive it on his behalf. Her Arabic name, Noor al-Hussein, means “light of Hussein.” It would be hard to find a more fitting phrase to describe someone who has brought such radiance and illumination to her husband, her family, and her countries – both America and Jordan.

For 21³ years, she has worked to advance friendship between Jordan and its neighbors. She has lent her leadership to causes ranging from cancer awareness to helping victims of land mines, to protecting the environment, promoting education and ensuring that, as she has said, “everyone have a key to the global village.” She has worked to help overcome our frequently simplistic understanding of Islam and the Arab world. For true peace to take root and flourish in the

Middle East, it will depend on an abiding respect for all the peoples who occupy the Holy Land. Queen Noor, every American is grateful for your work toward this end.

The challenges ahead for the Middle East are great. This President and his team will do all we can to support Prime Minister Barak and Chairman Arafat as they move ahead on the difficult path of peace. There are painful decisions and compromises to be made. But they must be made if Israelis and Palestinians are to realize their most profound aspirations: a secure Israel finally at peace, recognized by all its neighbors, enjoying its rightful place in the region and the world. The Palestinian people finally masters of their own destiny, on their own soil. And a region able to focus on the future, not the past -- on economic development, health, and education -- no longer diverted by bitterness and violence.

No one should underestimate the difficulty of this challenge. Success is not inevitable. This is no time for the friends of peace to relax. The struggles ahead will be harder than anything that has come before. It is not a coincidence that a comprehensive peace has eluded us for 50 years. We are dealing with existential issues for all the parties. But with the legacy of King Hussein's unflinching determination to drive us, we must seize the opportunity to build peace between Israelis, Palestinians, Syrians, and Lebanese. The best way we can honor the man we celebrate this evening is for each of the parties, for each of us, to follow the example of King Hussein: We can find the courage, take the controls, pilot our own destinies, and achieve the lasting peace we all want for our children.

Over the last nine months, Queen Noor has received many letters of condolence. To each, she has responded with a letter of her own, always ending with the words "please remember him with a smile." Tonight, I know we are all happy to honor that request. It is my great privilege to present to Her Majesty Queen Noor, on behalf of His Majesty King Hussein, the 1999 Americans for Peace Now Lifetime Achievement Award.

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In its search for root causes of gross human rights violations, PIOOM has discovered the centrality of conflict formations and escalation. Human rights violations are both an indicator of impending escalation of domestic tensions to armed conflict, and a result of the escalated conflict itself. Increasingly, gross human rights violations are also a means of waging armed conflict, with rape of women and starvation of trapped civilian populations being tactics of warfare. Last year, Mary Robinson spoke about her experiences as High Commissioner of Human Rights in the following way: 'civilians are no longer just victims of war today. They are regarded as instruments of war. Starving, terrorising, murdering, raping civilians – all that is seen as legitimate. Sex is no defense, nor is age; indeed women, children and the elderly are often at greatest risk. That is a strange, terrible state of affairs in the year after we commemorated the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.'¹ In his most recent report to the United Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, noted that the hopeful trend towards a world with fewer and less deadly wars may have been halted in the past year.² In the General Assembly he called for a new era of interventionism. 'There are a great number of peoples who need more than just words of sympathy from the international community. They need a real and sustained commitment to help end their cycles of violence, and launch them on a safe passage to prosperity.'³ The trend reversal noted by the Secretary-General is confirmed by the most recent findings based on PIOOM's database. In the past year at least six conflicts escalated to high-intensity conflicts that were accompanied with campaigns of ethnic cleansing. These are Afghanistan, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Kosovo, East Timor and Chechnya. These conflicts saw hitherto unseen levels of displacement of civilians.⁴



Introduction

Will the 21st century be even more bloody than the 20th century?⁵ A number of critical factors increase the probability of war: poverty linked to unequal access to political power, economic decline, lack of democracy, vicious identity politics in heterogeneous states and the struggle to control economic resources, bad governance with high levels of corruption; and the continuing climate of impunity for war criminals. While international pressure for improved early warning mechanisms has become stronger, creation of sufficient political will to do something about crisis situations remains the most critical factor.⁶ The international security climate is further complicated by a worsening disarmament climate,⁷ a range of new weapon technologies that opens new ways of warfare;⁸ and the low rate of success in stopping the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.⁹ Chemical and biological weapons are widely considered to be the terror weapons in future conflicts.¹⁰

Balance sheet of the century of megadeath

War and conflict researchers sometimes are too much focused on the dead and levels of destruction and seem to forget about other victims and the less measurable costs. Saferworld and the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict published studies presenting details of the enormous costs of a number of the post-World War II armed conflicts. These studies focus on the costs that can be measured.¹¹ Studies that try to assess the less measurable effects are more scarce. Very little research, for example, has been done on the mental damage experienced by those tortured, raped, maimed, and handicapped during war, as Helen Fein recently observed.¹²

Yet even the measurable damage has not been assessed with any degree of precision. The estimates about the 20th century deaths from violence vary widely. Zbigniew Brzezinski writing on 'the

politics of organized insanity' concluded that the 'century of megadeath' had consumed the lives of 87,000,000 people. He estimated that 33,000,000 of this total were young men, mostly between the ages of eighteen and thirty, who perished in the name of nationalism and ideology.¹³ Ruth L. Sivard continued the work of the late William Eckhardt and estimated that the 20th century has seen more than 250 wars, causing nearly 110,000,000 war-related deaths.¹⁴ Eric Hobsbawm estimates that the 'age of catastrophe' has claimed in excess of 187,000,000 victims worldwide.¹⁵ The most comprehensive estimate in the literature is presented by Rudolph Rummel. While he estimated wars had resulted in a total of 33,000,000 direct battle-related deaths, his total for what he calls democide, which includes mass murder, genocide and other types of government killing, reaches up to 169,198,000 people. Combining the two categories we arrive at a figure of nearly 203,000,000 deaths for the first 87 years of the 20th century. Prof. Rummel considers this to be a conservative estimate; had he taken the upper estimates he encountered in his survey of 8,000 pieces of war statistics on violence, he could have reached a figure of no less than 360 million.¹⁶

The post World War II Period

- Researchers of the University of Hamburg counted for the period since 1945 no fewer than 194 wars, more than 90 percent of them fought in the developing countries.¹⁷ An earlier analysis of 135 wars in the 1945-1992 period, indicated a total death toll of 12,500,000 people. Lacking complete data the German researchers estimated the total death toll at 17,000,000, or an average of 354,000 war-related deaths per year for the post-World War II period.¹⁸
- Frank Pfetsch and his research group developed the KOSIMO databank. By distinguishing five levels of conflict (latent conflict, crisis, severe crisis, violent conflict and war) the KOSIMO group identified a total of 546 cases of conflict. This total was reduced to 258 basic conflict formations for the 1945-1990 period. This total excludes the nearly 400 post-World War II coup d'états and coup attempts which are listed in a separate register.¹⁹ In an update including conflicts during the 1990-1995 period, Pfetsch and his colleagues conclude that the death toll of armed conflict in the period 1945-1995 must lie somewhere between 10 and 24 million people. This does not include the annual death toll of 15,000 people due to 'forgotten' weapons and uncleared fields of landmines.²⁰

Different definitions of armed conflict, different counts of direct and indirect deaths and different degrees of thoroughness in registering wars and lesser conflict, produce divergent such counts. Another example:

- The latest issue of the Military Balance 1999-2000 of the International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS), includes a map listing a total of 70 major wars in the 1945-1999 period which resulted in a total of 4,574,000 battle-related deaths. According to the IISS count, most people died in South East Asia and the Far East (41.8%) and Sub-Saharan Africa (31.1%), followed by North Africa and the Middle East (6.8%), Americas (2.8%) and Europe (2.1%). Of the 70 wars, 33 were reported to be on-going: 2 in the Americas, 3 in Europe, 4 in North Africa & the Middle East, 17 in Sub-Saharan Africa, 3 in Central Asia and 4 in South-east Asia and the Far East. The IISS estimates that in the year up to August 1, 1999, about 110,000 people died in the ongoing wars. Cumulatively, that is, since the beginning of these 33 ongoing conflicts, already 3,684,000 people died.²¹

The post Cold War Period

The end of the Cold War brought no peace: according to researchers of the University of Uppsala between 1990 and 1998 73 states were involved in 108 wars in which five and one half million people died. Five new armed conflicts broke out in 1998: Yugoslavia (Kosovo), Nepal, Guinea-Bissau, Lesotho and between Eritrea and Ethiopia. Five conflicts recommenced: in the United Kingdom (Northern Ireland), Tajikistan, Angola, Ethiopia (Ogaden) and Rwanda. Of the 108 conflicts active in the ten-year period, 75 had been terminated by the end of 1998. Of these, 21 were ended by peace agreements, whereas 24 ended in victory for one of the sides and 30 had other outcomes (ceasefire agreements or activity below the level for inclusion into the Uppsala database).²² The disintegration of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia has led to about a dozen new wars on the rim between Europe and the Near East and Central Asia. The war in Kosovo had destabilising effects on Montenegro, Macedonia, Vojvodina and Sandzak. The recent escalation of conflict in Dagestan and Chechnya threatens to engulf the whole Caucasus region and is, in the view of some observers, closely linked to the decision-making process about the construction and control over new gas and oil pipelines. The impact of the end of the Cold War on African conflictuality was even stronger, with state failures (Somalia, Liberia, Sierra Leone) and genocides (Rwanda, Burundi) being one consequence.

The PIOOM Databank

Bewildered by the incomplete findings of some of the more prestigious war registrars like SIPRI and IISS, PIOOM has been monitoring armed conflicts on three different levels independently and has, since 1996 reported annually its own findings. It uses the term high-intensity conflict (HIC) when more than 1,000 people die from it in a 12-months period. The term low-intensity conflict (LIC) is used when between 100-1,000 die in a year's period. The lowest level measured by PIOOM are violent political conflicts (VPC), which include violent protests and terrorist campaigns with fewer than 100 people killed in a twelve months' period. The PIOOM findings confirm the trend reversal noted by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, as the following table illustrates:

Table 1: Number of Armed Conflicts between 1995 and 1999, according to PIOOM

	mid '95	mid '96	mid '97	mid '98	mid '99
High Intensity Conflict (HIC)	22	20	20	16	22
Low Intensity Conflict (LIC)	39	31	59	70	77
Violent Political Conflict (VPC)	40	44	45	114	151
Total	101	95	124	200	250

Table 2: High-Intensity Conflicts, as of November 1999

Nr.	Esc.	Country	Begin	Fatalities 1998-99	Cumulative deaths
1.	↑	Sudan	1983-	>100,000	>2,000,000
2.	↑	Ethiopia-Eritrea	1998-	>50,000	50,000-70,000
3.	↑↓	F.Yugoslavia (Kosovo)	1998-	>18,000	>18,000
4.	↑↓ ↑	Afghanistan	1978-	>10,000	1,500,000
5.	↑	Angola	1991-	>10,000	>500,000
6.	↑↓	Sierra Leone	1991-	>6,000	50,000-150,000
7.	↑↓	Congo, DR	1998-	>6,000	>6,000
8.	↓	Algeria	1990-	>5,000	100,000-120,000
9.	=	Sri Lanka	1983-	>5,000	60,000-75,000
10.	↑	Colombia	1964-	>5,000	45,000-250,000
11.	↑	Russian Fed. (Chechnya)	1999-	>5,000	>5,000
12.	↑	India-Pakistan	1989-	>3,000	30,000-70,000
13.	↓	Turkey	1983-	>3,000	>40,000
14.	↑	Uganda	1989-	>2,000	12,000-300,000
15.	↓↑	Congo-Br	1993-	>2,000	>15,000
16.	↓	Rwanda	1994-	>1,000	825,000-1,000,000
17.	↑↓	Guinea-Bissau	1998-	>1,000	>1,000
18.	↑	Iraq-US, UK	1998-	>1,000	1,000-2,000
19.	↓↑	Burundi	1993-	>1,000	201,000-250,000
20.	↑	Pakistan (Punjab)	1985-	>1,000	>1,000
21.	↑	Pakistan (Sindh)	1986-	>1,000	>5,000
22.	↓	Iraq (Kurds)	1987-	>1,000	100,000-250,000
23.	=	Iraq (Marsh Arabs)	1991-	>1,000	30,000-100,000
24.	↑↓	Russian Fed. (Daghestan)	1999-	>1,000	>1,000
25.	↑↓	Indonesia (E.Timor)	1975-	>1,000	>200,000

↓ situation de-escalates; ↑ situation escalates; = situation remains more or less the same

The number of HICs has increased between mid-1998 and mid-1999 by six from 16 to 22 and has even further increased to 25 in early November 1999, following conflict escalation in Daghestan, Chechnya and East Timor. The total number is likely to increase even further before the end of the year, as several LICs are on the verge of becoming high-intensity conflicts. The number of LICs increased from 70 to 77 in the past year, and the number of VPCs from 114 to 151. At least 189,000 people were killed in these conflicts during the past year while the cumulative death toll of

these conflicts probably has surpassed 6,8 million people. Table 3 shows the regional distribution of the conflicts and the estimated number of people killed. Most LICs were reported in Africa, although the regional total decreased from 32 to 28. The highest increases were reported in Central Asia (from 11 to 29) and in the Far East (from 6 to 11). The most striking increases were reported from Nigeria and Indonesia. In both countries authoritarian governments were deposed. The new governments face the difficult task to keep the countries together and prevent them from fractionalizing or collapsing in outright civil wars.

Table 3: Regional Distribution of Conflicts (mid-1998 - mid-1999)

Conflict Level Region (nr. conflicts)	Deaths 1998-1999	Deaths cumulative
High-Intensity Conflicts (HICs) (22)		
Americas (1)	>4,000	>250,000
Europe (2)	>21,000	>58,000
Sub-Saharan Africa (10)	>112,000	>3,629,000
Middle-East (4)	>8,000	>231,000
Central-Asia (5)	>19,000	>1,596,000
<i>Subtotal</i>	>164,000	>5,559,000
Low-Intensity Conflicts (LICs) (77)		
Americas (9)	>1,550	>31,700
Europe (5)	>800	>12,000
Africa (28)	>7,670	>584,460
Middle-East (5)	>550	>47,870
Central-Asia (19)	>5,420	>105,490
Far East (10)	>3,310	>367,500
<i>Subtotal</i>	>19,300	>1,149,020
Violent Political Conflicts (VPCs) (151)		
America (23)	>1,125	>3,500
Europe (16)	>488	>34,910
Africa (50)	>2,075	>4,030
Middle-East (13)	>425	>17,540
Central-Asia (27)	>1,125	>30,000
Far East (22)	>855	>87,325
<i>Subtotal</i>	>6,193	>177,305
Total (250)	>189,493	>6,885,325

In Europe the situation in Kosovo escalated to a high-intensity conflict. After NATO intervention the Kosovo Albanians took revenge on the non-Albanian population. KFOR has not been very successful in controlling the law and order situation and a climate of impunity and intimidation continues. In Africa the number of HICs rose from 6 to 10. New on the list are Angola, Congo-DR, Guinea-Bissau and Uganda. In Angola the war re-escalated again and is threatening to spread to

Zambia. In the Democratic Republic of Congo the uprising against president L. Kabila is reviving and possibly even intensifying. Under international pressure a peace accord was reached but after cease-fire violations rebel organisations have declared the accord to be null and void. In Guinea-Bissau the November 1998 peace accord led to the withdrawal of Senegalese and Guinean troops but in May 1999 troops of president Bernardo Viera surrendered to rebels of the deposed General Mane. In Uganda the conflict with the Lord Resistance Army (LRA) has escalated to a high-intensity conflict. The most bloody interstate war of the past year was the border-war between Eritrea and Ethiopia. More than 300,000 troops dug in and fire at each other with heavy artillery. Tactics of the so-called 'human wave' sometimes resulted in thousands of casualties per day. Another interstate war, which attracts hardly any attention, is the continuing air war by the United States and the United Kingdom against Iraq. One of the most dangerous escalations in the past year occurred in Kashmir due to the fact that both India and Pakistan possess together dozens of nuclear warheads. Several hundred guerrillas supported by the Pakistani army crossed the Line of Control. India launched a large scale operation to expel the guerrillas. Due to severe international pressure from the side of the United States, China and Russia, further escalation was prevented. The situation is still very unstable and Pakistan's military, displeased with the diplomatic capitulation, staged yet another coup. Some of the conflicts just discussed are also figuring in Table 2 which indicates escalation and de-escalation trends, based on 13 indicators monitored by PIOOM.

The number of high-intensity conflicts listed by PIOOM lies between the numbers listed by the Scandinavian and German researchers. However, in terms of substance, the closest fit of PIOOM's High-Intensity Conflict list is with the 24 ongoing humanitarian emergencies listed by the US National Intelligence Council. The few discrepancies between the US NIC and PIOOM are largely accounted for by the different criteria for inclusion and defined time periods. P. Wallensteen & M. Sollenberg from Uppsala University list 13 wars, 13 intermediate armed conflicts and 10 minor armed conflicts. Their major omissions are the air war on Iraq by the US and UK and the continuing conflict with the Kurds in northern Iraq, the ethnic and religious conflicts in Pakistan and the conflict in Congo-Brazzaville. When it comes to lower conflict levels, many war registrars are looking the other way. More than 50 low-intensity conflicts listed by PIOOM do not appear on the Wallensteen/Sollenberg list. The German researchers from Hamburg list 32 wars and 17 armed conflicts for 1998. Their major omissions are also the ethnic and religious conflicts in Pakistan and the continuing conflict in south Iraq against the Marsh Arabs. In its monitoring of low-intensity conflicts, PIOOM pays more attention than other monitors to sub-national conflicts in large states with large heterogeneous populations – countries like Nigeria, Sudan, South Africa, Uganda, India, Indonesia and Myanmar/Burma. Many of these low-level conflicts get only scant attention in the international media. Due to daily monitoring of local media PIOOM has been able to produce a more complete and thorough conflict map than major institutes. Most of the so-called violent political conflicts – those with fewer than 100 deaths – are beyond the horizon of the Uppsala and Hamburg research teams. In its coverage of Violent Political Conflicts with fewer than 100 fatalities per year PIOOM is unique in its coverage.

Table 4: Current Humanitarian Emergencies, according to the National Intelligence Council, August 1999

	7/98- 6/99	7/99- 12/00	People currently in need
1. Afghanistan	=	=	3,900,000
2. Angola	↓	↓	>3,000,000
3. Burundi	=	=	880,000
4. Colombia	↓	↓	750,000
5. Congo, DR	↓	= or ↓	625,000
6. Eritrea	=	=	400,000
7. Ethiopia	↓	↓	2,000,000
8. Fed.Rep Yugoslavia			1,600,000
Serbia	↓	↓	
Kosovo	↓	↑	
Montenegro	=	= or ↓	
9. Sierra Leone	↓	= or ↓	1,000,000
10. Sri Lanka	=	=	500,000
11. Sudan	=	=	4,400,000
12. Uganda	↓	=	500,000
13. Azerbaijan	=	=	820,000
14. Liberia	↑	=	400,000
15. Somalia	↓	↓	1,000,000
16. Tajikistan	=	=	900,000
17. Iraq	↑	↑	1,500,000
18. North Korea	↑	=	6,700,000
19. Indonesia	?	↑	?
20. Bosnia-Herz.	↑	↑	1,400,000
21. Croatia	=	=	360,000
22. Haiti	↑ =	↑	400,000
23. Georgia	=	=	330,000
24. Rwanda	↓ ↑	↑	300,000

Arrows in columns 2 (situation last year) and 3 (projection for second half of 1999 and the year 2000) indicate humanitarian situation in the country: worsen (↓), worsen then improve (↓ ↑), worsen then level off (↓ =), status quo (=), improve (↑).

As mentioned above, most of the high-intensity conflicts listed by PIOOM appear on the National Intelligence Council (NIC) list of current humanitarian emergencies.²³ The National Intelligence Council lists also 10 cases that PIOOM has listed as LIC or VPC. The NIC defines humanitarian emergencies as situations in which at least 300,000 civilians require international humanitarian assistance. In its latest assessment, NIC concluded that the number of people in need will remain at about the same high level or even increase somewhat by December 2000 – testing the capacity and willingness of the international donor community to respond adequately. The NIC found five major changes in the character of humanitarian emergencies; the most important being the fact that genocidal-type conflicts create the most intractable humanitarian emergencies. They trigger

large numbers of refugees and IDPs, create special security risks for neighboring states and humanitarian workers, and place substantial demands on resources.

In its efforts to develop Early Warning capabilities, PIOOM has also developed an escalation index, based on 13 variables (see second column in table 2). PIOOM's escalation index is more inclusive than the one presented by the Scandinavian researchers which only indicates a percentage change in casualties. The researchers from Uppsala also tend to concentrate on battle-related deaths which leads to much lower estimates than the PIOOM data. While the Scandinavian researchers listed escalation in only 6 of their 27 major armed conflicts in 1998, PIOOM found escalation in 19 of the 25 high-intensity conflicts as of November 1999 (see Table 2). In some conflicts there are strong oscillations depending on weather conditions (in some conflicts fighting is closely related to the seasons) and political factors.

Following the conclusion of the Cold War, it was expected that the world could reap the positive effects of a so-called 'peace dividend' as was predicted by institutions like the IMF. World military expenditures were indeed reduced to below the level of 3 percent of the global Gross National Product. However, a total of \$ 745 billion (\$ 125 per capita and 2.6 per cent of world GNP) is still devoted to military purposes. Arms exports have been reduced and reached a total of \$ 21.9 billion (in constant 1990 prices). The total value of world arms production reached an estimated \$ 200 billion (give or take \$ 5b) in 1996.²⁴ These figures reflect only major weapon systems. Most wars, however, are fought with light arms or small arms. Some 500 million military-type small arms are believed to be in circulation worldwide – one for every twelve persons on earth. More than 300 companies in nearly 50 countries have been identified as manufacturers of small arms and related equipment.²⁵ States and firms that supply light weapons to combatants who do not respect international humanitarian law ought to bear also some moral responsibility for the use to which such arms are put.²⁶

Ten Hot Spots to Watch

On the basis of its monitoring escalatory trends, PIOOM recommends that special attention should be given to the following situations:

1. **SUDAN:** In Sudan the civil war for control of Sudan's oil-rich regions has led to human rights abuses and the displacement of up to 4.5 million – one-fifth of its population. Famine in the war-ravaged south reportedly killed 60,000 people just in 1998. Most of the increased military action and human rights abuses in the past two years happened near Bentiu, where the state-controlled oil consortium has planned to extend an important pipeline. It is to be feared that the government will use its new oil wealth to stock up its military gear so that it can hope to win a victory on the battlefield. The government employs militias to wage its war against rebel groups from the south.²⁷

2. **ANGOLA:** As the war in Democratic Republic of Congo has spread to neighboring countries, the war in Angola is gradually spreading to neighbouring Zambia. The recent murder of Major Wezi Kaunda, the son of former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda, has been interpreted as a plot against president Chiluba. Wezi Kaunda allegedly had been involved in training guerrillas inside Angolan territory. The Chiluba regime also continued to allow military assistance and supplies to pass through Zambian territory into UNITA-held areas in West Angola. Former ministers in the Chiluba regime have been personally named as key players in arms, food and supply deals in exchange for UNITA diamonds. According to region specialists, Zambia is Jonas Savimbi's last major remaining supply line. For that reason Angolan and Zimbabwean interests and Zambian malcontents could have had an interest in the overthrow of the Chiluba regime.²⁸

3. **YUGOSLAVIA:** In Kosovo, a climate of impunity continues as ethnic Albanians take revenge

on the non-Albanian population. There is growing evidence that the Kosovo Albanian leadership is behind some of this activity, and encourages the formation of a mono-ethnic state, despite PR-exercises to the contrary.²⁹ Another disturbing signal is that members of the paramilitary groups that were responsible for the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, like the Frenkijevci, Arkan's Tigers and the Munja (Lightning) have moved into Montenegro. It is assumed that they are still in contact with their headquarters and remain ready for their next assignment. There are reports that the Montenegrin police may have enlisted the services of such paramilitary groups.³⁰

4. KOREA: In North Korea, one of the last communist bullwarks, unrest in outlying regions of the country may be near the breaking point. Localized dissatisfaction with the current economic and political situation could lead to eruptions of violence. Many North Koreans cross into China and seek refugee status. Both countries oppose calling them refugees out of fear that granting such status would trigger a massive increase in the number of North Koreans into China.³¹ An estimated 2,000,000 people have already died as a result of a prolonged famine. Even with 300,000 tons of commercially bought grain and food aid of 370,000 tons, the country is still short of 623,000 tons of grain, which would be required for feeding the population adequately. The high rates of malnutrition among children is likely to blight a whole generation with lifelong disabilities.³² The Americans supply half of North Korea's heavy fuel oil needs and feed one third of the population. The food aid occurs despite the fact that the threat posed by North Korea to South Korea still exists. An American intelligence estimate indicates that due to poor human intelligence, allied forces do not have the 12 hour advance warning of a North Korean invasion, which is the current guiding military operational policy and strategy in South Korea.³³

5. BURUNDI: In Burundi the situation is quickly deteriorating with 800,000 Hutu people living in camps. The FAO has recently warned that many will die of hunger as a result of escalating violence.³⁴

6. CHINA: Tensions between Taiwan and China have increased since President Lee Teng-hui abandoned the 25-year-old principle of 'one China' in favor of what he called 'special state-to-state relations'. Taiwan also seeks to persuade the United States to favour Taiwan over China in the intensifying strife between them.³⁵ Both Chinas try to improve their military capabilities. Especially Taipei's plans to build a new \$ 10 b. low-altitude missile shield angers the Chinese, which is in a process of improving its missile capabilities.³⁶ The new low-altitude anti-missile system has to replace Taiwan's Tienkung (Sky Bow) air defense system.³⁷

7. INDONESIA: The new government in Indonesia faces the difficult task to bring it's military under control.³⁸ Aceh will become an important test case. It is feared that the country will disintegrate if the Wahid government fails to defuse separatist demands in Aceh. Failure to head off the independence demands could gravely weaken the new government and bring it into conflict with the military. Mr. Wahid has indicated that he is prepared to offer Aceh 75 percent of the oil revenues to calm the separatist issue. In the meantime, a commission of inquiry has found evidence to prosecute a number of high-ranking military officers for human rights abuses during the campaign against the Acehnese, which resulted in 2,768 killed and another 3,862 disappeared, according to local human rights organisations.³⁹

8. AFGHANISTAN: A bumper crop of heroine in Afghanistan is looking for a market. The heroine consumed in Europe comes almost entirely from Afghanistan and Pakistan. Afghanistan also has become a major processing center. Most of the heroin is shipped over land to Europe through Iran and Turkey. War in the Balkans has pushed the heroine traffickers northward from their traditional route through Serbia, with the drug now moving through eastern Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and Poland before reaching Western Europe through Germany.⁴⁰ The new states of Central Asia are fast becoming one of the main new routes for opium and heroin, produced in Afghanistan, and bound for Russia and Europe. The UNDCP estimates that up to 60% of the crop destined for export is now being trafficked through the mountains and deserts of the former Soviet states. In Tajikistan the multi-billion dollar trade is feeding on the lawlessness

that has followed the civil war. Almost weekly shoot-outs are reported between the traffickers and border troops.⁴¹ Iran has about 100,000 police officers, troops and Revolutionary Guards engaged in an effort to prevent opium, hashish and heroin from entering Iran from Pakistan and Afghanistan, destined mainly for markets in western Europe. It claims that 2,800 members of the security forces have been killed in clashes with drugtraffickers in recent years despite the strengthening of border defenses.⁴² The United Nations has stepped up the pressure against the Taliban movement in Afghanistan and have announced sanctions for the refusal to extradite the alleged terrorist Osama bin Laden. Some observers have warned that the economic sanctions may cause the death of up to a million people who will die of hunger.⁴³

9. MYANMAR/BURMA: The country's economy is locked in a sharp downward spiral. If the military government does not change economic policy the country will soon face a severe banking crisis which could result in a complete state failure. Military spending accounted for 32 percent of last year's budget and on a per capita basis was nine times the amount spent on health and two times spent on education.⁴⁴ Tension on the border with Thailand has increased as Wei Hsueh-kang, a Burmese drug warlord, has expanded his activities to a border province with the complicity of the military regime.⁴⁵ This year's opium harvest in Myanmar has been bad due to the weather, which might further sharpen the crisis in the country.

10. COLOMBIA: The civil war in Colombia has spill-over effects to its neighbouring countries. While the United States is stepping up its anti-drug war it has been accused of gradual involvement in a counterinsurgency operation. Being sensitive to sovereignty concerns, the United States so far has focused mainly on information and intelligence sharing and not so much on active military engagement. It has trained several counter-narcotics units which now comprise a brigade of nearly 3,000 soldiers.⁴⁶ The Amazon Surveillance System, originally built for environmental purposes, is gradually given capabilities to play a role in the drug war, including air traffic control and detection and control of narcotic trafficking. The US has also expanded its military reach in the region. A new generation of Colombian drug traffickers, using Internet and other modern technology, has sharply increased cocaine production and smuggling in the past two years despite growing budgets for law enforcement. The new cartels have adapted to previous mistakes and are much harder to track.⁴⁷ The FARC guerrillas who are also deeply involved in the cocaine and heroine industry, recently amassed a small airforce and are looking for surface-to-air missiles which could have an important impact on the battlefield. Foreign business interests as well as Colombians are pulling out indicating an imploding economy.

Given the fact that PIOOM recorded 250 armed conflicts of varying intensity in mid-1999, this shortlist cannot enumerate all hotspots. Even the 250 conflicts which PIOOM registered do not represent the whole universe of conflictuality. What we have not discussed here are the 'Political Tension Situations' which, in PIOOM's five stage conflict model, is situated between stable peace and violent political conflict. Due to financial and manpower constraints, PIOOM is unable to give these Political Tension Situations the attention they deserve. Unfortunately no one else is covering them. It is to be hoped that the new United Nations Terrorism Prevention Branch in Vienna will be equipped to monitor these situations in its attempt to build up Early Warning capabilities which the UN system still lacks despite several well-intentioned but under-funded attempts in the past.⁴⁸

UN Peace-making and Humanitarian Intervention

While the United Nations was for a while unchained by the end of the Cold War and developed considerable activism, it has found out the hard way how difficult peace-making, led alone peace-enforcement is. Various peace processes like the one in Angola are in deep trouble while a costly UN investment to bring post-genocide Cambodia back to normalcy lies in shambles. After failures in Yugoslavia and Rwanda, the willingness of the United Nations to intervene diminished although there has been a revival in 1999, with Kosovo, East Timor and Sierra Leone as new theatres of UN peace building activities. Before 1988 there were 13 UN peacekeeping operations; since 1988 there have been 36. Counting the UN mission in East Timor, there are now 17. In

January 1988 there were about 11,000 peacekeepers deployed. During the early 1990s, deployment peaked at almost 80,000, with expenditures of more than \$ 3 billion. The UN ability to intervene in a timely fashion has remained problematic while its Early Warning capabilities are also underdeveloped. Much more is expected of the United Nations today than simply providing a buffer between former combatants. While disarmament, demobilization and monitoring of cease-fires remain important components, operations now include promoting political reconciliation, reconstruction and building civil society. Recent peacekeeping efforts such as those in Kosovo and in Bosnia involve the provision of massive humanitarian assistance, monitoring human rights, training police, establishing a judicial system, regulating elections as well as overseeing the repatriation of refugees. The new UN mission often includes the promotion of good governance, civil society and the responsibilities of statehood. If in the future the role of the UN is to be the one of a builder of new states and repairer of failed ones, it must be given better tools for the job. So far, bureaucratic shortcomings in the UN system and, above all, the lack of financial commitments by member states and divisions in the Security Council have been serious obstacles. At present, the UN is engaged in a process of serious soul-searching. In a recent assessment of its failure in Bosnia-Herzegovina, secretary-general Kofi Annan publicly admitted: 'Through error, misjudgement and an inability to recognize the scope of evil confronting us, we failed to do our part to save the people of Srebrenica from the Serb campaign of mass murder.' Later this year an evaluation of the UN involvement in Rwanda is expected. It is hoped that evaluations like these bring some realism into what the United Nations can and cannot do in situations in which human rights are violated on a massive scale.

Notes:

1. M. Robinson. There must be accountability for East Timor's ordeal. *International Herald Tribune*, September 9, 1999.
2. *Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization*. GA, 54th Session, Supplement No.1 (A/54/1)
3. C. Lynch. UN chief sees new era of peacekeeping. *International Herald Tribune*, September 21, 1999.
4. Myron Weiner has calculated that the number of refugees per conflict has roughly doubled since 1969, increasing from 287,000 per conflict to 459,000 per conflict in 1992. But the increase in internally displaced persons has shown an even more dramatic increase, from 40,000 per conflict in 1969 to 857,000 per conflict in 1992. Quoted by M. Kaldor. *New & Old Wars. Organized Violence in a Global Era*. Cambridge, Polity Press, 1999, p. 101.
5. Dobkowski and Walliman conclude that there is every reason to think that the 21st century will feature even more human-made deaths than the 20th, due to overpopulation, poverty and environmental degradation. M.N. Dobkowski, I. Walliman (Eds.) *The coming age of scarcity. Preventing mass death and genocide in the 21st century*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1998, p.x.
6. In late October 1999, officials of the US State Department presented the idea of setting up an international system to prevent genocide, mass killings, and other atrocities. At the meeting Holly Burkhalter (Physicians for Human Rights) said that the problem is not lack of information but lack of will by governments to act. Officials seek ways to predict, prevent next killing field. *Associated Press*, November 2, 1999. The meeting, held at the Holocaust Museum in Washington, adopted a Statement of Principles for International Cooperation to Prevent, Ameliorate, or Prosecute Perpetrators of Mass Atrocities Committed against All Persons.
7. See discussion on missile defense and non-ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty by the US: E. Becker. US may build shield and quit pact. *International Herald Tribune*, November 8, 1999. S. Mufson. Would world be safer with missile shield? *International Herald Tribune*, September 7, 1999. J. Fitchett. Monitoring system rides on US testban vote. *International Herald Tribune*, October 7, 1999.
8. R. Norton-Taylor. US refines 'non-lethal' weapons for use on civilians. *The Guardian*, November 5, 1999; J. Adams. *The next world war. Computers are the weapons & the frontline is everywhere*. New York, Simon & Schuster, 1998, 366p.
9. Over the past 15 months, efforts to prevent the spread of WMD's have suffered a series of deep set backs. According to Michael Krepon of the H.L. Stimson Center 'All the trend lines are negative. All the usual suspects are moving in the wrong direction.' S. Mufson. In the fight against weapons of mass destruction, all news is bad. *International Herald Tribune*, July 20, 1999.
10. For a critical assessment of this threat, see the special issue on bioterrorism of the *Journal of Emerging Infectious Diseases*, July-August 1999.
11. Michael Cranna (Ed.). *The True Cost of Conflict*. London, Earthscan, 1994, p. xvii. M.E. Brown, R.N. Rosecrance (Eds.) *The Costs of Conflict. Prevention and Cure in the Global Arena*. Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield, 1999.
12. H. Fein. Genocide and gender: the uses of women and group destiny. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 1(1), 1999, pp. 43-63.
13. Z. Brzezinski. *Out of Control. Global Turmoil on the Eve of the 21st Century*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993, p. 7.
14. R.L. Sivard.. *World Military and Social Expenditures 1996*. Washington, D.C., World Priorities, p. 7.

15. E. Hobsbawn. *The Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991*. London, Michael Joseph, 1994.
16. R.J. Rummel. *Death by Government*. New Brunswick, Transaction, 1994, 496p. Rummel has developed a remarkable website (<http://www2.hawaii.edu/~rummel>) which includes all his publications and explanations of his estimation and research methods.
17. Stiftung Entwicklung und Frieden. *Globale Trends 1998. Fakten, Analysen, Prognosen*. Frankfurt/M., Fischer, 1997, p. 344.
18. K.J. Gantzel, T. Schwinghammer. *Die Kriege nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg 1945 bis 1992. Daten und Tendenzen*. Münster, Lit Verlag, 1995, p.149. The latest surveys can be found at AKUF's website: www.sozialwiss.uni.hamburg.de/lpw/Akuf/home.html.
19. The data of the KOSIMO databank were published in: F.R. Pfetsch, P. Billing. *Datenhandbuch nationaler und internationaler Konflikte*. Baden-Baden, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1994, 318p.
20. F.R. Pfetsch (Ed.) *Globales Konfliktpanorama 1990-1995*. Münster, Lit Verlag, 1996, 317p. The latest surveys can be consulted on KOSIMO's website: <http://home.t-online.de/home/christoph.rohloff/97main.htm>.
21. I.I.S.S. *The Military Balance 1999/2000*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999.
22. P. Wallensteen, M. Sollenberg. Armed Conflict, 1989-1998. *Journal of Peace Research*, 36(5), 1999, pp. 593-606.
23. National Intelligence Council. *Global Humanitarian Emergencies: Trends and Projections, 1999-2000*. August 1999, 24p.
24. *SIPRI Yearbook 1999. Armaments, Disarmament and International Security*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
25. M. Renner. Small Arms Found in All Nations. In: L. Brown, M. Renner, B. Halweil. *Vital Signs 1999-2000*. London, Earthscan, 1999, pp. 154-155.
26. C. Sommaruga. Time for humanitarians to get business involved. *International Herald Tribune*, November 16, 1999.
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28. I. Powell, C. Gordon, H. Barrell. Zambia balanced on knife-edge. *Daily Mail & Guardian*, November 5, 1999.
29. C. Gall. Kosovo Albanians said to step up violence to drive out minorities. *International Herald Tribune*, November 6, 1999.
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34. *NRC Handelsblad*, November 6, 1999.
35. R. Halloran. Taipei wants Washington to take its side against Beijing. *International Herald Tribune*, November 16, 1999.
36. Defence minister on weapons tour. *South China Morning Post* November 15, 1999.
37. Anti-missile system planned. *AFP*, November 17, 1999.
38. A. Schwarz. Give Indonesia's new government time to prevail. *International Herald Tribune*, November 15, 1999.
39. M. Richardson. Indonesians warn against Aceh referendum. *International Herald Tribune*, November 11, 1999.
40. B. James. US drug czar warns Europe about cocaine and ecstasy. *International Herald Tribune*, October 29, 1999.
41. L. Hidalgo. Central Asia's battle with drugs. *The Guardian*, November 11, 1999.
42. Drug gang said to kill 35 Iranian policemen. *Agence France Presse*, November 5, 1999.
43. *NRC Handelsblad*, November 6, 1999.
44. T. Crampton. Burma's debt is pushing economy to the brink, the World Bank warns. *International Herald Tribune*, November 15, 1999.
45. W. Barnes. Drug lord spreads trade 'with help of generals'. *South China Morning Post*, November 17, 1999.
46. T. Johnson. Colombian guerrillas amass air force; US assisting military. *Miami Herald*, November 17, 1999.
47. D. Farah. Colombian drug cartels exploit tech advantage. *Washington Post*, November 15, 1999.
48. PLOOM's former Research Coordinator, Prof. Alex Schmid, was appointed as Officer-in-Charge of the UN Terrorism Prevention Branch in mid-April 1999.



For questions regarding this web contact Berto Jongman. Last updated 16/03/2000.

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Also have suggested some additional changes and cuts as marked. Have included a note on the "twisted logic of war" paragraph.

Speech is now around 13 minutes.

⇒ Tom

I'm very pleased
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