

PSYCHOLOGY FOR PEACE ACTIVISTS:  
A NEW PSYCHOLOGY  
FOR THE GENERATION WHO CAN ABOLISH WAR

by  
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**Part 3 - Footnotes**

## FOOTNOTES

1. The Freedom Charter of the African National Congress became the vision that inspired their overthrow of the apartheid system and establishment of a peaceful democracy in South Africa. The Charter's demands of democracy, human rights and an economy of peace are essential for a culture of peace, and they can serve as a vision for peace activists throughout the world. Most of its provisions are universal in character and many are not yet fulfilled even in the richest countries.

## FREEDOM CHARTER

### PREAMBLE

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people.

That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

That only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we the people of South Africa, black and white, together-equals, countrymen and brothers - adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

### THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All the people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same regardless of race, colour, or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

### ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts, and in the schools, for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal rights to use their own language and to develop their own folk cultures and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

#### THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industries and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

#### THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-divided amongst those who work for it, to banish famine and land hunger.

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tiller;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any government official;

The courts shall be representatives of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crime against the people, and shall aim at re-education; not

vengeance;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

#### ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organize, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by the law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass laws, permits and all others laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

#### THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognize the right and duty of all to work and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

#### THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

#### THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalization shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, crèches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

#### THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a full independent state which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation - not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates - Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland - shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all the people of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognized, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

"THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE,  
THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY."

2. The analysis of steps of consciousness development is drawn rather loosely from Soviet activity psychology as found in *Methodological and Theoretical Problems of Psychology*, by Boris F. Lomov, Science Publishers, Moscow, 1984. A rather similar analysis is implicit in the study by Jerome Frank and Earl Nash (*Commitment to Peace Work*, **American Journal of Orthopsychiatry** 35, 106-119, 1965) in which they interviewed anti-war activists and asked them how they had come to be active. In particular, Frank and Nash called attention to the importance of anger, action, and affiliation. There is also a strong similarity between the approach used here and that described by Paulo Friere in his well known book, **Pedagogy of the Oppressed** (Continuum Publishing, New York, 1970).

3. The present book is based upon my study of the U.S. peace movements, copyright in 1985 and entitled: **The American Peace Movements: History, Root Causes, and Future**. I undertook that study because I am convinced that psychology must be rooted deeply in the historical context, and our historical context is concerned with war and peace. At the same time as that book was written, a more traditional history, totally ignoring the role of the Left in the peace movements of the 1930's and early Cold War, was published under the title: **The American Peace Movement: History and Historiography**, by Charles Howlett and Glen Zeitzer, American Historical Association Pamphlet 261.

4. Not only is there a logical sequence to these six steps of conscious-ness, but we also find them described in rough chronological order in the autobiographies and biographies of the great peace activists. This is demonstrated by the following table that lists the page numbers in the source books for the quotations that are cited in this book. Asterisks indicate quotations that would not be expected to occur in chronological order because they are later retrospections about the step of consciousness involved.

Addams: **Book I - Twenty Years at Hull House**, Macmillan, 1910.

**Book II - The Second Twenty Years at Hull House**, Macmillan, 1930.

**Peace and Break in Time of War**, Macmillan, 1922.

Balch: **Improper Bostonian: Emily Greene Balch**, by Mercedes M. Randall, Dwayne Publishers (New York), 1964.

Caldicott: **Nuclear Madness; What You Can Do!** Bantam Books, 1978.

Day: **The Long Loneliness**, Harper & Bros., 1952.

Debs: **The Bending Cross: A Biography of Eugene Victor Debs**, by Ray Ginger, Rutgers University Press, 1949.

DuBois: **The Autobiography of W.E.B. DuBois**, International Publishers, 1968.

King: **Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story**, Harper & Bros., 1958.  
**My Life with Martin Luther King, Jr.**, by Coretta Scott King, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969.

Mandela: **Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela**, Little Brown and Company, 1994.

Muste: **The Essays of A.J. Muste** (Sketches for an Autobiography), edited by Nat Hentoff, Simon and Schuster, 1967.

Pollack: **Sandy Pollack: Her Life**. U. S. Peace Council, 1985.

Russell: **The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell**, republished by Simon & Schuster.  
 Volume I, 1961, Allen and Unwin.  
 Volume II, 1968, Allen and Unwin.  
 Volume III, 1969, Allen and Unwin.

SOURCE ACQUISITION ANGER ACTION AFFILIA- INTE- WORLD  
 TION GRATION HISTORIC

Addams	63,76-7 115*,121*	68	85	151	Peace & Bread 139	II-7 II-380-1
Balch	48	124	133	157,171	396	345,346
Caldicott		4,4	4,5	90*		70
Day	38, 78, 138	77, 121*	50-1	229*	151,171	Preface*
Debs - Ginger	21			450*	205,347	
Debs -Writings	44	8	43, 45-7	424		44,45, 427,433
DuBois	112,170*					
King - Stride	29,131* 104-106*	39,42, 102*121* 132-3* 136-7*	21, 35-6			

King - My Life	97,224*			163	300	292*,312, 4*
Mandela		89	89,376	215,514	592	617,604, 479,123, 124,474, 612,113
Muste	5,46		51-2	57,84-6		149
Pollack	8		9,11	17,21		11-26
Russell	I-185	II-6, II-21,41	II-17	II-35		III-186 III-328

In addition to the sources listed above, a few quotations in the text are derived from additional sources. Quotations from A.J. Muste on pages 25, 41 and 53 are from **Abraham Went Out: A Biography of A.J. Muste**, by Jo Ann Robinson, Temple University Press, 1981, pages 21, 25, and 141 respectively, and the long quotation from Muste on page 53 is from **Peace Agitator, the Story of A.J. Muste**, by Nat Hentoff, Macmillan, 1963, page 16. The quotes on pages 16 and 22 from Helen Caldicott are from an interview with here published in the **New Haven Advocate** May 5, 1986. The quotes on pages 25, 48, and 50 from Martin Luther King Jr. are taken from his tribute to W.E.G. DuBois printed in **Freedomways**, 1968, Second Quarter, pages 104-111. The quotations from biographies of Bertrand Russell and Jane Addams on pages 36 and 43 are from **The Life of Bertrand Russell** by Ronald Clark, London, 1975 (page 603), and **The Life and Legend of Jane Addams**, by Allen Davis, New York, 1973 (footnote 435 on page 306).

5. In a scientific paper, *The Role of Anger in the Consciousness Development of Peace Activists: Where Physiology and History Intersect* (International Journal of Psychophysiology, 1986, 4: 157-164) I argue that "anger is the personal fuel in the social motor that resolves the institutional contradictions that arise in the course of history." In addition to autobiographical citations such as those in the present book, I examine the evolution of anger, beginning with anger that is triggered by attributes of the opponent (in rodents), to anger that is triggered by actions of the opponent (in primates), to anger that is triggered by injustice (in humans). Drawing on the work of J.R. Averill (**Anger and Aggression: An Essay on Emotion**, Springer, 1984), I conclude that most human anger is anger at perceived injustice, and that anger, rather than being a negative emotion, is one that often leads to positive results in interpersonal relations and in the processes of history.

6. My own experience with police-sponsored terrorism came during the Vietnam War when I was working as a journalist with the community newspaper **Modern Times** in New Haven. A series of terrorist bombings during the fall of 1969 against the headquarters of multi-national corporations culminated just before the largest of the national peace demonstrations in November. Mass media headlined the bombings and used them to dissuade people from going to the Washington demonstration because of the "danger of violence". The small group who did the bombings were then arrested after the demonstration and put on trial. Some were members of the "underground" newspaper called, appropriately, "The Rat." But the person who supplied the dynamite and the expertise never came to trial because he was a government agent. A similar event had happened the



year before in New Haven where one of the leaders of the anti-war protest, a Black militant who was one of the "Seven Angry Men" was arrested for a plot to dynamite various public buildings. Once again the dynamite was supplied by someone working for the government. In those days, we came to assume that anyone who spoke about dynamite was a government agent.

7. For readers who are interested in brain physiology, the evidence for the direct neural inhibition of anger by fear is contained in the following publications: Motivational Systems of Agonistic Behavior in Muroid Rodents: A Comparative Review and Neural Model, **Aggressive Behavior**, 6: 295-346, 1980 (see pages 328-329); J.W. Mink and D.B. Adams, Why Offense is Reduced When Rats Are Tested in a Strange Cage, **Physiology and Behavior**, 1981, 26: 567-573; and Brain Mechanisms for Offense, Defense, and Submission, **The Behavioral and Brain Sciences**, 2: 201-241, 1979.

8. For many of the readers of preliminary versions of this book, the question of anger has been the most controversial. One effective activist wrote to me, "There is a wealth of scientific research showing that anger is a harmful emotion. Indeed, my own observations are that peace groups tend to be much less angry than groups that oppose peace groups. True, even many peace groups slip into some anger on occasion. I think that this weakens the impact of their work and certainly does not strengthen it or given it energy....We don't need another firebombing for peace and I am afraid that that is where anger too often leads." Another person wrote that "I would focus on love and oneness rather than anger, because I believe that the great problems of injustice in society are not solved at all by the behavior of activists...activists end up becoming just like the aggressor, if you will. I have found no love in any of the peace groups in which I have been involved, and certainly no peace. All I have experienced is anger and aggression. In my view this is not transcendence, but rather a perpetuation of the stalemate." This latter comment is from a psychotherapist who has been, as indicated, both active and affiliated, but has given up on it. I think that it supports the view that anger, and the acceptance of anger, is necessary for consciousness development. For a history of the suppression of anger in U.S. history, see **Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in America's History**, by Carol Zisowitz Stearns and Peter Stearns, University of Chicago Press, 1986.

9. In a study of student activism, Sarah Bosch and I found that students who believe that war is part of human nature are less likely to engage in peace activism. This seems to be a true causal relationship because the correlation holds up after other factors are removed by the statistical method of partial correlations, including the influence of family, friends and school, belief about the efficacy of action, and level of anger. Our paper, entitled The Myth That War Is Intrinsic to Human Nature Discourages Action for Peace by Young People, has been published in the book **Essays in Violence** by Ramirez, Hinde and Groebel, University of Seville, Spain, 1987. Our results replicated preliminary findings reported from Finland by the peace researcher Riitta Wahlström. Dr. Wahlström and I were among 20 scientists who took part in drafting The Seville Statement on Violence, which states categorically that war is not intrinsic to human nature:

#### STATEMENT ON VIOLENCE

Believing that is our responsibility to address from our particular disciplines the most dangerous and destructive activities of our species, violence and war; recognizing that science is a

human cultural product which cannot be definitive or all-encompassing; and gratefully acknowledging the support of the authorities of Seville and representatives of the Spanish UNESCO; we, the undersigned scholars from around the world and from relevant sciences, have met and arrived at the following Statement on Violence. In it, we challenge a number of alleged biological findings that have been used, even by some in our disciplines, to justify violence and war. Because the alleged findings have contributed to an atmosphere of pessimism in our time, we submit that the open, considered rejection of these mis-statements can contribute significantly to the International Year of Peace.

Misuse of scientific theories and data to justify violence and war is not new but has been made since the advent of modern science. For example, the theory of evolution has been used to justify not only war, but also genocide, colonialism, and suppression of the weak.

We state our position in the form of five propositions. We are aware that there are many other issues about violence and war that could be fruitfully addressed from the standpoint of our disciplines, but we restrict ourselves here to what we consider a most important first step.

IT IS SCIENTIFICALLY INCORRECT to say that we have inherited a tendency to make war from our animal ancestors. Although fighting occurs widely throughout animal species, only a few cases of destructive intra-species fighting between organized groups have ever been reported among naturally living species, and none of these involve the use of tools designed to be weapons. Normal predatory feeding upon other species cannot be equated with intra-species violence. Warfare is a peculiarly human phenomenon and does not occur in other animals.



Signing of the Statement on Violence at the University of Seville, May 16, 1986.

*photo credit: Lindsay Mathews*

The fact that warfare has changed so radically over time indicates that it is a product of culture. Its biological connection is primarily through language which makes possible the coordination of groups, the transmission of technology, and the use of tools. War is biologically possible, but it is not inevitable, as evidenced by its variation in occurrence and nature over time and space. There are cultures which have not engaged in war for centuries, and there are cultures which have engaged in war frequently at some times and not at others

IT IS SCIENTIFICALLY INCORRECT to say that war or any other violent behavior is genetically programmed into our human nature. While genes are involved at all levels of nervous system function, they provide a developmental potential that can be actualized only in conjunction with the ecological and social environment. While individuals vary in their predispositions to be affected by their experience, it is the interaction between their genetic endowment and conditions of nurturance that determines their personalities. Except for rare pathologies, the genes do not produce individuals necessarily predisposed to violence. Neither do they determine the opposite. While genes are co-involved in establishing our behavioral capacities, they do not by themselves specify the outcome.

IT IS SCIENTIFICALLY INCORRECT to say that in the course of human evolution there has been a selection for aggressive behavior more than for other kinds of behavior. In all well-studied species, status within the group is achieved by the ability to cooperate and to fulfil social functions relevant to the structure of that group. "Dominance" involves social bondings and affiliations; it is not simply a matter of the possession and use of superior physical power, although it does include aggressive behaviors. Where genetic selection for aggressive behavior has been artificially instituted in animals, it has rapidly succeeded in producing hyper-aggressive individuals; this indicates that aggression was not maximally selected under natural conditions. When such experimentally-created hyper-aggressive animals are present in a social group, they either disrupt its social structure or are driven out. Violence is neither in our evolutionary legacy nor in our genes.

IT IS SCIENTIFICALLY INCORRECT to say that humans have a "violent brain." While we do have the neural apparatus to act violently, it is not automatically activated by internal or external stimuli. Like higher primates and unlike other animals, our higher neural processes filter such stimuli before they can be acted upon. How we act is shaped by how we have been conditioned and socialized. There is nothing in our neurophysiology that compels us to react violently.

IT IS SCIENTIFICALLY INCORRECT to say that war is caused by "instinct" or any single motivation. The emergence of modern warfare has been a journey from the primacy of emotional and motivational factors, sometimes called "instincts," to the primacy of cognitive factors. Modern war involves institutional use of personal characteristics such as obedience, suggestibility, and idealism, social skills such as language, and rational considerations such as cost-calculation, planning, and information processing. The technology of modern war has exaggerated traits associated with violence both in the training of actual combatants and in the preparation of support for war in the general population. As a result of this exaggeration, such traits are often mistaken to be the causes rather than the consequences of the process.

We conclude that biology does not condemn humanity to war, and that humanity can be freed from the bondage of biological pessimism and empowered with confidence to undertake the transformative tasks needed in this International Year of Peace and in the years to come. Although these tasks are mainly institutional and collective, they also rest upon the consciousness of individual participants for whom pessimism and optimism are crucial factors. Just as "wars begin the minds of men," peace also begins our minds. The same species who invented war is capable of inventing peace. The responsibility lies with each of us.

Seville, May 16, 1986

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10. Every mass peace movement in this century in the U.S. has been attacked by anti-communism, and in many cases actually destroyed. When William Jennings Bryan ran for President in 1900 on an anti-imperialist platform put forward by the Anti-Imperialist League, he was attacked by his Vice-Presidential opponent Theodore Roosevelt, as "communistic." The People's Council of America, the mass opposition to World War I was literally smashed by government agents who seized their mail, raided their offices, and imprisoned their leaders - all in the name of anti-communism. The peace movement of the 1930's opposed to the rise of fascism was split into two competing organizations, one that included Communist participation and the other that was based on anti-communism. The opposition to the Cold War that culminated in the Wallace Presidential campaign was not only destroyed by anti-communism, but is not even mentioned in today's "official" histories of

the peace movement (see footnote 3). And opposition to the Vietnam War was set back by the anti-communism of the traditional peace movement organizations such as SANE who refused to take part in demonstrations alongside such organizations as SDS because they were "communist." For further details, see **The American Peace Movements** (footnote 3) and the references listed therein.

11. With the end of the Cold War, people tend to forget certain accomplishments of the socialist countries in the development of a peace economy. They avoided the cyclical overproduction and crises of unemployment of the capitalist countries and the exploitation which characterizes the relations of the major capitalist powers to the developing world. The latter is documented by the lead article of the November 29, 1985 issue of **Science**. In this article the dean of Rand Corporation's graduate school, a Pentagon supported think-tank, shows that the net flow of wealth was from the Soviet Union to the smaller socialist countries and the Third World, a flow which was actually increasing rather than decreasing at the time. This was in contrast to the US. and other Western powers who profit greatly from their foreign economic relations. The author asks what are the benefits of Soviet foreign economic relations and replies that they are "prestige, political prominence, Russian national pride, and justification for the sacrifices imposed on the Soviet populace by the Soviet system." These reasons are quite different from the basis of imperialism according to the classic definition of Hobson: the use of government machinery to secure economic gains abroad.

12. The overall effect of military production in U.S. society should be considered as a negative factor in any accounting of the economy's strength. This is explained by economist Lloyd Dumas in **The Overburdened Economy**, University of California Press, 1986. The development of peace economies would be aided by a new approach to the study of economics following along the lines proposed by Professor Dumas in this book.

13. See my article, Internal Military Interventions in the United States, **Journal of Peace Research**, Vol.31, no.2, 1995.

14. At one time it was thought that fear would be a good motivation for attitude change (e.g. for Madison Avenue advertising, health education, etc.). However, when the relevant studies were done, it was found that fear is not an effective motivation for changing attitudes and behavior. Instead of changing their attitudes, people tend to become more resistant to change when they are made afraid. For a technical review of the scientific studies, see *Effects of Fear Arousal on Attitude Change*, by Irving L. Janis, **Advances in Experimental Social Psychology**, 3: 167-224, 1967.

15. For many who work in the mass media, the decision to emphasize pessimistic rather than optimistic news is probably made without any particular awareness of its effects, and simply as a consequence of the fact that optimistic news often tends to involve criticism of advertisers (e.g. news of trade unions and community organizing) and the military-industrial complex (news from the peace movement). For others, however, the use of pessimism can be a deliberate device as part of the culture of war. In his article, *CIA Psychological Warfare Operations* (*Science for the People*, pp. 6-11 and 29-37, January/February, 1982), Fred Landis carefully documents how the CIA emphasized and fabricated pessimistic news as part of their psychological warfare when they took over the operation of newspapers in countries on the verge of revolutionary change. In particular he documents the transformations of the newspapers *El Mercurio* in Chile, *Daily Gleaner* in Jamaica, and *La Prensa* in Nicaragua after they were taken over by the CIA.