

DISARMAMENT times

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by UN NGO COMMITTEE on DISARMAMENT, PEACE & SECURITY

“NEVER BEFORE HAVE
VIRTUALLY ALL TRACKS
OF NEGOTIATION ON
NUCLEAR MATTERS
COME TO A STANDSTILL
SIMULTANEOUSLY,
NOR EXISTING TREATIES
FALLEN SO FAR INTO
EROSION...”

*Nonproliferation
Scholar/Expert
Andrei Arbatov*

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EDITOR'S NOTES

by CHARLES ROSENBERG

THIS ISSUE MARKS A NEW DEVELOPMENT IN THE evolution of *Disarmament Times*. As you can see, we sport a fresh look. Credit goes to a pro bono commitment by Sara Nicoletti Altimari Suttle, a professional graphic designer for numerous non-profit and governmental publications and websites. We thank her for her generosity. Our intention is that a crisper, strong contemporary design will intrigue more point-of-contact (“take one”) readers, and inspire our regular supporters. In general, we aim to focus our content more tightly. We have gone to print only, evoking images with words alone and abandoning photographs, a concession to the uncertain quality and uneven availability of our sources. A clear hierarchy of lead and secondary articles, a profile of an interesting actor in the world of disarmament, peace and security, and messages from our committee’s President and yours truly will be our regular format. We hope you like it.

In this number notable observer Alexei Arbatov of the Carnegie Moscow Center offers an expert critique of the multivariate decay of global safeguards and norms in nuclear arms control, sounds the alarm, and advocates for a way back. We profile Reverend Chris Antal’s first-hand encounter with the questionable ethics of drone warfare and his struggle to live out his obligations as a military chaplain. And while our new format has ruled out the lengthy discourse of previous book reviews, in our new Book Shorts we are continue to draw your attention to works of special value.

We invite your comments. Please share your copy, or send your friends our way. Our hope is to continue to build a community of informed advocates. Drop me a note at chuckrrose2@gmail.com if you wish, especially with ideas for authors and stories. Our bimonthly digital edition, eNEWS, can come free to you for the asking at disar-mediator@gmail.com. Thanks for all you do for peace and a more secure world. ■

The logo for Disarmament Times, featuring a small icon of a globe above the word "DISARMAMENT" in all caps, and the word "times" in a large, lowercase, serif font below it.

Editor

CHARLES ROSENBERG

NGO Committee on Disarmament,
Peace, and Security

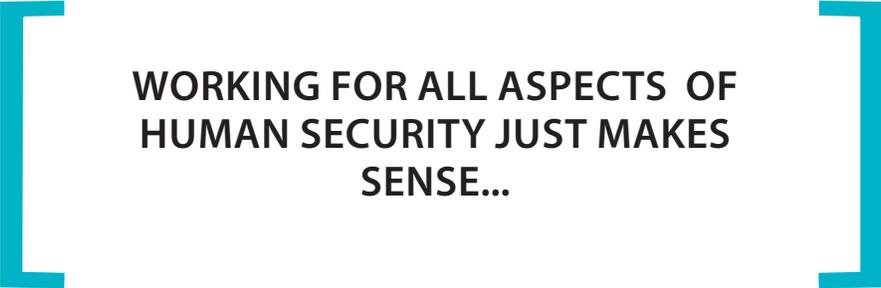
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OVER THE PAST WEEKS, OUR NGO COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT, PEACE AND SECURITY was very involved with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Conference. Concurrently, many of us helped organize and marched in the Peace and Planet mobilization, which called for the abolition of all nuclear weapons, and for robust action to combat climate change and racism.

In the mobilization's themes, linking global disarmament with climate change and racism seems dubious, but it did succeed in motivating people. Most folks want drastic reductions in weaponry. But many who sincerely seek a disarmed world do not count this issue as primary. Often their immediate economic well-being is most important, or climate change and racism weigh as critical concerns. By bundling

A MESSAGE

from NGOCODPS
PRESIDENT BRUCE KNOTTS



**WORKING FOR ALL ASPECTS OF
HUMAN SECURITY JUST MAKES
SENSE...**

together issues we hope to gain significant support for disarmament, peace, and security. In the final analysis, if we want a safe and dignified life for all of us, we need peace. For peace we need to disarm and to provide security for people and nations. We must get serious around climate change. Finally we must end racism and all forms of bias and intolerance.

Taking a holistic approach to these issues may prove more effective than stove piping issues into competing categories. Some say that I should set aside my advocacy for sexual orientation/gender identity human rights and work only for peace, or only against climate change. Such entreaties anger me. I'm not going to deny who I am, nor stop fighting for safe and dignified conditions for everyone regardless of sexual orientation and gender identity. But empower me to work for this cause AND also work for peace and against climate change, and you have my full commitment. Thus bundling issues can result in greater support for all. Working for all aspects of human security just makes sense. Undiscouraged, we continue the struggle for a more peaceful, healthy and just world. ■

A CRISIS NEGLECTED

by ALEXEI ARBATOV

THE UKRAINIAN DRAMA HAS PERSISTED IN THE WORLD'S attention for more than a year, competing only with the military offensive and Internet-broadcasted atrocities of the Islamic State. Meanwhile yet another crisis is looming in the background, one not presently associated with mass casualties and material damage...but one that may eventually have far greater destructive consequences. This crisis gathers force in the domain of nuclear arms control, in both its principal aspects – limiting nuclear weapons and ensuring their nonproliferation. Taking as a point of departure the first practical nuclear limitation treaty — the Partial Test Ban of 1963 — for the first time in the half-century history of nuclear arms control the world is facing a real prospect of losing legal management over this most horrific instrument of devastation ever created.

THE SYMPTOMS OF CRISIS

TRUE, IN THIS PERIOD THERE WERE TIMES WHEN THE PROCESS of nuclear arms control came to a stall: signed treaties did not enter into force (or were denounced), and negotiations seemed at impasse. But never before have virtually all tracks of negotiation on nuclear matters come to a standstill simultaneously, nor have the existing treaties fallen into erosion under the impact of politics and technological developments, nor have the planning for next steps become so dubious.

Also true, the two key treaties on nuclear weapons reductions — 2010's new START, 1987's Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF)—are still in force. But both are under political attack inside Russia and the United States, and their future is by no means assured. The U.S. rejects any limitation on their Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) program, and won't be ratifying the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) of 1996. Russia is not agreeing to any limitation of its sub-strategic nuclear arms. Within Russian policy elites there are calls for withdrawal from the INF, new

“ THE PROCESS AND REGIME OF NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION HAS ALSO ENTERED A PHASE OF DISINTEGRATION. VIRTUALLY NOT A SINGLE POINT OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT OF THE 2010 NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE HAS BEEN IMPLEMENTED.

START, CTBT and even the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). During the Ukrainian crisis there was “loose talk” about nuclear weapons, and speculation over provocative options of nuclear arms employment in local conflicts, such as have not been heard since the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

Beyond the two major nuclear powers, the other seven nuclear states have not budged toward accepting agreed limits on their nuclear forces. Rather they put the pre-condition that the “Big Two” have to get down much closer to their’ numerical levels (implying an order of magnitude reduction, given 80% cuts since 1991, which is hardly realistic).

The process and regime of nuclear non-proliferation has also entered a phase of disintegration. Virtually not a single point of the Final Document of the 2010 NPT Review Conference has been implemented, including the agreement to hold the Conference on the WMD-Free Zone in the Middle East. In contrast to all the hopes raised by the late 2013 negotiations on the Iranian nuclear program, the parties have still failed to turn the interim agreement (Joint Action Plan) into a long-term comprehensive settlement, and the goal of reaching the agreement this summer is uncertain. Negotiations with DPRK are in limbo for many years now, with little prospect of resumption – much less a successful conclusion. There is a high risk of yet another fiasco of the NPT Review Conference in May 2015. The negotiations on the Fissile Materials Cut-off Treaty (FMCT) in Geneva have been deadlocked for many years. The US-Russian Comprehensive Threat Reduction program (“Nunn-Lugar program”) was terminated in 2013, and cooperation between the two states on the safety/security of nuclear sites and materials ended in 2014. For the first time Russia has declared that it would not attend the next nuclear security summit (2016: dealing with the safety and security of nuclear materials and energy objects worldwide). Although the crisis over Ukraine has greatly exacerbated the »

- » unraveling of nuclear arms control, the former has not caused the latter. The weakening became obvious in 2011 and started probably as early as the end of the 1990's. There are multiple sources for this crisis, which differ in their nature.

THE ROOTS OF CRISIS (I)

ONE DRIVER IS INTERNATIONAL POLITICS PER SE. IN CONTRAST TO the Cold War decades, the new world order after the Soviet collapse of 1991 had moved nuclear weapons limitation to the background of geostrategy. Local conflicts, international terrorism, and expanding proliferation became the key concerns. This shift drew in second-tier states with quite different agendas and ambitions into international security interaction. After the historic breakthroughs of 1987-1997, which “rode the wave” of post-Cold War euphoria, the nuclear arms limitation process began to suffer from neglect, with an absence of clear priorities and consistently phased goals—and so it continues.

If strategic partnership were the “new normal” in great powers’ relations, and the threat of nuclear war approached zero – what was the aim of arms reductions? Was mutual deterrence still the essence of strategic interaction? Did the notion of strategic parity and stability (i.e., insuring mutual second strike capability at lower numerical levels) still apply? What were the updated goals, other than transparency, confidence building, and safe utilization of the Cold War surplus inventory of destructive power? If this Cold War potential peaked at 1.6 million Hiroshima equivalent, was the 30-40 thousand “hiroshimas” adequate after the 2010 New START implementation, and if not, what would be the realistic goal? None of these questions generated a well substantiated answer—rather abundant wishful thinking and appealing rhetoric on all sides.

THE ROOTS OF CRISIS (II)

OTHER REASONS FOR THE CURRENT CRISIS ARE STRATEGIC AND technological. Developments in the areas of non-nuclear BMD systems and long-range precision guided offensive weapons, and

their proliferation to other states beside the Big Two, are diluting the long-standing conceptual framework of bilateral nuclear arms control. The third states' buildup and development of nuclear arms and ballistic missiles increased the effect. The proliferation of nuclear energy technologies and materials also blurs the line between peaceful and military use. Peaceful nuclear energy is morphing from an NPT reward for non-nuclear status into a legal way of developing the potential for prompt acquisition of nuclear arms – getting at the “nuclear threshold” to satisfy prestige or security ambitions. The NPT is still one of the greatest security treaties in history, but during the 40 years since its conception, geopolitical and technological developments raise doubts on the adequacy of its formerly crystal clear articles.

What is the definition of “nuclear weapon” (NPT, Art. I), or the meaning of “not to receive” or “otherwise acquire a nuclear weapon” (Art. II)? How to overcome the signatories' reluctance to make voluntary agreements on IAEA safeguards more stringent (Art. III)? How to ensure that nuclear materials/technologies acquired under the NPT for peaceful purposes (Art. IV) are not used for military goals after treaty withdrawal (Art. X)? Refining these articles and adopting stricter interpretations is critical (cf. the 1997 Additional Protocol and the modified Code 3.1). But this requires the agreement of all 198 NPT member-states, badly split on so many issues, including the new multi-dimensional confrontation between Russia and the U.S plus NATO. Finally, how to assess the fulfillment of the Article VI obligation on nuclear disarmament, which has become a never ending subject of controversy and political posturing at NPT conferences? According to the Article, nuclear-weapon states “undertake to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament.” This sequence looked reasonable when the Treaty was

» being developed. At that time (1968) the U.S. had just completed a crash cycle of ballistic missile buildup. Up until 1972, the USSR had been catching up at an accelerated pace. Common assumption: the arms race was to stop, and the arms reduction process was to begin. The reality turned out to be far more complicated. After imposing restrictions on strategic delivery vehicles, the parties started increasing the number of warheads by deploying multiple warhead ballistic missiles and arming bombers with cruise missiles. During the 1980s and 1990s they had been modernizing their strategic forces by introducing new weapon types while drastically reducing absolute quantity.

At present, the U.S. and Russia no longer compete with each other in a “classic” nuclear arms race. During the past 25 years the weapons count has decreased substantially, thanks mainly to Russian-American agreements and unilateral steps. Nevertheless, Russian nuclear forces are being modernized as they are reduced, and the U.S. plans to do the same after 2020. So, in a sense, Article VI has been complied with: the arms race was stopped, and nuclear forces have been drastically reduced through disarmament. But paradoxically, with the nuclear arms states developing and deploying new nuclear-weapon systems, the NPT objective of total disarmament seems as distant as ever.

CURING THE CRISIS

THE “END OF HISTORY” OF NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL MAY BE avoided only through peaceful resolution of the Ukrainian crisis, and learning the lessons that provoked it. But this will not be enough. The world’s expert community urgently needs to conduct an aggressive search for new concepts and methods that can authentically adapt nuclear arms control to contemporary realities. Let us first disentangle the knot of problems by segregating technical questions of assurances regarding BMD capabilities, negotiating separate limits on long-range precision-guided offensive weaponry, and reducing sub-strategic nuclear arms. Against this background

a search should start for innovative formats for applying limits and confidence-building measures to the nuclear forces of the third nuclear states. This would help to refine the NPT's norms and institutions by developing a more stringent regime for non-proliferation of missiles and missile technologies. Difficult, true; but the bigger challenge is to restore cooperative relations among the key global and regional powers, adapted to the emerging post-post-Cold War world order. Molded through patient negotiations, not through arbitrary resort to military force or economic sanctions, among its central pillars must be reborn nuclear arms control, shaped to reflect contemporary technological and geopolitical realities. ■

Alexei Arbatov is currently Scholar in Residence in the Carnegie Moscow Center's Nonproliferation Program. A former member of the State Duma, Professor Arbatov is the author of numerous books, articles, and papers on global security, strategic stability, disarmament, and Russian military reform.

ENDNOTES

1. Брезкун С. Договоры должны соблюдаться, но – лишь с добросовестным партнером [Brezkun S. Dogovory dolzhny soblyudat'sya, no – lish' s dobrosovestnym partnerom [Pacta Sunt Servanda, But With Responsible Partners Only]] (In Russ.). Available at: http://nvo.ng.ru/concepts/2014-08-22/4_dogovor.html (accessed 19 January 2015). Зарубежные СМИ: Путин угрожает Западу ядерным оружием [Foreign Mass Media: Putin Menaces the West with Nuclear Weapons]. Available at: <http://therussiantimes.com/news/12416.html> (accessed 19 January 2015). Бойцов М. Терминология в военной доктрине [Boitsov M. Terminologiya v voennoi doktrine [Terminology of the Military Doctrine]]. Available at: http://nvo.ng.ru/concepts/2014-10-31/10_doktrina.html (accessed 19 January 2015). Сивков К. Право на удар [Sivkov K. Pravo na udar [Right to Strike]]. Available at: <http://vpk-news.ru/articles/19370> (accessed 19 January 2015). Marshall T.C., Jr. Hagel Praises Army's Strength, Resilience. Available at: <http://www.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=123425> (accessed 19 January 2015). Kroenig M. Facing Reality: Getting NATO Ready for a New Cold War in Survival, Feb.-Mar. 2015, Vol. 57., No. 1, pp. 58-60, 62, 64.

AN ARMY CHAPLAIN IN THE DRONE ERA

by CHARLES ROSENBERG

THE REVEREND CHRIS J. ANTAL IS A HUSBAND, A FATHER OF FIVE, an outdoorsman of sorts, a keeper of a carp pond in the Japanese tradition, who ministers his Unitarian Universalist flock of 75 souls in the exurban town of Rock Tavern, west across the Hudson from Beacon, New York. A captain in the U. S. Army Reserves, he also serves as chaplain to the 354th Movement Control (MOVCON) Battalion at Fort Totten in Queens, and provides pastoral counsel to veterans at the Montrose and Castle Point locations of the VA Hudson Valley Health Care System. That he is permitted to serve at all as a military officer is the remarkable part of his story, which he shared with us in a café in Beacon. From September, 2012 through February, 2013 Chris Antal was an Army chaplain to a signals battalion supporting the 3rd Infantry Division at Kandahar Airbase in southern Afghanistan. He reminded us that the role of the chaplain, there as in all wars, is “to nurture the living, to care for the wounded, and to honor the dead”.

The lattermost responsibility centers on a ceremony that has its own grim beauty, with ancient roots in the profession of arms. In the words of a recent essay of Antal’s: “as the remains (of the American war dead) leave the combat zone to the U. S. ...a flag-draped casket is carried by soldiers across the tarmac up the ramp of the C-17...transport plane; the soldiers salute; the chaplain reads the name, age, and hometown of the fallen and shares a few words about surviving family, then reads scripture, and prays. Finally, TAPS is played on a bugle. The ceremony says this life mattered.”

His presence at these ceremonies granted him access to the restricted flight line, where he could watch “UAV’s” (drones), some armed with Hellfire missiles, some observational, take off and land on their mystery-shrouded assignments. He was troubled with questions. As his essay recalls, “Who did we kill?”

WHAT

was their name? Where did they live? Who had loved them?” The contrast between the respectful solemnity of the ceremony he helped enact for Americans bound for Dover Air Base in caskets, and the anonymity of the imagined victims of the drone strikes, was stark. And what was the drone mission, anyway? Who piloted them? From where? (An Air Force base in the Western U. S. and a CIA station in Pakistan were the best guesses.) Who made the targeting decisions? Who accounted for mishaps, the deadly “collateral damage”?

At the base this was not a safe subject for inquiry. His unit had no operational connection with drone strikes, and it was emphatically not his business as an Army officer. He thought that, as a minister to soldiers, a citizen, and as a person of conscience, perhaps it was his business. The definitive independent analysis of the drone program, *Living Under Drones: Death Injury and Trauma to Civilians from U. S. Drone Practices in Pakistan*, had recently been co-published by the Stanford and NYU Law Schools, was available on the Internet, and made for sobering reading (<http://www.livingunderdrones.org/download-report/>).

He found out that less than a month after he had deployed to Afghanistan, a grandmother who lived just over the hill from his base was out gathering okra in a field when she was apparently killed by an American drone strike. Official sources claimed they killed “militants” that occasion. Of course Chris never witnessed the strike, only the drones taking off and landing as he read out the names of the American dead. But months later he read reports and heard the testimony of the woman’s 13-year-old grandson Zubair Rehman, who watched her blown to bits by two missiles, and lived thereafter in fear of the blue sky itself, the source of sudden death from above. It was hard for a father of five, aged 10 to 15, to absorb this, but moreover, as a thinking » person, in his words, “I concluded our drone strikes were harm-

•THE
CHAPLAIN'S
ROLE: "TO
NURTURE THE
LIVING, TO
CARE FOR THE
WOUNDED, TO
HONOR THE
DEAD"•

» ing innocent people, in a manner that seemed...both disproportionate (*an element of "just war" theory, Ed.*) and unnecessary. This method...was (also) in conflict with deeply held military values like courage, honor, and integrity. (Further) Army regulations state clearly that chaplains are 'obligated to speak with a prophetic voice against issues of moral turpitude in conflict with Army values.'"

While privately sharing some of his thoughts with chaplain colleagues and the small Unitarian Universalist congregation he had built under the Army's rubric of a "distinctive faith group practice"—distinct from his wider non-denominational duties—it seemed inappropriate to raise his concerns more overtly on-base, so on Veterans' Day 2012, identifying himself as a minister in New York State, he posted "A Veterans' Day Confession for America" on the Unitarian Universalist site, A Quest for Meaning, in the form of a poetic testimony (full text at <http://www.questformeaning.org/military-2/a-veterans-day-confession-for-america/>). Parts of it are blunt, e.g., "We have sanitized killing and condoned extrajudicial assassinations...war made easy without due process, protecting ourselves from the human cost of war./We have deceived ourselves...denying the colossal misery our wars inflict on the innocent."

His respectful but passionate questioning attitude—we can say from our interview that Chris Antal, a straightforward, clear-eyed fellow, has nothing of supercilious piety—had somehow begun to draw attention and suspicion among more gung-ho fellow officers. He received an insulting and accusatory email from an Army lawyer in his Guard unit, citing his post. It was quickly followed by a summons from his commanding officer, who excoriated him, saying "you make us look like the bad guys" and "the message does not support the mission". Antal responded that he would take the post down. He also noted that no one he worked with was permitted to have any knowledge of the secret mission of the drone program, so what mission was it that he was failing to support?

That was not enough to satisfy his command's desire to punish;

he was investigated, grounded from travel, and officially reprimanded by a letter from a general officer at Division (normally a career-ending action). The efforts of a sympathetic military counsel in representing his appeal were successful in accomplishing local retention of the letter (i.e., within the Division in Afghanistan). He was sent home with a “do not promote” evaluation, however, and released from the National Guard into reserve status. With a desire to continue to serve, he fought back through his elected legislator, Senator Gillibrand; her congressional inquiry resulted in a supportive call from the Army’s Office of the Chief of Chaplains at the Pentagon, where there is a more nuanced understanding of the multiple duties and loyalties of the chaplain. Over the next months

as re-activated, and in May, was promoted to Captain.

The role conflict of the military chaplain is perennial. Not a few commanders see a chaplain in largely utilitarian terms, as psycho-spiritual repair and lubrication for the efficient war-fighter, so he (and now she) can return to the fight reassured. Ideally, a chaplain’s hierarchy of allegiance is to his God, his denomination, his personal belief, the Constitution, and through the latter, to his officer’s oath of service. Chris Antal wanted to serve, as his father did in the U. S. Navy off the coast of Vietnam. His intention was to serve the soldier and the military, not ever-increasing militarism, out-sourcing, and non-accountable, and therefore--to his mind--unjust killing. The American political, military, and intelligence leadership argues that the drone program is way more discriminating in targeting, and way more modest in scale, if compared with the long arc of mechanized warfare and total war: trends that emerged in Crimea and the American Civil War and persisted through the trench slaughter of the Great War and on to the random descents of the V-2’s on London and Coventry, the incendiary bombs on Dresden and Tokyo. But this does not exculpate it. The moral hazard of UAV’s could not be clearer. In a painstaking and thorough assessment of just this issue, John Kaag and international lawyer

PHILOSOPHER

» Sarah Kreps (herself a U. S. Air Force veteran), remind us of Plato's use in his *Republic* of the folk tale of Gyges. A poor shepherd discovers a magic ring that confers the power of invisibility. Using the ring he seduces the queen of the land, plots with her, and under the shroud of invisibility murders the king, weds the queen, and enjoys a life of luxury and authority without any consequences. Plato asks, whence our disgust at this? What we see is that expediency and impunity are not moral justifications.

The stress burnout factor among drone pilots at Creech Air Force Base in Nevada (*New York Times*, June 17, 2015) suggests more than the cognitive dissonance of a day split in shifts, between aerial assault and parent-teacher meetings. Only an unambiguous enemy target, not easy to verify with full certitude, as the recent and inadvertent killing of two American hostages attests, would exempt a pilot from guilt. And perhaps for some, the question of a warrior's honor gnaws at the soul.

The Reverend Antal now bears witness as a citizen. Among his recent initiatives is shareholder advocacy: encouraging citizens to acquire Honeywell, Inc. stock, as he has done, so that the company's manufacturing of drones and operational support of drone warfare can be challenged in shareholders' meetings, etc. He alerts his friends and parishioners of February's lifting of the U. S. export ban on drones, a catalyst for the expanding global market for the weapons. He works with the "drone quilt" traveling exhibit, quilts whose every panel memorializes the verified death of an innocent in a drone strike.

And in essence he asks, "What moral values do drones embody...where is justice, where is courage and honor?" ■

BOOK NOTE

by CHARLES ROSENBERG

The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined

by Steven Pinker

696 pages. Viking.

Hardcover ISBN:

978-0-670-02295-3.

STEVEN PINKER, A DISTINGUISHED PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY AT Harvard well-known for his work on language and cognition, has brilliantly synthesized a stunning range of research in the fields of history, economics, sociology, psychology, and cognitive science, to produce this work arguing that over the course of history human violence has diminished radically in amount and type—and inquires into the most likely and supportable factors that make it so.

With 696 pages of text, 33 pages of references, 114 graphics and charts, it can certainly be called a “tome,” but a refreshingly readable one. Pinker’s engaging prose style and wit leavens the sometimes grim evidence from forensic archaeology and other sources—but his datasets and data analysis have their own surprises and pleasures. He dismisses the conventional notion that we live in a particularly violent era in history. His evidence demonstrates that a person is safer from violent death and violence against his person right now than at any time in human history, and at every level, from domestic, to local communities, to inter-tribal, and inter-state.

Pinker shows that, while the experience of living under sovereign rule may be draconian at times, the formation of nation-states with their exclusive control over violence comprised the historical giant step in the developmental continuum from hunter-gatherer tribes, which turn out to be demonstrably violent (in contrast with their romanticized Edenic image), to contemporary societies. He identifies six major trends that make up the arc of diminishing violence and devotes a chapter to each.

As to our present prospects for peace and security. Pinker shows us that his “Four Better Angels” of empathy, self-control, moral sense, and reason, as they interact, have brought us a long way. But there are no guarantees. A Kennedy or Khrushchev whose character was mired in pre-modern notions of “honor”—one of Pinker’s demonic forces—could well have triggered World War III . . . reason prevailed. ■

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