



# Is Ending War Possible?

A proposal by Dr. Judith Hand  
A Future Without War

[www.afww.org](http://www.afww.org)

MOVING FROM  
A CULTURE OF VIOLENCE  
To  
A CULTURE OF NONVIOLENCE

A PROPOSED PLAN OF ACTION TO SHAPE HISTORY

JUDITH HAND, PH.D.  
FOUNDER: A FUTURE WITHOUT WAR.ORG

THE STEPS THE WORLD HAS BEEN TAKING FOR PEACE ARE NOT WORKING FAST ENOUGH.  
SOMETHING DIFFERENT IS NEEDED.

**Our Mission**

- ✧ To live in and raise our children in a culture of non-violence.
- ✧ To shift our societies from a culture of violence to a culture of nonviolence by ending war.
- ✧ To energize a worldview change in hearts and minds as we work to make such a profound and historic shift.
- ✧ To foster a rejection of violence as a way to solve problems, leaving a legacy of non-violence.

**The Four Necessary Prerequisites for Ending War**

- ✧ The deeply-held belief that achieving such a goal is possible and a plan: strategy and tactics for how to achieve the goal.
- ✧ Leaders unreservedly committed to executing the plan.
- ✧ A critical mass of global citizens who state their desire and need to end war.
- ✧ A core of workers who will execute the plan.

## ✧ SUMMARY ✧

THERE MUST BE A STIMULUS TO UNIFY THE WORLD AROUND NONVIOLENCE!

ENDING WAR CAN BE THAT STIMULUS. IT CAN BE AN ENGINE  
TO DRIVE SUCH A PARADIGM SHIFT

War is the ultimate expression of a “dominance” paradigm for resolving conflicts: a person or group uses physical force to achieve his, her, or their objectives. We’ve expressed this paradigm in the form of war for roughly 10,000 years.

Because war is arguably the greatest violence we do to each other, a campaign to put an end to war would be, by its very existence, a powerful statement that the global community no longer accepts the domination-by-violence paradigm.

Moreover, efforts required to end war embrace such an extraordinarily broad array of human endeavors that a campaign to end war, more than any other single thing, will be capable of uniting the global community with a campaign of nonviolence. In this way the campaign becomes an engine driving an actual global paradigm shift at the level of hearts and minds from violence to nonviolence. Finally, we need to both illustrate and demonstrate for our children our commitment to nonviolence.

### **STEPS REQUIRED TO PUT SUCH A MOVEMENT INTO MOTION**

- ✧ Set up founders, leadership, partners, and facilitators.
- ✧ Select a powerful name for the campaign that resonates deeply across diverse global populations.
- ✧ Develop a strategy and plan of action based on nonviolence.
- ✧ Recruit luminaries, globally recognized persons to be the spokespersons of the movement to the media and to potential recruits.
- ✧ Hire experts in fundraising, promotion, communication.
- ✧ Establish measurable goals and demands to prevent and stop war.
- ✧ Plan a global, media-catching launch that makes a clear statement that violence is no longer an acceptable working paradigm, that a campaign to shift the paradigm for dealing with human conflicts from violence to nonviolence has begun and the focus will be on stopping war.
- ✧ With the above elements in place, launch!

### **BASIC TOOLS ALREADY KNOWN TO WORK**

1. The great diversity of campaign stakeholders can be unified using a mechanism pioneered by the International Committee to Ban Landmines (ICBL).
2. The campaign must be energized and led from two directions: grass roots organization and individuals, and leaders who are experienced in the successful use of the primary tool of the campaign...nonviolent civil disobedience.

### **TWO VITAL COMPLEMENTARY APPROACHES**

**Constructive Programs** – essential efforts that target ending war and maintaining a future without war, such as those described in Nine Cornerstones.  
([www.afww.org/logo.html](http://www.afww.org/logo.html))

**Obstructive Programs** – the variety of strategies and tactics of nonviolent direct action: e.g., marches, demonstrations, boycotts, sit-ins, civil disobedience.

[THE FOLLOWING EXPLANATION FOR WHY AND HOW A CAMPAIGN CAN WORK IS FROM THE LONGER ESSAY, “SHAPING THE FUTURE” AT [WWW.AFWW.ORG/SHAPING THE FUTURE.HTML](http://WWW.AFWW.ORG/SHAPING%20THE%20FUTURE.HTML)]

## HOW IS ENDING WAR POSSIBLE?

When I founded A Future Without War.org I wasn't concerned with shaping a massive social revolution or creating secure communities for children. As an evolutionary biologist and expert in gender differences, I was narrowly focused on why we make war and differences in roles of men and women that lead to making war. *A secondary issue, however, was whether it is possible, even in theory, to stop making war.*

Biologically speaking, war is **NOT inevitable**—a concept I have devoted research toward and provided documentation for in my books and website, incorporating cutting-edge work of a small core of anthropologists, evolutionary biologists, and ethologists. Nevertheless, to overcome the worldview that war *is* inevitable as well as war's entrenched existence, a purposeful campaign to eliminate it must be huge—but not as difficult as it first sounds. Education plays a part, but the campaign must encompass many problems which seem unrelated to each other or war, but which in fact are underlying causes of war and are therefore stepping stones away from it. I've grouped these many focus areas into nine “cornerstones.” For example, approaches that take account of our inherent biology would include: Shift our Economies, Empower Women, and Foster Nonviolent Conflict Resolution. [Essays detailing the status of all nine cornerstones and their relationship to ending war can be found on the website [www.AFutureWithoutWar.org](http://www.AFutureWithoutWar.org).]

Of course, many organizations whose efforts are essential to putting a permanent end to war are already working tirelessly but separately on the nine “cornerstones.” Unfortunately, they lack unification or a common voice. They certainly haven't yet prevailed over the world's urges for war. Efforts such as the League of Nations and the United Nations have so far failed to deliver on their most basic founding goal. Many conflagrations have been mediated or stabilized, but the war business machine grinds on. These many efforts, and certainly military “solutions,” equate to fire-fighters who stomp out one blaze while ten more break out.

Not only are military actions not truly solutions, history teaches that unless there is some coordinated intervention, the war machine will find a way to co-opt and undermine the separate transformative efforts to achieve peace of every generation. Without a paradigm shift to a worldview that rejects violence, the use of violence to dominate others will remain unchanged, a self-fulfilling vicious cycle.

The good news is that our basic biology also indicates that the means to unite vast numbers of people across boundaries of religion, nationality, politics and race is to build a movement on a shared universal. What better universal than the biologically based love that all people have for not only their children, but all children!

## HOW DO WE ACCOMPLISH THE ENORMOUS CHALLENGE OF ENDING WAR?

How can we mount such a herculean effort? What follows is a speculative “how to” for igniting a revolution. It is based on our shared concern for all children. To achieve our goal, a paradigm of our dominant cultures must change, viz. that war is inevitable,

that dominating others using violence is part of our biology, and the best we can do is manage our inescapable wars to limit their damage. This untrue belief is the single biggest barrier to ending war.

***If we don't believe ending war is possible, then we won't expend the time, energy, and creativity to fashion a future without war.***

As improbable—as amazing—as it may at first sound, a focus on preventing and ultimately eliminating wars has the power to unite diverse legions of individuals and organizations—which now have no shared goal. By doing so—following the kind of plan proposed below—this unity brings with it the capacity to create a global engine that would drive a worldview shift to a future where humanity's default operating paradigm is nonviolence.

This process works by achievable, step-by-step milestones and is based on an already proven successful approach used to guide directed social change pioneered by the International Committee to Ban Landmines (ICBL). Partners would be unified by an umbrella entity that, for simplicity, I'll call F.A.C.E.—For All Children Everywhere. The logic is that, along the way to the goal of safe and healthy communities free from war for our children, we also reduce violence in other areas of our lives.

The number of potential partner organizations and individuals who would benefit from joining the effort is countless: groups working on environmental and economic sustainability, groups united to eliminating weapons of war, organizations working to eliminate poverty and disease, NGOs insisting on the establishment of human rights and justice, and many others.

Once many such groups have agreed to participate in F.A.C.E., a powerful global intention is proclaimed. Along the way toward their varied existing goals they have embraced the added mission of seeing an end to war. Over time and with growing success, such a movement undergirds a growing mindset, a belief, a vision—a shift. If nonviolence becomes a mainstream concept instead of an idealistic notion held by fringe elements and miscellaneous do-gooders, resources lavished on war economies could be diverted to address social and ecological mega-catastrophes that loom ahead if the world community maintains business as usual.

#### F.A.C.E.

**Above all, F.A.C.E. would be an awareness movement to raise the world's consciousness that a massive shift toward nonviolence is possible and is being initiated now.** The F.A.C.E. concept uses nonviolent direct action to apply pressure to speed social change.

The goals and structure of the movement are detailed below, but here are the basics:

- ✧ No dues are required to be a movement partner, only willingness to participate.
- ✧ No bureaucratic structure would dictate how partners should contribute.
- ✧ Members would be free to perform whatever aspect of the work best fits their own mission, political culture, and circumstances. Continued membership is predicated upon participation (not just "joining")
- ✧ F.A.C.E. partners would join simply by signing up on the website and agreeing to a statement such as:

*"I/we believe it is possible to shape a future for our children and theirs that is more egalitarian, just, ecologically sustainable, and nonviolent. I/we will participate to*

*the best of my/our ability with the other partners in this history-changing effort.  
I/we do this for the sake of all children everywhere, now and into our future."*

From this basic collective statement, we have the mighty engine of a paradigm shift. The simple beauty of the F.A.C.E. concept is that where there seemed to be a well-meaning but divided plethora of charitable, dedicated volunteers with patchy effectiveness, the world would sense, instead, a mighty entity whose members could quickly outnumber all the world's armed forces combined. By focusing on shared optimism of a goal to prevent and ultimately end wars, organizations tackling a rogue's gallery of our self-inflicted ills would be a force powerful enough to overcome the violence paradigm. Hundreds of thousands of groups would stand in mighty opposition to war.

F.A.C.E. would not be a bureaucracy, but a hub with a singular focus, an ongoing basis of cohesion and momentum. F.A.C.E. would not be the location of actual work and planning, with a huge staff and many departments. It would not be something dictated from the top down. The work and planning would be done by the partner organizations, and at local, regional, national, and international meetings. The job of the relatively small F.A.C.E. staff of facilitators would be to keep everyone aware of what all partners are doing, to provide information to the media, and to provide coordination when the entire F.A.C.E. body engages in shared, direct action.

### **The Importance of Measurable Goals**

Having vague or non-measurable goals makes it virtually impossible for a people's movement to keep activists and supporters optimistic and energized, particularly over long periods of time. Activists must see and feel the winning of intermediate skirmishes and that their movement has forward momentum. Lacking measurable goals, a long-term project wallows and ultimately dies. An advantage of adopting as the shared goal "the prevention, and ultimate elimination, of war," is that intermediate goals as well as the end goal itself are measurable.

It is not to end conflict, of course, which is an impossibility. It is not to eradicate murder or even domestic violence—behaviors we find even in societies that do not practice war. It's not to do away with the necessity for peacekeeping and peacemaking, which, given our biology, will be necessary into the foreseeable future. It's not to teach peace, a necessary effort. But how *do* you measure and powerfully illustrate ultimate success and intermediate steps as you teach peace?

The goal is to end the building and deploying of armies tasked to kill people. When there are no ongoing wars anywhere on the planet, we will be close to full success. Many examples of swift, shaped cultural change indicates that, when sufficient resources are committed, we can reach this level of success—no ongoing wars—in two generations or less from the time we resolve to do it. And when there have been no wars for many lifetimes, we will have achieved total success.

Measurable intermediate goals must be set up. F.A.C.E. partners could adopt a country for an allotted period of time and concentrate everyone's efforts on making measurable changes to support that country as a fully-fledged democracy on the path to a positive and nonviolent future. Given recent history, Liberia comes to mind as a good possibility. Or the partners could initiate a new cause: e.g., the promotion of a United Nations Resolution to ban the use of aerial drones as killing weapons. Or the

partners could mobilize to use nonviolent strategies to apply pressure to financial interests that benefit from war, or to legislative entities considering crucial policies such as the elimination of nuclear weapons. It's important that the partners' choices for shared action must be carefully selected to produce successes! Success creates optimism, optimism creates belief, and belief recruits more organizations, citizens, and even governments to the campaign.

### **Project Coordination (A Modified ICBL Process)**

Happily, a tested model already exists for how to inspire diverse organizations with what appear to be totally unrelated goals into a powerful movement with one shared goal. This is the operating concept for the International Committee to Ban Landmines developed by the Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Jody Williams and those who worked with her. Such a highly flexible mechanism can recruit, unite, and ignite legions. Described by Ms. Williams as "massively distributed collaboration," this model can, with modifications, serve to coordinate the work of F.A.C.E..

The ICBL concept is detailed in *Banning Landmines: Disarmament, Diplomacy, and Human Security* by Jody Williams, Stephen Goose, and Mary Warham. Perhaps most significantly the ICBL process provides for guiding input from both top and bottom. There is no limit to the number of grass roots partners that can provide input at local, regional, national, or global meetings. Grass roots input is further ensured if members of the final decision-making council are elected by the membership. For reasons having to do with male and female biology, such a council should always be composed of roughly equal numbers of women and men, any bias being toward women.

It must be stipulated as a "**must**" that final decisions about actions to be simultaneously embraced and carried out by all partners must be decided by agreement among an elected, but workably small, council composed of roughly equal numbers of women and men. This ensures that

- 1) no one individual, or small set of individuals, can dominate decisions,
- 2) the probability will be high that the bias toward nonviolence and collaboration will be maintained over the decades likely required to achieve this enormous shift, and
- 3) loss of any one individual will not cripple or end the effort.

Another desirable feature of the ICBL process is that partners do not change anything they are presently doing. Any plans and projects which are now the focus of their organization, or that they create as years pass, would continue on. Moreover, in addition to the plus to them of ultimately ending war, by joining forces and networking with others, partners can inform other partners about what they are doing, and when interests overlap, work synergistically. Their membership would also grow since people who want to be a part of this exciting and historical overarching movement will generally participate by becoming a member of one or more partner organizations.

### **Funding**

F.A.C.E. will require the services of many experts, including skilled fund-raisers. Initially, funding needs will be modest. Over time, funding requirements will grow, but with successes, funding sources will also grow. Financial needs will doubtless become substantial to succeed in creating a massive cultural shift. A nonviolent future will not

be won cheaply. Nothing important is ever won cheaply. And sufficiently inspired, the global community has the capacity to make the necessary financial investment.

Physical conferences allow for face-to-face sharing of ideas and successes and are irreplaceable, but applications for teleconferencing and online meeting software would allow partners to network while keeping costs down, and would allow campaign facilitators to keep partners and media aware of the campaign's status at all times.

To determine the most effective course of action, the movement should go high-tech. F.A.C.E. facilitators can task topnotch systems analysts to determine 1) how best to make sure the work of all partners with their many diverse concerns is synergistic, 2) what are weak points of the war system toward which the movement should direct attention, and 3) in what order. The movement can use "crowdsourcing"—calling on ordinary citizens to volunteer their help in addressing how best to foster reinforcing interactions between the movement's many organizations.

### **Founders and Potential Partners**

Who would be the founding mothers and fathers of the campaign to end war?

- Surely this founding group should include any organization already focused on creating a global paradigm shift away from using violence to resolve conflicts. To name just a very few examples (and forgive me if I do not mention your group...there are thousands):  
A Future Without War.org, Alliance for Peacebuilding, Alliance for a New Humanity, Code Pink, Earth Charter Initiative, Global Center for Nonkilling, Global Zero, Metta Center, International Action Network on Small Arms, International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons, International Center for Nonviolent Conflict, Network of Spiritual Progressives, Nonviolent Peaceforce, Quakers, Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, United Nations, Veterans for Peace, Wiser Earth, Women International League for Peace and Freedom, and World Social Forum.
- Women's organizations focused on peace and poverty issues: organizations like Global Fund for Women, Institute for Inclusive Security, Millennia2015.org, Peace X Peace, Soroptimists, UN Women, Voices of Women, Women for Women, Women's Actions for New Directions.
- Every peace institute on the globe would surely want to be a partner.
- Faith groups that have already rejected participation in war are natural potential allies: Amish, Bahai, Church of the Brethren, Jehovah's Witnesses, Mennonites, Quakers, Seventh-day Adventists, Unitarian Universalists.
- Humanist organizations on all continents, dedicated to advancing the wellbeing of humanity, would be excellent founding partners.

The list of groups, large and small, that could conceivably become founding or general partners is enormous.

### **Aspects of Promotion and the Keys to Success**

**Using Media** - Mohandas Gandhi used the media to get out the word, not only to his followers but to the world, that change was coming to India. Other successful social change activists, for example the U.S. suffragist Alice Paul and her collaborators, also understood media power. These suffragists marched. They held the first picket in front of the U.S. White House. When newspapers reported that Alice was being force-fed in prison simply because she wanted the vote for women, it had an enormous



galvanizing effect for her cause. In our age, the power of television and social media like Facebook and Twitter is so great that dictators under siege block access to them.

From its beginning, F.A.C.E. must employ the best promotional and media experts it can afford. As years pass, sustained input to the media will keep the partners energized, recruit new ones, announce plans and successes to the world, and ultimately, such media will be the place to declare victory...goal achieved!

**Name** – “Framing” refers to the power of words to advance a cause or idea or even to sell a product. Using the wrong words can hurt or fatally undermine an effort. Since the campaign to end war must be a peoples’ cause, not the cause of elitists, giving it a high falutin’, elitist name will weigh it down with boots of lead rather than empower it with wings of light. The name chosen must capture attention and command passion. It must inspire willingness to make sacrifices. Ideally the name should be a constant reminder of the goal. A group of thinkers proposed the name “For All Children Everywhere: a Partnership for Nonviolence and the Prevention of War.” F.A.C.E. for short. Whatever name is ultimately chosen, it should convey purpose and optimism, touch the heart and resonate at the deepest possible positive psychological level.

Then imagine people and media observing a F.A.C.E. celebration or rally. First, they always see a banner emblazoned with the words “From Violence to Nonviolence.” And participants wear something identifying the group—caps, T-shirts, or headbands for example—with the letters F.A.C.E. on them. The observers ask, “What does F.A.C.E. stand for?” The answer, “For All Children Everywhere,” would surely lead them to ask further questions, including, “What exactly is it you intend to do for all children, and how does this event fit into the plan?” This becomes a moment for recruiting.

**Focus** – A serious weakness of many social movements is lack of focus. There are so many problems. All people want their particular problem addressed. Meetings become a deluge of ideas, solutions, and projects....the majority of which are never acted upon. Although, as described, this movement has vast ramifications, the movement itself has a narrow focus: it is a movement for nonviolence and the prevention of war in order to create safe, secure, and healthy places in which to raise children. While its many partners focus on related concerns, this is the movement’s singular goal. Every decision made and action taken must be vetted by that singular filter—a move toward non-violence and the prevention of war.

**Luminaries** – Media stars are also campaign essentials. In the past, lasting social-change efforts typically had a charismatic or luminary person at their heart. Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr. are famous examples. Stars are key to raising financial resources. They are hooks to which the media can attach their stories. They are role models that inspire participants and attract recruits. Global Zero makes good use of high profile people. This project seeks the elimination of nuclear weapons. Their website lists over 100 “signatories,” all influential people and many genuine luminaries like Queen Noor of Jordan, former presidents of their countries Jimmy Carter, Mikhail Gorbachev, Mary Robinson, and entrepreneurs like Richard Branson.

Unless F.A.C.E. recruits from the beginning at least a handful of internationally famous and well-respected men and women to be its face to the world community, it is unlikely to break through age-old habits of thought to reach hearts and minds with the possibility, the hope, that this vast change can actually happen. [see examples of individuals who could qualify in the essay at [www.afww.org/ShapingTheFuture.html](http://www.afww.org/ShapingTheFuture.html)].

Furthermore, slightly more than half of these luminaries, and those who take their places over the years, must be women. The call to make this change for our children can be especially powerfully made if it comes from mothers, grandmothers, daughters, aunts, and sisters...not just fathers, uncles, sons, and brothers.

**Coming Together** – When will these essential leaders awaken to this monumental, historical challenge? Will they in fact awaken? Or will the historical moment for this great transition pass unrealized? In 1848, the founding mothers of the U.S. women’s suffragist movement convened at Seneca Falls to decide how to proceed. They created a manifesto, and then got down to work. Their vision and effort ultimately triumphed.

How would the founding fathers and mothers of the F.A.C.E. campaign coalesce? Perhaps heads of organizations focused on hastening a positive, global paradigm shift might convene to adopt the ICBL working concept, and then reach out to recruit essential luminaries. Or perhaps luminaries and heads of groups belonging to one or more of the nine “cornerstones” would find each other at meetings where their paths naturally cross, like the Clinton Global Initiative or a Davos World Economic Forum.

**Launch** - The next step would logically involve months—or perhaps a year or even two during which the founders would lay the groundwork for launch day. They would set up a team of facilitators. They would reach out to organizations around the globe, inviting potential partners to a stakeholder meeting. They would let groups around the world know that a global launch is scheduled for such-and-such a date. They would explain what “spectacular event” the F.A.C.E. luminaries and core partners themselves are planning for that day, perhaps a global march for nonviolence or an around-the-world, let’s-end-war concert. They would ask this multitude of organizations and their members to participate on that day in whatever way they choose, but all would be carrying or wearing the F.A.C.E. banner or logo. The global media would be notified. Then imagine the impact when, on the same day all over the globe, this movement announces that the war-business-as-usual is OVER! That what has begun is a movement to shape history, to dismantle the war machine, to create a new perception of how to live in peace with each other and in harmony with our planet, and that the movement invites everyone willing to agree to the manifesto to join the cause.

**People Power** - Ultimately the movement, a peoples’ movement, must be given force by the energy, passion, and work of legions of citizens on every continent, in as many nations as possible and of every religion, political affiliation, and philosophy—the project’s indispensable engine of change. These legions are out there, waiting to be united and inspired to change the future for the sake of their children.

### **How the Shift Will Look Over Time**

Shortly after launch, the global community must see action, perhaps F.A.C.E. rallies or demonstrations monthly for the next year. And very soon they must see results. Intermediate goals must be set and achieved. The key to recruiting success will be that all partners apply pressure by whatever means they choose to achieve a shared goal, and when the goal is achieved, the partners join in highly visible celebrations. The strategy, as much as possible, is to go from victory to victory. Every five years a Grand Assembly could be convened to celebrate successes and reassess the projects direction, and equally important, to capture the attention of all possible media.

It would be a serious tactical blunder to suggest to partners, recruits, or the media that a Great Cultural Change from violence to nonviolence will happen quickly. Paradigms of this magnitude do not shift quickly, certainly not on a planet-wide scale. But cultures and paradigms do change, and if enough pressure is applied, they can change quickly. Given sufficient resources, we could put an enduring, global peace system in place in two generations or less. And while we work to accomplish that goal, we raise awareness and hope and promote shifts in thinking and belief that will in fact move the global culture from violence to nonviolence in all aspects of our lives.

What such a movement can provide is a vision of a grand and historic shared goal that is greater than self to which we can call our young people. It will offer to the world a powerful message of how we intend to channel our global ethos in the direction we choose, inspired by a sense of shared responsibility and love for our children. A shift that might be called a Nonviolence Revolution.

The website [www.afww.org](http://www.afww.org) provides essays, a blog, book and movie reviews, newsletters, and more, all addressing the subject of why we make war, why we have the ability to end war, what it would require of us to end war, and how such a goal can be achieved within two generations of the time that the global community begins the campaign to end war.