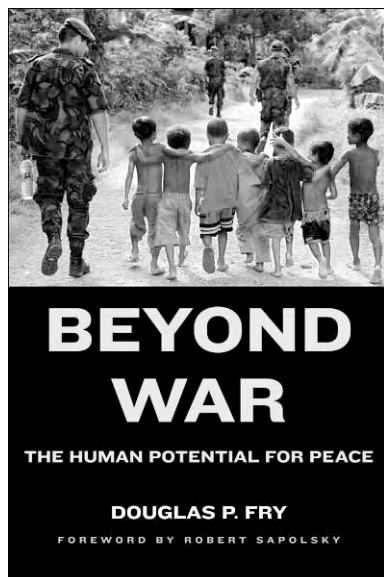


Review

## THE MANY PATHS TO PEACE



- 1 IS HUMAN nature essentially warlike? *Beyond War: The human potential for peace* will reassure anyone who would like to think humans incapable of peace. In a broad look at our species with a special focus on hunter-gatherers, social anthropologist Douglas Fry documents groups of people that have lived entirely without war for decades or more. So war is not inevitable. Furthermore, when war does happen it takes a variety of forms depending on how the societies involved are organised. Such unpredictability, Fry claims, justifies a major conclusion: war does not have evolutionary roots and can therefore be stopped.
- 2 This is a passionate book containing a tidy account of systems of war and peace. Yet for all his care, Fry's conclusions are quirky at best. Take his claim that war was rare among nomadic hunter-gatherers.
- 3 This would startle anyone who has read about the appalling inter-group violence that sometimes touched the lives of hunter-gatherers, from the Arctic to the tip of South America. Fry justifies his assertion by being peculiarly restrictive in his definition of war. For instance, among the Andamanese hunter-gatherers who live on islands in the Bay of Bengal, men of one group (the Jarawa) are known to have killed any members of a neighbouring group (the Aka-Bea) whenever they encountered them. In Fry's view this was feuding so it does not count as war. **10**, he excludes the practice of "maringo" by Australian aboriginals of the Murngin tribe, though it is defined as a surprise revenge attack by a group, always involving woundings or death.
- 4 If Fry chooses not to call these lethal attacks on neighbouring groups "war", that is his prerogative. But such attacks have long been known to have been the principal form of inter-group violence in small-scale societies, and were responsible for far more deaths than battles, which were relatively rare. Excluding them makes his conclusion about the rarity of war in primitive societies highly misleading.
- 5 Certainly there have been some hunter-gatherers who in recent history did not attack their neighbours, such as the Semai people of the Malay peninsula and the Mbuti from the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Remarkably, Fry treats such

cases as models of Pleistocene life without reminding us that those people lived in tiny groups adjacent to politically powerful farmers or pastoralists whose military superiority would have made any attempt at violence absurd. Instead of seeing this as evidence that people know when not to fight, as I would, Fry uses them to reject the view that warfare is ancient, natural and an intrinsic part of human nature.

6 What he really needs, but does not discuss, is an account of violence and peace among hunter-gatherers who lived surrounded by other hunter-gatherers. That would be an enormously better model of the Pleistocene. I believe I know what he would find. To judge from studies such as those of anthropologist Ernest Burch on the Inupaiq of Alaska, external warfare (meaning in this case lethal violence towards those who speak a different language or dialect) would regularly have been persistent and brutal.

7 Fry does not hide his biases. He has written a work of advocacy because, he says, “If war is seen as intrinsic to man, then there is little point in trying to prevent, reduce, or abolish it.” We can sympathise with his distaste for violence and his wanting to do something about it. There is merit, too, in reminding us that there are many routes to peace. But he appears as if in a time-warp from the culture wars of the mid-20th century, when “biological” was taken to mean “inevitable” rather

than what it implies today: a selected tendency that responds to circumstance in ways that make sense.

8 Fry may claim the moral high ground when he asserts that the notion of a peaceful evolutionary history for humans will make violence less likely in the future. In reality, there is nothing about his anthropological recipe for peace that rests on the view that war is unnatural. He says, for example, that we should “utilise conflict management processes in place of war”. Quite. So would someone who thinks that war has deep roots in human prehistory.

9 Fry’s notion that an evolutionary analysis will lead to apathy in the face of threat is patently untrue. People like David Hamburg and Robert Hinde have been writing about the evolutionary roots of violence since the 1970s while also working at the highest levels to devise means of preventing war and genocide. Such efforts depend on a serious understanding of the biological propensities that tragically make humans vulnerable to the allure of inter-group violence, rather than on unrealistic visions of a prehistoric Eden. ●

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## Tekst 6 The many paths to peace

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- 1p 9 Which of the following agrees with the contents of paragraph 1?  
According to Fry,  
**A** a proper organisation of society goes a long way towards preventing war.  
**B** examples of peaceful societies in the past can be the key to peaceful coexistence.  
**C** man is not genetically disposed towards war.
- 1p 10 Which of the following fits the gap in paragraph 3?  
**A** Ironically  
**B** Likewise  
**C** Nevertheless  
**D** To be fair
- 1p 11 What is implied in "If Fry ... his prerogative." (first sentence of paragraph 4)?  
**A** Fry did not do his homework properly when he researched his book.  
**B** Fry has every right to stress the differences between wars.  
**C** Fry rightly points out the importance of using correct terminology.  
**D** Fry's definition of war does not cover the true nature of war.
- 1p 12 What point does the reviewer make about the Semai and the Mbuti (paragraph 5)?  
**A** Their lack of violence can be attributed to their isolated geographical situation.  
**B** Their peaceful existence was based on common sense rather than on their good nature.  
**C** They did not in fact live as peacefully as Fry would have the reader believe.  
**D** They somehow managed to keep their militant neighbours at a safe distance.
- 1p 13 What makes the "Inupaiq of Alaska" example (paragraph 6) more relevant than Fry's examples (paragraph 5)?  
**A** The Inupaiq lived close to groups similar to their own.  
**B** The Inupaiq openly waged war on their neighbours.  
**C** The Inupaiq were an aggressive people by nature.  
**D** The Inupaiq were at war in a very remote area.
- 1p 14 What mistake does Fry make according to the reviewer (paragraph 7)?  
**A** Fry assumes that something that is natural is therefore inescapable.  
**B** Fry claims that biological instinct hardly affects human behaviour.  
**C** Fry confuses the frequency of wars with the idea of their inevitability.  
**D** Fry is too eager to propagate pacifist ideals.

- 1p **15** Which question lies at the heart of paragraph 8?
- A** Can anthropological research make a difference to the amount of violence in the world?
  - B** Does one's view of war make a difference to the development of strategies to contain it?
  - C** Have humans become more successful at managing violent conflict over the centuries?
  - D** Will the human potential for peace ever prevail over the human potential for warfare?
- 2p **16** Geef van elk van de volgende beweringen aan of deze wel of niet in overeenstemming is met de inhoud van de alinea's 8 en 9.
- 1 Fry believes that his view of war and violence will contribute to a more peaceful society.
  - 2 Hamburg and Hinde have fewer illusions about human nature than Fry has.
  - 3 Fry overlooks the fact that evolution itself has been a story of constant struggle.
  - 4 The reviewer is convinced that peace can only come about by understanding that warfare is in man's nature.
- Noteer het nummer van elke bewering, gevolgd door "wel" of "niet".
- Uitgevers adverteren graag met citaten uit boekrecensies waarin het boek in een zo gunstig mogelijk daglicht komt te staan.
- 1p **17** Citeer de eerste twee woorden van de **eerste** zin uit deze recensie die voor dit doel gebruikt kan worden.

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**Bronvermelding**

*Een opsomming van de in dit examen gebruikte bronnen, zoals teksten en afbeeldingen, is te vinden in het bij dit examen behorende correctievoorschrift, dat na afloop van het examen wordt gepubliceerd.*