Some things we can say about "primitive warfare" (dubious term):

1) Not about territory.

Seizing women (Yanomamo) & pigs is closest it gets to being about wealth

2) **Feud** = important

"These people's wars and raids yield neither prisoners, territory, nor plunder. They fulfill the obligations of the living toward the slain -- in fact, the ghosts of the slain. Unavenged ghosts bring sickness, unhappiness and possibly disaster. It is for this reason that they go to war -- and because they like to."

Feud not so foreign to us:

- gang warfare
- Northern Ireland
- Mid East
- soccer hooligans in UK

Strange way killing binds together villages in Dead Birds. Locked together in endless cycles of reciprocal killing. Each killing brings village together in commemoration.
3) **Rules**: no raiding at night or during celebration of killing (Dead Birds)

Wait til each side is in position to fight (Dead Birds) -- like eighteenth century armies.

Axe-fights: only use blunt side of blades

Yanomamo agree not to use bows & arrows

All forms of warfare rule-bound, but the rules differ.

Looks to an outsider like Hobbesian anarchy, but it isn't

4) **Warfare is chaotic**:

Very individualistic (dead birds & Ilongot)

though Yanomamo at least take it in turns to look out for ambush and cover one another.

Discipline = one of great achievements of Western warfare:

- drilling (**Foucault** writes on this in Discipline and Punish)

- getting men to stand ground while charged and to rely on others to shoot with them at assailants

We'd criticize Ilongots’ & New Guineans’ lack of tactics & discipline

They criticize immorality of our form of warfare where one man orders another into danger
5) **Fight to show will & save face.**

(Don't always really want to fight & kill? -- Chagnon).

Similar to Western chivalric code & Wild west code of manliness.

Do we see anything similar in U.S. behavior?

6) **Killing as spiritually invigorating.**

Killing man = "tonic to the soul" (Dead Birds).

Resonance with WWI discourse

7) **Raiding as game with score & turn-taking.**

 cf. Elaine Scarry on was as an "injuring contest"

8) **Women and children fair game for New Guineans.**

Yanomamo not supposed to kill women -- tho can rape them

Our distinction between combatants & non-combatants doesn't seem to apply -- though war = very gendered: for men to do.

(Are feminists right that it's not women as victims but women as fighters that male soldiers can't stand?)
9) **War as rite of passage for men** (cf. Ehrenreich):

Ilongot men get red hornbill earrings when take a head

10) **More wounding than killing**

Death ends fighting pretty much (Ilongot & Dead Birds)

Wounds as mnemonics:

Yanomamo skulls with scars

Chopped fingers in New Guinea

bleeding soccer fans having photo taken as souvenir