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Asian-Arab Philosophical Dialogues on War and Peace



Asian-Arab Philosophical Dialogues on War and Peace

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PREFACE

Dialogue is essential for developing a better understanding of not only others, but even ourselves. Dialogue is an exchange between different people, communities, and entities. The papers in this volume are written by individuals expressing their own opinions at conferences convened in the context of dialogues between philosophers in the Asia-Pacific and Arab regions. Their publication is aimed to broaden intercultural communication, to strengthen the role of philosophy in public policy, and to promote the teaching of non-Western philosophies around the world.

These dialogues have been held over the past five years in Seoul, Rabat, Hiroshima, Paris, and Bangkok. These dialogues occurred in the United Nations Decade of the Culture of Peace with the coordination of the Regional Unit for Social and Human Sciences in Asia and the Pacific (RUSHSAP) at UNESCO Bangkok, UNESCO Rabat, and UNESCO Paris, and the efforts of academics throughout the world. The Interregional Philosophical Dialogue project was born from a resurgence of interest in and a strengthening of philosophy within UNESCO, supported by member countries. As people in many countries of the world express dismay at the directions that society is pursuing, some are reminded of the former important roles of philosophers as navigators of the courses that societies should take.

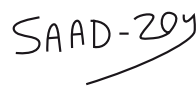
There have been five working groups established in the Asia-Arab Interregional Philosophical Dialogues including: 1. Challenges of globalization to philosophy and democracy; 2. Philosophy facing the challenges of modern technology; 3. The roles of philosophy in war and peace; 4. Human dignity and philosophy; 5. Philosophy and environmental ethics.

In this volume we especially thank Dr. Nassrine Azimi and colleagues at the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), Hiroshima, and Dr. Glen Kurokawa, for convening a joint UNESCO-UNITAR Dialogue in July 2008, where some of these papers were presented. We appreciate the encouragement of many philosophers, especially Professors Ali Benmakhlouf and Insuk Cha, and Mrs. Moufida Goucha and Dr. Pierre Sane of UNESCO Paris. We also appreciate the assistance of Ms. Raine Boonlong, Mr. Jonathan Kougl, Ms. Nydja Mercer-Bey and Dieter Schlenker in the preparation of the edited volume.



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Towards a Trans-cultural Ethics of Human Rights

In-Suk Cha, Republic of Korea

When the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was first drafted, many nations in both the Asian and African regions were not represented and a suspicion of Euro-centrism surrounding the concept of human rights aroused on the part of non-Westerners. Now, however, after sixty years of its inception, the civil, political, economic and social rights stipulated in the Declaration are believed to be acknowledged by the greatest part of the entire international community.

The ever-widening diffusion of the concept of human rights today is the result of a long, tenuous, historical process of humanity's struggle to free itself from the conditions that threaten to degrade individual dignity and significance. Certainly, the idea of human rights is neither universally accepted nor even always recognized in those areas of the world where philosophers and thinkers first articulated and fostered democratic ideals such as social justice and individual rights. Nevertheless, over centuries of dissemination processes and deliberations, the concept of human rights has come to include the whole of humanity. Moreover, nearly all lifeworlds brim with potential value schemata by which to render practices insuring human dignity and social justice to all individual human beings. These concepts are capable of reaching so many because the abuse of them resonates in all of our histories, all of our pasts.

When ideas, articulated in the idiom of a culture outside our own, are transferred to our own world, we may first view them as different and analyze them as alien. However, we come to recognize them as our own if, and only if, they connect in some way with the deep structures and schemata of our own value and belief systems. When a connection can be made, the concept is transformed so that it absorbs the features of our own culture. And, it must be remembered, our connection with the concept, our transformation of it becomes part of the conceptualization of the culture or cultures whose idiom was so different from our own that we did not at first think the concept had anything to do with us. When this mutual transformation occurs, everyone's knowledge of what it means to be human expands and hence, our responsibilities to ourselves and to other human beings also expand.

Transforming globally diffused ideas such as freedom, equality, rights and justice into our own schemata and making them our own is accomplished through the mediation of elements in one culture's conceptual schemata that are compatible with elements in the conceptual schemata of another culture. Those mutually compatible elements, existing in every culture in various contexts, are thus trans-cultural; that is, universally, they make up the cognitive structure of pre-understanding that enables people from disparate cultures to connect to one another through empathy.

Throughout all societies on the planet certain modes of social relationships are found that construct a trans-cultural structure which allows mutual understanding of the idea of human dignity as including notions of freedom, rights and equality. Fink narrows the modes of human coexistence to five categories: affection, aversion, work, play and death.¹ All human beings are born into these five modes of social relationships, and through them develop a complex of meanings upon which an understanding of self and society is founded. Our capacity of practical reasoning grows through the mediation of these five modes of social relationships. Many-faceted emotions like love and hate, are intertwined with the universal experience of death, and combine in social endeavours of multifaceted fields of work and play. Societies around the globe have come into being through the historical interplay of these elements. Through love, hate, work, play and death, an individual's intellectual capacity moves forward in perception, imagination, judgment and action. These five modes of social relationships are aptly cited as anthropological constants of human coexistence.

The notion of affection has informed all creatures in human history. Love alone is capable of binding separate human individuals and groups, establishing communal solidarity. In the bosom of a loving

1 Eugen Fink, 1979. *Grundphaenomene des menschlichen Daseins*, Freiburg, Alber.

mother an infant begins to learn for the first time the meaning of oneness with others and becomes imbued with a sense of wholeness. Aversion might, perhaps, first come in the form of sibling rivalry and quarrels and these often lead to division and violence. Hatred, universal capability, which many fear will spell the doom of the human race, is all in the mind. Yet, it destroys tangible things. Hatred finds its infinite ways to divide; it creates notions of superior and inferior among us, and it annihilates those branded as the latter in the name of a better civilization. Human history has witnessed innumerable cases of this kind, and it continues to do so. Religions are supposed to bring peace to all peoples, but most religions have marched in the name of war. Cultural diversity is a dazzling proof of human ingenuity, but it too often inspires ethnic antagonism.

Awareness of one's mortality defines what it is to be human. We all know that we shall one day pass from here to dust or heaven. We have seen this happen to those we love so dearly. We know with certainty that they will never return to us. The dread of no longer existing here and now reveals to me, as it does to every individual, the true meaning of being and non-being. Facing the imminent nullification of my own being, I come to see the dark abyss of nothingness and struggle back to regain my potentiality to prolong my existence.

Death-awareness accompanies all living human beings. The inevitability of our own demise holds us captive in thought and imagination. It is a common theme of almost all religions and myths. Death illuminates the disparity between transience and eternity. Perhaps, philosophy derives its inner driving force from one's awareness of mortality, from our being-toward-death. Our moral consciousness attains strength from the gnawing anxiety over what will become of us after death, and we yearn for eternal life and seek a place where there will be no more hate, quarrels, wars and destruction, a place we can live with one another in perpetual peace and fulfil our potential without hindrance.

Work or labour is the dominant mode of coexistence through and in which humans relate to nature and to fellow-beings. In labour, we realize our potential because, through it, we humanize the outside world. We put the stamp of our creativity on it. Work itself is for us a way of self-actualization. Work liberates us from our physical bond to nature and prompts us to contrive those entities that are not given to nature. From this very effort of contrivance arise science and technology whose principle is rationality. Science is a form of knowledge and technology is an instrument with which we control nature to our needs. With them, humans have been able to found towns and cities, to build dams and temples and to rationalize productivity, thus instituting commerce and trade, generating whole civilizations.

Work is essentially communal, and this becomes clear in the division of labour. The product of work is always shared and traded. One works hardly ever alone. In the division of labour lies a powerful motive for our being with one another. Every individual must find a collective solidarity in the products of work. The division of labour implies the sense of individuality as well as collectivity. In the division of labour each individual takes part, and all partake of communal life in the process. In the name of survival, most human societies in the past have found ways to co-operate.

Surely, in the beginning of human societies, at a long day's end, family and neighbours gathered together and soothed their bodily aches in food and drink, lifting their spirits. Wine invited them to sing and dance life's burdens into temporary oblivion. At dusk the hardship of work receded and the capacity to make believe could reign. Then, as now, fantasy overtakes reality. This is play. In every culture the idea of play is a universal conception. The capacity to imagine and conjure up alternative realities in play is uniquely human. In play we bring out the distinction of reality and appearance delineated through metaphysics.

In imagination we are infinitely free to do what we want, but in real life we are confined to our bodies within our given predicament. Freedom is thus made conditional, as Sartre would say. Of course, there is no absolute freedom for mortal beings. Yet, in playing with others, we glean the true meaning of what it is to be free. In the realm of imagination, we can all be royalty, princes and princesses, affirming our individual subjectivity against the reality. From childhood, we revel in fairy tales, conducting our very own fairylands into which no outsider is allowed. In imagination, each individual learns the genuine significance of freedom of thought and expression.

Love discloses to us the meaning of unity and peace whereas hate promotes violence and destruction. Work shows us the magnitude for our potentials and the necessity of cooperation while play teaches us the meaning of being free. And our awareness of being finite through death compels us to self-affirmation. The complex of meanings, which we acquire through constant societal interactions with others in love, hate, work, play and death, constitutes the basis of our mutual inter-subjective understanding by virtue of which our practical reasoning matures. In the evolution of human history, there always have been paired oppositional categories: unity and division, peace and conflict, and destruction and creativity exist side by side in tension. There can be no doubt that human nature is conflicted and oppositional. Kant, who called our conflicted natures 'unsocial sociability' (Ungesellige Geselligkeit), believed that the best social order is the fruit of the discipline imposed on our conflicted natures by our need to live in society.² He argued that our knowledge of the inevitable destruction of humanity if we do not accept the necessity of living together in peace, leads us to find the way to do so.

While societal institutions, customs and mores appear to be quite different, they, nonetheless, follow patterns and structures that are recognizable in their difference. Multiculturalism stipulates mutual recognition of diversity. However, it aims ultimately at connecting us through the common elements in our different cultures, that is, it aims at a trans-cultural ethics. Through deliberations here in this hall or in NGO meetings elsewhere or in schools we articulate and strive after this goal.

Human rights concern human dignity. Human dignity is expressed in every culture to varying degrees. It is the basis of most religions and worth studying and comparing. Each of these concepts has limitations that can best be understood through comparison. The concept of harmony, echoed in many East Asian religions, for example, is different from the Western concept of human rights that stresses the individual. Each of these concepts has limitations that the other does not have. A comparative study of the concepts of human rights and human dignity must look at the practices and acceptance of respective concepts in the cultures that advocate them. When we examine those concepts of our respective cultures, self-reflection should be rigorous. The examination of one's own culture must be as rigorous as examination of another's, or else we risk manufacturing dangerous differences.

For some time now, many groups, including UNESCO, have sought ways to humanize market globalization practices precisely because those practices do not recognize valid cultural and religious differences and so have exacerbated income equality and poverty. The cruel irony here is that today's market globalization has been promoted as the most viable means to end world poverty and create tolerance. Market globalization is touted as a precursor of democracy and the realization of universal human rights that democracy, by its very nature, is destined to develop and sustain. In addition to an increase in poverty in every nation, there has been a corrosion of democratic principles in democracies of long standing, and newly forming ones as well. The combination has put the sustainability of the world's environment in peril. There was a moment in recent times when developing countries believed that they might remedy environmental problems after they had developed their markets. Certainly, the policies of many highly developed countries held out the promise that this could be done at leisure, and perhaps, need never be done at all. However, the evidence refuting this wishful thinking becomes more compelling every day.

Finally, it is needless to say that a commitment to real tolerance, based on understanding and shared loyalties, to building a peaceful cooperative existence and developing truly shared goals for global justice and equality is imperative for global survival at this point as Kant would say and that we all understand why we have great need for the dialogues among, between and in cultures and civilizations that will build bridges between human rights and cultural values.

2 I. Kant, *Idea for Universal History from a Cosmopolitan Point of View*, 1784.

The Present Challenges of Cultural Diversity

Souria Saad-Zoy, UNESCO Rabat, Morocco

What is cultural diversity?

UNESCO's conception of "cultural diversity" rests on a broad definition of "culture": In addition to literature and the arts, it covers modes of life, value systems, traditions and beliefs, as well as ways of living together. This approach to cultural diversity makes it possible to tackle a two-fold challenge: that of ensuring, on the one hand, a harmonious coexistence and a readiness to live together in peace, as individuals and groups who come from a variety of cultural backgrounds yet sharing the same living space; and on the other hand the defence of that creative diversity as each culture takes shape in the framework laid down by its heritage or regenerates itself by adapting to a contemporary setting.

This definition of "cultural diversity" not only points to a multiplicity of dynamic identities, but also reveals it as the driving force: for every form of creation provides a meeting place, opens up new horizons, transforms outlooks, broadens the scope of freedom and choice for everyone, even as it weaves firm connections between regions, individuals and generations³.

Cultural diversity is one of the driving forces of development, not only in respect of economic growth, but also as a means of leading a more fulfilling intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual life. This is captured in the seven culture conventions, which provide a basis for the promotion of cultural diversity. The promotion of cultural diversity – the "common humanity heritage" according to the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, 2001 – has become one of the most pressing contemporary issues and, for this reason, is central to the Organization's mandate.

UNESCO has always sought to offer practical responses to the particular challenges which every age poses to the notion of "culture". This is indeed the Organization's mission: To remain the place where frameworks for thought and action concerning culture can be endlessly reinvented, so as to ensure that culture retains its unique and rightful place on the international political scene.

What can be the role of cultural diversity in war and peace?

UNESCO's Constitution implies an approach to conflict prevention based on knowledge as the key to mutual understanding and peace; it says: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed". Ignorance was thus seen to be the underlying cause of suspicion, mistrust and war between peoples; so the basis for peaceful relations lay in the defence of "the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind".

The Constitution of UNESCO also stresses the principle of racial equality: "The great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races".

In 1947, the Director General, Julian Huxley wrote: "This cultural diversity must obviously not be allowed to become a source of incomprehension between the nations... Accordingly we must try to ensure mutual understanding of the cultural tendencies and achievements of different peoples and indeed aim at an eventual integration or orchestration of separate cultures, not into uniformity, but into a unity-in-diversity, so that human beings are not imprisoned in their separate cultures, but can share in the riches of a single diversified world culture"⁴.

3 UNESCO and the Challenges of the Cultural Diversity, 1946-2007, Review and Strategies.

4 Report of the Director-General, 1947, p. 13-14.

The 2004 Universal Forum of Cultures held in Barcelona⁵ assembled 70 speakers from all over the world. During the Dialogue on cultural rights and human development, a clear commitment was made to demonstrating that cultural diversity is an indispensable tool for human development. To this end, it was deemed essential for all players involved in this field, including artists, governments, international institutions and civil society at large to implement this directive.

It was also said that multicultural policies give recognition to differences, defend diversity and foster cultural freedom in order for all individuals to be able to communicate in their own language, practice their religion and, ultimately, be able to choose freely for themselves.

Cultural diversity is related to a series of elements that are the key to development, as it introduces pluralism, social cohesion, growth and sustainable development, cultural dialogue and judicial security. The Greek philosopher Corina Suteu stated with regard to cultural indicators “New research methodologies are needed in order to develop cultural policies; we must show the highly democratic worth of these policies, foster discussion around them and make an appraisal in terms of the measures implemented. Cultural policies allow for an enhanced social cohesion while providing best practices in conflict management”.

Cultural diversity should allow individuals to make life projects and, above all, it must guarantee respect for human rights. Cultural diversity cannot be used as an argument to violate or limit the scope of the fundamental rights guaranteed by international law. This basic principle was highlighted by UNESCO⁶. Rafael Rodriguez-Ponga, a philosopher, added: “We see that cultural identities brandished as political flags can cause suffering”. One can add that the recognition of differences as a reason to concede differential rights can have terrible consequences such as “ghettoization” and all the accompanying complications. In this, integration is compatible with the conservation of languages and cultures.

In 2007, UNESCO, in a study on cultural diversity focused on review and strategies, concluded by stating that respect for cultural diversity has become the key to harmonious coexistence not only between nations but also within each nation. Though this internal diversity was long regarded as a threat to national unity and social cohesion - from the claims of historical minorities or the expectations of the immigrant groups - it is now being increasingly taken into account, despite the terrorist incidents and the challenge they pose to national and international security. International security cannot be divorced from the evolution of intercultural relations, in which culture is seen as a common investment based on the optimistic bet that cultural diversity will not prove an agent of conflict and division but on the contrary, reveals the underlying unity of humanity.

In the 21st century, these new implied links between culture and security, and between cultural diversity and political stability, also serve to bring out the importance of intercultural relations in building an enduring peace.

How can philosophers promote cultural diversity?

According to Dr. Birgit Poniatowski, Academic Programme Officer, United Nations University, “facilitating cultural pluralism” are the key words and I would go further: philosophers could facilitate cultural pluralism. To reach this goal, it seems necessary to create the basis for informed choices. Exploration and discussion of the values and norms, traditions and social conditions actually at work in influencing worldviews in different societies today would help to identify real as opposed to perceived cultural differences.

Furthermore, informed choices are closely linked to participation. By participation, we mean that cultural pluralism is possible only if members of different cultural groups – within a local community, a country, or simply on the global level – have equal chances to reflect their preferences in political, social and economic decision-making.

5 <http://www.barcelona2004.org>

6 Katerina Steno, Director of the Division for Cultural Policies and Intercultural Dialogue of UNESCO.

But how can a culture of dialogue be encouraged and how can philosophers support this effort? How can philosophers help people develop an attitude that is receptive to intercultural exchange? Dr Poniatowski⁷ thinks that intercultural exchange consists of several components, like knowledge, respect, search for unity in diversity, awareness of the dynamism of cultures and readiness to transform.

Should philosophers be charged with the responsibility of sharing accurate information about the values, norms, historical experiences and cultural reality underlying the words and actions of others? By doing so, mutual understanding would be increased, bearing in mind that the recognition of differences alone does not yet lead to mutual understanding, but has to be accompanied by a genuine receptivity to other viewpoints.

Of course, education is the perfect way to convey the knowledge of other cultures as well as ones own. In that regard, philosophy can encourage self-respect, pride in one's own cultural, ethnic, national or other group identity, without basing that respect on negative value judgments about other cultural groups. Words, talks, knowledge-sharing are elementary to convey the right meaning of cultural diversity. In this regard, communication technologies link people more directly, thus contributing to the forging of ties.

In the Action Plan for the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, the Member States commit themselves to taking appropriate steps to disseminate widely the "UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity" and to encourage its effective application, in particular by cooperating with a view to achieving 20 objectives. The ninth objective is about encouraging "digital literacy" and ensuring greater mastery of new information and communication technologies, which should be seen both as educational disciplines and as pedagogical tools capable of enhancing the effectiveness of educational services. Acceptance and recognition of cultural diversity through innovative use of media and information and communication technologies are conducive to the dialogue, respect and mutual understanding among civilizations and cultures.

Also, education administrators, aided by scholars and practitioners, should develop curricula that emphasize the achievements of different cultures and put increased stress on foreign language education. Programmes should be established to improve multi-cultural teaching methods, meaning to teach not only one approach to problem solving, but to demonstrate the multiplicity of possible solutions to any given problem.

Teaching on all levels of education should emphasize intercultural communication skills: basic literacy, language and interaction skills; skills that stress information gathering and broader analysis; skills to determine how one's actions impact others; skills to recognize and appreciate both the similarities and the differences in other cultures, and to consider and explore how other viewpoints or ways of living can contribute to solving conflicts, inequities, and other global challenges.

Incorporating, where appropriate, traditional pedagogies into the education process with a view to preserving and making full use of culturally appropriate methods of communication and transmission of knowledge is also important. In order to avoid ignoring the right of members of that culture to determine for themselves how they want to live and develop, cooperation with members of a specific culture when developing programmes for its preservation is essential.

Public and private academic institutions and funding agencies should also be encouraged to create and implement programmes to study, report and analyse history from a variety of angles, presenting views from different cultural contexts on a given historical event so as to increase understanding of the diversity of historical experiences⁸.

7 Dr. Birgit Poniatowski: *The Future of Cultures: Challenges and Opportunities for Cultural Diversity*, United Nations University, <http://www.unu.edu/dialogue>

8 *Ibid.*

Conclusion

I would like to conclude by saying that tolerance of other cultures occurs by virtue of ones awareness of ones own culture. Understanding ones own culture and specificities are key elements to putting away clichés and crucial to being in a position of understanding other cultures. In the words of Amin Maalouf in *Les identités meurtrières*, "I sometimes do what I call my 'identity examination' and thanks to each of my separately taken affiliations, I have a certain family affiliation with a lot of human beings".

The Idea of “Glocal” Public Philosophy and Situating Cosmopolitanism

Naoshi Yamawaki, Japan

In this session, I will first present the idea of glocal public philosophy as distinct from both the national and the global public philosophy, and then I will try to formulate a new philosophical understanding of the Self, the Others and the public world and to situate the cosmopolitanism in this context. After that, I would like to deal with an important role of intergenerational responsibility and responsiveness for the post-colonial cosmopolitanism.

1. The Idea of Glocal Public Philosophy as distinct from both the National and Global Public Philosophy

Although the term “public philosophy” has only recently come into more frequent usage and its true significance has only begun to raise attention, equivalencies of it could be found in the classics of the Western as well as East-Asian countries. Indeed, its long tradition dates back more than 2000 years. For example, Aristotelian practical philosophy, which was put forward in the Ancient Greece and which consists of ethics, politics and rhetoric, could be regarded as the origin of public philosophy in the Western countries. Aristotelian practical philosophy has been influential in the medieval age in the Arabian as well as European world and is now considered to be the origin of the republican public philosophy. On the other hand, it is the Confucian philosophy represented by Confucius and Mencius that could be regarded as the origin of East-Asian public philosophy. This East Asian tradition was transformed into the Neo-Confucian philosophy in the medieval China by Chu-tzu as well as Wang Yang-min and it exerted much influence on the Japanese as well as Korean public philosophy in the pre-modern era.

The development of public philosophies began, however, to have more and more nationalistic traits since the 19th century in the Western countries as well as in Japan. While Kant conceived the public space for the world citizens at the end of the 18th century, Fichte, who regarded himself as the genuine successor of Kant’s transcendental philosophy, advocated a closed trade-state and the unification of German people as one nation in order to resist the Napoleon’s imperialism.

In Japan, in spite of Yokoi Shonan’s efforts (a Neo-Confucianist who lived from 1809-1869) to establish the just and fair international public order at the closing days of the Tokugawa Government, modern public philosophy since the Meiji Era (i.e. since 1868) was closely connected with nationalism. For Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1901), for example, who could be regarded as one of the representative modern public philosophers in Japan, it was first of all important to build the Japanese nation from each individual as a private person. His international thinking (after the breakdown of the revolutionary project in Korea) characterized by the slogan “Let’s leave pre-modern Asia (for modern Europe)”, however, sounds very ironically, because the Europe of that period had no public space of any size beyond the limits of any nation state. Consequently, his public philosophy did not offer any critical viewpoint on the colonialist behaviour of the Japanese State in China from 1885 and in Korea from 1910 to 1945.

In this context, the anti-European philosophical movement such as the ideology of “overcoming of modernity (Kindai no Chokoku)”, i.e., of Western individualism, liberalism and capitalism advocated in 1942 by some Kyoto-School philosophers, put forward its aim of emancipating the colonials from Anglo-American as well as Dutch Colonialism at that time. It was based, however, on a view that omitted to consider the imperialistic behaviour of Japan in Asian countries.

2. From the National Public Philosophy to the Glocal Public Philosophy

The Renewal of Public Philosophy for the 21st Century

The situation of the international order, especially Europe after the Second World War has greatly changed. The nightmare and trauma of two World Wars forced European statesmen and people, particularly in Germany and France, to construct a public space that would go beyond the level of nation-state. Many colonies became independent from suzerain states, in many cases as a result of liberation wars. Apartheid in South Africa was also abolished after the long anti-apartheid movement in 1993.

With the end of the Cold War era, however, the world entered the so-called “unstable age of globalization.” In this situation, the economic globalism seems to become more and more dominant all over the world. Against this tendency, the anti-global movements led by NGO become stronger on the global level too. On the other hand, the anachronistic nationalism or ethnocentrism seems to have begun to revive. The movements of religious fundamentalism became active too. What kind of public philosophy should be conceived under these circumstances? My answer to it is neither a national nor a global but a ‘glocal’ public philosophy.

As was shown above, modern public philosophy since the 19th century has been closely connected with the tasks of building the nation-state. To be sure, it is still important for the developing countries to build the nation-states especially because the modern colonialism prevented them from establishing the sound form of nation-states. But the social problems of today such as world peace, environmental crisis, human rights and so on require a trans-national cooperation, which public philosophy has to tackle seriously. It should also be pointed out that not all people living in a nation-state belong to the same nation. It would be wrong to think that the public spaces even in a nation-state merely consist of the nation. This is why the national public philosophy is not enough for the 21st century.

Yet, I hesitate to call the trans-national public philosophy the global one for two reasons. First, I hesitate because the name of global public philosophy is easily associated with the mono-culturalism like Anglo-American standard. The adjective “global” seems not to be able to do justice with the diversity of the world. Even if the humanization of the globalization is advocated, it still sounds like a prescription for the homogenization of the world. The second reason is more philosophical, i.e. the problem of the Self who talks about global issues. In my view, human being is always being in the world (in German *in-der-Welt-Sein*), as the great philosophers in the 20th century like Martin Heidegger, Hanna Arendt, Merleau Ponty, Paul Ricoeur, and Charles Taylor stressed. The Self is always a located or situated Self and it is very important to recognize in which situation peoples face or treat global issues such as peace, justice, human rights and securities, environment etc. This is why I think the name of global philosophy is rather misleading and I would like to adopt the name of “glocal” public philosophy instead to overcome the limits of national public philosophy.

In short, the glocal public philosophy tackles the global issues not from nowhere but from somewhere, so it is locally characterized. What is important then is the correlation between the globality of issues and the historically as well as culturally characterized locality. The global and local viewpoints are seen as interdependent, and the universality and particularity of thinking is then viewed as hardly separable.

To reinforce this program, however, I think it is imperative that we lay the philosophical foundation for it. More specifically, I mean to say that a new theory of the Self is needed. In my view, it would be especially important in order for this program not to fall into any political or sociological functionalism, which tends to make the agency of the public action merely instrumental. The glocal public philosophy must not be replaced by sociology or political science in this sense. Accordingly, I shall describe this subject in the next section.

3. Theory of the Self as a New Base Component of Glocal Public Philosophy

To go beyond the national public philosophy, I will first introduce the concept of “Cosmopolitan Self” as a new dimension of multiple understanding of the Self. This concept has a long tradition with roots extending to the Stoics, Christianity, Kant and the others in the Western countries and to the self combined with the consciousness of 天(Ten) in Neo-Confucianism as well as God in the Muslim-world. The Cosmopolitan Self understands himself or herself as a member of the Earth, i.e. a cosmos in which all of human kind lives. The Cosmopolitan Self also understands being in a universalistic way. Yet, it must be emphasized that this notion of Cosmopolitan Self must be combined with other public dimensions of understanding of the Self that are characterized by cultural-historical differences or particularities. In concrete terms, the Self possesses a unique history depending upon who the person in question is, e.g. a contemporary Japanese, Korean, Chinese, Indian, Arabian, American, African, German and so on. This individual holds the mental responsibility for his or her past and must make efforts to understand the others who live in different cultures and histories. In this respect, the universalistic viewpoint of Cosmopolitan Self and multicultural viewpoint of Particular Self should not oppose but complement each other. In addition, it should be pointed out that the local governments, workplaces, churches or temples or mosques, schools, universities and other associations or communities also belong to the public space, which is constituted not only by the nation but also by the people who do not belong to the nation, and the multiple understanding of the Self would play a very important role for the people to communicate with one another in such various public spaces.

Applying this way of thinking, we could manage to avoid becoming both anti-cosmopolitan as well as rootless cosmopolitan at the same time. I would like to call this position ‘Glocal Cosmopolitan’. One may possibly regard this position as a new synthesis of Kantian cosmopolitanism and Herder’s multiculturalism.

4. Inter-generational Responsibility and Responsiveness for the Past and the Future

As was shown in the first section, the history of public space since the 19th century has been closely connected with the nation-state building and colonialism. Therefore, each character of nation-state building was different from one another even in the Asian countries. For instance, Chinese nation-state building was combined with the resistance against the imperialistic invasion by the Western countries as well as by Japan. The Indian people, Arabic people, African people have another great history about their nation-state building. Japanese nation-state building on the other hand was related to an imperialistic behaviour, which caused great damage to Korea as well as to China. Accordingly, from the viewpoint of the multidimensional Self that includes both Cosmopolitan and National Self, the way of intergenerational responsibility in terms of the past should differ between the Japanese and the Korean or Chinese. It should be a serious task and intergenerational responsibility for the Japanese to overcome the negative legacy of the modern history such as colonialism. Anyhow, each different consciousness of the modern history based on the multidimensional Self would adopt each different stance on the intergenerational responsibility for the positive as well as negative legacy of the past. Only then, we will be able to take common intergenerational responsibilities for the future.

In this regard, we need the idea of what South African public theologian John De-Gruchy calls ‘restorative justice’. This idea makes a contrast to the retaliatory justice such as ‘take eye for eye, tooth for tooth’. That is to say that the restorative justice aims not at revenge but instead at apology and forgiveness.

I might incidentally remark that the restorative justice has a different feature from the distributive justice that has been discussed recently by Rawls, Walzer, and others, because the former takes on the historical-temporal character. It requires us to admit the undeniable historical facts and errors in the past, and to co-memorize it in the present, and to have the strong will to overcome the past and to construct common values in the future. Without such historical and temporal elements, there could be no restorative justice.

That is why we should conceive of public world more comprehensively than the public space that has been discussed by Habermas and others. The public world has not only spatial-present dimension but also temporal/historical dimension. Therefore, it would become a great challenge for the public philosophy how to deal with the past, present and future of the trans-national public world of human being based upon the restorative justice.

The process of reconciliation is not, however, a masochistic one as some people mistakably assume. In my view, the reconciliation is not the ultimate end but a necessary condition for realizing the co-happiness among the various peoples who live in various cultures. That is why we need the intergenerational responsiveness for our public-common future.

In this regard, I would like to emphasize from the cosmopolitan viewpoint that we had a responsibility to take on the “positive” legacy of cultural resources in the world. Indeed, using or studying the cultural resources as very important public goods must not be confined to particular people or nations, but spread all over the world. Still, because there are different languages and cultures in the world, it would be natural that each multidimensional Self that has both universality and cultural particularity should take this responsiveness according to each situation, tradition and ability. Fortunately, there are a few common cultural resources in the East Asian countries such as written Chinese characters, Confucianism, Buddhism and so on, and it would be a great task for the East Asian people to reconstruct (or deconstruct) their positive legacy for the future generations.

The intergenerational responsiveness as well as responsibility for the future would be more clearly recognized, when we consider our future in a more comprehensive and interrelated perspective, i.e. when we tackle global issues such as ecology and environment, economic development, education, world peace, human rights and so on. We would not be able to deal with these without regard to future generation in the world. Thus, the multidimensional Self as a glocal cosmopolitan could integrate the dimension of the intergenerational Self that directs his or her attention responsibly as well as responsively both to the past and to the future.

In this regards, I would like to re-estimate one of the classics of public philosophy in the 20th century, *The Public and Its Problems* written by John Dewey in 1927. In this book, Dewey advocates what he calls ‘Great Community’ which has to be generated by the public, which consists of each democratic individual. For him, democracy did not mean a majority rules but “a way of associated living’. Glocal cosmopolitanism should renew Dewey’s call in order to realize the great community in the world.

5. Short Comment on the Renewal of the Japanese Concept “Hei-Wa”(平和) for the Culture of Peace

To conclude my paper, I cannot not refer to the Japanese concept “Hei-Wa”(平和) which means peace. For this, let me cite an important passage of the preamble to the new Japanese constitution that was promulgated in 1947.

“...We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time and are deeply conscious of the high ideals controlling human relationship, and we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world. We desire to occupy an honoured place in an international society striving for the preservation of peace, and the banishment of tyranny and slavery oppressions and intolerance for all time from the earth. We recognize that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want. ...”

Literally seeing, the character 平(Hei) means mild, impartial, flat, horizontal etc. and the character 和(Wa) means harmony, softening, mitigating, appeasing, calming etc. Here, I would like especially to focus on the meaning of Wa.

Although in the Chinese tradition of thought, Wa (和) is different from Do (sameness), Wa (和) in Japanese tends to have the meaning of conformity, concordance or behaving similarly. This meaning, however, cannot be appropriate for the above described Glocal public philosophy any more and Wa (和) should be now radically deconstructed as well as reconstructed. I mean that Wa (和), which also

connotes “peace (Heiwa, 平和)” and “harmony (Chowa, 調和)”, should connote “reconciliation (Wakai, 和解)” too, which is a matter of very importance for the intergenerational responsibility for the past as was mentioned above. The inter-generationally responsible Japanese Self as a glocal cosmopolitan must take the responsibility for the grave errors that the Japanese past generation committed in the modern history and must continue to criticize them. Only then, Wakai (和解) could occur between Japan and Korea as well as China and the solidarity for the future generations could be born between them. And then, I hope Japan will be able to make a great contribution to the peoples all over the world as the Japanese constitution says.

This traditional as well as new concept of “Wa” strongly opposes the “enemy-friend” thinking, which was represented by a German political philosopher Carl Schmitt once and is represented by Samuel Huntington nowadays. I hope this concept will contribute to peace all over the world. Indeed, Heiwa (平和) could not come into existence without Wakai (和解). Therefore, Wa (和) in contrast of War should be now reconstructed in terms of Heiwa (平和) and Wakai (和解) in order to generate the “reconciliation-promoting gentle human solidarity” (Nyuwa de Yawaragiaru Rentai no Wa, 柔和で和らぎある連帯の輪) in the world.

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Tolerance: The Indian Perspective

Daniel Nesy, India

In March 2008, the Supreme Court of India, upholding the right to dissent, concluded a verdict with the ringing note “our tradition teaches tolerance; our philosophy preaches tolerance; our constitution practices tolerance; let us not dilute it”⁹ Vindicating tolerance the Court deplored that “these days unfortunately some people seem to be perpetually on a short fuse and are willing to protest often violently about anything under the sun on ground that a book or film or painting etc. has hurt the sentiments of their community. These are dangerous tendencies and must be curbed with an iron hand. We are one nation and must respect each other and must have tolerance”¹⁰ The observation of the Court is significant in the context of the cultural heritage of India.

India is a land of great diversities with seven major religions and numerous other sects and faiths; 22 official languages and over 200 recorded mother tongues; around 4635 largely endogamous communities and 15 distinct agro-climatic zones. The method of managing these diversities, rather disparities, has been somewhat unique. The mantra has been ‘unity in diversity’. Rabindra Nath Tagore first used the phrase in 1902 in Bengali language, the original of which reveals ‘unity through diversity’- a more powerful thought than ‘unity in diversity’. The word ‘through’ connotes a ‘celebration’ of diversity whereas the word ‘in’ implies a mere acceptance. It is this approach of celebration of diversities – even newer ones – that has kept the country together. Assimilation has not been on the agenda while integration has been pursued; uniformity and homogeneity have been eschewed and individual identities have been preserved and protected. The Indian constitution enshrines special provision for groups that suffer from accumulated disabilities and discrimination including religious and linguistic minorities. Jawaharlal Nehru has wonderfully described this civilization in his *Discovery of India* as “an ancient palimpsest on which layer upon layer of thought and reverie had been inscribed, and yet no succeeding layer had completely hidden or erased what had been written previously” (Nehru, 1946).

Indian approaches to managing its extensive cultural diversity need to be better understood. A number of innocent people have become victims of oppression and discrimination. Globally we are still confronted with inequality, brutality and violence to an unimaginable extent. The reality of infringement upon human rights ranges from torture and ill-treatment of prisoners to the use of deadly chemicals, racism, apartheid and the practice of slavery. Discriminatory treatment of minorities and the denial of equal rights to women are still prevalent. The denial of universal and fundamental freedom continues. Injustice and discrimination thrive. New forms of these appear with urbanization, technological and economic development. Alienation due to increase in modes of communication, growing contamination of environment and the like threaten the very security of human life.

It is true that violence and intolerance is rampant in India. At the same time there is a definite trend in Indian culture and thought which consistently and coherently promotes the ideals of tolerance. Tolerance in any form and in any culture needs to be taken as a rare phenomenon easy to be ‘misunderstood than properly understood and evaluated’. What is tolerance? *The American Heritage Dictionary* explains tolerance as “the appreciation of diversity and the ability to live and let others live. It is the ability to exercise a fair and objective attitude towards those whose opinions, practices, religion, nationality and so on differ from one’s own” (*The American Heritage Dictionary*, 1994). Tolerance could also be considered as a quality of allowing or enduring the opinions, beliefs, customs, behaviour etc. different from one’s own. In his book *Getting to Peace*, William Ury notes that “tolerance is not just agreeing with one another or remaining indifferent in the face of injustice, but rather showing respect for the essential humanity in every person” (Ury, 1999).

9 *Sunday Express*, March 30, 2008. (Referring to the Final verdict of Justice Chinappa Reddy for the Supreme Court in a case involving Jehovah’s Witnesses in the year 1987).

10 *The Hindu*, April 26, 2007. Bijoe Emmanuel & Ors V. State of Kerala & Ors [1986 INSC 167]. World Legal Information Institute. 11 August, 1986. (See more information on <http://www.worldlii.org/in/cases/INSC/1986/167.html>.)

Tolerance is a virtue, a virtue of understanding the full significance of an action or situation. In our increasingly polarized world we desperately need this kind of insight. The failure to appreciate or respect the practices, opinions or listen critically to all the stories out there to gain a more synoptic vision will result in intolerance. The malady of intolerance is universal that even some of our best minds and most advanced societies are not free from its influence. The fact that tolerance is undoubtedly a force to reckon with in the human world in order for it to become more evident and better appreciated the magnitude of intolerance must be assessed properly. I quote two instances of intolerance just to bring home its deep-rootedness and pervasiveness:

Once, Karl Popper, the famous philosopher of Science was invited as a Visiting Lecturer by Wittgenstein, one of the greatest philosophers of 20th century. The story is narrated by Popper himself like this:

I went on to say that if I thought that there were no genuine philosophical problems, I would certainly not be a philosopher.... Wittgenstein jumped up again, interrupting me, and spoke at length about puzzles and the non-existence of philosophical problems... I interrupted him, giving a list of philosophical problems, such as: Do we know things through our senses? Do we obtain our knowledge by induction? These Wittgenstein dismissed as logical and not philosophical. I then referred to the problem whether potential or actual infinities exist, a problem he dismissed as mathematical. I then mentioned moral problems and the problem of the validity of moral rules. At this point Wittgenstein who was sitting near the fire and had been nervously playing with the poker, which he sometimes used like a conductor's baton to emphasize his assertions, challenged me: 'Give an example of moral rule' I replied: 'Not to threaten visiting lecturers with pokers'. Wittgenstein, in a rage, threw the poker down and stormed out of the room, banging the door behind him...". (Popper, 1998).

The incident shows how the deep rooted intolerance provokes one to fight and prevents from seeing even a joke.

Second, a still more serious face of intolerance is interestingly depicted by Orwell in his book *1984*:

"You must stop imagining that posterity will vindicate you, Winston. Posterity will never hear you. You will be lifted clear out from the stream of history..... You will be annihilated in the past as well as in the future.... We do not destroy the heretic because he resists us..... We convert him, we capture his inner mind, we reshape him... We make him one of ourselves before we kill him. "It is intolerable to us, that an erroneous thought should exist anywhere in the world, however, secret and powerless it may be" (Orwell, 1949).

It is not surprising that intolerance exists today as it did in the past. The significant point is that it assumes lethal forms beyond recognition, deliberately preached and practiced even in the so called most advanced civilizations of the present day world to the extent of wiping out even the smallest trace of opposition.

The origins of intolerance are many and varied. One of the prominent causes of intolerance is economic depression and political subjugation. Discrimination, dehumanization, repression and violence may occur in such situations. People affected by poverty and unemployment find their own avenues through which to vent their thoughts and feelings. Unfortunately, this process is often negative, rather than positive. In many instances negative beliefs, negative images or even biased / negative historical accounts of world cultures, which perpetuate intolerance, are injected into educational curricula. The issues of identity, security, and self-determination result in continuous inter-group violence; this type of division facilitates the problems of inter-group resentment and hostility. The occurrence of these inter-group struggles tends to be irreparable. In the present world context of multiculturalism, the issue of tolerating intolerance is neither acceptable nor possible. There is the growing feeling that tolerating tolerance is preferable to tolerating intolerance and hence the methods of encouraging tolerance gets priority in the international agenda. Strategies to promote tolerance and a reconciliation process can be encouraged on various fronts like media and international organizations like UNESCO by formulating and adopting peace building strategies that encourage peaceful coexistence.

- The essence of Indian thought is its amazing diversity and continuity. Apart from its political, linguistic, geographical and racial diversities, the scope and depth of India's thoughts and manifold religions

is magnificent. Materialism and idealism; monism, dualism and pluralism; empirical knowledge and meditational insight; theism, atheism and asceticism – the list of diversity goes on. Underlying these diversities we find certain important ideas and attitudes. Some of the major forms are:

- **Undivided wholeness:** The essence of Indian thought is that there is but one human kind without divisions of colour, caste, belief or religion. The Upanisad says: “cows are of many different colours, but the milk of all is one colour, white”. There is no multiplicity in the world and one who understands the nature of the self realizes that the individual self and the ultimate self are one and the same. The whole existence is Brahman and there is nothing outside Brahman. The Vedas proclaim: “existence is one, but sages call it by various names – Ekam Sat Vipra bahudha vadnati”. What is significant about this vision is that the ultimate reality is not seen as a separate reality, something apart from ordinary events and things, but as the inner being and ground of ordinary existence. Developed initially in the Vedas and Upanisads, this vision of undivided wholeness came to inspire the entire tradition of India.
- **The whole world is one family- Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam:** This often repeated mantra of the Indian sages suggests that the whole creation is so interconnected that nothing happens in isolation. No human being is isolated from the rest of humanity as the poet John Donne acknowledges: “No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of continent, a part of the main”. We share a common heritage and live in the same environment. Nature is the mother of all mankind.
- **Syncretic tendencies:** The depth and profundity of existence allows for diverse perspectives, none providing a complete view. No description, formula, or symbol is accepted to convey the entire truth about anything. Each perspective provides a partial glimpse of the problem at hand. Different partial visions are regarded as complementing each other contributing to a fuller understanding of the problem with a willingness to adopt new perspectives and new positions. While new ideas may be acquired old sentiments and positions are not totally abandoned, but added on to the old, thus providing another dimension.
- **Tolerance:** Syncretic tendencies are reinforced by a general spirit of tolerance in the realm of beliefs. Fanaticism and heresy are rare phenomena in a culture like India that has permitted and even encouraged religious tolerance. The Buddhist doctrine of ahimsa or non-injury or desistance from killing and injuring is an example. Tolerance is the core of the dialectical process, the basic tenet of life dedicated to truth. Tolerance involves the respecting of different views and discussing their relative merits in an atmosphere of friendliness, fellowship and fraternity. Saint Hillaire observes:
- “Buddhism has always retained the most sincere and unvarying spirit of tolerance. The Buddha never used any other weapons than persuasion and gentleness: he never had recourse to violence and his adepts have remained faithful to his noble and rare example. Buddhism has at diverse epochs and in diverse countries undergone violent persecution but it never seems to have thought of retaliation”.
- **Mutual respect for each other’s religious beliefs:** For much of humanity religion offers solace, comfort, guidance and hope. Yet a quick survey of conflict over the world shows the messages of peace and hope degenerate into maiming and slaughter making it difficult to explain why religion is a common denominator in all the so many violent episodes around the globe. At the dawn of the new millennium, the issue of the role of religion in promoting peace in the world has been a topic of serious debate on many forums. One of the suggestions that came out of these debates reads like this:

“We are partners in a world that is becoming increasingly interconnected and inter-dependent and where borders are becoming less meaningful or even disintegrating. We are moving to a single world with a single agenda built up on ten thousand cultures, a world in which commonalities are the foundation and peculiarities are the corner stones.¹¹”

11 Address by His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal of The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan “Globalisation and Culture: China and the Arab World” at the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs , 5 June 2000, Beijing.

Conclusions

We are aware of the big void that exists between North and South or between developed and developing parts of the planet. While one part of the planet appears to be devoid of even the poorest necessities of life and health, other parts of the planet seem to be feeding voraciously on more and more of the earth's resources than they need. We need to return to a judicious good sense – a sense of acceptance, fellowship and mutual concern among the inhabitants of this planet. The imperfections of the world must be viewed as problems to be solved rather than indignities to be crushed or pollutants to be purged. Secular institutions with secular aims need to be accepted where conflicts over trade, resources, political power and what not are negotiable and not bartered for the sacred. The process of the breaking down of old attitudes of isolation, hostility and domination are to be encouraged and are to be replaced by respect, and sharing. As envisaged by Professor Cousins: "We need a new perspective - an astronaut's perspective who has travelled into the outer space and looked back up on earth. As we look at the earth from the outer space, we see the earth as a whole".

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Considerations about Foundation of Wisdom for Peace

Abdessamad Tamouro, Morocco

War is not a banal act

I think there are as many interrogations as war victims and all the lovers wish for life! How can we make peace an absolute value? How can we make calls for peace and protests against war more efficient and more influential? How do we cure the imbalance between the speech, the thought and the real? How do we make wisdom and knowledge important facts in the positive determination of our actions? How can we make our wise persons masters of our decision? How can we make peace, not only viable, but long lasting and that war becomes no longer cost effecting?

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) claimed that human beings are pushed by fear to get into a state of war where they, naturally, find in their reason the appropriate means to wage it. According to him, people, incessantly in war in the state of nature want to leave this state motivated by passion, including reasons of the fear of death, the desire of living pleasantly and the hopes of achieving it. What Hobbes calls state of war is nothing but this condition where men, torn between fear of death and search of glory, fall inevitably in conflict (Hobbes, 1651).

We all agree that the state or political powers are artificial because they depend on our will, nevertheless we don't create the state to make the war, or pick the axe to kill!

By language, by speech, everything becomes human and ever right and acceptable. Then, the atrocities of wars become just stories, paragraphs, encyclopaedia articles, named "The Hundred Year War" or the "Arab-Israeli conflict", "War of Viet Nam", "First or Second World War" etc. Then these names become as "banal" as the names "red rose", "star of the north" or also "jazz music".

Do not forget that under the name "World War II" many millions of people were killed! Some would say it is the "human nature", oversight, amnesia, because that is what cools warm wars, even if the Cold War was not as cold as we claim! Politicians, men and women with legal authority, accepted or disputed, not only cold or insignificant, but also that it doesn't have to exist, because they are the people's voice. The wise are insane, the intellectual are buyable or disposable, and they can even be as logos, decorations. This banalization of facts and events related to conflicts and wars by politicians is hidden behind titles, values, decorations and speeches which link war to patriotism, victory to glory, and honour to courage.

That's why the politician is always ready to do everything except sacrifice his own life! That's where his tricks and strength can be clearly seen. The politician uses everything available because he has almost everything: ideology, money and the power to make decisions. Wars are often triggered by individuals that have the least to lose.

In our actual world, several people play important roles in decision-making and war management. The "people of information" can invent tools of horror while the second can disguise horror, demagoguery, lies, propaganda, mental-conditioning, which are all as nasty as the manufacturing of weapons and war technologies. War may lead to peace through peace treaties or through reconciliation, but the harmful effect of the science of death are lasting and contagious. War, at least, makes this clear: who is the enemy, while the lie hides the truth and the error. The ideological and media manipulation, attacks against dignity with racism, blind nationalism, insults and exclusion ... all these are wars without belligerence.

The reality is that there are people behind wars, wills of power, despair or poverty, injustice, inequality between people.

Wisdom for Peace

The politicians make war, but they need peace as they needs citizens, and judges. They need morals as they need education. Politicians need the people, us. The first principle of human race survival is that everyone needs everyone.

We are blocked by our human condition. Hiroshima is the proof of stupidity, cruelty and unimaginable levels of violence: destruction of whole lives. That is also the proof of human violence, of living and building. Hiroshima teaches us this lesson instead of balancing by violence we can hope for a balance by wisdom and peace. Hiroshima is a live anti-nuclear encyclopaedia! We shouldn't open it only every 6th of August, but we should check it and teach it to every generation.

We should teach them, as says the French sociologist Gaston Bouthoul (1896-1980):

“The man who, first, give the order of the lightning order of throwing the atomic bomb will appear in the history of a Zeus striking down Titans, but this thunderous Jupiter wasn't one of those extremely paranoid dictators, like Hitler, or with electrifying eloquence like Mussolini, no sadist and terrifying sultan like Stalin. That was President Truman, former shirt maker, the humblest and the most modest of men”.¹²

The atomic bomb is not that atrocious to those who decide to wage war. To us humans, it is a sign of the helplessness to insure peace. Choosing between ashes, death, blood and destruction hidden by honour, victory and glory to find peace and tolerance that can insure life. We must choose between this wisdom of peace and terror. Some teach us peace. The true peace is not that which follows after war, not that one laid down by the victors, just after the destruction of life. This peace that we want is permanent or just like Kant says: “perpetual”, because it's based on justice and the well-being of everyone.

Philosophy of Peace

It's much easier to destroy a wall than to build one, this way Ernst Junger (1895-1998) announced that the real peace requires a courage that gets over war. Peace requires a creative activity like a spiritual energy. We must work so that peace becomes banal, the normal state of relationships between people and nations. That's why we must allow our wise man to talk and make their speech a conflict-stopping act. Wisdom is based on meditation, listening, modesty, and acceptation of the other, dialogue, tolerance, giving priority to the thought and to the moral. Wise speech should be a decisive act for peace.

Thus, enemies are not people to kill but to listen to when the ambiance of dialogue is peaceful. Pacification here has not the meaning of colonialism, of putting ones hands on the others' properties and goods and submitting them to your own law, pacifying here, means insuring peace and well-being to everyone.

The philosophy of peace starts from the inside of every individual who hopes for a spiritual or interior peace, the one who requires an education of peace. The philosophy of peace is necessary to create a world citizen. Those who think that this philosophy should not be emphasized must remove these words from the human lexicon: tolerance, peace, forgiveness, peace of soul, and tear up all these peace treaties, cancel the Nobel Prize for Peace and even make the UN disappear!

If this is a dream, a utopia, an ideology, a philosophy, I must confess, like every human, I really need it to stay human.

12 Bouthoul, Gaston. Les Guerres. Paris: Payot. 1951.

In 1915, while the First World War was hunting lives, Freud was writing a text that shows us the reality of war and the path to follow:

“...we have told ourselves, no doubt, that wars can never cease so long as nations live under such widely differing conditions, so long as the value of individual life is so variously assessed among them, and so long as the animosities which divide them represent such powerful motives and forces in the mind.¹³”

Wisdom for Peace in Action

At the creation of the Rettig commission, the Chilean president announced:

“Closing our eyes on what happened and ignoring it just like nothing happened would extend indefinitely a durable source of pain, division, hatred and violence in our society. Only the enlightenment of truth and search of justice create the appropriate moral atmosphere to reconciliation and peace.¹⁴”

Other countries like Argentina and South Africa, who are facing violence and torture, chose to create an atmosphere favourable to peace and national reconciliation by avoiding a fall into a revenge manhunt or civil war.

Morocco has created in 2004 the justice and reconciliation commission which was mandated to access research, investigate, arbitrate and make recommendations about the gross human rights violations that occurred between 1956 and the end of 1999. These violations include forced disappearances, arbitrary detention, torture, sexual abuse and deprivation from the right to life, as a result of unrestrained and inadequate use of state force and coerced exile. This mission's goal is to foster development and dialogue, and to create the grounds for national reconciliation; which is crucial for a democratic transition in our country towards a state of justice, law, and the advancement of the values embodied in the culture of citizenship and human rights.

The commission carried out a comprehensive assessment to settle the cases of forced disappearance and arbitrary detention, by way of contact with the public authorities, civil society actors, the victims, their families and their representatives. The commission prepared a final report presenting the conclusions of its research, investigations and analysis about the violations and their context as well as its recommendations and suggestions to safeguard the memory via the non-repetition of what happened. The current president of the Commission, Mr. Herzenni was a former political prisoner during the darkest era of the contemporary history of Morocco.

Thus, actions, by solving situations of conflicts, setting moral conditions to an atmosphere of peace and reconciliation and dialogue, listening, compromising in a vision of equity and justice may help us all to live in peace.

I shall share recent personal experiences to which I participated personally. Indeed, with a couple of associations we are founding the “Forum of Civilizational Dialogue of Good Neighbourhood in the West of the Mediterranean Sea” where I hold the post of chairman of an expert committee (Spain, Morocco, Algeria, Portugal) that has as its mission to set the dialogue on neighbourhood conflicts on issues such as boundaries, opening records, sorting out differences, advertising common history and about the common fate of this region's people.

13 Freud, Sigmund. (1915). *Thoughts For The Times On War And Death. The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Volume XIV (1914-1916): On the History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement, Papers on Metapsychology and Other Works*, p. 273-300.

14 The Rettig Report, officially “*The National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation Report*”, is a 1991 report by a commission designated by former President Patricio Aylwin on abuses resulting in death or disappearance that occurred in Chile during the years of military rule under Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990).

This is to confirm that we must act, with our wisdom, to set permanent conditions for peace between nations. For this I can show some concrete suggestions to set such wisdom:

- Teaching and promoting the ethics of peace and experience of reconciliation.
- Promoting the knowledge of the history of war.
- Creating a real education of peace.
- Banning speech of hate, violence and war.
- Continued promotion of promoting human rights.
- Facilitating development of peaceful speech practices.
- Promoting philosophical studies related to tolerance, peace and dialogue.

To conclude, I would like to state that the true wisdom of our human condition, in this year, is “to stay aware” as a motto. With modesty and a focus on listening to be sure of only these deep convictions: there still exists, in the heart of man, goodness and wisdom; with this infinite wisdom words must become acts. Finally, philosophy is the art of thinking, feeling, contemplating and projecting for a better life, increased in quality and coupled by peace. Philosophy is modest, because the human being is so very small!

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Education in Philosophy and its Role in Reducing Disputes and Violence

Khom Sakhan, Cambodia

Philosophy is in every activity: whenever you ask the question “why” you are philosophizing.

I. Background

A few years ago when I first started my employment as a translator in a non-governmental organization working on the field of Labour Law in Cambodia, I felt unsure of my Master Degree in Philosophy. I did not understand why I had to spend such a long time studying philosophy at all as finally what was useful to me was the English language that I learnt through my hobbies.

However, after a few years of my working experience in this legal institution where I am employed, I witnessed that philosophy is widely used in every stage of dispute resolution process. The realization reinforces my confidence in the usefulness of philosophy. Having called it useful, I mean that people use philosophical methods to produce results. In the process of dispute resolution in Cambodia, as well as in other places in the world, people use philosophical tools of logic, critical thinking and reasoning to try to resolve their disputes. From the process, it is evident that the better the ability of the parties to use philosophical tools, the more favourable the result they may achieve.

It is also worth to mention that the role of peaceful contemplation over disputes is highly recommended in the Labour Law of Cambodia. Although in this Law the right to strike and lock out is ensured, it can be exercised only after the parties have exhausted other means of resolving the dispute (Article 320 of the Labour Law). In this law, violent strikes are prohibited (Article 330 of the Labour Law). The purpose of the Law is to ensure that parties should try their best to critically think over their issue before consciously deciding to take a violent course of action.

Given such an important role of philosophy, it is logical that the subject should have received great attention. Unfortunately, in Cambodia from year 2000 onwards philosophy has been eliminated from the curriculum of general education. The course on basic philosophy is provided in some universities during the foundation year. This means that only some students who attend university can have an opportunity to gain the basic knowledge in philosophy and only those who major in philosophy can dig deeper into this subject.

According to the statistics provided in the summary report on Education, Youth and Sport Performance for the Academic Year 2007-08, and the Academic Year 2008-09 Goals by the Ministry of Education Youth and Sports of Cambodia, it is indicated that the total number of pupils in primary school is 2,326,152 (females 1,102,758) while the total number of BA/BSc Students is 110,000 (females 40,204). This statistic implies that the number of students who can pursue higher education and thus has chance for exposure to philosophy of people in Cambodia is very limited.

II. Philosophy

1. Definition

Due to the long history of philosophy and the fact that its subject of studies has evolved from time to time, the definition of philosophy varies. Different philosophers have different views of nature, methods, and range of philosophy. Most people also have some kind of philosophy in the sense of a personal outlook on life. Even a person who claims that considering philosophical questions is a waste of time is expressing what is important, worthwhile, or valuable. A rejection of all philosophy is in itself philosophy.

Although sometimes the definition of philosophy becomes complicated or opaque, the generally known definition of philosophy comes from the Greek word “philosophia”, which means love of wisdom. In that sense, wisdom is the active use of intelligence, not something passive that a person simply possesses.

In this paper, philosophy is also referred to as a subject of study that seeks to understand the cause of truth (metaphysic), to find what is of basic value and importance in life (ethics), to discover the logical flow of reasoning (logic), and to seek the true nature of knowledge (epistemology). The main elements of philosophy I focus on here include critical thinking, which is the ability to question your (or anyone else’s) assumptions, discover and hopefully articulate good reasons for one’s position, analyzing and synthesizing and the capacity to tolerate differences.

2. Importance of philosophy in human life

First of all, when philosophy is referred to as the inquiry into the nature of life, philosophical thought is an inescapable part of human existence. Almost everyone is puzzled from time to time by such essentially philosophical questions such as “What does life mean?”, “Did I have any existence before I was born?”, and “Is there life after death?”, for example.

Philosophy has had enormous influence on our everyday lives. The very language we speak uses classifications derived from philosophy. For example, the classifications of noun and verb involve the philosophical idea that there is a difference between things and actions. If we ask what the difference is, we are starting a philosophical inquiry.

Every institution of society is based on philosophical ideas, whether that institution is the law, government, religion, the family, marriage, industry, business, or education. Philosophical differences have led to the overthrow of governments, drastic changes in laws, and the transformation of entire economic systems. Such changes have occurred because the people involved held certain beliefs about what is important, true, real, and significant and about how life should be ordered.

Systems of education follow a society’s philosophical idea about what children should be taught and for what purposes. Democratic societies stress that people learn to think and make choices for themselves. Non-democratic societies discourage such activities and want their citizens to surrender their own interests to those of the state. The values and skills taught by the educational system of a society thus reflect the society’s philosophic ideas of what is important.

Philosophy can be used to help convince people that you are right, and (sometimes, when it’s done correctly, and depending on your opponent’s view) that they are wrong. Philosophy can help us eliminate some bad explanations, by examining the possible answers for solid reasoning, and helping us to cut through and reject bad assumptions. These lifelong skills are helpful no matter what one does for a living.

III. Dispute and Violence

1. Definition

The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines the term “dispute” to mean disagreement or argument. Another dictionary defines the term as “The assertion of conflicting claims or rights between parties involved in a legal proceeding, such as a lawsuit, mediation or arbitration”.¹⁵

The term violence is generally defined as “*involv[ing] intentional injury of a serious nature by one entity against another. Beings or forces that do not have intentional state cannot actually inflict violence. Thus, when we speak of a violent storm or an animal turned violent, we are speaking metaphorically.*”¹⁶

15 <http://www.nolo.com/definition.cfm/Term/CA15B3F9-E5F3-4EF7-AAF006B48F369AA5/alpha/D>

16 Ronald Gottesman, Editor in Chief, *Violence in America, an Encyclopedia*, p. 315

A dispute may escalate and over the course of disagreement, the original issues can even become irrelevant as new causes are generated by actions within the dispute itself. Those on opposing sides come to view each other as enemies and may resort to highly destructive means. Eventually, the parties become unable to separate different issues and may see no way out of the dispute other than through total victory or defeat. Dispute may arise from different reasons including moral conflicts, issues of justice, rights, unmet human needs, identity issues and high-stakes distributional issues.

The origin of violence is controversial. On one hand, people argue that violence is a natural phenomenon. On the other hand, it is argued that violence is a learned behaviour. Disputes and violence are interrelated as aggressive disputes lead to violence, and violence makes the dispute more intense.

2. Why dispute and violence are not desirable?

At a small scale, it seems that disputes do not have much destructive power. However, if we look closely in the example of a dispute between two friends, we can see that the basic elements of their friendship have broken down. The intensity of loyalty, trust and care, to mention just a few, between the friends has decreased. Disputes that remain unresolved for long periods of time could become stuck at a high level of intensity and lead to destructive violence.

Another example can be drawn from industrial relations between employer and workers at the factory level; when the two parties hold too much antagonistic position that they are unable to talk over their issues and strikes occur. The physical loss as a result of the most peaceful strike at work is interruption of work flow at the expense of the employer and the loss of remuneration on the days of a strike at the cost of the workers. This is not to mention about the invisible impact of the action in which the relationship between the employer and the workers would not be able to be restored to its original state again. A strike represents a larger scale of dispute that bursts into violence. This is costly. It interrupts the work flow, it hurts the reputation of the employer, it affects the income of the employees, and it leaves a scar in the relationship between the employer and employee.

IV. How can study of philosophy contribute to reduction of dispute and violence?

The study of philosophy serves to develop intellectual abilities important for life as a whole, beyond the knowledge and skills required for any particular profession. Properly pursued, it enhances analytical, critical, and interpretive capacities that are applicable to any subject-matter, and in any human context. It cultivates the capacities and appetite for self-expression and reflection, for exchange and debate of ideas, for life-long learning, and for dealing with problems for which there are no easy answers. It also helps to prepare one for the tasks of citizenship. Participation in political and community affairs today is all too often insufficiently informed, manipulative, and vulnerable to demagoguery. A good philosophical education enhances the capacity to participate responsibly and intelligently in public life.

Philosophy could also relate to someone's personal ordinary way of thinking. Philosophy trains us to understand that everyone is different, therefore; it follows that everyone has different perceptions. You can speak for yourself, as you should; but allow others to understand your remote way of thinking. It is this way of thought that people learn to tolerate the difference and open their mind to understand about others.

Philosophy is an analysis of the concepts that we take for granted, an analysis of the concepts that we use to understand our relation to the world and our relations with each other. It teaches about the importance of the interrelation of human beings as well as the necessity of maintaining good interconnection with other beings and nature.

James L. Christian (2003) talks about philosophy as follows:

“It is often said that philosophers engage in two basic tasks: “taking a part” — analyzing ideas to discover if we truly know what we think we know — and “putting together” — synthesizing all our knowledge to find if we can attain a larger and better view of life. This is, philosophers try very hard to dig deeper and fly higher in order to solve problems and achieve a modicum of wisdom on the question of life and how to live it.

To accomplish all this, philosophers talk a lot. They carry on dialogues with anyone who comes within range. And they argue a great deal. Not the usual kind of argument in which egos fight to win, but philosophical arguments in which the participants attempt to clarify the reasoning that lies behind their statements; and no one cares about winning since, in philosophical arguments, everyone wins”.

The result of dispute resolution at the Arbitration Council of Cambodia finds that many issues in disputes can be resolved when different parties are brought together for dialogue.

V. Rational beings through education

Most philosophers say that humans are higher beings than other beings because we are rational beings. However, the capacity to rationalize is only enforced through good education. It is a logical fact that in order to become a legal expert one needs to go through a long legal education and practice. This is also the same for philosophical knowledge. Although people are born with the ability to think, not everyone thinks like philosophers and although the very basic element of philosophy is thinking, not all forms of thinking is considered philosophizing.

James L. Christian (2003) wrote:

“Ever since Socrates spent his days in the market place engaging in the Athenian citizens in thoughtful conversations, the message of philosophy has been that ordinary everyday thinking is inadequate for solving the important problems of life. If we are serious about finding solution, then we need to learn to think more carefully, critically, and precisely about the issues of daily life”.

VI. Conclusion

Philosophy is very important in every aspect of human life. It plays an important role in reducing disputes and violence, and to the building of a world of understanding. Philosophical knowledge can only be attained through many contemplations. Of course, it is not a knowledge one can learn or can be transferred from one person to another, but more exposure to philosophy study can encourage the attitude. Omitting the subject from the curriculum is not a way to prove that “philosophy is dead”. Instead it is an act of ignoring the existence of this important subject. It is like paying attention to the physical growth while ignoring the spiritual and emotional health of a person and the world as a whole. Finally, as a Cambodian I feel it is a big loss not to have philosophy in the curriculum of general study of Cambodia.

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The Use of Non-Violence in War and Peace

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1. Peace: What does it signify?

In the history of philosophy, Kant plays a significant role. His celebrated book, *Perpetual Peace* extensively dealt with international relations. It was not written for philosophers, like most of his works, but for the ordinary person; its publication can be regarded as a political act. In this book, he agreed with Rousseau that war was an intolerable evil, and that steps ought to be taken forthwith toward ending the use of war by States for the enforcement of what they took to be their rights.¹⁷ Kant considered war the source of all evil and moral corruption. In the last century, we have seen the irreversible consequences of war. There are no two opinions, under which we must all unite, nor a perfect envisage of a globe without war; but to what end do we seek this end and more importantly how do we achieve it?

The menace of war, the absence of peace and socio-economic evils –ethnic, religious and cultural– often lead to violence and destruction of people and property; proper education is needed to inform people about world peace, and how to practice and promote such peaceful behaviours. In the nuclear war, neither the victor nor the vanquished will survive, since this kind of violence has lost its “survival value” altogether. Warnings against nuclear war were given by Einstein in his five-line letter to President Roosevelt. Peace is rightly and appropriately defined as “an enterprise of justice”; for this reason, it is also correct to say that war is not the opposite of peace. Rather, the outbreak of armed violence can be understood as an effort to establish a true peace in a situation of injustice.

War is not inevitable, thus one can and must hope for its abolition. Tempering this hope is the understanding that in a sinful world, conflict is ever on the horizon. Without deliberate and serious commitment to avoid it, conflict can evolve into armed violence. Yet in the “fog of war”, the moral dimension of human existence must not be ignored. There ought to be restraints upon both the judgment to go to war and the means whereby war is waged. It is these two convictions – which war is possible but not inevitable and that war’s violence is subject to restraint – which constitute the guarded optimism of the tradition of war.

In the war, one must respect the past experiences of war veterans and victims alike. The toll of war on the lives of civilians must be condemned. In World War I, 5% of the casualties were civilian; in World War II 50%, and 80% of casualties in the Viet Nam War. In the more recent conflicts of the past decade 85% to 95% of war victims have been civilians. Behind these statistics, the tragedy is terrible. Thousands of children have witnessed brutality against their parents, siblings and neighbours. Women have been raped and beaten. War has affected a copious increase in the number of refugees.

In India, especially in the Hindu tradition, we come across two wars, one in Ramayana and another in Mahabharata. It is in Mahabharata that war is suggested by the Lord himself as there is no other way to protect virtue. This takes us to the problem of “just war”. Buddhism which preaches non-violence has influenced the Emperor Ashoka to give up his throne after his victory in war. The message is important, that one waging war may conquer the world but may not always conquer the mind; battles might bring victory but not inner peace.

At this juncture there is a great need to build a global ethic for sustainable peace and goodwill; the use of violence for self-defence should be the last. Even Gandhi who taught pacifism and non-violent resistance did not completely reject violence, saying “where there is a choice between cowardice and violence, I

17 Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace*. Mtholyoke.edu. <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/kant/kant1.htm>. Retrieved 2009-07-24.

would advise violence”¹⁸. But I believe that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence”. Martin Luther King also demonstrated this alternate way of categorizing options in stating “the choice is no longer between violence and non-violence. It’s non-violence or non-existence”¹⁹.

2. Does War Emerge Due to Clash of Civilizations or Conflict between Cultures?

At least for the past twenty years, communitarianism has become an important theme in the political sphere of life. It is claimed by its proponents to supersede both the rampantly libertarian individualism inherent in the liberal tradition and the straight-jacketed statism of what is regarded as no more than that tradition’s alter ego, socialism. It is in tune with the postmodern times in which we live. By denying any sort of universal foundations, it avoids the totalizing tendencies of Universalist Enlightenment thinking and emphasizes instead the epistemic norms and practices of specific communities. Politically and morally, it strikes a balance between the un-rooted and identity-less liberal individual and the all too rooted and just as identity-less member of a putatively socialist order. Communitarianism has its historical roots in the cultural and conceptual relativism, which arose in the English speaking philosophical world of the 1960s. That relativism allegedly mediated through the work of Wittgenstein, was in turn rooted in two closely related features of the 1960s: the political retreat from colonialism; and the intellectual reaction to Anglo-American liberalism’s historical twin, empiricism. The retreat from overt colonialism, however, was to be followed by the imposition of subtler forms of domination, both economic and cultural- which in this situation paralleled and impacted one another. The philosophy of this group was open to different cultures and concerned about the rights of every man; once such communitarian, Charles Taylor, defended minority rights.

The Summit of the Council of Europe 1993 brought forward that Europe is being confronted with a challenge, that has to do with national minorities which the “upheavals of history have established in Europe”. The European countries have become poly-ethnic. Some European countries can be called multicultural though most have ethnic diversity. Multiculturalism speaks about the politics of equality leading to universal equal rights irrespective of group membership. Politics of equality are complemented by politics of difference, which takes into account the differentiation and heterogeneity of human existence, and the particular identity of cultural groups. Within this context various cultural groups indicate that they want to preserve their cultural identity and express their demands for recognition, which results in an advocacy of minority rights. Kukathas and Waldron argue that preservation of a cultural identity need not require special rights and that politics of difference can be integrated into politics of equality. Politics of multiculturalism can be both universal and particularistic. The appreciation of other cultures and their values would help us to understand other nations which in turn will avoid further conflicts and wars. In the twentieth century, the knowledge of culture developed from the unified, universal, monological reconstruction of the cultural universe at the beginning of the century into a varied, pluralistic paradigm at the end. Pluralistic modern conceptions of the interrelations between human individuals, society, culture and nature do not destroy traditional opposition. Humans can be viewed as both a biological body and as a cultural phenomenon.

The efficacy of the response, from contemporary liberals, to the problem of conflict between majority cultures is limited as a result of inattention to the fundamentals of group conflict and an abstract understanding of the conditions for the existence of cultural differences. The liberal focus on rights, whether individual or group-differentiated, presupposes a conflict-ridden society and fails to address the problem at the material level. The two approaches to be considered, Habermas’ re-interpretation of the tradition of universal individual rights and Taylor and Kymlicka’s efforts to develop a liberal

18 *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation*, Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000): p. 1-19. <http://sacred-sovereign.uchicago.edu/rsa-ambivalence.html>

19 On April 3, 1968, the night before he was assassinated, Dr. King told thousands of people at the Mason Temple in Memphis, Tennessee: “For years now, we have been talking about war and peace. But now, no longer can we just talk about it. It is no longer a choice between violence and non-violence; it’s non-violence or nonexistence”.

theory of group rights both attempt to resolve group conflict at a political level. Unity in diversity is the anthropology of inclusive and progressive synthesis which manifests a universality of harmony, a universality of respect for others in their differences, universality of love, compassion and mutual aid.

3. Gandhian Method of Non-violence as a Solution to War

Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) was neither a philosopher in the academic sense of the term nor in the same regard was he a religious leader. He was not interested in expounding any system of philosophy, but he is the one who has been widely accepted on this globe. Albert Einstein wrote: "Generations to come, it may be, will scarcely believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth". The specialty of Gandhi is that he not only humanized politics but he intended to moralize and regionalize politics so that no gap is created between preaching and practicing. His two principles, namely truth and non-violence, which he derived from Indian tradition are important in the present day of politics wherein there is terrorism, war and intolerance. Gandhi's steadfast devotion to truth (*Satya*) and the application of non-violence (*Ahimsa*) as a method even in politics are perfectly in accordance with human nature. Non-violence is not for the weak, it is for the mentally composed.

Gandhi used his principle of non-violence to explain the dangers and the consequences of war. He firmly believed that the various problems of life could be solved by the simple principle of non-violence. It is well known that India has been a peace loving country from times immemorial. The ancient Veda says: "Let there be peace everywhere". Buddha, for example, taught that a man should overcome anger by love, evil by good and lies by truth. Different religions like Christianity and Islam also speak about the importance of love, affection and peace. Gandhi fully appreciated the insistence on peace by different religions. He firmly believed that mankind and its civilization could be saved from destruction only through the means of non-violence. As a strong believer of non-violence, he prescribed to the world the non-violent technique of Satyagraha as an effective substitute for the violent armed warfare. He said that before this peaceful method of non-violence, the bayonet turns to rust and the gun powder turns to dust. He also said that the very presence of Godliness in human beings established the possibility of permanent peace. "Not to believe in the possibility of permanent peace, is to doubt the divinity or godliness of human nature" (Richards, 1991). This statement is an affirmation of his fundamental metaphysical belief that permanent peace becomes possible when man realized himself and recognized his essential unity with truth or God. Gandhi is of the view that when a person achieves this state of realization, he believes that he develops a spirit of renunciation of imperialism, territorial gains or that of power and destructive weapons used for violence. War is a state of mind which reflects greed and the spirit of exploitation. The way of liberation from the tragedy of war is through a bold and unconditional acceptance of the non-violent method with all its glorious implications. His belief in the identity of self with the truth finds expression in his idea of the essential unity of mankind who should live in a united world of peace and non-violence.

Gandhi was a witness to two world wars during the last century. He therefore maintained that the major unsolved problem of international relations is war, as long as this problem is not solved, the ideal of world peace cannot be achieved. E. Stanley Jones said: "Almost simultaneously two great forces emerged in the world – atom force and atma force, one physical and the other spiritual". The atom force has been used in its advent for destructive physical ends. One is universal destruction and the other is universal deliverance. According to Gandhi, war and violence can never solve the problems. They sow the seeds of hatred that generate future wars. Dialogues and negotiations alone can settle disputes and the effects it produces are permanent. Because of this reason, it is sometimes said that "the more violence the less of revolution". All conflicts can be solved by peaceful means.

Non-violence and possession does not go together according to Gandhi. Theoretically perfect love and absolute renunciation have invariable concomitance. One who has desires, designs and attachment with any object cannot truly love a single individual, and can never be non-violent. It requires one to dedicate oneself to society and be a selfless seeker. It is impossible for an individual to possess a house, wealth, a car and the physical body and be absolutely non-violent. Only a man who renounces all his desires, possessions and ego can truly and absolutely be a non-violent individual. Gandhi says "Love and exclusive possession can never go together... Truth is meaningless if it is devoid of non-violence".

For him means and end are identical, truth and non-violence, indistinguishable. They are one and the same, enmeshed, entwined, and convertible. The goal of non-violence is the establishment of the moral order and not only in one's own country but in the entire universe. It aims at fraternity, justice, social inequality, and freedom from want. The highest aim of the votary is the realization of God or truth. It is the means that are more important than the end. If the means are wanting, the realization of end is not possible. Gandhi chose the spiritual means of non-violence and applied for the realization of different ends. By employing evil means moral and spiritual ends cannot be realized. If the means utilized are pious and pure, the resultant end will necessarily be sublime. Non-violence is a comprehensive and many sided path which not only brings salvation but uplifts the entire cosmos with it. It aims at social or cosmic salvation in preference to the individual salvation. Such a path involves all the three paths like, bhakti-yoga, jnana-yoga, and karma-yoga. Gandhi has done an immense service to mankind in evolving an integrated method of God-realization in non-violence. In the changed social structure and in the world of conflict, his philosophy of non-violence is socially relevant.

4. Terrorism and Violence

"Terrorism anywhere is a threat to peace, freedom, human dignity and civilization everywhere", says Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. Philosophers and the social scientists ask the question, whether there is a total failure of communicative action (of Habermas) in the context of September 11 events. Many have argued that the West has to make a self-study in dealing with other cultures. Also it is said the September event shows the clash of civilizations. This may be true, but the problem needs a philosophical response and understanding. Commenting on this, Derrida, for example, says as follows: "Such an 'event' [September 11] surely calls for a philosophical response. Better, a response that calls into question, at their most fundamental level, the most deep-seated conceptual presuppositions in philosophical discourse". Only a new philosophical reflection can awaken us, from the dogmatic slumber, i.e., a reflection on philosophy, most notably on political philosophy and its heritage. A philosophical response is very much necessary for understanding social problems. The occurrences in Ayodhya, Gujarat and Kashmir, the terrorist attack on Ayodhya complex, serial bomb attacks in London, mean that international terrorism has to be taken seriously and tackled vigorously.

The best way to tackle terrorism is to accept the diversity and multiculturalism of societies and the practice of the freedom that we value so much. We must be open to people and to ideas from around the world. Terrorism should not be equated with any nation or religion. Philosophers argue that terrorism may be considered as a psychological and metaphysical state. It can also be considered as a political category. In the Western political discourse as well as in Indian political discourse, it is viewed that terrorism attacks the founding moment of law and through it the legitimacy of the State. Terrorism emerges due to intolerance of others in religious, political and cultural spheres. The modern day sense of tolerance has its heritage in the ancient as well as contemporary thinkers of India. Gandhian approaches through Ahimsa and Satyagraha are of immense help in this context. The philosopher Kant believed that tolerance is an emancipatory promise of the modern age. Thus, a philosophical approach to the above problems is significant in the cultural, socio-political levels.

5. Pacifism

It is the view that the use of force is never justified. It is the opposite of militarism, or the view that the use of force is noble and just. William James in his essay "The Moral Equivalent of War" says that fighting a war required the virtues of heroism, self-sacrifice and loyalty. In spite of it, he called for a substitute for a war, something that could develop those same virtues without the destruction of armed conflict. Some pacifists support the use of physical and even lethal physical force when it is necessary, such as to defend oneself. It is true that the reasons given in support of pacifism vary. Some people believe that non-violent means to achieve some good end are preferable to violent means because they work better.

6. Just War Theory

Sometimes instead of “just war”, the phrase “justified war” has been used because in just war theory, there is a presumption against the use of military force that must be overcome. There is a general agreement that just war theory includes two basic areas namely, principles that would have to be satisfied for a nation to be justified in using military force or initiating a war (*jus ad bellum*), and principles governing the conduct of the military action or war itself (*jus in bello*). The first principle that provides a condition for going to war is the just cause principle. To use force against another nation, there must be a serious reason to justify it. The second principle is the proportionality principle. It requires that, before engaging in such action, we consider the probable costs and benefits of doing something else or of doing nothing. The third requirement is to justify initiating a war or military intervention is the last resort principle. The idea is that military interventions are extremely costly in terms of suffering, loss of life, and other destruction or other means must be considered first.

7. War Crimes and Universal Human Rights

War crimes are equated with “crimes against humanity”. War crimes imply that there are rules of war that have been adopted by the international community over the decades. Among these is the immunity of civilians or non-combatants during war. Some of these rules were put in place after World War II with its immense civilian death toll and the bombings of the cities of London, Dresden, Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It is also to point out how a number of modern day practices violate these rules. Among the examples are using civilians as a cover for rebel operations or as human shields against air attacks, and ethnic cleansing. There is an international debate over the inviolability of nation States and whether international groups have a right or responsibility to intervene in internal affairs or sovereign nations. The argument on the positive side cites the existence of universal human rights that should be protected by the international community when a nation is violating these rights of its citizens. There are many ways in which the peoples around the world are interdependent, because of developments in international trade, finance, property and information. Kofi Annan’s following statement is noteworthy here: “...nothing in the UN Charter precludes recognition that there are rights beyond borders”.

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Violence and Dialogue: An Epistemic Analysis²⁰

Luca Maria Scarantino, FISPH

Surprisingly perhaps, the notion of violence does not belong to the historical mainstream of philosophical thought – or, at least, of Western philosophy. However, it is a key concept for a philosophical understanding of the basic mechanism of inter-subjectivity. Here, I will not point at an analysis of violent behaviour or attitudes, but rather focus on the epistemic structures underlying these behaviours and attitudes. In other terms, I would like to show how construction of the basic structures of thought may contribute to explain a fundamental feature of inter-subjective dynamics – namely, the obliteration (*Vernichtung*) of the other by means of violence. I apologise in advance for the very synthetic exposition I shall produce here – actually, the title of this paper should be “Violence and Dialogue: A Terribly Short Epistemic Analysis”.

With regard to philosophical categories, the problem of violence is associated with the issue of realism and of the conditions of valid representation. In other words, I am here affirming the epistemic nature of violence and, in general, of all behavioural strategies through which inter-subjectivity is realized – including of course cultural dialogue. Let me bring in a few philosophical concepts. We all know that the principles of knowledge, the logical and perceptive (epistemic) assumptions, form what is known in philosophy as the ‘transcendental subject’ of knowledge. In the history of Western thought this subject has been conceived either substantially, as a corpus of beliefs or traditions (therefore, eventually, as a ‘Sittlichkeit’ or ethnicity in Hegel’s sense), or else as a formal network of transcendental structures. ‘Metaphysical realism’ represents the former. This major tradition in Western philosophical culture attributed a ‘natural’, thus absolute value to perceptive syntheses that expressed a limited set, or some limited sets of immediate perceptions. In other words the subject of knowledge (which was not necessarily empirical or psychological, but always had some kind of determinacy) raised particular empirical determinations to absolute criteria of knowledge – any other form of representation being dismissed as error, deviance or heresy. I shall not insist on this point.

What may need a few more words is the epistemic structure of the critical and formal tradition. Husserl’s phenomenology has taught us to practise suspension, or epochè, of immediate judgement. This especially complex concept should not be understood as a suspension of belief, but rather as a denial of the absoluteness of valid representation: the representation is only a functional synthesis of basic perceptions (‘hyletic data’) or complex gestaltic units. Whereas the classical metaphysical tradition allocated an absolute value to these representations, considering any variation in the representation as an ‘error’ to be corrected, critical philosophy sees these perceptive syntheses as the product of a historical and operational heritage. The word ‘horse’ is not a label we apply to an object existing as such (namely, a horse), but the term by which we designate a complex perceptive bunch, resulting from an instantaneous and purely culturally selection within experience, which has no element of ‘naturalness’ beyond culture. Our ‘natural attitude’, which makes us perceive a ‘horse’ instantly, appears as being simply the product of a cultural heritage which our culture has selected throughout its history as particularly suitable (on historically pragmatic grounds) for generating efficient or acceptable behaviour in the natural and social context. In other terms, there is no absolute necessity, no ‘ontological’ necessity in the way we conceive our representations, but an equally strong, and nonetheless subject to evolution and open to external inputs, historical necessity. This particular kind of necessity, whose characteristics have been deeply understood by American pragmatism (Lewis, Dewey, Morris), is what differentiates this approach from any kind of relativism. This ‘critical realism’, which characterizes phenomenology and contemporary critical thought in general, represented instead, as everyone knows, a turning-point in the history of philosophy, such that Kant at first saw in it the sign of a new Copernican revolution – indeed an epistemological revolution. It also constitutes the theoretical and epistemic frame of our discourse.

20 This paper re-elaborates some elements presented at the Interim World Congress of Philosophy held in Delhi (India) on December 15-18, 2006, and at the UNESCO World Day of Philosophy (Istanbul, November 22-23, 2007). I am particularly thankful to Gayatri Spivak, Tu Weiming, Joseph Margolis, Enrico Berti, Paolo Parrini and Marcelo Dascal for their valuable remarks.

Transformation of the transcendental subject into a formal network of perceptive, cognitive and intentional a priori is the chief feature of the phenomenological and critical – in a word, the transcendental – tradition. Revision of Kant's doctrine of categories, carried through by late nineteenth century neo-Kantian schools, particularly in Marburg (Germany), opened the way for the possibility of a historicization of the transcendental, which was and still is at the heart of contemporary epistemological concerns. But what concerns us here is another aspect of the problem: the fact that only a functional legalization of experience may produce categories capable of universalizing single pragmatic experiences (*Erlebnisse* or *expériences vécues*²¹). This gradual liberation of particular experiences subsumes them in a universality that makes possible a free interaction with other individuals, who, on their own, carry other particular and individual experiences. Functional legalization as universalization is the way in which the different experiences can interact, rather than being judged and constrained to adapt to a pre-formed reality. I am not attempting here a technical description of how this functional legalization of experience works, particularly through postulation of an antinomic structure of knowledge and the intentional nature of transcendental ideas. What I wish to stress is that the liberating effect of operational, transcendental philosophies (may, I quote empiricism and pragmatism) lies in this functional universalization of the original '*Erlebnisse*'. So we are released from our intuitive rootedness and can give birth to a common shared experience, stripped of the original attachment to *Erlebnis*, thus abandoning our concrete finiteness that renders other finitenesses incomprehensible and remote. Lived experience – yet, the essential stuff of knowledge – is transposed on to a transcendental plan where it can be developed in common and give rise to discussion rather than dogma, consultation rather than coercion, persuasion rather than violence.²²

The opposition between persuasion and violence should not surprise us. This common plan of communication and elaboration of our experiences is the public and historical moment of the formation of meaning. In releasing the intuitive level from its determinateness through a system of transcendental ideas, reason projects the different and particular pragmatic experiences into a relational framework of ideas. It is at this higher level that the different individual intuitions can interact together, participate and alter the shared heritage which is the transcendental subject. To borrow a phrase from the sociology of action, it is through this possibility of transcendental interaction (formal and intentional) that the epistemic trust needed to establish the social bond is generated.

Without this rational elevation, this rational universalization of experience, interaction is blocked. Fixing representation in an ontological determination means interrupting any evolution of our category legalization of experience. That is the authoritarian origin of moralism: transcendental universality is reduced to one or a few of its specific determinations by introducing an abstract norm that claims to apply to the whole of the real. Reality is no longer conceived as an evolutionary process, but rather as a dogmatic set of fixed representations. Pragmatic diversity is forced into a dogmatic legalization, and the theoretical (or moral) hypostases of one of its moments come to rule over the whole of experience.

The epistemic roots of violence lie in a substantialization of the formal and intentional structures of knowledge. To reduce the transcendental plan to a substantial concreteness means cutting off the development of the interaction and meaning formation. Authoritarian imposition arises out of this act of prevarication. At the same time, social cohesion is destroyed. Public participation and exchange are erased in favour of an enforced compliance with norms imposed from above. The individual is no longer an actor in the social process but becomes a mere passive receiver – what Michel Wieviorka has called a 'floating subject'. Philosophically this might be expressed in terms of a substantialization of the transcendental subject. The moral and epistemic roots of violence lie in this negation of the shared, universal plan of rationality in favour of one or some of its specific determinations. Such obliteration would express the refusal to take our arguments and those of our interlocutor onto a level of dynamic universality that allows them to interact and modify one another. It also expresses fear of change and the irrational desire to stay clinging to our individual determinations and our fixed identity. It is a fence thrown up against the interlocutor, an authoritarian reduction of rationality to one of its particular moments, an imposition of our individual experience, our will, choices and prejudices.

21 Not sense data. Sense data are an epistemological abstraction from the experience. '*Erlebnisse*' here refer to complex gestaltic units, as we experience them, close to what M. Schlick called *Konstatierungen*.

22 Giulio Preti, "Dewey et la philosophie des sciences", dans Preti (G.) *Écrits philosophiques*, éd. par L. M. Scarantino. Préface par Jean Petitot, Paris, Cerf, 2002, p. 113-138.

What seems to me a good historical example of the link between trust and violence – or trust process be non-violence – is represented by Gandhi's stance of civil disobedience. How effective would this be an unrestricted power ready to destroy all that does not fit into a unique symbolic determination, namely a *Gefolgschaft*? Gandhi's historical force was to blow up in a highly concrete manner, by incarnating them, the radical contradictions between a democratic society and violent practices that it authorized. By opposing social trust and colonial violence, he broke up the British power²³. But in a totalitarian state no such opposition is effective, for social trust lies in a closed set of dogmatic beliefs and, as long as the figure of the leader is conferred the status of symbolic incarnation of a whole group, everything is permitted. Now as I tried to show, totalitarianism is the necessary consequence of a substantialisation of the transcendental subject of knowledge.

What we require in order to bring about a free and rational interaction between individuals is then a functional rather than a metaphysical constitution of the objectivities. 'Respecting the right to criticize, object and collaborate' is not a cliché: it means the possibility of understanding each other and, before that, of expressing ourselves on a shared level of inter-subjectivity: "My dignity as a human being and as a citizen comes from accepting a wider egoity", writes Giulio Preti in 1957.²⁴ Doing away with that inter-subjective level means reducing others to silence, stopping them from speaking, imposing our views rather than moving them on to the plane of social interactions. Thus violence is first of all excluding others from the social process of meaning formation, unilaterally reducing interaction, blocking and clamping down on the socialization process²⁵.

Through this epistemic constitution of inter-subjectivity, philosophical thinking thus shows it has a part to play in cultural action that aims to prompt dialogic approaches to modes of interpersonal exchange. I have attempted to show elsewhere²⁶ that this situation is related to what is normally called a 'morality of resentment', a particular type of moral conformism closely associated with the dogmatism of reason and with a 'communal', therefore identitarian, type of discourse, where individual assent is no longer rooted in an individual, free and rational judgement, but is based on the conditioning emerging from a concrete, specific human group. Here, the stances we adopt take their legitimacy from the recognition they receive within a concrete group. This social determination generates that particularly powerful kind of conformism called the consensus *gentium* (*doxa*), which prevents the individual from taking up any position that might diverge from the dominant direction of the concrete group he or she belongs to. Assent is no longer a tool of knowledge; it becomes an instrument of social positioning.

Thus the truth criterion is no longer inherent within the discourse; it comes from the *auctoritas* of a group, from its *doxa*. As for morality, this means refusing all dialogic interaction, no matter how conflictual it might be, in favour of a sectarian logic, expressing particular interests opposed to the general interest rather than integrating into it. This identitarian drift causes a shattering of social cohesion and generates closed groups, each with a strong identity centre. Because they barely interact, these groups are impoverished; the flow of exchange of experiences dries up and the social fabric deteriorates.

So we are led to the issue of the 'dialogue between cultures', or between civilizations, much debated nowadays. The historical nature of the principles of knowledge determines both the liberating power of rationality and its very limits. Their concrete historicity gives rise to different systems at the formal level, but more especially at the level of transcendental ideas (the sphere of culture in the anthropologists' sense)²⁷. The diversity of cultures is a necessary consequence of the historical determination of the transcendental subject of knowledge. But we must beware of any universalism of reason that affirms the primacy of one transcendental system over others: each intentional system corresponds to historical

23 The Spanish philosopher José Luis Aranguren (1973: 51) spoke of a 'guerra cortés', noting that the British had come to the 'impossibility of going on like this'.

24 Praxis ed empirismo p. 49

25 Of course, this has nothing to do with the problem of the legitimacy of such attitude under certain particular conditions, i.e. with the problem of justifying violence and of the possibility of a 'just war'. We are simply trying to describe the basic epistemic structures of violent attitudes, no matter what their eventual legitimacy might be.

26 *Persuasion, Rhetoric and Authority*, *Diogenes* 55(1), 2008: p. 22-36.

27 Conceiving culture as the set of transcendental ideas or intentionalities is the way in which philosophy is able to define the concept of culture in an operational way. Identification between culture and ethics is here rejected.

intentionalities which proceed from an attempt to respond to historical needs and to the concrete history of the civilization that produced them. Knowledge is never 'radical'; it always presupposes a social context and an inter-subjective community where discourse develops concretely. On the other hand, we need to avoid any culturalist, communal or communitarian orientation: on the contrary, the open (formal) character of the transcendental plan protects us from any crystallization of ethical systems. The inherent antinomy of transcendental ideas or intentionality's means that we can go beyond conflicts between intentionality's by generating new intentionality's and getting on to a 'further level' (a morphogenesis or 'Aufhebung'). In other words, we must avoid reducing the plurality of transcendental systems of ideas to historically determined ethical systems. This kind of cultural relativism, which I strongly reject, would situate all interaction between cultures at the level of their ethical systems, thus denying it by appealing to a 'respect between cultures' which in fact is simply a 'respect between ethics'. Interaction, exchange between cultural systems can and must take place on the transcendental level of intentionality's of knowledge rather than at the already crystallized level of habitus. Any attempt to situate it at the level of ethics would be a snare destined to end in the impossibility of true dialogue, and in communal or 'multiculturalists' consequences. It was precisely by identifying culture with a human group's 'set of acquired forms of behaviour', that, thanks to identification between culture and ethics, Samuel Huntington could develop his theory of a clash of civilizations. Any cultural relativism, insofar as it is based on identification between ethics and culture, can only constitute the most radical negation of an interaction between cultures, since that very interaction is blocked before it can reach the level of universality which only makes it possible.

It is on the level of pragmatic interaction, the level of concrete behaviours that the diversity, affinities, compatibility or incompatibility between cultures are measured: and it is through behaviours that the success of cultural mediations can be measured. Indeed the axiological dynamic reveals analogies with the Kuhnian dynamic of scientific paradigms. Like theoretical truth, the validity of values is time-independent: "the phenomenological relationship between act and value, between value and object assessed is an a-temporal relationship, because it is intrinsic"²⁸. But on the other hand 'we are faced with the historical experience of the diversity of scales of value, or at least of their hierarchies.'²⁹ Above all, and this is a crucial point, as scientific systems always interact at the level of basic experience, similarly interaction between different moral and transcendental systems (or, if you will, differently structured transcendental subjects) always takes place at the level of behaviours. Their transformation results nevertheless, from the transcendental level of the ideas of reason, the level of the intentionality's that constitute knowledge or, if you wish, the level where cultural forms are constituted. For behaviours to become structurally compatible, not only occasionally reconciliated, it is essential to bring their generating levels, the formal structures of legalization of experience to a degree of compatibility, i.e. of integration.

Intercultural dialogue can only take place at the formal, open level of hierarchies of values, rather than at the historically crystallized level of ethical systems. Practices like stoning or infibulations are not likely to be eliminated simply by a preacher preaching about what is right and what is wrong, or by opposing to the value systems underlying those practices other systems equally closed – on the contrary, is it all about intervening on the deepest level of meaning of such practices, in the same way as the secularization process experienced by Western culture challenged the very foundation of our knowledge and beliefs, including of course religious beliefs and precepts. Here is a particularly complex task, which needs to tackle the very roots of a way of life and of a culture: otherwise we risk incurring a radicalization of positions which, being associated to group beliefs and practices will trigger communal defence mechanisms. Here is the role of philosophy as *paideia*.

'Non più la luna è in cielo a noi, che noi alla luna':³⁰ such was Giordano Bruno's conclusion after his analysis of the omnipresence of the divine. When pragmatic behaviours conflict, we must go back to the root level of transcendental intentionality to develop fresh normative systems that will in their turn generate new and compatible pragmatic behaviours. The idea of a historical determinateness

28 G. Preti, *ibid*, p. 210.

29 *Ibid*.

30 An English translation of the Italian could be: no more the moon is in the sky to us, what are we to the moon?

of the transcendental subject of knowledge, the idea of its historicity, far from leaning towards an ethical relativism or communal demands, fits with a dialogic conception of the interaction between moral systems: moral intuition varies from one population to another, one generation to another, one individual to another and sometimes even within a single individual. For these many and diverse intuitions to be recognized as “moral”, we must accept a principle which, on the one hand, is a universal idea historically embodied in one or other of those ethical intuitions and which, on the other hand, forms the criterion that lets us assess each of these intuitions as an “ethical” intuition whose positivity we accept, and even assert (...). The pure idea of morality is transcendental and therefore, irreducible to any empirical concretization whatsoever.³¹ Incidentally, the universality of human rights attempts precisely to express this fundamental constitutive level: through the basic notions of the dignity and liberty of the person, the human rights represent the conditions of possibility for every system of values, for every open morality, to be fulfilled. As such, they are imminent, embedded in the different system of values. But they also express a task, since they do not authorize all moral systems: any system enclosed within a rigid ethical corpus will end in a conflict with this fundamental constitutive level. To some extent, one of the major tasks of human right would be to reveal the aporeticity of dogmatic, therefore authoritarian, systems of values.

Moral attitude does not recognize any closure, either as to individuals or value systems. On the contrary, because of its formal nature, its emptiness, the transcendental subject allows infinity of contents. Its formal nature entails freedom because a critique may be undertaken from within, a self-criticism of the ethical systems and bodies of belief that succeed each other historically. It contains an inherent capacity for self-criticism, because the cultural fabric in which it is imminent, common sense, is not a corpus of substantial content (as, say, in George Moore’s philosophy) but expresses the functional (formal) modes of acquisition of pragmatic experiences, the gestaltic syntheses of our natural attitudes as they evolve historically. As such, freedom is not a condition for the possibility of history; it is a gradual conquest of culture. It is because Western philosophy has learnt to conceive knowledge as a formal process of resolving experience, as a functional universalization of intuitive experiences (*Erlebnisse*), that it has been able to escape from a closed corpus of beliefs, precepts and dogmas. But that culture is still a battlefield between formal knowledge, with the free, open morality that goes with it, and dogmatic knowledge with its authoritarian morals. The history of freedom is the history of the gradual affirmation of a transcendental legalization of experience as against an epistemology of *adaequatio*.

Finally, interaction, no matter whether between cultures or individuals, implies readiness to change ourselves. Bringing our experiences to a shared universality means submitting them to some kind of plastic force, it means feeding them into a mechanism that is likely to change them utterly. Rationalization of experience forces the empirical subject, individual as well as social or cultural, to challenge its concrete form, its configuration and its ‘self’. It requires us to be prepared to take hold of our self and our own flesh, to force our compulsions and desires, to change our ego in the name of the chance to interact and communicate, in the name of a universality of meaning, of a reciprocal understanding therefore, which is the fundamental element of mutual trust and human sociability. Without that readiness to change, without this generosity which is not simply a moral feature but a basic epistemic mechanism, no interaction can be possible: there will only be a clash of experiences, a conflict of specific identities desperately clinging to their original determinations. In other words, exchange between individuals must work to construct personal identities. Identities do not pre-exist exchange – unless in a dogmatically hypostasized way – they result from exchange. Identity is but the limit of the processes of exchange and, as such, it is always mobile. It is defined more so as a strain towards the action, a mission, an action plan, rather than as a stock of cultural determinations or patterns. Identity is not an object that can be described; it is rather a function immanent into action. In this way we can build a typically moral concept, generosity or charity, as a fundamental epistemic mechanism³² and also claim that a revision in a transcendental – or critical – direction of the philosophical construction of knowledge might contribute significantly to the analysis of many key concepts in the social and, perhaps, political sciences.

31 G. Preti, as, p. 19-21.

32 From a very different perspective, and in other contexts, we find the same strategy in the Confucian notion of “*ren*” (benevolence), which arrives at the same epistemic basis for moral values.

Strengthening People's Voices in Peace Building in Conflict and Post-Conflict Context Offers the Best Menu for any Lasting Peace Deal

Richard Kibirige, Uganda

Introduction

This paper discusses the need for peace building in a post-conflict context. The views are drawn from community members who suffered, both directly or indirectly, from the brutal impact of civil conflict or as combatants from the bush and received legal and social pardon from their victims.

This study is primarily meant to draw the attention of readers and focus it on surviving war victims and ex-combatants and their need to be at the forefront of post-conflict negotiations; to seek or apply lessons learned from the voices or views of the survivors, and back it up with international lobbying; to make sure that the people who were marginalized in the conflicts are not marginalized in the peace process; to stress the needs of the survivors who are often overlooked in a conflict like in the Great Lakes Region, particularly in the northern part of Uganda, which has displaced over 90 percent of the population. Due to the displacement, there is nobody there to give a helping hand to post-conflict-war victims. These findings suggest that, despite a number of resolutions and counter bomb attacks, peace building is necessary for conflict resolution and for long term reconciliation.

The Role of People's Views in Finding Sustainable Peace

According to the voices of the majority of those who have suffered directly or indirectly in the conflict, from the above study, have expressed their desire for the conflict to be resolved through peaceful means. It is against this background that those concerned should respect the voices (wishes) of the people, as enshrined in the international Human Rights instruments and domestic constitutions.³³

John Stuart Mill, (1859), was in agreement with this point of view. His argument that supports the freedom of individual thought and open discussion no matter the prerogative, right or wrong, of an opinion is especially relevant today when authoritarian elements abroad and in our own midst threaten to strife hopes of realizing a democratic civilization for humankind. In arguing against the repression of any opinion, Mill set forth the following argument:

"If an opinion is suppressed, and it is true, then we lose the opportunity of exchanging truth or falsehood. If an opinion is suppressed, and it is false, then we lose the opportunity of obtaining a clearer conception of our own position".³⁴ Hence there should not be any censorship of political speech.

The above suggests that the international community should play a leading role in promoting and protecting resolutions aimed at sustaining the presence of both peace and safety for members of the community who have suffered both directly and indirectly, from the brutal civil conflict, and for ex-combatants, that they may not have to engage in war practices again. At this stage in the conflict it is unfathomable to remain silent on the issues, support must be lent to the dreams and wishes of those who but want to live safely; with both hands and heart toiling for a change, future resolutions should find the ground they are planted in fertile and ready for peace.

33 See. The Refugee Law Report; *The confessions of War victims in the Northern part of Uganda*, 2000.

34 Read James A. Gould et al. *Classical Philosophers Questions* 10th Ed. Prentice Hall, Macmillan Publishing Company. New York, 1992.

In some conflicting situations the International Criminal Court has failed to compromise with the views of surviving victims and ex-combatants. Moreover, the role of culture and religion, instead of being at the epicentre of rehabilitative efforts it is sidelined, discarded and lost in the process of peace building. The people in the northern region of Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo have thus recommended that it is better to resolve conflict through peaceful means of reconciliation as outlined in the Uganda Amnesty Act of 2000.

Given that it is the people within the conflict, particularly those directly exposed to it, that are the direct recipients of such injustices, it is imperative that their perspective and understandings be recognized in any discussion concerning any meaningful peace building process.

While speaking at a Seminar, on the promotion of peace and justice and in light of the setting up of a special division within the High Court to try the Lord Resistance Army rebels, James Ogoola (2008), the Principle Judge in Uganda had this to say:

“Although lawyers had mocked Mato-Oput, the Acholi traditional Justice system, they are now supportive of it... many lawyers were trained in the Western style of justice and could not understand the African concept of justice. ... Many could not even pronounce it, they called ‘mataputo’, I told them we should develop Mata Oput to make it part of the international justice system. Every lawyer worth his salt is now supportive of the traditional methods of resolving disputes”.³⁵

He elaborated that the principle of double jeopardy had to be looked into so that people would not be charged twice for the same offences, by the traditional and Western system. “The war has touched very many, healing will be of utmost necessity. The emphasis should be restoration of justice and reconciliation”.³⁶

Moses Adriko, the Chairperson of the Advocates for International Law, said the outcome of the Juba Peace process must include fair persecutions of those responsible for serious crimes and accountability measures for lesser offences committed during the 20 year conflict in the northern part of Uganda.

“Ensuring that there is no impunity is essential to accountability and establishing durable peace. The war crimes court will contribute to sending signals about accountability and will stop violence”.³⁷

The local Member of Parliament, Dokolo, Felix Okot Ogong quoted in The New Vision newspaper (2008) said that the only justice people in the north part of Uganda needed was peace. “We need peace through dialogue. The war must end”.³⁸

According to Uganda’s Amnesty Act 2000, the involvement of the International Criminal Court in the northern part of Uganda undermined the peace building process; which involves the civil community and religious leaders to resolve conflict.

The ICC should instead withdraw its investigation and imminent indictment of ex-combatants in the interest of the victims of the conflict. The focus should be put on the issue of reintegrating ex-combatants, and seeking their acceptance with the civil community as a way of creating the necessary environment for sustainable peace building.

Findings from the Uganda’s Amnesty Act 2000 reveal that, the concept of punishing former child soldiers or ex-combatants in any way for the acts they committed instead keeps them in hiding in the bush only to continue with acts of terrorism. As one of the cultural leaders in Kitgum narrated:

“... this amnesty, we support it because we requested it so that our children in the bush can come back home. The government is just being beating around the bush so that we Acholi (a tribe in northern

35 Read James Ogoola; Laws back ‘Mato Oput’ Traditional Justice System quoted in The New Vision News Papers, Wednesday, July 09, 2008.

36 *Ibid.*

37 *Ibid.*

38 *Ibid.*

conflict Uganda) get killed in this war. Even the children, they are being killed by helicopter bombings".³⁹ (The said example seems to be happening in Iraq, too).

Another female returnee who had been in the bush for 4 years said:

"The best thing that amnesty has done is to forgive me for what I did".⁴⁰

In contrast The Uganda People's Forces (UPDF) has not only been unable to protect the civilians but has been accused of committing atrocities. The Lord Resistant Arm (LRA) is not viewed as the only perpetrators of violence in this context. As an elderly community member stated:

"The innocent children, who were abducted, forced to do many atrocities but against their will, I really welcome them... for those who might have gone of their own accord, there is a lot of complexity in this one. But then the government has done wrong, the rebels have done wrong so this magnitude of suffering means we just these people back for good".⁴¹

The Road to Sustainable Peace Building in a Conflict and Post-Conflict Context

In any process of Peace Building the standards of procedural justice must be respected. This should be built on the principles of neutrality, persuasive conflict and settlement as listed below respectively:

Neutrality

- (1) No person should be judged in his own cause.
- (2) The dispute settler should have no private interest in the outcome.
- (3) The dispute settler should not be biased in favour or against a party.

Persuasive Conflict

- (1) Each party should be given fair notice of the proceeding.
- (2) The dispute settler should hear the argument and evidence of both sides.
- (3) The dispute settler should hear a party in the presence of the other party.
- (4) Each party should be given a fair opportunity to respond to the arguments and evidence of the other party.

Settlement

- (1) The terms of the settlement should be supportable by reasons.
- (2) The reasons should refer to the arguments and evidence presented.

Many, perhaps all, of the above are contained in what English jurists call Natural Justice. They have been considered so fundamental that, despite the doctrine of parliamentary supremacy, some English judges have said that an act of parliament against them would be void in itself.⁴²

39 Interview with Elderly man community member, Kitgum Town, Uganda, 20th November 2004.

40 Interview with female ex-combatant, Gulu Town, Uganda, 11th November 2004: Reported in The Refugee Report 2000.

41 Interview with community member, Atiak Camp, 11th November 2004.

42 See. Roberts S. Summer "Law, Adjudicative, and Civil Justice". In G. Hughs, ed., *Law, Reason and Peace* (New York University Press, 1969). p.169-85; CK. Allen. *Aspects of Justice* (London: Stevens and Sons, Ltd.1985), F.E.Dowrick, *Justice According to the English Common Lawyers*(London: Butter worth,1961).

Conclusion

In a word, the findings reveal that conflict and its victims, survivors and ex-combatants are desperately in need of resolutions that consider their plight and can keep them at the centre of peace building initiatives. Thus, they should be at the forefront of negotiations; to seek or apply lessons learned from the experiences and views of survivors. This too should be backed up with international lobbying, to make sure that the people who were marginalized in the conflicts are not marginalized in the peace process. The discussion shows that sustainable peace building is not only essential to resolving international disorders but that it is also key to the reunification and reconciliation of the civil community (war victims), the government and the international community with ex-combatants; all through the reintegration of the former bush veterans. This is the real change that the war victims believe in. This is because they have the will to forgive and reunite with their former or present oppressors in exchange for peace. For any community to welcome an ex-combatant, who has confessed their atrocities should not be taken for granted but should be recommended. The peace building process is the real change people must believe in. Hence, for the good of any peace building process reached between civil communities and government with ex-combatants is very welcome. It would be a step backward or sitting on a time bomb if any international community dismissed such efforts and pursued prosecuting any of the parties involved in the reconciliation process to reach a peace deal. This is because dialogue between the war survivors (civil community-religious-cultural leaders) and self-confessed rebels, offers the best options for any lasting peace deal.

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Understanding the Impulse to War in Terms of Community Consciousness and Culturally Specific Religious Values

John Mensing, Sri Lanka

War rests upon assumptions, some soundly geopolitical, others opportune and preservationist. Cultural formations appraised as religions, instead of being dismissed as elective choices and essentialized under a rubric of universalistic human values, may be better understood as offering an understanding of local cultural priorities and historical imperatives in a way which allows for negotiations of trans-local concerns. In an effort to emphasize this difference, this paper will compare conceptions of Buddhism in the United States with conceptions of Buddhism in Sri Lanka, showing how the term 'Buddhism' has been used both to convey the concept of an individual elective choice and to convey the concept of a community identity. These two meanings are fundamentally different. When Buddhism is used as a term to describe an individual elective choice, that kind of individual has a radically different notion of what it means to be a person and what it means to hold a religion compared to someone who uses the term Buddhism (or Buddha-sasana) to describe a shared community identity.

When pristine Buddhism is viewed as a 'religion' in America it conjures and then projects this vision upon cultures with a radically different sense of who is the self and who are the others. By viewing Buddhism as a rhetorical configuration (a semiotic nexus for the shared traditions by which the liminal is given meaning), we can easily recognize how Buddhism not only signifies the Pali canon, the Jātaka stories, the Mahavamsa; bana preaching, the ritual practice of dana-sil and pirit ceremonies; Buddhism also means national Sri Lankan identity. The difference between Buddhism as an elective choice and Buddhism as a shared community/ethnic/caste/national identity is based on different notions of what constitutes an individual self and what constitutes a community.

When one locates this fundamental difference in the varying conceptions of who is the self and who are the others, one gives up a universalistic outlook in favour of a distinction made on the basis of who is an insider and who is an outsider. One of the major institutionalizations of the paribbājakā role in Indian society occurred in the form of Buddhism. If we typify Buddhism as the institutionalization of this paribbājakā ideal, then we can see that having the outsider ritualized guarantees that the insider will have a clear delineation of where society begins and where society ends. In contrast, American culture premises that all individuals are all inherently out-worldly, presenting a co-modified consciousness which elevates individuals as potentially in charge of making discrete decisions with regard to consumption; this will-to-private property is thought to supersede any claim made by shared group values.

While it is not possible to reconcile these two different viewpoints, recognizing their basis in different conceptions of the self and community (rather than in corrupt and pristine religious practices) presents a more workable schema for negotiating the differences between post modern cultures and cultures still making the transition to modernity. It is hypothesized that a shift in emphasis in development activities, from exclusively materialistic development goals toward goals which honour and sustain pre-modern social hierarchies, will nurture conflict reduction modalities, and allow for the creation of new arenas for negotiation, ultimately reducing the risk of physical confrontations.

Islamic Organization in Thailand: A Dialogue for Human Security and Peace

Plubplung Kongchana, Thailand

1. Introduction

Thailand is located in Southeast Asia, and the majority of its population is Buddhist. As has been reported in the following statistics of year 2000, the formal religious preferences of the Thai population, which was 60,617,300 persons in the year 2000, may be classified as follows:

Believers of religions	Number of persons	Percentages
Buddhists	57,324,600	94.57%
Muslims	2,815,900	4.65%
Christians	438,600	0.72%
Hindus	2,900	0.005%
Confucians	4,900	0.01%
Others	19,900	0.03%
No Religion	6,000	0.01%
Religions unknown	4,500	0.01%
Total	60,617,300	100%

Source: The 2000 Population and Housing Census, National Statistical Office.

From the perspective of the above statistics, it is known that approximately 4.65% of Thai population is Muslim and therefore the Thai Muslims are considered a minority religious group in Thailand. However, when considered from other perspectives, Muslims in Thailand are a group of people who have important roles in Thai society since ancient times – much historical evidence is supportive of this. However, in this article the writer presents the current situation of Thai Muslims from the perspective of Islamic organization in Thailand. It is discovered that Thai Muslims are people of long history and good organization.

The objectives of presenting the Islamic organizations in Thailand are mainly to provide data and information of the said Islamic organization in a view to understand Muslim community in Thailand. Thailand is in a state of ongoing modernization wherein there are negative effects widening disparities in Thai society. This gives rise to conflict within Thai society such as what is happening in the southern part of Thailand which poses a threat to human security and peace in the region. A solution of philosophical dialogue is proposed with a purpose to introduce pluralism among people of different faiths in order to safeguard human security and peace that may be under threat arising from conflict due to the differences in faiths.

2. The B.E. 2540⁴³ (1997) Act Regarding Administration of Religious Organization of Islam in Thailand

From demographic perspective, Thai Muslims are in fact a minority in Thailand; but from legal perspective, it is found that Muslims in Thailand have a strong and well recognized organization. The Act regarding Administration of Religious Organization of Islam in Thailand reveals to us how profound Islam has taken root in Thai society; its details are presented as follows.

The current act regarding the administration of religious organization of Islam was first promulgated in 1947, and along the years of its enforcement it has been revised many times to keep it up with the changing social situation. The latest revision of the act is the 1997 Act, which has altogether 46 articles classified into sections. The major contents of the Act are as follows.

Section 1. Regarding the Chularajmontri⁴⁴: This section provides for the selection and appointment of Chularajmontri; it specifies the procedure of searching for the Chularajmontri, and the qualifications, the authorities and the responsibilities of the Chularajmontri (from articles 1 to 11).

Section 2. Regarding Establishment and Disestablishment of Mosque: this section provides for the matters of construction, establishment, moving, merging, disestablishment and registration of mosques (from articles 12 to 15).

Section 3. Regarding the Central Islamic Committee of Thailand: this section provides for the matters of searching for personnel to fill the committee; it specifies the qualifications, appointment, authorities and responsibilities, termination of committee membership, status and office of the committee members (from articles 16 to 22).

Section 4. Regarding Provincial Islamic Committee: This section provides for the matters of selection and appointment of provincial Islamic committee; it specifies the qualifications, authorities and responsibilities, termination of committee membership, status and office of the committee members (from articles 23 to 29)

Section 5. Regarding the Mosque Committee: This section provides for the matters of selection and appointment of mosque committees; it specifies the qualifications, authorities and responsibilities, termination of committee membership, status and office of the committee members (from articles 30 to 42).

Temporary provisions regard general affairs of the Chularajmontri, the Central Islamic Committee of Thailand, the Provincial Islamic Committee and others (from articles 43 to 46).

The aforementioned Act provides for the organization and leadership of Muslims in Thailand. The legal Islamic organization in Thailand primarily consists of registered mosques at the lowest level and the leader is the Chularajmontri at the top. The effectiveness of the Act may be seen in the following section about the current Islamic organizations of Thailand.

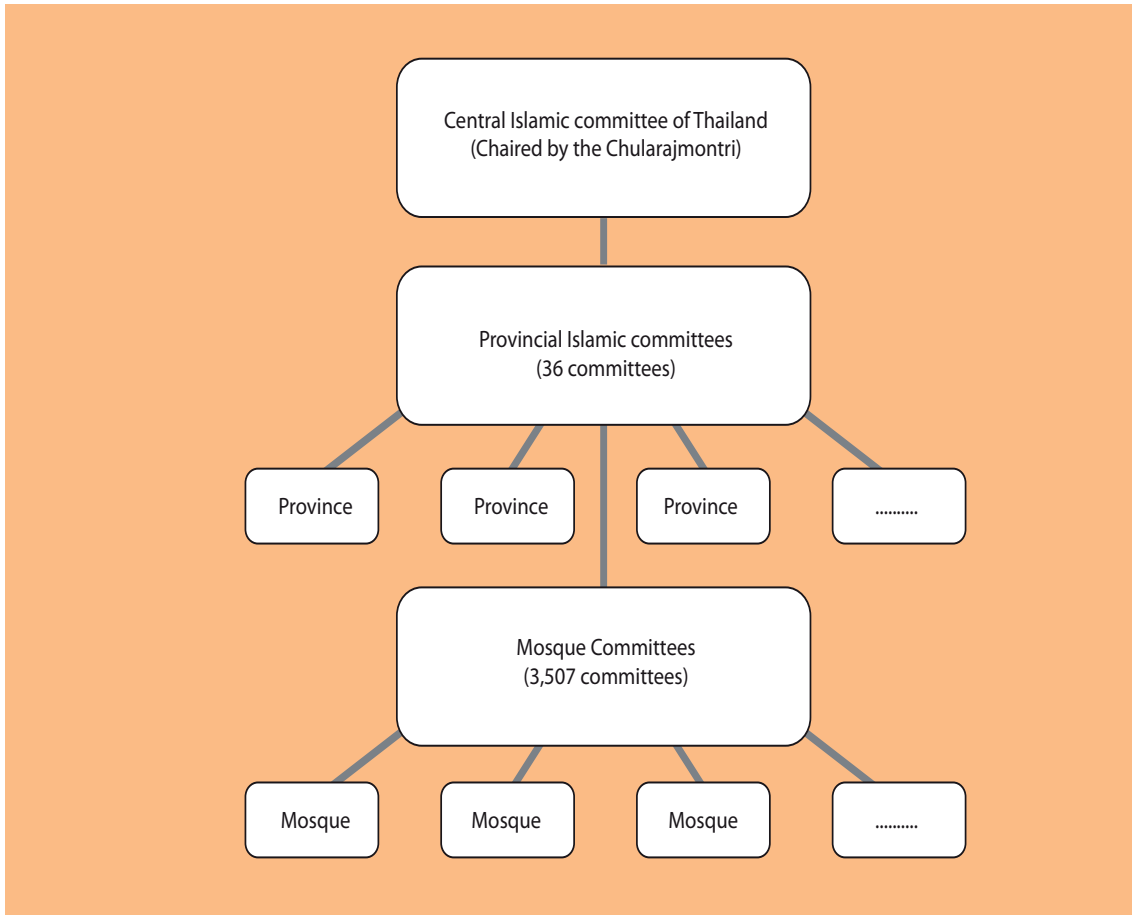
2.1 The Current Islamic Organization of Thailand

The Islamic organizations in Thailand are administered in a democratic fashion; voting is used to elect committee members at the level as low as that of mosque committees in communities and villages, or up to high levels as those of the provincial level and national level as in the following diagram.

43 Buddhist Era.

44 The position title of the legal leadership over Islamic affairs in Thailand, or Sheikh al' Islam in Thailand.

Organization Chart of the Islamic Organization in Thailand



Source: the B.E. 2540 (1997) Act regarding Administration of Islamic Organization.

Mosque Committees

There are currently altogether 3,507 registered mosques scattered around in 64 out of 76 provinces of Thailand. Table 1 shows the details of the mosques⁴⁵.

Table 1: Number of mosques in Thai provinces

No.	Provinces	Number of mosques	No.	Provinces	Number of mosques
1	Krabi	173	33	Phitsanulok	1
2	Bangkok	175	34	Phetchaburi	14
3	Kanchanaburi	6	35	Phetchabun	2
4	Kalasin	1	36	Phrae	1
5	Khon Kaen	3	37	Phuket	50
6	Chanthaburi	1	38	Mae Hong Son	2
7	Chachoengsao	65	39	Yala	436
8	Chonburi	28	40	Ranong	29
9	Chainat	1	41	Rayong	8
10	Chaiyaphum	2	42	Ratchaburi	3
11	Chumporn	6	43	Roi-Et	1
12	Chiang Rai	4	44	Lopburi	3
13	Chiang Mai	13	45	Lampang	1
14	Trang	130	46	Lamphun	1
15	Trat	12	47	Loei	1
16	Tak	4	48	Sakon Nakhon	1
17	Nakhon Nayok	25	49	Songkhla	354
18	Nakhon Pathom	1	50	Satun	201
19	Nakhon Ratchasima	2	51	Samut Prakarn	12
20	Nakhon Si Thammarat	116	52	Samut Songkhram	1
21	Nakhon Sawan	5	53	Saraburi	4
22	Nonthaburi	19	54	Singburi	1
23	Narathiwat	616	55	Supanburi	1
24	Pathum Thani	30	56	Surat Thani	42
25	Prachuap Khiri Khan	10	57	Surin	1
26	Prachinburi	2	58	Nong Khai	1
27	Pattani	635	59	Nong Bua Lamphu	1
28	Phra Nakhon Sri Ayutthaya	59	60	Buriram	1
29	Phayao	1	61	Ang Thong	3
30	Phangnga	90	62	Udon Thani	1
31	Phatthalung	91	63	Ubon Ratchathani	1
32	Phichit	1	64	Uttaradit	1
				Total	3507

Note: Order of provinces: by Thai alphabetical order

Source: www.thaislam.com, and Unit of Islamic Affairs, Division of Religion Patronage, Department of Religion, Ministry of Education, p.1-668.

After a mosque has been registered, there shall be a committee consisting of not less than six but not more than 12 members, which is called the mosque committee. A mosque committee is responsible for general administration of the operation and assets of the mosque. According to the Act 1997 regarding Administration of Islamic Organization, each mosque shall have one mosque committee which consists of an Imam as the chairperson, a Katib and a Bilal as the vice-chairpersons⁴⁶.

Imams are responsible for the administration and performing duty according to the provisions of Islam. They administer the mosque officers to ensure that they perform duties according to the Islamic provisions and the law, and also to provide convenience to the Muslims in performing religion.

46 Act regarding Administration of Islamic Organizations 1997, section 5 regarding Provincial Islamic Committee, p.9.

Katibs perform duties according to the Islamic provisions and provide guidance to the mosque-men in observing the Islamic principle.

Bilals perform duties according to the Islamic provisions, and provide timely announcements to invite fellow Muslims to perform religion.

Apart from the above three positions, in each mosque there are committee members of the number specified by the selection convention. The mosque committee is comprised of men 15 years of age and above, who through the selection convention select the committee members of the mosque committee. The convention is chaired by the chairperson of the Provincial Islamic Committee or his delegate. After the committee members of the mosques are selected, a proposal will be made to the Provincial Islamic Committee for further consideration and appointment.

A mosque committee, which is composed of knowledgeable persons, is generally responsible for conducting religious activities, supporting practices in accordance with religious principles, and for administering everyday operations of the mosque and the mosque assets. It is noteworthy that a mosque committee is responsible for reconciliation in dispute cases between mosque-men; when it is requested to do so. They too are accountable for observing the moon and reporting their observations to the Provincial Islamic Committee. Furthermore, the responsibility of promoting the Islamic religion and activities, in line with its edicts and provisions, fall to this group of men.

Provincial Islamic Committee

The “province” here does not mean the scope of administration in the sense of government, rather it means the province in which there are Muslims and there are at least 3 mosques that have been registered with the state officials (as according to article 13). For a province which fulfils the aforementioned requirements, the Central Islamic Committee of Thailand shall pronounce it to have a provincial Islamic committee⁴⁷. From the 2005 statistics of the Department of Administration, the Ministry of Interior, there are altogether 36 provinces which have their own provincial Islamic committees⁴⁸.

In selecting members of a provincial Islamic committee, the Ministry of Interior authorizes the Imam of the province to do the selection job. However, in practice the governor of the province would hold a selection convention in which at least half of the Imams of the mosques in the province shall make their presence known, otherwise the convention shall not be held. The selection convention shall select at least nine but not more than 30 persons to be the provincial Islamic committee members, who then will be in position for six years.

The authorities and responsibilities of provincial Islamic committee which are different from those of mosque committee are that the names of the selected persons will be publicized in the Royal Gazette; and they are responsible for providing advice on Islamic affairs to the provincial governor. Furthermore they are also responsible for administering the mosques in the provinces, selection of members of mosque committees, issuance of marriage and divorce documents as according to the Islamic provisions, and issuing announcements and providing guarantees regarding Islamic activities in the province.

The Central Islamic Committee of Thailand

The Central Islamic Committee of Thailand consists of representatives from the provincial Islamic committees, one representative from each province. The Chularajmontri, chairperson of the Central Islamic Committee, is authorized to select one representative from the other committees to fill the Central Islamic Committee.

The Central Islamic Committee of Thailand has a six-year term; however this six-year term does not apply to the chairman. The major responsibilities of the Central Islamic Committee of Thailand are to

47 The article 23 of the section 4 of the Act 1997 regarding Administration of Islamic Organizations, p. 6.

48 Data from the Department of Administration, dated 30th November 2005.

provide advice to the ministers of Interior and Education, and to advise and suggest Provincial Islamic Committees and mosque committees on Islamic affairs; it is also responsible for appointing sub-committees in carrying out missions of the Central Islamic Committee of Thailand; it is responsible for issuance of rules for operations of Provincial Islamic Committee and mosque committees; it is responsible to publicize and guarantee matters regarding Islamic affairs, to support and promote religious activities and education of Islam; and it is responsible for coordinating with state agencies regarding Islamic affairs.

The Central Islamic Committee of Thailand is an agency that connects the government with the Muslims, the Committee is therefore very important. The King will royally appoint the committee members and their names will appear in the Royal Gazette.

The Chularajmontri⁴⁹

The Chularajmontri is the person who holds the position of chairperson in the Central Islamic Committee; another position held by the Chularajmontri is the leader of Islamic affairs in Thailand; his office is called the Chularajmontri Office.

The person to become the Chularajmontri must be approved by all the provincial Islamic committees in the country; after that the Prime Minister will nominate him to the King for royal appointment to make him Chularajmontri. His name is announced in the Royal Gazette and he has lifetime term in the position. The Chularajmontri has the responsibility of providing advice to the ministers of Interior and Education.

The persons who are eligible to be the Chularajmontri must be equipped with the right qualifications and free of undesirable characteristics (this standard is similar to those that must also be those eligible for other Islamic committees). However, one notably different qualification, the Chularajmontri candidates must have good relationships with other religions, hold no political position, and have faith in the democratic administration under the Constitutional Monarchy⁵⁰.

Some examples of Chularajmontri's responsibilities are that Chularajmontri is responsible for providing advice and suggestions to the government regarding the Islamic affairs and activities, such as determination of religiously important days for followers of Islam, announcing moon observations, and announcement of resolutions in consideration of Islamic provisions; and to appoint qualified persons to fill the Central Islamic Committee of Thailand.

Observation

From observing the Islamic organization in Thailand, it is found that Thai Muslims have a well-planned scheme of interaction and relationship, their organization is clearly systematized. Their network is far-reaching, as can be seen in their implementation and maintenance of a legal Islamic organization with mosques in metropolitan cities and small villages alike. Another important fact is that the Thai Islamic organization is recognized by the law and has been institutionalized with its long history. For example, the position of the Chularajmontri which has been recognized as the leader of Muslims and Islamic affairs in Thai society since the time as early as the seventeenth century⁵¹; today the Chularajmontri still plays an active role in Thailand's Islamic affairs. The designation of a good relationship with other religions, in the qualifications of the Chularajmontri, manifests a spirit of peaceful co-existence and pluralism.

However, for the individual Muslim believer, the law is ineffective in governing inner faith; also, non-registered Islamic organizations are outside the provision of law. Despite the long tradition and legality

49 Plubplung Kongchana, "A History of Sheikh 'al Islam in Thailand", *Thai-Iranian Friendship: Close relationship of more than 400 years*, p.156-186.

50 The Act 1997 regarding Administration of Islamic Organizations, section 1, p. 2-3.

51 Van Valiet, Jeremias, *Van Vliet's Siam*, Chris Baker and other editors, p. 236.

of Islam in Thai society, true mutual understanding between Muslim leaders and fellow Muslims, and between Muslims and non-Muslims, is left to something very basic, and very unpredictable-human nature and emotions. Charles Hartshorne States that feeling is the minimum requirement for constituting a society⁵². Common character of society members is also a crucial factor in making a society. Therefore the divergence in value (which is primarily feeling-based) between majority Thais and Thai Muslims, like the feeling toward alcohol, eventually leads to disintegration of sociality between the two peoples.

3. Effects of Modernization of Thailand on Thai Society

Thailand set itself onto the tract of modernization in the middle of nineteenth century in an effort to survive, at that time, the encroachment of Western Imperialism in Southeast Asia. Although Siam (former name of Thailand) was able to dodge the Western colonization, Thai society has ever since experienced a transformation in a direction where Western society is the role model. Thailand's imitation of the Western world became intensified during the middle of the twentieth century when the government leaders pushed Thailand to develop industrialization. During which, the rest of the world was entrenched in the Cold War. Thailand was intent on avoiding the "domino effect" to which many of their neighbours had fallen prey; thus motivated to protect themselves from the spread of communism they looked to the West and especially the United States of America. Thai society therefore was diffused with Western culture through mass media: movies, television, and the press; Thai people began to render imitations of the West, with the understanding that the Western ways, was the way of modernity. The above understanding has led Thailand to emphasize economic development, neglecting environmental and cultural developments which, under optimal circumstances, should be kept in balance with economic development. Thailand's development, as a country is therefore imbalanced. This has resulted in social disorganization, an ever widening gap between the rich and the poor, problems of prostitution, drug abuse and addiction. In other words, what Thai society is experiencing is secularization.

It is seen that Islam has always been incorporated into Thai society since its early presence in Thailand in the fifteenth century⁵³. The above fact suggests that the presence of Muslims in Thailand is not in a status of minority even though its population percentage would make it a minority; on the contrary, its organization suggests a significant presence of Islam in Thailand. From historical evidences, Thai kings brought in Muslims to serve as nobles and officials in their various agencies; these Muslims held many important positions, like the military positions of Muslim volunteer army and civilian positions in commerce, finance and diplomacy. Today, Muslims actively take part in Thailand's politics, administration and academics; there are Muslims holding ministerial positions in many ministries, like Ministry of Foreign Affairs⁵⁴, Ministry of Interior⁵⁵, House Speaker⁵⁶, the current chairperson of the Council for National Security⁵⁷, etc. There are also Muslims representatives in the parliament and there are many well respected Muslim academics.

52 Hartshorne, Charles (1971), *Reality as Social Process*, p. 31-34.

53 These early Thai Muslims were Chams from Cambodia, for further information please read Plubplung Khongchana, "Historical Development of Cham Community in Ayutthaya", Phra Athit Ching Duang, (Thai language), p. 20.

54 Dr. Surin Pitsuwan, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand.

55 Wan Muhammad Nomatha, a former Minister of Interior, Aree Wong-Araya, the current Minister of Interior.

56 Wan Muhammad Nomatha.

57 General Sonthi Bunyaratkarin.

That Thai society recognizes and respects Muslims has rendered it free from severe conflict that might have otherwise arisen from differences in ethnicity and religion. However, in recent years there has been more conflict, especially in the three southern provinces of Thailand; where the conflicts seem to be related to religion. It reminds us of other similar conflicts around the world, like those in Indonesia and the Philippines, which has threatened the security of the people. During the initial period of the conflict, in the three southern provinces, the insurgents operated under the name of Islam⁵⁸ and Malayan Ethnicism in order to demand separation of sovereignty. Eventually, the conflict showed itself, independent of religion, or in other words the problem was not religious in nature. In addition the Constitution of the Kingdom of 1997 A.D. / B.E. 2540 has provisions to provide for right and freedom in the practice and participation in different religions. Article 38 of the Constitution provides that persons shall have full freedom in believing in religions, sects of religions, or schools of religions; and they shall have freedom in observing their religious provisions and in practicing rituals according to their faiths; provided that these are not against duty of being a citizen and do not violate peace, order, or the good morality of the people.

Thai academics, be they Buddhists, Muslims or otherwise inclined, have concluded the causes of this unprecedented conflict that it is mainly a result of injustice, local political problems, economic problems, and the difference in interpreting the historical background. The writer agrees with these academics, but also thinks that one more aspect of current conflict is to be incorporated into the consideration as well. It is that the current problems may have its root in the secularization of modern Thai society and response to secularization of Thai Muslims who think that their identity is under threat, which lead to gradual divergence of feeling of two groups of people in the society. It appears that Islam is a religion demanding strong piety (this does not imply that peoples of other religions are not as pious), therefore it may be, in the writer's view, regarded as a strong force of de-secularization⁵⁹.

In the past, before modernization (which started here in the nineteenth century), the Thai people, regardless of their religious convictions, lived with one another quite peacefully; the cosmopolitan Thai society in the past where people of different ethnicities and faiths lived together peacefully is a good example of religious tolerance and pluralism in Thai culture. From studying historical facts of Thai society, it tends to suggest that the reason why there were few conflicts between the Thai Muslims and the non-Muslims in the past is that the people back then tended to have similar ethos and sense of conscience (similar feeling and thus value) in their everyday conducts of life, for instance, the forbidding of alcohol drinking in both Islam and Buddhism. However, after modernization in nineteenth century⁶⁰ there arrives secularization, some of the Thais especially the urban people are secularized; one consequence of secularization is that the common ethos and sense of conscience of Thai people start to disintegrate; ethos and sense of conscience of secularized people diverts from those of religious people, and this has created a type of fundamental difference between the two groups of people in the same society. This social change has a significant impact especially on the Thai Muslims.

In Thailand, many Muslims tend to be religious and therefore the fundamental difference thus created tends to separate Muslims from the mainstream Thai society which is mainly secular. The Thai Muslims therefore tend to regard modernization as a threat to their way of life, thus try to struggle against it in order to maintain their identity; in fact modernization may have infringed their feeling. With the fact that the current of modernization and secularization is so strong that there is cultural shock among the Muslims, and they are so pressured that cracks develop in feeling and opinion among them. The reactions of the Muslims in a hope to defend their religion and way of life against the modernization and secularization manifest in resistance. On the other hand, the secular authority does not really understand their situation thus cannot take the right action to solve the problems; eventually as the rift widens the resistance and misunderstanding increase and turn into violence at the end. Therefore it may be concluded that this rift of ethos and sense of conscience is one of the major causes of the current conflict in the south of Thailand.

58 It appears in the document "Berjihad de Pattani" which has been examined and explained by the Chularajmontri Office. For further information please read *Chularajmontri's Explanation regarding the Distortion of Islamic Teaching in the 'Berjihad de Pattani' Document*.

59 Berger, Peter L., *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*, 1999.

60 Wyatt, David K. *Thailand: A Short History*, 2003, p. 166-292.

4. A Dialogue for Human Security and Peace

This paper does not purport to explain the meaning or definition of peace that may eventually happen after cessation of violence or the bliss that we have in the peace of mind; instead it means to present the relationship between non-Muslim Thais and Thai Muslims through surveying Islamic organization in Thailand in light of safeguarding human security and peace. The problems of the conflict in the three southern provinces of Thailand are series of tragedies where innocent men, women, children, monks and Imams are killed. The current trend tends to be that similar tragedies are replicating themselves around the world in a form of warfare very different from the past where wars were formally declared and conducted by professional soldiers with restricted battlefield. Warfare today is very informal and all-encompassing using every possible means and resources to achieve one's victory regardless of law, ethics, human dignity, or the effect on the environment; like the frequent use of differences in beliefs and ethnicity as excuses to instigate a war, in which many innocent lives are taken and hatred is being built, and at the end a series of tragedies replicate on and on.

Merely raising questions to search for the causes of the problems is not enough to solve the problems or guarantee human security. These problems of violence cannot be solved by means of violence, since it would only end in futility. The writer thinks that we have learned enough that misunderstanding can lead to violence that threatens human security and peace. We need to learn how to deliver mutual understanding between and among peoples of different faiths, ethnicities and backgrounds; only through understanding will we build respect and as a result have tolerance; and dialogue is a good way to that mutual understanding; and understanding others is to feel the feeling of others; and in the course of understanding others we understand ourselves better. It is often overlooked, but it is true that dialogue is an effective means of enhancing understanding between and among peoples of different faiths, ethnicities and backgrounds so they can live peacefully and respectfully with one another in the same society. It is possible that human beings can achieve mutual understanding, as all human beings are born into a relationship of brotherhood, we have some common essence among us; and the fact that human beings are social beings implies the qualification that they have mutual understanding as a primary precondition of their socialization.

Dialogue is not necessarily in form of speech or writing, in the writer's view, but dialogue is a means that one's feeling can be felt by the other; therefore any activity capable of achieving that end can constitute a dialogue. The forms of dialogue that we may have are exchange of culture such as translation of literatures across cultures, promotion of travelling and cultural tourism, students exchange programs, international seminars, music and arts exhibitions, international sports events, and interfaith dialogues that aim to achieve internal understanding mutually instead of converts. However, the most important premise is that to achieve mutual understanding we should care first for the feelings of others.

5. Conclusion

From the aforementioned facts and arguments, it is concluded that Muslims in Thailand are not an insignificant minority group of people; instead they are well recognized by law, well organized, and have a long history of presence in Thailand; in fact Muslims play a very sizable role in Thai society. However, in my opinion the most important current problem regarding Muslims in Thailand is more a result of Thai modernization than a result of differences in religion and ethnicity. And in solving the problem, feelings must be valued very much as they are the root that gives rise to the problem. Also feelings should be placed in a focused point when conducting dialogue. From another perspective, Thailand's case may be a study case for many developing countries to benefit by foreseeing the problems and devising preventive measures for them, rather than waiting for the problem to really occur and trying to solve the result.

Finally the writer would recall a principle of Martin Luther King Jr., "to understand, to reach out and to help develop" which should be observed in dealing with problems of such conflict. Let's sit down and try to feel other's feelings.

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The Roles of Philosophy in War and Peace

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"If we are to teach real peace in this world, and if we are to carry on a real war against war, we shall have to begin with the children".

Mahatma Gandhi

1. Introduction

People all over the world desire peace, law, order and a secure form of life, yet things are happening the other ways around. Restless and nameless tension flows at the heart and to the hands of humanity. In the age of modernization and globalization, science and technology have played a very important role in producing unlimited wealth, so that with a judicious management, there would be enough good things in life for all humans.

On the other hand, people continue to live in indescribable suffering, degradation, poverty, social injustice, and dehumanization. There are conflicts and violence everywhere both in the heart and hands of humankind due to the inequality, misunderstandings, and injustices in the society. The result of these problems can be seen in one form or another in every corner of the world, in rich and poor countries alike.

People become not only the victim of the unpreventable; for example, natural disasters, but also the victims of humans. Therefore, what is the meaning of life? Is there any way to solve these life obstacles in order to make this world more peaceful and a better place to live in?

2. What is Peace?

In a narrow sense, peace has been understood as the absence of war and conflict. However, this definition is not sufficient. In a dynamic sense, peace means the creative elimination of the causes of conflicts and violence and the promotion of human dignity and humanization.

Peace requires harmony within a person, harmony between human beings, harmony between human beings and nature, and the harmony between human beings and the ultimate source of life. Peace does not happen spontaneously, we will have to build and maintain it. There are some causes, which obstruct the way to peace such as:

- (1) **Culture:** Pride in one's heart, closed culture.
- (2) **Religion:** Religious intolerance, hatred, misunderstanding, lack of proper religious education.
- (3) **Politics:** System of balance of terror based on nuclear arms race, military forces or conflict, unjust oppressive government, aggressiveness, lust for power.
- (4) **Economics:** Development, structures of economic exploitation, poverty, disparity, lack of opportunities for education, jobs and service.
- (5) **Historical Cause:** Extremist nationalism.
- (6) **Information Explosion:** People are conditioned by mass media, papers, journals, books, radio, television, internet and so on, meaning to say some information is not what people should know, but what some other want people to know for the sake of their interests.
- (7) **Ethnicity:** Discrimination, racism.
- (8) **Nature:** Environmental degradation, dwindling natural resources, natural disasters and so on.

3. What are the Roles of Philosophy?

These major causes of war and conflict grow in the hearts of people. Therefore, in order to solve the above problems we have to cultivate peace in the heart of man as well. A philosopher could respond: "What we want to put into a nation put it into her school". This means that we can promote peace through education because education plays a very important role in shaping the heart and the way of thinking of human person. Hence, philosophy education for peace can also work as a moving force in weaving or building culture of peace from within.

It is necessary for philosophy education to promote universally shared values for the development of peaceful, democratic and pluralistic society such as human rights, democracy, tolerance, non-violence, solidarity, mature understanding, intercultural acknowledgment and so forth. In other words, the goal of philosophy education for peace is to promote the broad and critical understanding of the root causes of all forms of conflicts and violence at all levels no matter it is personal, family, interpersonal, community, society or the world.

4. Conclusion

The role of philosophy is not to interpret the world, but to challenge people to shape their world and provide solutions to make the world a better place to live in. Students need to be taught not only knowledge and skills, but also values and attitudes especially respect and love of life.

Finding a Basis for a Just and Cooperative World Order

Surjeet Kaur Chahal, India

Today all around us we find conflict, mistrust, hatred and dislike for others. There are inter-regional and intra-regional conflicts, wars between neighbouring countries and wars between countries separated by space. Under such circumstances to think of a global world order which would be acceptable to all seems to be a far away possibility. However, this should not dissuade us as philosophers to make attempts to find a basis for a just and cooperative world order.

No world order would be sustainable if it is unipolar, imposed by one nation on the other. Only a world order based on trusteeship would survive. In such a trusteeship, all would be partners to governance. All would be treated equal and everybody's dignity would be preserved. By trusteeship I do not mean that all become rulers and none ruled. There has to be a distinction between the ruled and the rulers but all ruled should have representation in the world order. Globalization has brought in a clash of civilizations. The wars with which we are faced are the result of attempts at global governance. However global governance cannot be unipolar but has to be multi-polar. It has to be governance based on trusteeship, in which all are partners. Trusteeship is designed to bring men closer not only in body but also in mind. It is the technique of change of heart. Trusteeship is not class collaboration. Such is not possible as long as employer-employee relationship holds. You convert the whole people into a nation of government employees. That's not the idea of trusteeship.

Trusteeship is my being responsible for my life and the life of others. If I have power, economic status, intelligence, I have a responsibility towards others. I have a responsibility to protect the weak and the oppressed. However, this is not to be based on charity. Charity will again keep the distance between the two classes. It requires collaboration, preservation of the human dignity even of the deprived classes. All should have an equal say in the governance. Trusteeship should not lapse with the device of charity i.e. giving alms to the poor.

We need to realize the mutual interdependence. In charity, others are not considered as an end. The other is not considered as having intrinsic worth. The developing nations are seen as grounds of research, means to the fulfilment of the needs of the developed nations. Can the developed nations survive by themselves in such a fortress? If they need the others, then why use ethics as a lifeboat? Why are they having an iron rod with which everyone trying to climb their boat is hit and thrown out into the sea? Their policy is "let us survive and live luxuriously. If possible, we shall help you through charity". They need to realize that the so called powerless are really powerful.

Trusteeship is based on the principle that nothing belongs to me. It belongs to God/State/Global Body. Thus the utilization of resources would then be not only for my benefit but for the benefit of others too. The distribution of course may not be equitable. It should be a fair distribution based on Rawls's principle of justice as fairness.

Advocates of unipolarity lay emphasis on freedom of the individual. However, every freedom brings with it a sense of responsibility. We need to analyze the concept of freedom which implies a sense of responsibility, a duty. It is only when freedom is linked with duty there will be peace in the society, at the national and the international level.

Any sustainable world order should protect human dignity and treat the other as an end in itself. The most acceptable world order would be one that is based on Kantian principle of morality. According to Kant the law of morality should be autonomous, and emerge from goodwill. Goodwill is unconditionally good and shines like a jewel under all circumstances, irrespective of the consequences that might follow. Today the world is shrinking and becoming a global village. This village should be governed by moral principles. No political system which is immoral can be sustainable. An immoral system may become powerful, however very soon such a system would get corrupt and crumble.

Although there is a clash of civilizations yet in all of us there is a sense of morality, a conscience. This conscience if investigated will develop a sense of responsibility to the others. In ethics and governance

the bases cannot be only the other as this would fall into racism. One cannot exclude certain people, namely the absent ones or those belonging to the out-group (other nations) from ethical responsibility. Unlike the other, the third unknown party is the one with which we do not have direct interpersonal relationship. The "I" is responsible for every other. Even the third party falls under our responsibility. With the entrance of the third party the care of the one for the other becomes justice. The entrance of the third party makes it possible to build up a necessary just co-existence. Relations are based on reasonable equality and fairness. The entrance of the third party is the beginning of sharing or social justice.

Care for the third party is made possible by adding intermediaries between ourselves and the third party. These intermediaries are social, economic, judicial and political structures, both intra-national as well as international and global. All forms of social, economic and political order need to be interconnected with each other in a just way. For this, we require a governing body which will coordinate all these institutions in a just way in order to provide justice to the third party or absent other also. Even though structures are necessary to reach the other, according to Levinas, this ordering runs a risk of transforming the good that it intends into its own opposite. The good intended by the state via ordering can turn into evil. The objective universality that is intended in the social, economic and political ordering automatically overlooks the concrete other in its uniqueness. This happens usually because these orders become absolute norms or have an objective character and address no actual individuals in their unique otherness.

According to Levinas, we need a "permanent revolution" to stop this good turning into evil. One must always keep in mind that there is no absolute or definite end for any political and social good. There is always an "ever better justice" which one needs to always seek. There is always the tendency of every social, political and economic system to claim itself as the absolute solution or absolute good. When the regime becomes totalitarian, it automatically excludes those who do not fit into the regime. As a totalitarian system considers the individual person as an element and a molecule of the societal organization, the well being of the individual is subordinated to the functioning of the social, economic and political mechanism. The uniqueness of the other is totally destroyed.

The tendency of law is to become absolute. The law should always be ready for improvement. The belief in a political utopia is especially dangerous. Hence Levinas stresses on the need of better social and economic justice which radically questions any degeneration of structural socio-economic justice. This can be possible by creating space for human rights. Human rights are not identical with a regime; one can radically question the social, economic and political order with them. There is also a chance of breaking open the regime towards greater justice by stressing on the human rights of individuals.

Only an open society can form the basis of a just world order. According to Popper, since no one has the perfect knowledge on the perfect government, the next best thing is a government that is ready to change the politics it runs. An open society also has to be pluralistic and multicultural, in order to benefit from the maximum number of viewpoints possible to the given problems. Henri Bergson holds that in open societies, government is responsive and tolerant, and political mechanisms are transparent and flexible. The state keeps no secrets from itself in the public sense; it is a non-authoritarian society in which all are trusted with the knowledge of all. Political freedoms and human rights are the foundation of an open society. Only freedom can make security more secure.

In Karl Popper's open society, there is recognition that there is always scope for improvement and that the norms laid down are not absolute. However, there is a fear that this might lead to relativism and scant respect for the law. Here Kant's principle of universalizability of the moral law would prevent such relativism. The universal law is not imposed by any external structure but is autonomous. Once every nation follows this, the subjectivism would be done away with.

The inevitable violence of structure can be surpassed by the unique responsibility of the 'I' that cares for every person separately and stands up for the unique other. It is based on a sense of compassion and service to the other. This is the antidote of hatred and evil which results from structures. This 'small goodness' is just a beginning and does not deny the importance of global goodness. The sense of compassion for the other is not able to be understood as doing charity. Service should be the form in which compassion and sympathy are expressed.

Huntington argues that the widespread Western belief in the universality of the West's values and political systems is naïve and that continued insistence on democratization and such "universal" norms will only further antagonize other civilizations. The values of human dignity, respect for autonomy of the individual, treatment of the other as an end and never as a means and non-violence will lead to peace. Unfortunately today the attempts are more designed as pacification by stressing the value of non-violence rather than bringing peace. This suits the Western world for this helps them to control those who oppose their policies. However, it must be noted that tolerance also has its limits as Popper mentions in *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (1945). Unlimited tolerance would lead to the disappearance of tolerance. If we extend unlimited tolerance even to those who are intolerant, if we are not prepared to defend a tolerant society against the onslaught of the intolerant, then the tolerant will be destroyed, and tolerance with them. Turning the other cheek cannot be done beyond a certain degree. We should therefore claim, in the name of tolerance, the right not to tolerate the intolerant. We should claim that any movement preaching intolerance places itself outside the law, and we should consider incitement to intolerance and persecution as criminal, in the same way as we should consider incitement to murder, or to kidnapping, or to the revival of the slave trade, as criminal. You cannot have a rational discussion with a man who prefers shooting you to being convinced by you.

There is a need to recognize the uniqueness of the other and a need not to merely tolerate the other but to accept the uniqueness of the other. Today the Western world is replacing the culture and traditional values of the local communities and the nations wherever aid is being given. This sort of governance brings in a revolutionary reaction from the fundamentalists who are worried about the loss of identity. There is a need to protect the uniqueness of cultures and civilizations and respect it. Every culture and the individuals therein are all having intrinsic worth and none should be treated as a means if we want to avoid a clash of civilizations.

The Implications of the Structure of the Human Brain on War and Peace

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Abstract

Discussions about the triadic structure of the brain – the human, mammalian and reptilian vortices – coincide with the findings of classical moral theorists and confirmed by Kohlberg’s formulation of the three levels of moral development. The malleability of the brain’s neurons indicate that the human brain is the latest in the evolutionary trajectory of the species and that more deliberate choices are required in order to strengthen the synaptic connections that will promote peace and global understanding. Written and oral examinations can be devised, following Kohlberg’s experiments, in order to determine the dominant brain centres of individual aspirants so that people can be advised and placed in occupations that fit their temperaments during times of war and to cultivate the aptitude for enforcing law and order during times of peace.

Neurological Confirmation of the History of Ideas

The contemporary understanding of the human brain confirms the basic moral intuitions of classical philosophy that dates back to the ancient times and the modern period. Plato’s triadic structure of the soul, divided among reason, emotions and appetites, for example, are exemplified by the tripartite structure of the brain propounded by Paul McLean of the U.S. National Institute for Health in Bethesda, Maryland, when we announced that the brain has three vortices: the human neo-cortex that corresponds to the human beings’ capacity for long-term rational planning, the mammalian cortex that is equated with our emotional care for others and the reptilian mind that triggers our survival instincts.

The dialogical method of presentation in Plato’s works further mirrors the synaptic networks of neurons that constitute the micro-structure of the nervous system. These neurons, estimated to number around fifteen billion in our brain, link themselves to other neurons by means of branching axons and dendrites that are connected by synaptic clefts that get bounded to each other when neuro-transmitters are passed on through the stimulation of the nervous system.

Although the spiritual functions of the human mind cannot be equated to the brain, the latter serves, like an electrical circuit that makes it possible to achieve intellectual enlightenment. It is no wonder that Aristotle, Plato’s most famous pupil, defined virtue in terms of habituated choices exercised by the virtuous person. Habits are the ways by which our neurons have been wired together through the many years of comporting ourselves toward our environments.

Thomas Aquinas likewise had a triadic structure in his formulation of the precepts of natural law. The first precept explains our attempts to preserve and defend our mode of existence, exemplified by our biological life, as far as possible. The second expands our existence by caring for our family and friends and others who are within the purview of our environments, and the third corresponds to our dynamic orientation towards the truth, conscience and God. Contrary to the terse formulations of his doctrines, St. Thomas actually couched his treatises in the form of disputations, an approach to teaching that revolves around questions, answers and even objections and responses to objections that mirror the associative relationships among the neurons that comprise the nervous system.

Even Kant and his contemporary followers, such as Jürgen Habermas, formulated a triadic schema of human imperatives in terms of the necessities that we ought to perform if we are to achieve our goals. The first imperative are the technical judgments that will lead to the attainment of our instrumental needs; the second are the prudential or communicative imperatives that will lead to our personal

happiness; and third are the categorical or moral imperatives that we ought to do on the basis of the autonomous judgments of our reason. Habermas' reformulation of Kant's theories is reflective of the dynamic connections among our neurons because the former adopts a communicative perspective in evaluating the latter's distinctions in terms of strategic and communicative forms of rationality. Strategic rationality, according to Habermas, is supposedly a mere abstraction from the normative communicative contexts of our everyday lives.

Lawrence Kohlberg's stages of moral development are likewise divided into three levels that correspond to the pre-conventional level of rewards and punishments, the conventional level of social approval, and the post-conventional levels of principled morality. He confirmed his theories by testing them across cultures and age groups and concluded that the development of morality are best conditioned by simulation and case studies that challenge the moral sensibilities of participants by confronting them with situations that require moral judgments. Habermas correlated these stages of moral development among individuals to social unities in order to come up with a critical theory of society with their corresponding forms of knowledge that are ultimately constituted by human interests in instrumental, communicative, and emancipatory forms of reason.

The correspondences between the triadic structure of the brain and the above mentioned moral theories can be summarized in table 1.

Table 1: Summary of some moral theories with corresponding terminologies for brain level

The Brain	Reptilian	Mammalian	Human
Plato	Appetites	Emotions	Reason
St. Thomas	Existential	Providential	Rational
Kant	Technical	Prudential	Moral
Habermas	Instrumental	Communicative	Emancipatory
Kohlberg	Pre-conventional	Conventional	Post-conventional

These coincidences among moral theorists and the triadic structure of the brain give us confidence in formulating their applications to various contemporary human endeavours such as ecology, war and peace. Since I have applied this theory to environmental ethics in a previous paper,⁶¹ I shall focus this discussion on the theme of war and peace.

Administering Moral Development Examinations for the Police Force

Formulating an examination that will determine the moral competencies of the police force can be a challenge to philosophers who would like to apply their academic knowledge to the pivotal social system that serve to balance peace and order in society. The practical demands of this project can be initiated by means of workshops and focussed group discussions in order to determine the common moral dilemmas that confront policemen and policewomen in the performance of their duties. Case

61 "The Evolutionary Context of Environmental Ethics" in *The Moral Dimension: Essays in Honor of Ramon Castillo Reyes* Edited by Nemesio S. Que, S.J., et. al. (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2003), p. 277-285.

studies can then be formulated from these moral problems. These can be used as examination questions to test the kind of responses that the applicants will have against a scoring matrix that corresponds to the triadic structure of the brain and Kohlberg's stages of moral development. A point system can be devised to eliminate reptilian instincts by giving six points for the highest level of moral development, five points to the second level and only one point to the third stage. These will ensure the elimination of the "reptiles", the so-called "crocodiles" and "snakes" in the police force because in a ten point questionnaire, the passing mark can be pegged to fifty points in order to accommodate the socially concerned applicants while eliminating the self-centred candidates.

Higher points could have been awarded to police officers who abide by the social norms even at the expense of their personal judgements of conscience because their jobs are meant to uphold law and order, the main ingredients for the stability of the structural context of society that allows individuals to exercise their conscience in the first place. They have to maintain the chain of command, if society is not to sink into chaos and anarchy. If they are allowed to exercise their individual consciences in the performance of their roles as policemen and women, governments can get threatened by police uprisings especially within the context of an open society where charges of corruption are the staple of newspaper publishers whose profitability depends on fomenting controversies.

The higher positions of the police hierarchy should be able to make their judgments on the basis of their own practical reasons. They should be trusted and respected enough to the extent that even if they do launch a coup against the government, it will be based on sound moral reasons and not on mere social expediencies.

These examinations can be devised as multiple choice questions that can be mechanically corrected in order to save examiners from correcting tedious answers from at least around five hundred examinees per year. The nature of multiple choice examinations is that a smart examinee could most likely guess the correct answers without performing the right actions in reality. However, with the aid of technology and due diligence,⁶² however, answers are not so obvious especially when we use Kohlberg's six stages instead of his three levels of morality. But the question remains whether the correct answers can dawn on the examinee during the time of the examination itself, as suggested by one of the choices already provided by one of the answers in the questionnaire and not as a consequence of his previous mental habits. In other words, the examination itself can serve as a learning material for the examinee because it offers better choices that are other than what he or she previously conceived.

Fortunately, experience shows that a good number of aspirants, at least two thirds, do get eliminated by these written examinations; and the number can be further trimmed down by follow-up oral examinations wherein case studies are again proposed to the successful examinees without the benefit of multiple choice answers. The answers, this time, must be drawn from the examinees while they are on their feet, as if it were being performed in virtual reality. A video-game program has even been created to simulate the real-life scenarios that confront police officers. In order to correctly answer these questions, the examinees must have really reflected on the practices of their professions or have seriously studied moral philosophy by reading the texts of Plato, Aristotle, Aquinas, Kant and Kohlberg. In either case, the educational objective of cultivating good men and women at the service of humanity would have been already achieved.

Concluding Reflections

In Plato's *Republic*, the guardian class served as the pivotal point that determined the stability of society. Even contemporary events in developing countries reveal the fragility of democratic institutions when tested by the misadventurism of the military men and women who are sometimes tempted to intervene in the course of their nation's political affairs. Their exposure to the plight of the poor and the wanton disregard of the elite for the common good make them impatient in their regard for democratic

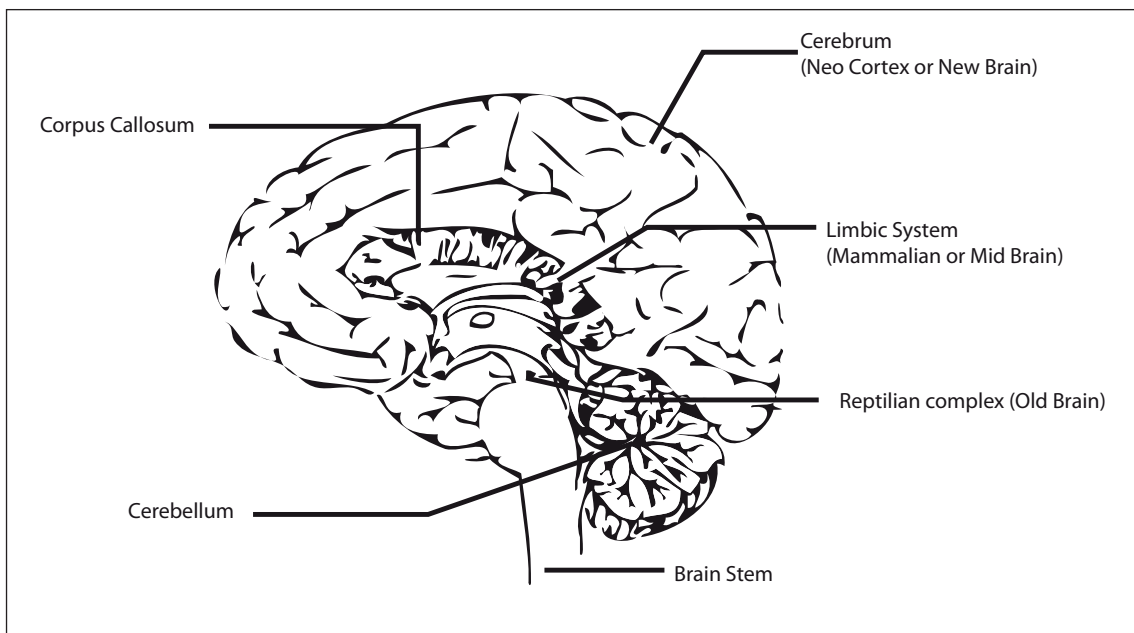
62 Each item of the questions can be evaluated by the Statistical Products, Solutions and Services (SPSS) software in terms of the frequency of obvious answers during pre-validation tests before the administering the actual examinations.

processes that get bogged down by the bureaucracy and petty interests propounded by those who get elected to office by virtue of their popularity or even alleged electoral irregularities. When the justice system grinds slowly and is eschewed in favour of those who can afford to dispense wealth and influence, it is very tempting for idealistic soldiers who wield the power of the gun to short-circuit the tedious processes of human development.

It is precisely because of the monopoly of force in their hands that police and military officers must be given all the opportunities to become well-trained and properly educated in terms of the fundamental principles of humanity if they are to exercise respect for human rights during situations of war and even during times of peace when armaments are no longer that necessary in order to enforce the rule of law and order. Peace, after all, is the tranquillity of order, as proposed by St. Augustine (*City of God* XIX,13) and the right order can only be arrived at when everything is given their due course, as a matter of justice. Justice in turn depends on the correct organization of the many parts in our lives, as exemplified by the higher levels of our brains that must be made to govern the lower levels of our emotions and appetites for the sake of the development of our shared and unfinished project of humanity.

The malleability and frailty of the neural connections in the human neo-cortex requires us to constantly exercise judgments that will strengthen our human faculties in order to prevent the degeneration of our thoughts to the more primeval instincts of our reptilian forbears. The evolutionary trajectory of our collective lives, therefore, in the kind of choices that only we, as human beings, can make for ourselves and our future.

Appendix: Images of the Human Brain and its Neurons⁶³



63 <http://www.buffalostate.edu/orgs/bcp/brainbasics/brain3.gif>

Perpetual War: Is Peace Possible?

Ayoub Abu Dayyeh, Jordan

The year 1492 announced two occasions which concern us in this paper: The Arabs leaving Spain after almost 800 years of conquering Spain and the shifting of the centre of the world from the Mediterranean to the shores of the Atlantic.

The discovery of America in 1492 unleashed a continuation of an ever lasting perpetual war in the Earth's history. At first with the indigenous natives of the American continent, later on with European colonialist powers until the year of independence in 1776. War did not halt after the independence but continued with Mexico in the South and with the French and their allies in Northern America and amongst the American peoples themselves (The Civil War), culminating in the military involvement in Second World War.

After the end of WW2 the cold war started with the Soviet Union, then the Korean war, Viet Nam, Suez, Palestine, Lebanon, Yugoslavia, Iraq (1991–2008), Afghanistan etc.

The wars that have been launched by modern Americans have never ended. Does that mean that war is an essential element in the survival of capitalism?

To check that statement let us examine the situation in Europe since 1492.

In the 16th century Europe, Martin Luther (1483-1546) started a Reformation movement in Europe which stirred the stagnant conditions of the Dark Ages. The Catholics and the Protestants fought fiercely to gain grounds and establish State – Doctrine National Entities. The price was high. In Saint Bartelemey alone, in 1572 France, tens of thousands were killed in the name of religion - in the name of the alleged truth that each side has proclaimed.

The seventeenth century also witnessed once again the Thirty Year War between groups including Catholics and Protestants. In 1648 the treaty of Westphalia was signed, but left things unsolved, which led to violence, continued conflicts and widespread destruction and poverty across vast areas of Europe. In the 18th century the Seven Year War broke out (1756–1763), a treaty with Russia followed after the war, and then after 1800 Napoleon occupied Germany leaving his pronounced footprint on the path of endless wars that prevailed thereafter.

Philosophers, pushed by the urgent need to find a way out, were working hard on establishing a theoretical basis to establish perpetual peace in confrontation with war, which seemed non-ending and was destroying all hopes to a quiet and prosperous future. Rousseau (1712-1778) wrote in his *Social Contract* a *Discourse on Inequality* in which he was hinting clearly on the necessity for peace, a perpetual peace which will save Europe and the world. So did Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) who worked out a plan for world peace.

In Rousseau's book: *Emile*, we can see how Emile was brought up in a way that avoided introducing religious books till the age of his maturity. Nurturing Emile like that would give him the chance to choose his affiliations freely once he matures, through reasoning and without imposing any ideals *a priori* on him.

The first Industrial Revolution carried ideas through steam ships travelling around the globe. Bentham insisted that a proper plan to protect and prosper the economy from within will improve people's conditions and thus strengthen the state, hence avoiding wars with neighbouring States; wars which are driven by the urgent need to feed one's peoples and fill the pockets of the powerful with plunders.

Kant, who died in 1804, would eventually announce more profoundly and clearly the growing rationalist capitalist States in Europe and their "Aspiration to perpetual peace", in order to prosper so they can open safe and secure markets for their trade and marketing of the goods produced by their industries. Kant, who never left his city Konigsberg in Eastern Prussia was thinking globally. He was born in a religious

Pietist family who believed that the feeling of duty stems from within oneself; this trend will be reflected in Kant's philosophy later on.

Kant wrote *Perpetual Peace* in 1795, through which he suggested abolishing armies, as war diminishes the process of development. He also developed the concept of "Rational Moral Process" which he considered as a gift to human beings, whereas our morals will progress rationally by time, thus people will develop both rationally and morally in a progressive nature, eventually war will be rejected by people as time passes.

Kant even developed a global feeling of "hospitality" between nations so as to be able to live together in peace. All have a right to live in peace, even the Bedouins. Thus, peace, with the Bedouins is possible although they have a very strong feeling of invasion and plundering. This reminds us of John Rawls and his ideas: *A Theory of Justice* (1971), *Political Liberalism* (1993), and *The Law of People* (1999), with "The Idea of Public Reason Revisited", where he strikes an alliance between liberal States and the non-liberal hierarchal States, in order to control chaos and the threats of wars in the world. It seems that Kant, who was consistent with his theoretical and practical reasons, found it essential to have peace with everybody to guarantee the perpetuity of peace in Europe and the world, so it can accumulate capital for the well-being of its population.

Europe entered the age of imperialism in the last third of the 19th century, around the time of the Great Recession (1873–1890) and at the beginning of the second industrial revolution, which was driven on oil, electricity and the internal combustion engine. Capital, unwilling to invest more in the internal markets due to the limited profits, starts seeking investment abroad monopolizing trade and investment worldwide.

Egypt was an example of such imperialist conquests, as Britain had changed the Egyptian countryside, since occupying it in 1882, into a big farm to produce cotton for the sake of keeping the textile industry running in its factories cities, such as Greater London, Manchester, etc. Therefore, handicraft production was being destroyed as manufactured cotton goods were flooding the market along with other items manufactured in British factories. And of course the agricultural production and its diversity were being destroyed too.

Nietzsche (1844-1900) spent some time around the year 1870 working as a nurse during the extended wars in Europe. His works were written between 1870 and 1890, the latter year whence he went insane. Nietzsche witnessed the shift of Capitalism into Imperialism, announcing the death of icons. Reason, being the most important tool to philosophy; reason was announced dead, as humans would have perished already if they were guided by Reason alone. He said: "The will to power is the Good, and it is the mechanism of progress. The Christian ethics is the ethics of the weak and that of slaves. The age of the superman had arrived". It seems that this declaration has coincided with the superman living in Europe and venturing overseas.

Can we announce this philosophy as a refection to the First World War (1914-1918) whence imperialist powers fought fiercely defending their territories and colonies as well? Can we say that the retreating Russian soldiers from battles and it's miseries was the reason for Lenin's success in leading Russia into communism in 1917, when he hoisted the slogans of both "Peace and Bread" to the people?

Can we say that the 1945 Second World War was a war between imperialist countries which had to decide who is who on the road of perpetual war? Why would the General Assembly in the United Nations wait until 1984 to take a decision over the right of people to live in peace? Perpetual war will continue to explicate its actions all over the world, intensifying in the quality of aggression as Imperialism developed into hyper-capitalism that uses high technology on one hand in order to conquer and compete, and to control other countries development through dependency and uneven development.

In the early 20th century, the long dreamt idea of Palestine as a homeland for the Jews comes into existence with Balfor Declaration 1917. Meanwhile, the British were supporting Moslem Brotherhood in Egypt to stand against the Red flags of the Soviet ideology. This action has prompted a radical response!

In 1966 Sayyed Qutub died, being a prominent Islamic writer and political leader at the time, he published a book named *World Peace and Islam* (1951) in confrontation with the monarchy and the

British occupation. Peace with the ruling local government, together with the possible peace with the forces of occupation, both depended on achieving pride and justice to citizens. As this was not available then, peace was not possible-Sayyed Qutub argued!

The Islamic fundamentalism which prospered in Egypt in the first half of the 20th century differed from that of Saudi fundamentalism which flourished in Arabia in the 18th century and was initiated by Mohammed Abdul Wahhaab (1703-1792), which is called Wahhabi Islam later on, followed by Bin Laden who was previously sponsored by the USA and used to fight the USSR in Afghanistan, before he turned against the USA.

The idea which flourished in Egypt by Islamic fundamentalists has split the world into two parties, that of belief and peace; the land of infidels and war. An "Islamic" ruler who does not rule according to the "Sharieaa" law as stated in the "Quran" and the "Sunnah" of the prophet is to be fought and considered an infidel, and so is the case with the "other", the Christian infidels who are fighting Moslems and occupying their lands.

The history of confrontation between Arabs and the West started in its earliest stage with the confrontation of Arabs expanding West towards Byzantium in the 7th century. The first encounter was in the battle at Mutah, a village 100 km south of Amman, the capital of Jordan. A fierce battle raged between the Arabs and the Byzantine soldiers, which ended with mutilation of the Arab expedition before they were forced their retreat into Arabia.

History tells us of a martyr called "Jaafar", who lost both hands in the battle, as he was promised wings in heaven; thus he is known now as the "Flying Jaafar". This shows how fierce and strategic the first encounter was.

The Arabs took their revenge at Yarmouk, near Tabaris Lake close to the Eastern Mediterranean shores and hence occupied all Syria extending north, with the support of Christian Arab tribes who assisted their Arab next of kin, regardless of the differences in religion. This alliance had a reason, as many Arabs who were not affiliated with the Eastern Church and its kings were called heretics by the Eastern Orthodox church and were subdued and forced to pay high taxes. It seems that the Arabs of Syria looked at the Arabs coming from the Arabian Peninsula as their saviors.

The second serious encounter between the Arabs and Europe was during the Crusades at the end of the 11th century. Fierce battles raged over Jerusalem, Palestine, and in many parts of Syria and Egypt. It continued till the middle of the 13th century. These hostilities were preceded and followed by the continuous wars in Spain which ended the Arab occupation by the end of the 15th century.

The third serious encounter happened when Napoleon stepped into the Al Azhar Mosque in Cairo riding his horse in 1798. The expedition opened the way to Western sciences that has been developing in Europe since it were translated from Arabic into Latin in the Middle Ages. Modernity has come to invade the Arab world.

The fourth encounter was with Colonialist Europe in North Africa and the Middle East later on; France occupying Algeria in 1830, and the U.K taking Egypt in 1882. After first world war, the Middle East was portioned by the allies leading the confrontation into a new phase of perpetual conflict by promising the Jews a right into a homeland in Palestine already populated by a majority of Arab inhabitants.

The end of Second World War, was followed by the establishment of the State of Israel, then in 1947, perpetual war led to the Suez War (1956), the Arab Israeli Wars of 1967, 1968, 1973, 1982, when Lebanon was invaded, then the Civil War (1975-1990), followed by the American lead coalition of 32 countries which attacked Iraq in 1991, perpetuating till the invasion of Iraq in 2003, and we could say even onwards till today.

The wars never ending, as pride and justice which were necessary for peace in the Islamic Fundamentalist agenda has not yet been achieved. With the most recent war in Lebanon in 2006, the barbaric bombing of Beirut and the South, the inhumane assault on Gaza in December 2008, the continuation of the occupation of Palestine and the building of the Great Wall of the Zionists splitting villages and Palestinian cities away from each other, as well as the increasing of settlement activities and the atrocious embargo

on Gaza and the starvation of its people. All these activities were made possible only with the complete support of the USA and the shameful silence of the world.

In the shadow of these events perpetual war prevails in our part of the world today, further strengthening the idea that hyper-capitalism cannot survive without wars. We would like to conclude that after second World War, wars seem to have changed from conflicts between developed countries into perpetual war between hyper-capitalism and under developed countries in the South.

As a new profile to Imperialism, depending on scientific superiority to dominate poor countries, militarily and economically, is it sensible to say that civil wars, starvations and unprecedented pollution and diseases around the world, as well as new weapons such as depleted uranium, chemical and biological weapons, etc. have become a mechanism for reducing the ever increasing population of the peoples of South?

Hitherto, we have not given peace a chance to express itself, so, we ask: Is peace possible? I leave the answer to this question for other researchers to pursue in the future analysis of history, since to date the answer appears negative.

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The Philosophy of War: Towards 'Peoples War' and Counter-insurgency

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Forward

Soldiers may not seem the most philosophical of creatures, as their profession evolved around more pragmatic 'realities'. There is always, however, in those lulls time for reflection. Warfare after all, is described as 1% excitement and 99% boredom. Conflict is itself another aspect of the human experience that has provoked much thought and reflection, not just pertaining to the notion of peace but to the nature of warfare itself. Why and how are wars waged? What are their philosophical and moral implications? How do these pertain to the conflict? Who is a valid participant to host views of one way or another on the matter and who receives the benefit of such considerations? Conflict has long involved the whole of humanity yet warfare has often been dominated by more 'traditional' actors. Increasingly, however, in contemporary thought, the status quo of States continues to be challenged by a host of non-state actors, supplanting the once perceived moral infallibility of the modern nation state.

To understand the role of philosophy and morality in the conduct of warfare one also has to delve into the depths of military theory and practise that is in itself rooted in philosophical approaches. As such this essay inspires to be a concise view into a new (for some) perspective. It is, in essence, a view of philosophy from a military perspective, rather than that of conflict from a philosophical one. The purpose for which is to lay out the philosophical and moral conduct of conventional and unconventional forms of warfare such as insurgencies, through the lines of military logic. This shall dispel perceptions of guerrilla tactics being 'illegitimate' forms of warfare that hinder one's ability to understand and thus deal with unconventional threats. Rather than being 'dishonest' or 'improper' forms of war insurgencies are often ones where ethical and moral considerations are directly inter-twined into the conduct and outcome of the conflict — a war of ideas.

Ethical Frameworks for War

When one considers such questions it can be too easy to generalize, and thus, misconstrue something. Whose morality? Which ethical paradigms? What is, or constitutes a legitimate warring party? Perceptions of justness in conflict and who are the just parties in its involvement are again partly all matters of perception, and for that it should be added the contents of this essay are the perceptions of just one former soldier and not the world's entire militaries.

Standing Militaries: Defending the Nation State

Before one can dissect the military of a nation one has to understand that militaries are transitional entities. They are products of their society and thus represent a cross section of that society, to include its philosophical, ethical and moral values, both potentially positive and negative. In the case of when something negative happens, over-emphasis is often placed by the other side of the civil-military divide on the indoctrination of military training, that the military created such people. Whereas the truth is any military will constitute of the foundational values of the society from which it draws. Thus, when one hears of misconduct at, for example Abu Ghraib, one should not look to the U.S. military for the ethical root of the problem, but to U.S. society itself. This is not to say that militaries do not develop as societies with unique cultures of their own, but that they are rooted in the attitudes of the greater society for which they serve.

Likewise each military institution has its own foundations and procedures based on the norms of its culture, the age and its institutional history. Within that each exist for different purposes from one country to another. Thus each branch of a nation's military produces its own operational mentalities, or what one could call operational philosophies and approach problems in different ways, drawing on the resources of military theory through different interpretations.

The Art of War

Written by Sun Tzu in ancient China these guidelines for warfare have been transferred into any aspect of life where struggle takes place and have been widely read within the business world. Their continued relevance to war itself proves how underneath the technological advancements the fundamentals of warfare and the experiences of those involved in it remain the same.

Sun Tzu taught an enlightened view of warfare that provided the bedrock for a large portion of future military thought. His ideas emphasize fighting smart and utilizing everything to one's advantage to harness a victory, to fight smart with commitment and intellect rather than dumb brute force. Battles are won and fought before a soldier has even stepped onto the field, in the intelligence gathering and preparations. Similarly, and most poignantly, the ultimate victory is one achieved without a drop of blood.⁶⁴

This last thought emphasizes warfare as a means to achieve certain objectives and not for its own sake, a line of thinking later championed by Clausewitz. Similarly it brings to mind victory that utilizes all means available and not just the use of force alone, similar to ideas of guerrilla warfare.

Just War Theory

One of the most pertinent ethical perspectives on warfare is Just War theory, rooted in Catholic thought. It consists of two interacting parts both guided by moral implications, *jus ad bellum*, why the war is being fought and *jus in bello*, how it is being fought.

The reason, *jus ad bellum*, applies to the use of force after all other means have been exhausted or are impractical, for a just cause other than conquest or vengeance and under a legitimately appointed authority, such as a government. As such, Just War theory has been harnessed through the ages as part of a legitimating model to try and re-assert the modern national States absolute moral authority. An authority that States claim by representation of the people, yet is also eroded by them. It does not leave room for those to challenge the authority of States, only one state to another.

The means, *jus in bello*, pertains to the targeting of combatants solely to achieve the objective. It calls for the proportional use of force - that use of force for any one objective does not exceed its importance or cause undue collateral damage, the limited use of force. These ideas standing, they were often, however, not applied to all situations, but reserved primarily for conflict with other European nations.

In a contemporary sense, it should be noted that the limited use of force implies using the minimum physical force from one's deployed assets required to achieve the objective. It may still be necessary to deploy a broad array of assets to cover every necessity. The limited use of force does not mean, as has become the political interpretation, 'fighting on the cheap' and deploying minimum assets to an operation. Such limitations often result in the small forces deployed compensating for the force deficit in face of opposition or the vastness of their AO (area of operations) by an excessive use of firepower, which can result in an in proportionate use of force.

64 Sun Tzu, *The Art of War. Translated Version, 2004.*

Realism

Counter to the concept of Just War runs the Realist School of Thought. This emphasizes the anarchical nature of the world upon which one's own brand of order has to be imposed for the sake of one's own survival; as such States act within the parameters of their own interests often against one another. There is little necessary space for humanity in warfare as wars are seen as just to each individual state by its own standards. There is no universal ethical linkage. Realist theories can poke holes in Just War through the view that no ethical values are universal, and thus each state can morally justify its own aspirations of conquest and expansion to its populous, and that there are always other more pragmatic interests at play. Modern States derive their power from the people and thus use moral paradigms as a vehicle through which to drum up support for wars otherwise focused wholly, or in part, in pursuing other national interests. George Bush senior posed the Persian Gulf War as a moral cause, but as much as it may have been, it would not have been undertaken if it wasn't for America's national and strategic interest in the region and its resources. But then there is a decided difference between wanting to wage a war and it being 'just' and waging all wars that appear just for justness's sake.

Peoples War: Jomini vs Clausewitz

The creation of modern nation States, nationalism and the notions of national self-determination altered the nature of warfare, politically sensitizing populations and giving them a stake in the movements of power.

Changes to the dynamics by which society worked were harnessed by Napoleon in the wake of the French Revolution. He welded the newly exposed vigour and commitment of the collective individual to a national identity with his political aspirations for the French state. The result was the majority of a state unified behind the political military objectives, fighting, not for a King out of serfdom, but for something they believed in. This enabled him to field his huge *Grande Armee* that focused on defeating an enemy by superior firepower, namely artillery and masses of infantry.

At this point there were a number of prominent theorists analyzing and philosophizing about the evolving nature of warfare. The concepts of Clausewitz are often confused with those of another, Jomini, both of which have impacted the nature of warfare for generations to come yet whose views are quite different. The confusion over Clausewitz who is attributed with the most Jominian of idea comes from Moltke who cited Clausewitz out of context, and thus confused things for generations to come.⁶⁵

Clausewitz saw that there were no absolutes in warfare. There was no one path to victory and as such no one philosophical recourse of action other than adaptation and diversity. Perhaps the most defining part of his legacy is the primacy of the political over the military, that "war as a continuation of policy via other means".⁶⁶ This alone is the foundation for modern concepts of the tools of state power. Diplomatic, information, military and economic (DIME) elements are used in appropriate situation by the state to achieve its political goals. The Persian Gulf War, in particular stands as a clear Clausewitzian example in that the war was ceased once the political objective, the liberation of Kuwait, had been achieved, despite the fact that the bulk of the Iraqi army remained intact and undefeated, the necessity of which would be very much Jominian.

Jomini standing in stark contrast to Clausewitz, prescribed that victory is achieved via the destruction of the enemy force. As such, war is the end of politics and the start of another endeavour altogether separate, which is followed through via its own means and to its own end, Total War. A disastrous example of this would be the Great War of 1914-1918.

Both can be construed to prescribe war as the survival mechanism of the modern state. Clausewitz, however, gives more scope for the means than Jomini's one dimensional approach, and places war deeper within the context of everything else. He understood that the true seat of an army's power lay not

65 Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife*.

66 Clausewitz, *On War*.

in its weapons, but in its government and its people. He recognised how nationalism and the political empowerment of people is a force of its own, that can be harnessed by a state, or act on its own accord against a state, such as the Spanish Guerrillas in his time. He was ahead of his time by contemporary European standards as recognising unconventional means of warfare for what they were, a means of warfare not to be dismissed. This relationship, however, was to be challenged. Clausewitz was complex, there were no clear or snappy answers or buzz phrases that commanders and statesmen seek to this day. As such in the decades that followed the more straightforward and Jominian concepts that took hold, despite them being cited as Clausewitzian.

It is with sad irony that in planning the invasion of France, German Army Chief of Staff Schleiffen, ever a stern student of Clausewitz and aware of political necessities and military limitations, stated that if the lightning assault to pacify France before its ally Russia could mobilize should fail, then Germany should sue for peace. It is a most unfortunate shame, then, that the war ravaged on despite the political objectives remaining unachievable, but for the sake of 'winning' along more Jominian lines.

Total War

The rise of nationalism and the mobilization of whole nations behind a war effort further expanded the horizons of conflict beyond the battlefield and thus the moral and philosophical questions it posed. The creation of the 'home front' and war economies during the First and Second World Wars was the moral justification for their targeting. Strategic warfare expanded to encompass the protection and targeting of industrial and logistics bases, attempting to defeat an army at its source.

In the Second World War for European nations embattled against Germany it was a matter of survival and thus just enough. For the USA, 'Second World War' was publically presented as a moralistic crusade for 'liberty', 'democracy', 'freedom' etc. For both the means would justify the ends.

The targeting of industrial centres with mass carpet bombing was morally justified out of the strategic necessity and limited means available. A civilian working in a factory producing munitions became part of the equation of the war. With the means available, carpet bombing portions of cities by day to try and hit industrial facilities, or with less risk and accuracy by night, was contemporarily justified.⁶⁷ While this may seem out of proportion by today's standards, one should also consider that for some periods on average 30% of U.S. bomber crews failed to return from each daytime mission.

Humanitarian Law

It was in the aftermath of the Second World War and the unleashed brutality of modern technology, that the Geneva Convention was ratified to help ensure some basic conditions for humanity in times of war. It formed a significant, tangible output from concerns of morality and humanity in warfare as held by the Just War Theory.

It was not the first arrangement of its type. There had been previous legal examples. In Islam armed *jihad* is in effect an alternate just war theory, instigated for the defence of Islam only, and guided by its own laws of war. These included not harming prisoners, women, children and never killing a fellow Muslim. The difference between this traditional sense and that of militant fundamentalists such as Al Qaeda is just that. Al Qaeda are extremists, not clerics, and their misuse of *jihad* and *fatwa* are unlawful.

At times to the soldier the laws of war as laid out in the convention under humanitarian law can seem somewhat non-sensical. For example, clauses which prohibit soldiers from putting everything, including oil intended for cleaning and the prevention of rust, on their bayonets when in war. Heaven forbid you give the man whose ribs you are thrusting the thing into blood poisoning by your oily yet rustless blade!

67 The USAAF flew daytime raids targeting industrial facilities, hitting the area. The RAF flew night-time raids targeting whole towns or cities and firebombing them. Thus the joke is that the Americans practised area pin-point bombing whereas the British practised pin-point area bombing.

Yet many of the precedents in the laws of war were drawn from already existing norms and unofficial agreements in times of war. In the Great War, for example, German and Allied soldiers in the trenches had unwritten agreements not to use serrated bayonets, which would usually have horrific effects, pulling ones innards out.

Partly as such, in conventional wars the laws of war have subsequently been viewed as something laid on top of war, but not directly pertaining to its purpose, and are something perhaps slightly restraining but lived with for the sake of reciprocal human decency. But how do these pertain to parties not usually considered 'just' combatants, or who do not reciprocate? Humanitarian law is vague enough to apply to all those involved in armed conflict yet how does this way in on operational philosophies?

The War of the Flea: Breaking the States Monopoly on Moral Authority

How do military theory, philosophy and morality pertain to these blurred lines in smaller wars where such non-state actors are involved? This form of warfare has existed since time in memoriam, but had long been referred to as banditry and rebellion, denied legitimacy until the rise of nationalism and peoples based power.

Such wars have been named different things. During the time of Clausewitz the Spanish resistance to French occupation became known as *Guerrilla* (little war). Yet Spanish *Guerrillas* using ambushes and raids, hit and run tactics from mountainous hideouts managed to tie up the better part of 250,000 French troops in Spain. This was similarly repeated by the various resistance groups under occupation by the Third Reich. Such tactics are deemed illusive, and at times questionable, in frustrating the conventional military.

Whilst nationalism harnesses the power of the people through the state, revolutionary ideology empowers the very people with that power. This was witnessed in the French revolution before it was harnessed by Napoleon. Social mobilization and upheaval via armed uprising gave power to political forces previously disregarded by the Just War theory.

Many insurgencies are rooted out of a sense of injustice, however real or quantifiable. Most States, who have dealt with insurgents, seek to vilify and delegitimize them. They use the prevailing sense of the automatic sole moral supremacy of the state in Just War theory as a way of overruling any challenge to its institutions. Claiming the insurgents 'terrorists', 'criminals' or 'bandits' due to the tactics the insurgent employs and that the government 'would never do that', but then the government can afford not to.

Marx and Mao

Perhaps one of the most dynamic revolutions in military affairs came when Mao switched his basis for revolution from the industrialized worker as dictated by Marx, to the rural peasant. His objective was to win over the peasantry, equally disaffected with the nationalist government's inability to meet their most basic of needs, by offering them something better and "appropriate nationalism from the nationalists [and] make it a powerful communist weapon".⁶⁸ He emphasized a unity of effort whereby "the guerrilla must move amongst the people as a *fish* swims in the sea".⁶⁹ The means to this were illustrated in his Three Rules and Eight Remarks:

68 Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife*, 2002.

69 Mao, *On Guerrilla Warfare*, 1961.

Rules

- All actions are subject to command.
- Do not steal from the people.
- Be neither selfish nor unjust.

Remarks

- Replace the door when you leave the house.
- Roll up the bedding on which you have slept.
- Be courteous.
- Be honest in your transactions.
- Return what you borrow.
- Replace what you break.
- Do not bathe in the presence of women.
- Do not without authority search those you arrest.⁷⁰

His objective in its first stage was primarily not to capture terrain or seek the destruction of the enemy in battle, but to win over the populous. This was achieved in essence by serving their interests and offering them something better than the Nationalists, by out governing the government and securing what later was coined the 'hearts and minds' which thus conveyed a sense of moral legitimacy and justness upon him. What he achieved was the even closer bonding of the Clausewitzian trinity of the people, the state and the military.

The Struggle for Moral Supremacy

Insurgencies, as with all ideologically motivated wars that are seen as a matter of survival, can often be particularly brutal, but surely the insurgent is fighting by whatever means available. "When your people are being oppressed and no-one in the world is listening, sometimes you have to blow up cafe's to make people pay attention".⁷¹

Groups such as the Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan (PKK) could be said to be working for the genuine concerns of Turkish Kurds unrecognized by the central government. One man's rebel is another man's freedom fighter. Hezbollah, for example, has acted as a state within a state providing its own services to the public as well as challenging Israel's claim to the sole legitimate use of force. Thus it can perhaps be said that any entity, a state or otherwise, that takes up the responsibility of meeting the needs and interests of a group of people, may also take up arms in defence of them, or use them as a basis of support?

Realism and Insurgency

Realist perceptions on terrorism emphasize how insurgent groups such as Hezbollah provide services to citizens in Lebanon as a means of garnishing funding, legitimacy and support to pursue its military aims. Such definitions tend to not be able to equate non-state actors and so also emphasize regional powers connected with such groups as an example of them being used as proxy powers, such is the case of Iran and Hezbollah, when in reality, Iran has little influence over the direction of the group. This outlook misses the human piece of the puzzle and as such struggles, as Israel has, to be able to resolve the problem.

During the Cold War the USA gladly clandestinely supported insurgencies against communist governments, to include the *Mujahedeen*, however, now under the 'War on Terror' the unquestionable moral supremacy of the state has been reinforced. Similarly the U.S. has changed the title of the

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Interview with a Turkish Kurd woman, wife of an American Special Forces Soldier (2005).

Guantanamo inmates from POWs to criminals, shifting them from the different spheres of humanitarian law to law on human rights to suit their needs and provide legal room for moving them out of Afghanistan to Guantanamo and then initially denying them trial as combatants, signalling the States apparent flexibility with the rules.

With all the talk of terrorism the past several decades few States seem to want to talk about the classification of terrorism known as state-terrorism. This puts them on a level playing field with the terrorist, and not automatically above them. The Israeli States attitudes towards the Palestinian nationalism movements is considered by many as an example.

During the *Al Aqsa Intifada* Palestinian resistance organizations, driven out of motives for revenge over civilian deaths, instigated a campaign of attacks against Israeli civilian targets. Media attention and social memory has focused on the horrid nature of the suicide bomber, however such means are just a tactic of delivery and many attacks involved suicide gunmen instead. It is similar to how 1,000 bomber planes were used to firebomb Tokyo or Dresden to the ground, but people focus on the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima due to the dramatic nature of the amount of force from one source, even though outcomes from both were horrific, both of which were seen as justifiable at the time by the prevailing side. As the title of the book says, "*War is Hell*" by William Tecumseh Sherman.

The Sliding Bar of Conflict

If knowledge is power, then 'knowing one's enemy' is the key to victory. As such, in seeking to understand forms of warfare legitimated by people based power how should one view them within the context of warfare?

In 1989 American analysts came up with a generational view of conflict much favoured by the U.S. military to explain the array of forms of warfare, broken down as follows:

- 1st Gen Warfare: Linear warfare of the musket age.
- 2nd Gen Warfare: Fire and manoeuvre warfare.
- 3rd Gen Warfare: Exploitative warfare that bypasses major fortification to strike the weak point.
- 4th Gen Warfare: Guerrilla warfare, terrorism and insurgencies. With no frontlines, but ideas.
- 5th Gen Warfare: Much illusive, warfare by all other means, economic or technological. As such almost anything could be deemed an aggressive attempt.

Whilst this model has solid drawbacks as it puts everything in a progressive, linear order it has its uses in that all forms of conflict are put on a level playing field. Whilst it may seem morally repulsive to view the insurgent who plants the bomb on the same level as the tank commander, if one wants to deal with the nature of the threat tactically one has to strip away such narrow definitions. Being forced to do this to recognise and address the threat in its true nature also leads one to recognise its legitimated place in warfare, that one fights by the means one has available to best effect, which is very much along the thoughts of Sun Tzu, and against that of Jomini.

The weaker the insurgent and stronger the government, the more elusive the former shall become. The stronger the insurgent and weaker the government, the bolder and more conventional he shall be. A perfect contemporary example of this is the Taliban. In the aftermath of the U.S. lead invasion they retreated to the mountains, avoiding confrontation, consolidating their forces. Several years later Taliban started offensive guerrilla operations sapping at ISAF and Afghan troops, whilst resources were prioritized for Iraq. In 2005-2006 the Taliban conducted their own 'surge' and in the Southern Helmand province attempted to conventionally overrun the then small-scale British force. However, as security forces have increased their effectiveness and numbers the Taliban have been forced to become more and more elusive, resorting increasingly to Improvised Explosive Device (IED) technology transferred from Iraq, and mortar bombs as a means of attack.

Victory in Insurgency

Victory in insurgency is not achieved ultimately via insurgent means, but by wearing ones opponent down to the point that one can face him conventionally, by sliding the bar in favour of the insurgent. Mao laid this out in his rules on the stages of Guerrilla warfare:

- Stage 1: Consolidation of forces, avoiding confrontation.
- Stage 2: Offensive guerrilla operation that strengthen the guerrilla force and weaken the government.
- Stage 3: The guerrillas come out into the open, massing to defeat the government conventionally, securing final victory.⁷²

This is even more pertinent when the counter-insurgent force is a foreign one, and as such lacks endless amounts of 'staying power'.

A clear example of this would be the experience of the U.S. and allies in the Viet Nam War. With the bulk, but not all, of its military institutions ill versed and unable to adapt from their Jominian means to cope with the nature of the war the U.S. virtually wore itself down to its own defeat. Yet the Viet-Cong could not seize victory by such means alone and perhaps still lacked the means to realize Mao's third stage of revolutionary warfare on their own. Securing that took a conventional invasion by the North.

The Re-assertion of Moral Supremacy

The insurgent may be fighting by any means available. This does not, however, mean the misconception that the gloves are off is true. If such conflicts are ultimately a war of ideas were one tries to win over the target audience then moral justness is the key strategic consideration. Such considerations evolve around what is called the operational Centres of Gravity (COG).⁷³

Going back to the example of suicide bombers in the *al-Aqsa Intifada*; what is not significant is *how* groups such as Hamas were attacking via *martyrdom* means, but *where*. Such attacks over-extended beyond the moral objectives of the organization. Whilst in the eyes of many Palestinians, their primary COG, resistance may be seen as a just cause, the targeting of Israeli civilians outside of the contested areas of occupation were not just means and as such turned world opinion, their other primary COG, and thus political support in ill favour of the Palestinian cause.

If the various Palestinian resistance organizations would have limited their attacks to their political objectives, towards the soldiers and settlers inside of the '68 borders of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, then in terms of the right for armed resistance they would have remained legitimate means, whatever tactic employed.

Suicide bombers were described as the most effective weapon of the terrorist, yet by targeting places such as Tel Aviv instead of internationally illegal settlements like Beitar Illit, groups such as Hamas and the PLO did more damage to their cause than good, undermining world public opinion for the Palestinian cause and alienating moderate Israelis. Similarly, al Qaeda lost out in Iraq, as its indiscriminate bombings and killings of Iraqi civilians towards objectives that they did not share alienated the civilian populous to the point that they were rejected. Again a similar experience partly forced the Irish Republican Party to the peace table. A similar experience was had by France in Algeria. French forces, having used systematic amounts of torture and coercion, found that they lost their moral supremacy amongst the populous to rule the colony, and thus lost it altogether.

Thus, despite contradictions, moral frameworks apply to insurgency and political warfare more than in conventional war. Considerations for the proportional use of force and just cause are not merely overlaid on top of warfare, but in this way are the means to victory.

72 Mao, *On Guerrilla Warfare*, 1961.

73 Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife*, 2002.

As such it becomes more bemusing when one sees, for example, Pakistani generals using their most advanced Second World War tactics claiming that to take a town from the Taliban, they had to destroy it, or Israel's use of air-bursting white phosphorous over Gaza in the 2009 war, which, aside from being illegal to the rules of law, is the tactical equivalent of trying to swat Hamas flies with a 12 gauge shotgun. The old adage of 'Every time a GI walked through a rice paddy, he created 10 more VC' comes to mind.

Efforts of the Counter-Insurgent

Approaches to dealing with an insurgency are best shaped by how the insurgency is defined within the context of the situation, and not how the would-be counter-insurgent may wish to define it. This is that one should fight war as they find it, not as they want to.

Insurgency remains challenging to those tied to one dimensional conventional approach to conflict. The responses of States armed forces towards insurgency can be broken down into two main categories—direct and indirect. Which approach is adopted depends on the operational philosophy, institutional thinking, and history of that organization. Direct approaches tend to be Jominian in nature whilst the indirect more Clausewitzian.

The Direct Approach

The direct approach can be summed up by U.S. Army Colonel Harry Summers 'philosophy' of "a war is a war is a war" and as such seeks greatly conventional military solutions to the problem, such as the Sri Lankan Army against the Tamil Tigers, Pakistani Army against the Taliban, The British Army against the Boers in South African and the U.S. against the Viet Cong in Viet Nam. Here the use of force is a binary 'on-off' switch and is often a very blunt tool.

The U.S. Army, with no background for such operations, approached fighting the political insurgency of the Viet Cong as it would the Soviet Army for which it was orientated to face off with, via seeking the destruction of the enemy's force along Jominian lines. As such body count, bombs dropped, search and destroy missions conducted and major battles won became false counters towards American victory in a war of small patrols, skirmishes and most importantly, of ideas and political will.

Similar approaches hindered Israel's 2006 war with Hezbollah. Israel was fighting a war where the clearing and capture of terrain and destruction of the enemy's capacity ultimately lost out to the Hezbollah's information and media strategy. All the insurgent has to do is not to lose. Hezbollah only had to retain the capacity to fire one rocket and it undermined the Israeli Defense Forces' claims of victory.

When innovation and adaptation has taken place to combat insurgency it often occurs tactically. From the British Bushveldt Carbineers in the Boer War to Long Range Reconnaissance Patrols and Ranger Teams in Viet Nam the emphasis evolved around fighting as the guerrilla fights. The unconventional, 'dirty' nature of such warfare has resulted in the misconception that insurgency could be defeated by fighting dirtier, that the most brutal in seeking the destruction of his enemy will prevail as victor. Such actions ultimately degrade the moral authority of one's cause whilst alienating whole sections of society, which in a war of ideas and political will, is a dangerous thing.

Ultimately, such attempts to fight fire with fire focus on the heat of the flame that burns, rather than the fuel of the fire at its base, which would require an altogether different approach:

Water, The Indirect Approach

The most comprehensive approach to insurgency and arguably the most successful utilizes a broad array of the tools of state power. If one is to heed the teachings of Mao, then this approach can best be described as separating the 'fish from the water'.

This is in essence achieved by fighting the war along its ideological, rather than military lines. Why focus on trying to out the guerrilla on a tactical level when the guerrilla is trying to out-govern you on a strategic one? Contemporary comprehensive counter-insurgency strategy evolves around the more holistic measures of security, governance and development, interdependent parts that require the other to function. This is often dubbed the 'Malaya strategy' due to its development as the British response to the Malaya Emergency of the 1950s and 60s.

It ultimately involves engaging with the basis for insurgent support, and recognising the localised perceived injustices and concerns rather than painting the insurgent as the tool of a foreign state power. It engages in the war for the hearts and minds of the people by fighting on the same level as the revolutionary war itself. As such, killing the enemy becomes almost arbitrary, other than through the capacity to protect the civilian populous and show your strength. The key goal is to destroy the moral bonds for which the enemy can exist, rendering him impotent and irrelevant.⁷⁴

Viet Nam to Iraq and Afghanistan

The U.S. left Viet Nam under a shadow, and not taking many lessons with it, other than they shouldn't get involved in such "dirty little wars" and that they could not win it because it wasn't meant to be won. Whilst individuals and specific units or branches, be they advisors such as John Vann, the Special Forces, or the Marine Corps, managed to adapt to more suitable solutions such as pacification programmes, combined action platoons and hearts and minds programmes, they worked against a larger military institution that was unwilling to change and relegated their efforts as 'the other war'. Even when Gen. Abrams took command of U.S. forces in 1969 his attempts to forge change in the face of institutional inflexibility proved largely fruitless.

Through the furnace of Iraq, the U.S. military learned 40 years later, what it should have been learning wholesale during the Viet Nam War. Here, the U.S. military went from a direct to an indirect strategy, from focusing on capturing and killing insurgents, to development, security and governance, protecting the Iraqi people and offering a better alternative whilst seeking inclusive political settlements to seek an end to the conflict. Whilst politicians and media debated the surge plans, within the military the debate was over the adoption of a comprehensive counter-insurgency strategy by the U.S. military. Make no mistake, this switch is what turned things around in Iraq. The surge was merely a facilitator. The Malaya Strategy is heavy on manpower and required large numbers to ensure good things are done in enough quantity to have sustainable effect. The surge in Viet Nam, after all, did not have a positive effect as it wasn't backing the right efforts. Some critics have balked that the increase in stability had nothing to do with the U.S. military at all, but was a result of the Anbar Awakening and the Sons of Iraq programme that saw the Sunni militias being bought off to act as local security forces. Such programmes are an integral part of a more comprehensive approach that seeks to use all means and not military ones alone to achieving one's goals, a very Clausewitzian approach.

Afghanistan is a different country and a different war. General strategic themes may still apply, but the devil, as always, is in the details of their execution. Since the inauguration of the Obama administration in the USA there has been much talk of a 'new counter-insurgency' strategy for Afghanistan. In the case of Afghanistan it isn't so much new, but chased with new emphasis. In Iraq U.S. forces went from smashing their way through in armoured convoys from huge main bases, to spreading out amongst the population, patrolling on foot and interacting with the locals, assuming more risk with the people. Similarly in Afghanistan, one cannot underestimate the simple dynamics. In the initial stages of the war the Taliban may have been in a village and ISAF troops in the hills firing down at them. Now the ISAF troops are in the villages and it is the Taliban in the hills. The power of who is providing your security, and who is attacking cannot be underestimated.

As NATO troops have been learning, so has the Taliban. As ISAF forces become larger and more effective the Taliban becomes more illusive. As ISAF forces announced re-energised counter-insurgency plans to "secure the population" the Taliban released a pamphlet akin to Mao's Three Rules and Eight Remarks.

74 Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife*, 2002.

Similarly the attacks in Kabul on the 18th January 2010 targeted strategic government sites whilst, for the first time, avoiding civilian casualties.

ISAF troops have a saying in Afghanistan, 'we've got all the watches but they [the Taliban] have all the time.' Both sides are warring in the battle for ideas, ISAF's technological advantages do not matter so much. Similar to Hezbollah, the Taliban are winning the information war, with the dissemination of their message. If there is any similar to Viet Nam it is that. Taliban shadow government councils are infiltrating villages and handing out a harsh, yet impartial justice in regions where the central government is seen as corrupt and ineffective. Against them are a weak central government and an international force that, whilst it is doing the right things, still has an exhaustible supply of staying power. Whatever good ISAF troops achieve in Gen. McChrystal's goal of securing the Afghan populous, their efforts are ultimately in vain if the Afghan government cannot prove itself maintain its own moral supremacy with the populous, bringing to mind alternate solutions to governance relying on more traditional tribal power structures. Thus things hang in the balance, it is a lot easier for NATO to lose than for the Taliban, but there should not be the hubris to say it is unwinnable. Ultimately, it is more about solutions rather than 'victories', of which elements of the Taliban will be a part, similar, yet not exactly the same, as the Sunni militias were in Iraq.

Conclusion

Such means force a military, and thus a state, through necessity to recognize non-state actors as having the potential for just cause and also to recognise the root of injustices. These are the means by which true solutions are sought. This starts by recognising the moral concern and implications of all means and parties involved. The use of force alone is but one tool, often used too frequently and too bluntly. Ultimately, the moral considerations of insurgency and counter-insurgency not only question by means by how one fights but also the cause for which one fights.

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Japanese Student Soldiers on War and Peace

Akira Tachikawa, Japan

Introduction

The students soldiers taken up in this paper mostly refer to those Japanese students who were drafted and died during the Pacific War or immediately after. By university major they were not philosophers, but they represented a thinking class of the period. Besides, urgent and realistic subjects they had to analyze made them like philosophers even if not everyone turned out an avid reader of Plato and Immanuel Kant. Recently, Dr. Mieko Ohnuki of the University of Wisconsin, published two books on Japanese student soldiers, in particular on notable Kamikaze attackers. Dr. Ohnuki depicted them as pitiful victims of the military government. She argues that despite their broad and solid education, student soldiers could not distinguish their own cultural intentions and the political intentions of the government largely because crooked cherry blossoms intervened in between.⁷⁵ In the following, I would like to contend that, as far as three student soldiers I examine in detail were concerned, they were slightly more independent in their commitment to war efforts which were by themselves quite desperate as well as inhuman.

Indeed, after a higher education of one year or so, most student soldiers were forced out of their cherished classrooms and laboratories to go to war. Moreover, if you take up Kamikaze attackers, more than eighty percent of navy soldiers who lost their lives in action were student soldiers, while only fifteen percent of professional navy sailors died in a similar way.⁷⁶ It is doubtless that student soldiers were pitiful victims of the Pacific War. Nevertheless, if student soldiers were assumed simply as unprepared, weak creatures, not measuring up to the bravery of professional soldiers, as two former professional ones presumed immediately after the War, such an assumption may well be unfounded.⁷⁷ In the very discussion in which the above two participated, the father of a student Kamikaze attacker testified: he had wrongly believed that his son joined the Kamikaze attack from a rather sentimental passion of patriotism. In fact, he had learned that the son's determination derived from a very clear cut analysis of the realistic prospect for the war, as well as of what a student soldier could do within such a context. The son had proposed the Kamikaze attacks as one of the few means to reverse Japan's inferior position against the United States.⁷⁸

In the following, I would like to contend that student soldiers often superseded professional soldiers in their courage and audacity in military actions, and I especially try to show how they did so. To those pacifists who would attribute the origins as well as the prolongation of the desperate war to the irrational and thoughtless military government, such cases may be regarded as "inconvenient" facts (Max Weber). For, they may indicate that academically elitist students were in part responsible for the continuation of the miserable war too. But we must not divert attention, I believe, from "inconvenient" facts if we really quest for the foundations of an enduring peace.

The Japanese student soldiers drafted numbered well more than 100,000 and it is difficult to generalize the process through which many of them determined to help war efforts.⁷⁹ And yet, the number of those who recorded that process in detail is quite limited. Consequently, an analysis of a few examples may not be very arbitrary. Indeed, in her second book, Mieko Ohnuki took up seven of student soldiers

75 Ohnuki, Mieko. *Nejimagerareta Sakura. (Crooked Cherryblossoms)*, Iwanami Shoten, 2001, p. 451; do. *Gakutohei no Seishinnshi. (Spiritual Records of Student Soldiers)*. Iwanami Shoten, 2006, p. 43.

76 Ohnuki. *Nejimagerareta Sakura*. p. 261; Ninagawa, *Jukei, Gakuto Shutsujin. (Student Soldiers Depart for the War Front)*. Yoshikawa Kobundo, 1998, p. 125-126.

77 Iizuka Koji. *Nihon no Guntai. (The Japanese Military)*, Hyoron-sha, 1968, p. 49-51.

78 *Ibid.*, p. 141.

79 Yasuda, Takeshi. *Gakuto Shutsujin. (Student Soldiers Depart to the War Front.)* Sanseido, 1967, p. 109.

and analyzed these to exemplify their thoughts and actions⁸⁰ I would take up three soldiers and show how they could be even braver or audacious vis-à-vis professionally trained soldiers.

The first case

The first case, Tatsuki Matsunaga, had already graduated from the university for ten months when he was drafted to the army in 1942. But, he could be marginally qualified as a student soldier inasmuch as his assistantship at Kokugakuin University proved the continuation of his student days. Majoring in classic Japanese literature, with special reference to Teika Fujiwara, a Kamakura poet, Tatsuki had been frankly reluctant to join in the military. Among other reasons, his dead brother's military experiences confirmed him that there was no room for intelligence or reason in military service. Thus, when he was drafted, Tatsuki was strongly determined to shut himself up completely while in the military to preserve his being as a rational scholar. Military experiences, thought Tatsuki, would always deteriorate an intelligent person, and would bring about "a surrender of intelligence, or a degradation to popular folly and vulgarity."⁸¹ But this scholarly individual would shortly undergo an about-face. By the time he, as a university graduate, was duly promoted to a non-commissioned officer, Tatsuki turned himself into a most devoted soldier, with a mission "much stronger than that of a professional military officer."⁸² How did this occur?

Prior to his service, Tatsuki assumed that in soldiers' life anything other than intelligence predominated. Apparently, he had not personally understood what those "anything" signified. It was not so much violence and brutality as egoistic attitudes and the prevalent quest for immediate enjoyment that predominated in the Chinese front. For long service soldiers and higher officers, he thought he had to concede to some degree. But Tatsuki could never forgo the same among his fellow soldiers. From day to day they invariably chased after short-run pleasures and immersed themselves in the vain dream of discharge. They yearned for their return home, which in fact represented an idle fancy of unrealistic pleasure of youth, for they knew that their service was even better than their life at home. On top of this, however, they wrongly believed that their mother country Japan depended upon them.⁸³

Having personally observed all this, Tatsuki's perception of the military, and his unique role therein, underwent a revolution. Prior to these experiences, he had simply believed that the militaristic activities precluded reason and resorted to all other motives in order to function properly. That was why he had been determined to shut himself up completely while in service. Now, he understood that his assumption was completely wrong. Contrary to his old belief, reason had some role to play in the army. Indeed, for the Japanese military properly to function, the only necessary thing was reason, and all others could be done away with. In other words, a student soldier like himself for whom reason had mattered most, instead of shutting himself up, had a real role to play in the military, even more so than in the academic world. By now Tatsuki realized that as a scholarly soldier he had before him a vast project completely to modify the Japanese military from its foundation. The change was from a place where wishful and unfounded daydreams dominated to where more sound aspirations founded upon reason should hold sway. Tatsuki was fully aware that such was a formidable task. He properly compared that task to "Newton's ocean", deriving from an anecdote that Issac Newton late in life told to John Conduit to the effect that his own scientific work was nothing more than that of a boy playing on the seashore, while "the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before me."⁸⁴

If reason was the foremost thing necessary for the Japanese military, and if only the scholar could point to reason plainly, it was precisely Tatsuki himself who had to stand up and show the direction in which

80 Ohnuki. *Gakutohei no Seishinshi*.

81 Matsunaga, Shigeo and Matsunaga, Tatsuki. *Senso, Bungaku, Ai. (War, Literature, Love)* Sanseido, 1968, p. 156.

82 *Ibid.*, p. 160.

83 *Ibid.*, p. 166-170.

84 Richard S. Westfall. *Never at Rest: A Biography of Isaac Newton*. Cambridge University Press, 1980, p. 863; Matsunaga, Shigeo and Matsunaga, Tatsuki. *Op.cit.*, p. 180.

reason would take them. Tatsuki knew that he had to start to affect this revolution almost by himself against all odds. Thus, he was also determined to become a “Christ of the Japanese army”, anticipating that, if he put into practice what he wanted to do, he would be crucified like Christ sooner or later. To his surprise, the determination was accompanied by his renewed interest in Fujiwara, Teika, and his old study subject. Tatsuki was increasingly convinced that, seven hundred years ago, Teika, too, was waging a significant but equally desperate fight as a Christ in the Kamakura world of literature. At the same time, with his awareness of the new mission, Tatsuki severed his attachments to the cultural and academic pursuits themselves, along with that to the newly wedded wife. His overwhelming passion for the great mission had the effect of making such separations relatively easy.⁸⁵

Now, suppose that the substance of his experiences contained something more than a simple justification of his now being part of the military as a military officer. Then it is easy to see why he was more devoted to the army now than those who had been professionally trained for militaristic actions. First, Tatsuki knew wherein the Japanese army needed a radical reformation, a project which Tatsuki himself located personally. Then, he knew that right up to his participation in the army, he had been consistently trained in reason. In short, Tatsuki set his own target for the attainment of which he was determined to devote his whole life. Only one more year was left before he died in a battle in Honan province, and apparently Tatsuki did not have time to materialize his plans.

The second case

Sasaki, Hachiro, an economics major at Tokyo Imperial University, was drafted in 1943 and lost his life as a Kamikaze pilot in Okinawa one and a half years later. A mountain climber at the First Higher School, the elite “preparatory” higher school in pre-war Japan, Hachiro was surrounded by friends of a variety of opinions concerning the ongoing war. One of these, Tsutomu Ohuchi who subsequently matured into a noted economist, flatly criticized Hachiro’s active participation in the Naval Air Force, saying that:

“To die under any circumstances outside of those dictated by one’s own responsibility is either mere heroism or a temporary emotional high, both of which are foolish...he (Tsutomu) does not wish to be killed in the service of a reactionary cause, and that neither would he be impressed by anyone who dies in such a way.”⁸⁶

In the face of such an explicit warning, Hachiro chose the course as a Kamikaze attacker to kill himself only a few months prior to Japan’s surrender. Was he then a victim, as indicated by Mieko Ohnuki, of some tactful war-ideologues of the period? Hajime Tanabe, for instance, who developed a unique dialectical philosophy with emphasis upon the race as mediating individuals and the state, proved influential over a large number of students. Tanabe’s philosophy had the effect of driving them into the war. The same philosopher had once impressed Hachiro, when he was at the First Higher School. By the time he entered Tokyo Imperial University, however, he had all contempt about Tanabe’s philosophy which, to his eyes, turned out nothing but dogmatism and chopped all kinds of logic.⁸⁷ On top of this, Hachiro had clearly defined himself as a pacifist, deriding the energy for war efforts as a perfect waste.⁸⁸

Then, how did he transform himself into a voluntary Kamikaze pilot, a most inhuman weapon, within a matter of two years? We must note that Hachiro himself offered at least two levels of cause, not just one, for his unavoidable death. The first of these derived directly from his pacifism. He set it a significant scholarly mission to explicate to a mass of people why they had been unreasonably involved, and lost their lives, in modern wars. As a social science student, he believed he had to explain the underlying causes fully in terms the drastic changes in the forces of production by the side of outmoded social institutions, which had been entailing a radical adjustment.

85 Matsunaga, Shigeo and Mtsunaga, Tatsuki. op.cit., p. 177-180

86 Translated by Midori Yamanouchi and Joseph L Quinn. *Listen to the Voices from the Sea*. University of Scranton Press, 2000, p. 122.

87 Sasaki, Hachiro. *Seishun no Isho. (A Note Left Behind by a Youth.)* Showa Shuppan, 1981, p. 297.

88 *Ibid.*, p. 264.

According to Hachiro, the Western Renaissance had the effect of giving humankind their free use of nature, resulting, however, in a series of unprecedented conflicts. Sorely needed now was the second Renaissance, so to speak, which would emancipate social sciences from old ideologies of nationalism and racism. A faithful devotion to this mission would cost him his own life, like Socrates, inasmuch as nationalism and racism were the creed for the greatest majority. But, Hachiro would be willing to die in order to convey such a message to the many who had been suffering unintelligently.⁸⁹ Somewhat reminiscent of Plato's metaphor of the cave, a economics major of the mid-twentieth century had to work hard in order to disentangle and explicate the underlying complicated causes of the deadly war, and as such to become the philosopher of the times, but those very people for whom he was to serve would victimize him.

Through this Second Renaissance, social sciences would sure be emancipated from superstitions. No, without that very process, the humankind would never live happily. From the hands of those hypocrites who would coerce such superstitions upon the blind, we must rescue the latter...I would certainly put myself in jeopardy once I should disclose these points openly.⁹⁰

In his real life, the other destiny arrived at Hachiro first. After one and a half years of study at the University, he was drafted as a navy soldier. Hachiro, who held that he could not "love or hate someone just because of that person's nationality", cherished his humanism. He also took a very critical position against military war propaganda.⁹¹ How then did Hachiro reconcile his humanism and critical attitude toward militarism with his voluntary participation in Kamikaze actions? As an economics scholar, he avidly read Adam Smith and Karl Marx and was impressed by the degree to which these authors separated sharply the intended results of human actions, on the one hand, and the objective, long-term consequences of these actions upon society, on the other. In other words, he had learned that subjective intentions and objective consequences often diverged radically, a point which arrogant human beings often overlooked. Thus, according to Hachiro, his participation in the Kamikaze attack was justified in part by the result of his economics study. There was no guarantee that pure intentions of seeking peace would bring about a peace. Nor was there any ground for the assertion that a militaristic action would simply expand future brutal actions. But, precisely because of this uncertainty, Hachiro believed that his active participation itself may be contributed to creating a new world order. "I believe that the advancement of world history depends on each one, in his own privately ordained way, doing his very best."⁹²

Kamikaze attacks required that soldiers would enter into a fateful mission with minds that could overcome fear and dread attendant upon certain self-annihilation.⁹³ Paradoxically enough, it was often the educated university students, like Hachiro, who could draw on their breadth of knowledge to place their own fatal acts in a broader social or historical context (in however ambivalent a manner). Without such student soldiers, the Kamikaze attacks at the last phase of the Pacific War would have remained a much more limited program.

After sixty some years, we hopefully occupy a slightly better position to judge the consequences of student soldiers' actions. Although the actions killed quite a few students as well as the targeted American soldiers, it is not an overstatement to say that the determination of student soldiers contributed to bringing about the abolition of Japan's militarism. Had Japan surrendered much earlier, many lives would have been saved on all sides. The point especially applies to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Nonetheless, Japan's military forces and militaristic ideas might well have remained relatively intact. Nor could we have expected that Japan would have the "Peace Constitution", which renounces war as well as the maintenance of military forces. It is sobering to realize that the highest level of educated, enlightened thought, and the brutality and violent desperation of war merged to cause such a development. It is also very ironic that a keen understanding of Western thought, humanities and social sciences – and not blind courage – buttressed the Kamikaze missions that rendered the last phases of the Pacific War so much more horrible and inhumane.

89 *Ibid.*, p. 290-299.

90 *Ibid.*, p. 285.

91 *Listen to the Voices from the Sea.* p. 127-128..

92 *Ibid.*, p. 128.

93 Hosaka, Masayasu. "Tokko" to Nihonjin. ("Special Attacks" and the Japanese.) Kodansha, 2005, p. 50.

The third case

To point to the ambiguous effect of higher education, we must take up the third example. At the very end of *Listen to the Voices from the Sea* is located a long note by Hisao Kimura, a Kyoto Imperial University student, who was executed at Changi, Singapore as a war criminal. His charge was that Hisao maltreated the natives of an East Indian island, arrested for the charge of espionage, and caused the death of a few of them. Although he appealed that the officers who ordered him, rather than himself, were responsible, the Allies' military trial sentenced him to death thereby leading to his execution in May 1946.

Hisao has attracted special attention because of a few reasons. First, even though it was after the end of the war, he openly criticized professional military officers for their unreasonable and irresponsible behaviours. Second, Hisao also pointed to the indirect responsibilities on the part of the Japanese people in general who allowed the militarism become rampant. Third, more than any other individual, Hisao seems to have symbolized the student soldier as the victim of arbitrary militarism. Lastly, one of the major interpreters of Hisao's destiny, the late Professor Akira Igarashi of Tokyo University, expressed his reservation some ten years ago about Hisao's status as such a victim.⁹⁴

In a long note which he left behind, Hisao, an army superior private, claimed that he was innocent, and that his officers were guilty. But, why was he executed? Hisao argued that, from his perspective, he had "never done any deed so evil as to warrant execution. There were indeed others who committed evil deeds". Then, why his death sentence? Hisao explained that, from the perspectives of the world, Japan had inflicted upon them quite a few evil deeds. He was one of the Japanese. Thus, it was understandable that, on their behalf, Hisao would be "shouldering alone all the sins committed by the Japanese people as a whole".⁹⁵ This was a theory of vengeance and restitution.

Soon after this statement, however, Hisao admitted that as a soldier he "had worked much too hard for Japan". Among other things, he discovered an enemy spy for which he might well have received "a special award from the regional military unit". But with the defeat of Japan, what was once regarded as "a great and meritorious deed performed on my country's behalf has latterly turned out to be my ruin", indicating that Hisao had made unusual contributions to the benefit of the Japanese army. At the foundation of his fate lay the military defeat of the country. Therefore, the military as well as the entire nation which had supported the former, rather than himself as an individual were ultimately held responsible for his fate.⁹⁶

The former officers, once his superiors, forbade Hisao to mention their orders concerning the enemy spies and, as a consequence, they were sentenced to imprisonment, while Hisao got death penalty. For him this result seemed very unreasonable for two reasons. First, his former officers forbade him to testify truthfully. Then, someone like himself who would contribute greatly for the building of a new Japan should disappear, and those officers whose "worth" was much limited should survive. Thereupon, Hisao prepared an English document exposing the whole circumstance and submitted it to the military trial. Despite his effort, the sentence did not change.⁹⁷

Why was he executed? A direct explanation is that the Allies' military trial judged that Hisao had actually done what deserved death sentence. He was apparently considered partly responsible for the July 1945 murder by torture of six natives of the Car Nicobar Island.⁹⁸ At the same time, however, we should pay some attention to what lay behind his acts: namely, his general attitude toward human beings with reference to their education, especially higher education. As already stated, Hisao literally disparaged military officers, especially higher ranking officers. In contrast, he highly evaluated the personality of a humble accounting officer who was a university graduate. (The majority of leading military officers were at best graduates of military academies.) Above other things, Hisao was keenly aware of "the huge

94 Igarashi, Akira. *Wadatsumi no Koe wo Kiku. (Listening to the Voices from the Sea)*. Aoki Shoten, 1996.

95 *Listen to the Voices from the Sea*. p. 283.

96 *Ibid.*, p. 284..

97 *Ibid.*, p. 288-289.

98 Igarashi, op.cit., p. 27-128.

difference ... between those who have come through the processes of reading, thinking — and so much deep, personal reflection — and those who have not”.⁹⁹ Hisao had some admiration for superior scholarship and consequential success in life which contrasted with ending up “being just an ordinary person”.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps this ethos of his was shared by some others and he might not be held personally responsible for having one. But, how did that ethos help direct his activities, physical as well as verbal? He criticized professional army officers severely, which was even laudable an act. But, how did he look at and act toward the native people of Car Nicobar Island, including the ones arrested, whose educational levels proved very much lower than those of military officers?¹⁰¹ In his long note, Hisao did not mention the native people even once, while he extensively narrated his intercourse with the Dutch soldiers as former enemies as well as former captives.¹⁰² As far as indirect evidence of his maltreatment of the natives is concerned, it fills every page of his note. For all that, the university education in pre-war Japan was partly responsible, despite its positive contributions in a variety of other areas. There is no excuse for its attaching too much importance to education in distinction to more universal human rights.

Conclusions

After the analyses of the thoughts and actions of three student soldiers in the Pacific war, I arrive at a rather trite but significant conclusion. In relation to the prosecution of Japan’s military activities, its higher education could claim to have made neither singularly positive nor singularly negative contributions. The universities in fact made mixed and divided contributions. Apparently, students seem to have been affected similarly regardless of their differences in the areas of specialization. That is in part why a number of notes by perished student soldiers have been collected together in the same volumes, although there lingered a few complicated issues in the compilation of the documents. The universities’ influence upon student soldiers showed a subtle but profound cleavage, with reference to war and humanity, warning such institutions against any simple kind of self-complacency. The point applies even to the phases of pre-war education at its best. The problem of elite education especially at the Imperial universities was largely overlooked during the critical years of post-war education reform. A critical analysis and reform may still prove even more important than the restless contemporary reforms which would prove quite inadequate with regard to the universities’ roles of education concerning war and peace.

99 *Listen to the Voices from the Sea*. p. 291.

100 *Ibid.*, p. 295.

101 Sakuta, Keiichi. *Hajino Bunka Saikou. (The Culture of Shame Reconsidered)*. 1967, p. 124-125.

102 *Listen to the Voices from the Sea*. p. 285-286.

Japan's Kamikaze Pilots and Contemporary Suicide Bombers: War and Terror

Yuki Tanaka, Japan

Kamikaze Pilots¹⁰³

It is widely believed that the major source of Kamikaze suicide pilots was the Air Force Cadet Officer System in the Japanese Imperial Navy and Army Forces, which recruited university and college students on a voluntary basis. However, the majority of Kamikaze pilots were young non-commissioned or petty officers, that is graduates of Navy and Army junior flight training schools. A total of 708 non-commissioned Army officers died as Kamikaze pilots, while the total death toll of Army Air Force officer class Kamikaze pilots was 621. In the Navy, 1732 petty officers died as Kamikaze pilots compared with 782 officers. Many assume that the majority of Kamikaze pilots were former college students, because the letters-home, diaries and wills of these young men, who became Kamikaze pilots through the Air Force Cadet Officer System, were compiled and published as books and pamphlets after the war. The best known of these publications is *Kike Wadatsumi no Koe (Listen to the Voices from the Sea)*. Unfortunately similar personal records left behind by non-commissioned and petty officers are not publicly available. It is therefore necessary to rely on private records to gain a fuller understanding of the thoughts and ideas of these Kamikaze pilots.

The Navy Air Force Cadet Officer System was introduced in 1934 to assure preparation of well-trained fighter pilots. Until 1942 students were exempt from conscription. However, with the soaring death toll of Japanese soldiers, the conscription of all healthy male university and college students of Humanities and Social Science, who were 20 years of age or older, was introduced in October 1943. Students were allowed to apply for the position of Navy Air Force cadet, but the selection criteria were stricter than for those of other cadet positions in the Japanese Imperial Forces, both in the Navy and the Army. The Army introduced the Air Force Cadet Officer System in July 1943, but many students chose the Navy which enjoyed the aura of being modern and fashionable.

Between 1934 and 1942, 507 Air Force Cadet Officers were accepted into the Navy Air Force. From September 1943 the numbers increased rapidly, with 14,347 inducted between September 1943 and 1944, and an additional 285 in 1945 for a total of 15,149. Of these, 2,485 (16%) died, of whom 685 died as Kamikaze pilots.

The total death toll of Navy Kamikaze officer pilots, including 685 former college students, was 782. This means that only 12 percent of those who died among Navy Kamikaze officer pilots were professional fighters. The percentage of former students amongst the Navy Kamikaze officer pilots who died in the Battle of Okinawa (i.e. in Ten Ichigo Sakusen [Operation Heaven No.1]) between late March and late July in 1945) was as high as 81.3%. (Or, according to another source, 82.9%.) In the Army, 58 percent of the Kamikaze officer pilots who died in the Battle of Okinawa were former students. This statistical data is the main source of the criticism of the leaders of the Japanese Imperial Forces from surviving former student Kamikaze pilots and the relatives of those who died on mission towards the end of the war. They claim that the Navy particularly sacrificed former students in order to save professional pilots.

In analyzing private records of the cadet officer Kamikaze pilots, the following psychological themes emerged as bases for accepting or responding to a Kamikaze attack mission.

103 This article was written for Japan Focus and posted on November 25, 2005 (<http://japanfocus.org/products/details/1606>). For another recent analysis of the Kamikaze, and contemporary visual representations of their heroism, see Davie Earhart, "All Ready to Die: Kamikazification and Japan's Wartime Ideology", *Critical Asian Studies* 37:4 (2005) p. 569-596.

1) Rationalizing one's own death to defend one's country and its people

In the final years, the cadets clearly understood that Japan would lose the war. Therefore, they had to rationalize their own deaths in order to believe that their sacrifice would not be a total waste. To this end, some convinced themselves that their determination to fight to the end would save the Japanese people (i.e. the Yamato race) and their country by forcing the Allied Forces to make concessions so as to end the war as quickly as possible to avoid further Allied casualties by Kamikaze attack. However, as testimonies of dead and surviving pilots clearly show, their idea of "country" was far from the nationalistic notion of "nation-state". For most of these young students, "country" meant their own "beautiful hometowns" where their beloved families lived. In this context it is interesting to note that there is very little reference in their wills, letters-home, and diaries of their loyalty to the emperor. Occasionally we find some stereotypical militaristic phrases such as "Kokoku Goji (Uphold the Empire)", "Shinshu Fumetsu (the Immortal Divine Land)", "Yukyu no Taigi (the Noble Cause of Eternal Loyalty)", and the like, but these words are usually used rhetorically rather than conveying deep conviction or abiding nationalistic sentiment.

2) The belief that to die for the "country" was to show filial piety to one's own parents, particularly to one's mother:

Many wills and last letters convey apology to parents for the inability to return all the favours the Kamikaze pilots had received and for causing their parents grief by their premature death. Yet, they also state that their death for the "noble cause" was one way to compensate for the misery caused their parents. This way of thinking is clearly intertwined with the idea of defending the "country", i.e. the "hometown". The announcement of their death as Kamikaze pilots in the national press brought praise and honour to their parents, in particular, praise by residents of their local community. Thus, in this way, filial piety ("koo") to parents became identical with "loyalty" ("chu") to parents and then to "country". Their loyalty to the emperor invariably emerges as a logical extension of loyalty to parents and hometown, rather than the reverse. To defend one's mother in one's hometown was thus the most basic, almost instinctive, element in rationalizing a cadet's death as a Kamikaze pilot. This explains why many intelligent youths accepted their suicidal mission despite feelings among some of deep mistrust and criticism of military leaders and politicians. The majority of cadets viewed their unavoidable duty as defending their mothers no matter how corrupt the society and politics. The strong emotional attachment to mothers is overwhelmingly clear in their private records, a phenomenon perhaps related to the fact that the majority of these youth were not yet involved in sustained relationships.

3) Strong solidarity with their flight-mates who shared their fate as Kamikaze pilots:

This solidarity, which can be termed "a convoy of death", clearly softened the fear of death by making participants feel that others would die with them on the same mission. U.S. pilots flying in formation communicated with each other by radio. Japanese planes were not equipped with radios, but it was common practice for the same flight formation team to be maintained through all stages from training to actual combat in order to create and sustain coordinated team actions. Not surprisingly, unusually strong friendships formed, especially among Kamikaze pilots. In cases where pilots in the same team were separated on different missions, many complained bitterly to their commanders, claiming that they had pledged to die together. It seems that, in some cases, their friendship even developed into homosexual relationships.

4) A strong sense of responsibility and contempt for cowardice:

Most of these top university students were sincere and had a strong sense of responsibility. They felt that if they themselves would not carry out the mission nobody else would follow suit. They also saw escape from their "duty", for whatever reason, as an act of cowardice. "To live free from cowardice as a human being" was a strongly expressed desire. It seems that this mentality derived from university life, which had sheltered them from conventional ways of thinking. Clearly, they were naïve and such naivety and sincerity were encouraged at cadet school where students with similar social background lived and trained together while preparing to die for country. However, some boys, if clearly a minority, resisted orders to complete Kamikaze missions by feigning illness or fleeing. (There was even one case in which a Kamikaze pilot took off on a mission, but deliberately crashed his plane into a military brothel, killing several "comfort women", including his favourite, as well as himself.)

5) A lack of an image of the enemy:

One of the striking features of these youths' ideas is that they convey no discernible image of their enemy. In their diaries and letters-home there is barely any reference to their adversaries. The enemy did not exist in their mind. Specifically, virtually no sense of "hatred of the enemy" can be found in their writings. Perhaps this was partly due to the fact that these cadets had never experienced actual combat. By contrast, the Allied navy who encountered Kamikaze attacks usually regarded the Kamikaze pilots with intense fear and hatred, calling them "crazy, cruel, and inhumane Japs". In the case of these Japanese youths, a concrete mental concept of "the enemy" did not exist at all. Instead they were preoccupied by philosophical ideas such as how to find some spiritual value in their brief lives, how to spend their remaining time meaningfully, and how to philosophically justify their suicidal act. The concept of killing the enemy, as opposed to fighting for "country", was simply lacking in their thinking.

Contemporary Suicide Bombers

In the absence of detailed information on the ideology and psychology of contemporary "terrorist suicide bombers", it is not easy to compare the Kamikaze mentality with that of terrorist bombers. One important difference stems from the fact that Kamikaze attacks were implemented and legitimized by the military regime of a nation-state, while "terrorist suicide bombing" is generally planned and authorized by organizations outside a state structure. Certain preliminary comparisons are nevertheless still possible.

As surviving former Kamikaze pilots correctly point out, in contrast to contemporary terrorist bombers, their targets were always military planes, ships and personnel, never civilians. To be sure, under wartime conditions, particularly in the final months of the Pacific War, military targets were the only ones that the Kamikaze could challenge. Had they been closer to American civilians, as Palestinian suicide bombers are to Israeli civilians, they too might have attacked civilian targets. Nevertheless there seem to be some fundamental similarities between the two groups of suicide attackers: in the imbalance of technological power between them and their foes, in the conceptions of those who dispatch them, and in the mentality of those who sacrifice their lives.

The following discussion emphasizes Palestinian suicide bombers, though they are of course not alone in seeking to use this strategy. Anwar Ayam, the brother of a Palestinian suicide bomber, is said to have observed: "It will *destroy their economy*. It causes more casualties than any other type of operation. It will *destroy their social life*. They are scared and nervous, and it will force them to leave the country because they are afraid". (*emphasis added*) In the eyes of the attackers, the distinction between military and civilian in the ranks of their oppressors is not a real concern. The goal for Palestinian suicide bombers is to shake the foundations of the Israeli establishment by destroying its social and economic life, and above all its sense of security as a means, ultimately of forcing the Israelis to leave their occupied land. The same logic applies to the 9/11 bombings in New York and Washington, and suicide bombings in Iraq. For Kamikaze pilots, too, the ultimate aim of their actions was not to kill enemy soldiers or to achieve victory in the war, but to force the Allies to make concessions to end the war by terrorizing them with suicide attack. In both cases, concrete images of the victims may be lacking in the attackers' mind, thus the actions of killing others becomes ritualised. This observation is not, of course, limited to killing by Kamikaze or suicide bombers but may extend to other terrains of war.

In this sense there is an important similarity between suicide bombing (including Kamikaze attack) and the "strategic bombing". Strategic bombing, i.e., the indiscriminate bombing of civilians, is justified as the most efficient method of destroying the morale of the enemy nation, and thus the most economical way to force surrender. In this concept too, concrete images of victims are absent in the minds of strategists and bombers. This similarity is not surprising. This is because the indiscriminate bombing of civilians conducted by military forces is nothing but state violence against civilians, that is, it is state terrorism. "Terrorist attacks" either by a group or by a state can only be executed when images of victims are abstracted and detached from the minds of attackers and strategists.

Another similarity between Kamikaze attack and suicide bombing is the huge technological gap in military capability between suicide attackers and their enemies. To be sure, Japan, in contrast to the Palestinians in particular, had created a powerful army, navy and air force that allowed it to become the

dominant power in Asia in the 1920s and 1930s. Nevertheless, the Kamikaze strategy, particularly as it emerged in 1944-45, was a direct response to the fact that the Japanese Imperial Navy had lost most of its major battleships and almost all its aircraft carriers, while the Allied Forces had numerous aircraft carriers, hundreds of battleships, and thousands of aircraft with abundant fuel, bombs and ammunition. By 1944, the Imperial Army troops stationed throughout the Asia Pacific were incapacitated and struggling to survive without food and ammunition, indeed, many were cut loose from supplies and left to their own devices.

Bombing of major Japanese cities such as Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka, Kobe and Fukuoka by B-29 bombers, underway by March 1945, caused hundreds of thousands of civilian casualties. Kamikaze pilots saw their "country" being destroyed and their own families directly targeted by aerial bombardment. In these circumstances, the Japanese military leaders decision to emphasize the suicide Kamikaze attack was a desperate strategy whose only possible meaning was to convince the U.S. and its allies to ease surrender terms and prevent a U.S. landing in Japan.

Similarly, Palestinian fighters have no comparable weaponry to directly attack F-16 jet fighters, Apache helicopters, tanks, missiles and the like; before their eyes their homes are blown up, women and children are torn apart, their bodies charred and chewed up by shrapnel, and Palestinian communities are fenced in by Israeli barbed wire that makes them captives in their own land. Moreover, Palestinians have endured decades of torture, humiliation, killing and the robbing of their lands and resources by Israel. In contrast the Israelis have been astonishingly free of reprisal from within the territories during these years. With far fewer strategic options than those available to Japan in the Pacific War, a segment of the Palestinian resistance, in utter despair, has opted for suicide bombing in urban centres as the most effective means to demoralize Israelis. For some young Palestinians who see no future in their life, terminating their own lives is not such a terrifying and difficult matter. It is a natural psychological extension for one who no longer finds meaning in his or her own life to slight the lives of others as well.

In my view, religious or ideological indoctrination is not the decisive factor in turning a young person into a suicide attacker. Rather religion and ideology are used to justify and formalize their cause of self-sacrifice and to rationalize the killing enemies, whether military or civilians. In so doing, they mirror the strategies of their oppressors who likewise, in practice, make no distinction between military and civilian targets. Ritualising killing makes it psychologically easier not only to annihilate enemies but also to terminate one's own life.

Ritualized violence and brutality as exemplified by suicide attack may constitute the most negative manifestations of a human being's desire to let one's own people live by sacrificing one's own life. However, war and violent conflict inevitably brutalize not only suicide attackers, but all human beings. Undoubtedly war is an act of madness, its absurdity clearly shown in the paired (but imbalanced) actions and reactions of World War II: as Japan adopted Kamikaze-style suicide attacks, the U.S. used "strategic bombing" to indiscriminately kill hundreds of thousands of civilians, and finally engaged in atomic bombing attacks. Yet, to a great extent, it is the former acts that have borne the opprobrium of history while the latter would come to shape the strategic horizons of subsequent wars. Thus terrorist suicide bombing, which is occurring more and more frequently throughout the world, bears the opprobrium of "lunatic actions by fanatics", while the bombing of civilians, such as those executed by the U.S. and British forces in Afghanistan and Iraq, are widely regarded as "legitimate military operations". It is crucial that we find effective ways to break the vicious cycle of these two types of terrorism.

The Philosophy of War in Islam

Makram Abbas, Tunisia

Since the events of September 11, 2001, war in Islam is often considered throughout religious definition which encloses it in the imagery of holy war, terrorism and violence. In this conference, we aim to underline the diversity of Islamic traditions on war, including legal approach on war, and the tradition of political science which is called "Mirrors of Princes". This approach reach to deconstruct notions like jihād, "fitna", "dār al-harb", and other fundamental terms which are currently put forward to discuss this issue.

When one evokes the theme of the war in Islam, especially in the present time, it is first the image of terrorism, the indiscriminate violence, and of the fight which is done on behalf of the religion that comes to mind. This image is based on a transformation of the concept of modern jihād which was born in the Arab-Muslim world after World War II, and even more radically and in a much more globalized way since the September 11 events.

Generally, these changes have led to the establishment of three approaches which strive, from different disciplinary fields, to give an account of this problem and to answer some questions raised.

1) In the first place, there is an approach that we can call "essentialist", because it tends to reduce all the thinking of the war in Islam to a fixed and undifferentiated schema, that of the perennial war, which must be made on behalf of religion and must lead to victory on the other beliefs. According to this approach, which is both the product of orientalism and Islamism, the war has always been made and will always be made in the same way, because of religious determinations, which register this activity in transcendent and sacred considerations.

2) In second place, there's an approach that comes within the scope of the sociology of international relationships: it analyses the security issues, the fight against terrorism, the transformations of international law, and the problems linked with the emergence of the jihadist, this new figure of combatant, without territory and irregular, which destabilises the States in place and targets civilians.

3) Finally, there are many studies lead by Arabian contemporary lawyers (including al-Bûtî, al-Rikâbî and al-Zahîfî) that makes the criticism of this new conception of jihad, based on blind violence, terrorist attacks, and destabilization of the state and international order. The interest of this approach lies in the fact that it discusses the theological presuppositions and interpretations on which rely the jihadists. These studies refer to sacred scriptural sources the jihadists claim and the references they mobilize.

However, in their willingness to differentiate themselves from the negative image of the war in Islam, these works tend, sometimes, to reduce the meaning of jihād only to defensive war, which does not allow to explain, for example, the wars of conquest conducted at the beginning of Islam. In parallel, they often fall into a seraphic and apologetic vision of Islam, as only a religion of peace, denying the existence of warlike practices, or legal doctrines which legitimized war on behalf of the fight against the impiety and polytheism.

Within the scope of the political philosophy, my approach will try to examine the reasons why, with the advent of Islam, the war (al-harb) was subsumed into a concept (al-jihād) which carries both an ontology (a vision of human existence as continuing struggle) and an ethic (endurance, constancy in the effort, development of itself).

How does this double determination of jihād, ethic and ontological, link up with its warlike signification? Are there two separated aspects or rather a recovery of politics (war) by the categories of morality and of religion?

These questions underline the difficulties in the concept of jihād on its warrior side, inasmuch as it could have come in a variety of forms, according to different authors and practices: so, for me, it means, according to historical contexts and political situations, holy war, just war, war of conquest, defensive war, terrorism, etc.

This plurality of signification and extreme plasticity of the concept of jihād are a first criterion which motivates us to include the problem of the war in Islam not in a religious reference supposed to be bearer of a final meaning, but rather to link it up with a political perspective. I'm convinced that we can better understand the thinking of the war produced in this culture by registering the jihad in the logic of the representation of the sovereignty and in the different theories of power developed in Islam. This will enable us also to show that it can join universal traditions as for example the Western tradition of the right of people (*jus gentium*) that emerged in the 16th and 17th century with lawyers-theologians like Vitoria, Suarez, Botero or Grotius.

This methodology aims to contribute to the "désessentialisation" of the debate on the war in Islam and to its reintegration into a universal dimension of the thinking of the war.

Firstly, I would like to talk about the thinking of the war in legal writings, principally the stories of Arabic conquests and legal treaties, (as *Kitâb al-siyar* of al-Shaybâbî, considered by the specialists in international law as the Grotius of Islam). Traditionally, it is to some lawyers of Islam (such as al-Shaybâbî or al-Shâfi'î) that is attributed the doctrine of perennial war which is being done on behalf of God. It is on the basis of these legal elaborations dating from the 8th century that some modern underpin their doctrine of global and uninterrupted jihād.

In addition to the elucidation of the many differences within these legal doctrines which will demonstrate that they are far from having a monolithic vision of the war, our approach will insist on the fact that, despite the religious nature of the right to war, which remains determined by the interpretation of the koranic text and of narratives of prophetic or other conquests, the war was thought as an extension of politics. It is to say as an activity organized by the State, and not supported by isolated individuals or irregular combatants. This item is all the more important as it stresses the differences between the two conceptions, ancient and modern, of jihad. They both claim of religious texts, but they are totally opposed on the political plan: in the ancient conception war is in the service of the State, while in the contemporary practices of jihād, war is made against the State.

In addition, we shall analyze the positive contribution of jurists of Islam, who studied from the VIII century on, not only the law of the war (the *jus ad bellum*), but also the right in the war (the *jus in bello*) and even the post-bellum which is the origin of "humanitarian law" and of any reflection on the phenomenon of the humanization of the war.

The second aspect we wish to develop is the question of the designation of the enemy. It is not about the figure of the external enemy which is often determined from religious criteria (polytheism, impiety), but that of the internal enemy, more particularly the figure of dissident. This orientation will show that the legal doctrine of war cannot be understood regardless of the absolutist theory of power defended by these same lawyers around the 8th century. The ideal of absolute power, as it was developed in the aftermath of the Great discord (middle of seventh century) consists in the eradication of the internal policy danger, and of the risks of a civil war, by the designation of an external enemy whose threat, real or fictitious, is the guarantor of the inner unity of the city.

It is in this logic of the defence of sovereign and absolute power, able to contain the risks of discord and of avoiding a new tearing of the community (*fitna*) that this ideal of a theological war against the ungodly outside *dâr al-Islam* (territories of Islam) has been thought and defended in some writings of the time.

Thus, with the study of the figure of the internal enemy, the doctrine of jihād against the ungodly could be headed against the Muslim itself, as seen in al-Ghazâlî (died in 1111) who, at the end of the 11th century, legally legitimated the war of Almoravides against the kings of Tayfas in Andalusia on behalf of religious orthodoxy and the fight against moral deviations. To explore these interpretations, we shall use the concept of "theology policy" and examine its various forms and acceptations, to reflect the complexity of the doctrine of jihād, and the way in which it could be used not only against the religious other, but also to serve a certain vision of the orthodoxy or an ideology in power.

The second axis which we need to study to fully understand the theme of the war in Islam is the tradition of Mirrors of the Princes. Known as the name of "*âdâb al-mulûk*" (the rules of conduct of the kings) or

“*âdâb sultâniyya*”, (the rules of conduct of political power), this tradition must be distinguished from writings of jurists who are characterized by a certain normativity, and concerned first by the codification of the war from the interpretation of holy texts, especially from the study of the military conduct of the founders of Islam.

In the texts of mirrors, the theme of the war is not linked with a thought of the act and the legal standard, but rather with the consideration of the war as a universal political phenomenon.

The authors of *Mirrors of the Princes* as al-Tha’âlibî, (11th century), al-Murâdî (10th century), or al-Abbâsî (8th century) use the history of the great sovereign to establish the outline of an art of war, which is the main quality of the perfect sovereign.

The approach of the authors of these manuals of political science is therefore an approach of specialists of the military art, as is the case of al-Harthamî (9th century), general of al-Ma’mûn, who had drafted an abstract of the conduct of war, as well as those of scholars who exercised the profession of secretaries, and who knew sufficiently well the workings of the State and the universe of power. There is a scientific and positive approach to war, which is fundamentally based on the history of the great politicians (including Alexander the Great and the Persians Kings) and on the way they were able to build their empires, get rid of an enemy, or protect their power.

Two aspects characterize these texts. First, the registration of the theme of the war in a vision of human nature and in a dynamic of the passions, which is inherent of this human nature (envy, aggressiveness, selfishness, quest of the glory, etc.); this assumption implies that the prince must continually prepare for war and use the virtue of prudence which is the only guarantor of the conservation of power. The presence of this aspect will justify the comparisons with the texts of the Western tradition of modern natural law, and more precisely with the philosophical writings who founded their theories policies on the analysis of human passions (Spinoza, Hobbes, and Machiavelli).

The second aspect of the research will consist in studying how this tradition has developed a fine and refined thought of war. The theme of the victory by wisdom and the need to win a war with the least cost of lives is widely developed in the texts of mirrors. Within the maxims of Kalila and Dimna, these treaties are developing a conception of the military art based on the assimilation of a universal wisdom inherited from the past, the exemplary ethic nature of the prince, and diplomacy.

Thus, everything must be done to avoid the direct confrontation and the bloody conflict. This conception brings together the texts of Arab *Mirrors of the Princes* and traditions of warrior strategy that have been developed in other cultures, such as that which is illustrated in the *Art of the War* of Sun Tzu for example.

The Invasion of Kuwait: Reasons, Agents and Chances for Peace

Lana Issa, Iraq

1. Introduction

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on 2 August 1990 was the opening move of the subsequent First Gulf War. The reasons why Iraq invaded Kuwait need further explanation. This was one of those wars that have left doubts and questions concerning the reasons behind it and the main problems that led to it. On the other hand, it was very obvious that the cause of this war was not only for the liberation of Kuwait, which was used as the headline for the 1991 Gulf War. But, in reality, there were many more hidden reasons that placed a heavy burden on the back of the war. Those hidden reasons worked as catalytic agents that led to the fighting.

This paper will describe the main reasons that led to the war/invasion in 1990 with a holistic analysis of the variety of issues, facts and agents that contributed to the outbreak of war. There had been a long term dispute between Iraq and Kuwait regarding their common border. A background to the issues that supported Saddam Hussein's claims in his right to invade Kuwait will be included. The dispute provides lessons on how important it is to solve border disputes in order to avoid future conflicts, the way the Kuwaitis acted prior to the Iraqi invasion and the active roles played by other countries including the United States and the UN in the conflict plus the failure of diplomatic attempts by some Arab leaders to stave off the conflict. This paper will also discuss the agents that helped in supporting war choice. One of the key causal factors was the increasing financial and technological support to Iraq before 1990 which helped to build Saddam's strong military might, and then the sudden change by the United States policy towards Iraq after the Iraqi-Iranian war. The paper will also go through the opinion of hidden reasons that worked as agents and the possibility of avoiding this war by sanctions or diplomacy.

2. Causes and Agents of War

Having an in depth and clear look into the causes and reasons that led to the dispute between Iraq and Kuwait, which ended with an Iraqi invasion to Kuwait, requires another penetrating review into the nature of relations between the two neighbouring countries prior to the war. When Iraq went to war with Iran in 1980 for a number of reasons, one of them was to prevent the Islamic Revolution of Iran from extending across the Islamic world.¹⁰⁴ Saddam Hussein felt obliged to "defend" Iraq and the neighbouring countries like Kuwait and Saudi Arabia from fundamentalism and at the same time expected to be supported financially by those countries along with others. Consequently; the Iraq- Iran war strengthened the relations as well as the cooperation between Iraq and the Gulf States especially Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. During the war, Iraq received aid and financial support (as loans) from countries like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. The estimated loans given to Iraq from Kuwait were about \$10 billion. In addition, Iraq was allowed to use Kuwait's ports to receive its supplies.¹⁰⁵ The war was long and negatively affected the Iraqi economy which was in a continuing decline.¹⁰⁶ The Iraq- Iran war cost Iraq \$40 billion in debts to the Gulf countries and another \$40 billion to Western States.¹⁰⁷ When the war ended, Saddam expected the Gulf countries to forgive their loans to Iraq. Saudi Arabia was very generous with Iraq and decided to forgive all loans considering them as gifts. On the other hand, Kuwait insisted on having its

104 Mearsheimer, J. and Walt, S. 2003. *An Unnecessary War*. Foreign Policy, p. 54.

105 Karsh. E and Freedman. L. 2002. *The Saddam hussein Reader: selections From Leading Writers On Iraq*, New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, p. 252.

106 Above, n104.

107 Above, n105, p. 253.

\$10 billion loans back knowing that Iraq was facing a huge economic problem. This attitude created a tension in the relations between the two countries. Moreover, Saddam Hussein was planning to use the oil revenues to repay Iraq's debts, but with the Kuwait's newly adopted oil policy, oil prices continued to go down. In 1988, few days after the ceasefire between Iraq and Iran, Kuwait started to increase its oil production which led to the lowering of the world oil prices. As a result, Iraq's economy was particularly damaged by Kuwait's new policy since it would cost Iraq \$7 billion per year from their recent export levels.

The other issue is that Kuwait was using the dispute Rumaila oil field "two-thirds of which has been said to lie within Iraq territory" to pump more oil.¹⁰⁸ Taken by this idea, Kuwait decided to increase its oil products by 50 percent while producing two million barrels a day instead of one in March 1989.¹⁰⁹ The new policy was completely rejected by OPEC¹¹⁰ in their June 1989 meeting.¹¹¹ Unfortunately, Kuwait insisted on its new adopted policy without paying any attention to its furious and financially strapped neighbour, Iraq. In July 15 1990, Iraq's foreign minister, submitted a letter to the Arab League secretary general in which Kuwait was accused of harming Iraq "deliberately and continuously" since the end of the Iraq-Iran war. Iraq accused Kuwait of occupying its territory and using the stolen oil from the Iraqi Rumaila oil field to dump it on the world market and lower oil prices. Iraq declared the stolen oil worth about \$2.4 billion.¹¹²

One of the main issues that caused the continuing tension between the neighbouring countries was the common border. This issue went back to 1921 when the British High Commissioner to Iraq, Sir Percy Cox, unilaterally drew dividing lines upon his imperial map to demarcate the borders among Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.¹¹³ The basic Iraqi claim for Kuwait goes back to the Ottoman Empire time when Kuwait was a small district run from Basra. The demand for the restoration of Kuwait was as early as King Ghazy's time (in the 1930s). In 1933, the Iraqi King was encouraging the Kuwaitis to overthrow the Sabah family and join Iraq. Another attempt was made in 1961 when the new revolutionary Iraqi leader, Abd al- Karim Qasim, was planning to invade Kuwait. Kuwait's sovereignty was only recognized in 1963, when the new Baath government took over, however, the border issue was never settled.¹¹⁴

Knowing that the border between the Iraqi and Kuwaiti frontiers was blurred and, to end the continuing dispute between the two countries, the Arab League founded what was called the Military Patrol Line (MPL)¹¹⁵. According to the 1962 MPL, there would be a buffer zone between the two countries to be free of any provocative activities.¹¹⁶ But in 1970, the Kuwaitis moved their drilling rigs into the buffer zone and Iraq used its troops to force them out. The same provocative action was repeated again by the Kuwaitis in 1980. This was when Iraq was busy fighting a war with Iran. This time Kuwait established dozens of oil drilling sites. Clearly Kuwait wanted to make use of the fact that there was no clear border between the neighbouring countries and claim its right in the land not only for its interest in oil in that region.¹¹⁷

After the Iraq-Iran war in 1988, Iraqis were deeply frustrated due to the increasing social problems that proved to be beyond Saddam's ability to defuse. There were about 65,000 prisoners of war who were supposed to return to their lives and families soon but the unwillingness of the Iranian regime to negotiate this issue added more to the social consequences of war. The peace talks which were arranged

108 Campbell, D. 1993. *Politics without Principle: Sovereignty, Ethics and Narratives of the Gulf War*. London: Lynne Rienner, p. 45.

109 *Ibid.*

110 Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

111 Above, n8, p. 45.

112 Above, n5 p. 265.

113 Above n9, p. 32.

114 Above, n5, p. 251-252.

115 Above, n8, p. 33 "Military Patrol Line which was established by the Arab League in 1962 in order to clarify the matter and resolve the dispute between Iraq and Kuwait".

116 *Ibid.*

117 *Ibid.*

by the UN were doomed to failure as a result of the Iranian rejections. The other fact was that the hope for returning back to normal life, rising standard of living and start of a vast economic reconstruction of the country started to vanish. Similarly, Iraq's shaky economy was unable to absorb the hundreds of thousands of young men who used to be soldiers into the labour forces. At the same time, the remaining Iraqi army was costing the Iraqi government a fortune to keep and mobilize.¹¹⁸ Unfortunately, Saddam Hussein was aware of the fact that the Iraqi military by now had acquired a hard-earned experience in warfare. It was well-trained, led and fully equipped. The Iraqi army was regarded as the fourth largest army in the world. As well there was the possibility that Iraq's military machine was provided with chemical weapons.¹¹⁹ Knowing these facts, Saddam felt strong in forcing his demands and threatening of using force against Kuwait.¹²⁰ Therefore, and as a result of the Kuwaitis actions, plus the financial, social and economical pressure Iraq was facing, the angry Iraqi leader listed a number of demands to Kuwait in order to avoid war.¹²¹ One of the peace efforts was made by a number of Arab leaders who tried to intermediate between Iraq and Kuwait to solve the dispute.¹²² The Arab leaders made extensive efforts to organize a summit involving the two neighbouring countries and Saudi Arabia in Jeddah on July 31, 1990, but the efforts to reach a solution to this problem did not succeed.¹²³ The Kuwaitis showed aggressive and strong behaviour, refused to offer minimal financial concessions or territorial yield and at the same time, rejecting any efforts made by other countries to solve the dispute. The Kuwaitis were pushing for a long term process of Bedouin-style negotiations.¹²⁴

One of the peace efforts to prevent Saddam's decision to attack Kuwait was made on 24 July 1990 when the Arab League secretary general and the Egyptian president Mubarak visited Baghdad. As a result of their efforts, Saddam promised to wait for the visit of Kuwait's crown prince to Baghdad "for serious negotiations" to settle the problem between the two countries. Saddam also promised not to use military force until the Arab League meeting is held in Jidda.¹²⁵ However, the Kuwaitis told foreigners to keep out of this internal Arab affair.¹²⁶

Saddam complained about the Kuwaitis to the United States in his meeting with a Senate delegation on April 12, 1990 and another meeting on July 25 with Ambassador April Glaspie. The impression Saddam had after talking about the problem was that the United States gave him the green light to invade Kuwait.¹²⁷ The general impression the White House had was that Saddam was bluffing and would never seriously invade Kuwait. The State Department concluded that Saddam's troops were not ready for the invasion. This suggests difficulties in interpretations of intercultural dialogue.

118 Above, n105, p. 224-225.

119 Kegley, W. and Raymond, G. 2002. *From War To Peace: Fateful Decisions in International Politics*, New York: Bedford /St. Martin's, p.189.

120 Id., p.193. If these demands were not met, Saddam Hussein would take what he wanted: "If anyone tries to stop me, I will chop off his arm at the shoulders," he threatened.

121 Id., p. 192-19. (Prior to the invasion, Tariq Aziz, the Iraqi foreign minister, listed a series of demands to be met by Kuwait to avert war. Among these were a demand for \$2.4 billion in compensation for the oil "stolen" from the Rumalia field; cancellation of the debt Iraq incurred to Kuwait during the war with Iran, estimated at \$40 billion USD; \$10 billion in aid to help Iraq recover from the war; and a long term lease on Bubiyan and Warba, (two strategically important islands guarding Iraq's access to the Persian Gulf).

122 Above, n108, p. 46. (The Iraqi president noted that some progress toward a solution of the issue had been made through the mediation of Egyptian President Mubarak. Others including PLO leader Yassir Arafat and Jordanian King Hussein, were also involved in extensive behind-the-scenes negotiations to try to diffuse the growing rift between Iraq and the Gulf States).

123 Above, n119, p. 192-19. (What actually took place at this meeting remains something of a mystery, but no one doubts that ultimately failed and precipitated the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.)

124 Above, n105, *The Saddam Hussein Reader: selections From Leading Writers On Iraq*, New York:Thunder's Mouth Press, p. 272.

125 Id, p. 267.

126 Id., p. 272 "Solving disputes between brothers is not difficult".

127 Above, n108, (Ambassador Glaspie's and Assistant Secretary of State Kelly's declarations that the United States had no opinion on inter-Arab border disputes and was without obligation to Kuwait, to a joint military exercise in July,1990 with the United Arab Emirates in response to President Hussein's public pronouncements).

On 2 August 1990, Saddam's Republican Guards marched towards Kuwait intending to occupy it. Along with the above mentioned reasons regarding the war and based on Kuwait's economic pressures and territorial aggressive actions towards Iraq, Saddam Hussein claimed Iraq's historical right to absorb Kuwait and declare it as the nineteenth province of Iraq.

3. The Role of the United States and the United Nations and the Prospects for Long Term Peace

Some critics proved that the invasion of Kuwait was not a simple case of "unprovoked aggression", but an action that was better seen in a rational term because Iraq had its reasons that deserved to be addressed.¹²⁸

One might argue that if Iraq did not possess the military might, it would have never thought of invading Kuwait. That leads us to another argument why did the United States help build Saddam's military might which started in 1980 when the war between Iraq and Iran started.¹²⁹ Both leaders, President Ronald Reagan and Saddam Hussein, considered Iran the real threat in the Middle East.¹³⁰ By adopting a point of view which said "the enemy of my enemy is my friend"¹³¹, the United States administration changed its policy towards Iraq and started supporting and aiding it in the best way it could during its war with Iran.¹³² The United States then sent what technology Iraq needed.¹³³ But when the war between Iraq and Iran ended in 1988, there was a sudden change in the U.S. attitude along with the other Western States.¹³⁴ They also started to cut off their financial aids to Iraq despite its huge economical problems as a result of the war with Iran.¹³⁵

In the opinion of several critics, the case was not only that the West was taking advantage of the opportunity presented by Iraq's foolhardy aggression but the West itself had engineered the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait with a view to furthering its own interests.¹³⁶ This could be true simply because if the U.S. made a clear commitment to the defence of Kuwait, the Iraqi invasion might have been prevented

128 Coates Anthony J. 2000. 'Just War in the Persian Gulf?' in: Valls, A (ed.), *Ethics in International Affairs*, p.38-39. 'The redrawing of long-disputed territorial bound areas; the cancellation or rescheduling of debts to Kuwait (incurred during the war with Iran, a war that Iraq claimed was a much in Kuwait's interest as it was in its own and which Kuwait had been happy to have Iraq fight on its behalf); the repair and future prevention of the damage to the Iraqi economy caused by the Kuwaiti and Saudi Arabian lowering the price of oil and Kuwaiti exploitation of the Rumaila (and mainly Iraqi) oil field. These complaints were the grievance that led the leader of Iraq's Christian churches, the Chaldean Patriarch Raphael Bidawid, to uphold the justice of Iraqi's cause and to depict its "invasion" of Kuwait as an act of self-defense.'

129 Above, n119, p. 193 (In search of an ally, the United States removed Baghdad from its list of state sponsors of terrorism, thus making the country eligible for U.S. government-financed export credits as well as arms and technology sales.)

130 Ibid. "The Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini had denounced the United States as the 'Great Satan' and called for a holy war against Saddam Hussein".

131 Ibid. (In search of an ally, the United States removed Baghdad from its list of state sponsors of terrorism, thus making the country eligible for U.S. government-financed export credits as well as arms and technology sales.)

132 Above, n108, p. 34-39.

133 Ibid, p. 39 "Of course, U.S. companies were not alone in their willingness to trade with Iraq. Between 1982 and 1989 German corporation exported approximately \$650 million worth of technology to Iraq, much of it with obvious military applications. Likewise, corporations from number other European and Middle Eastern countries have been identified as prominent participations in the trade with Iraq".

134 Ibid, p. 48 "Western attitudes and policies certainly began to change in the aftermath of the Iran-Iraq war. Between the fall of 1988 and early 1989 the Western nations began a campaign against chemical weapons, even though the same countries had been turning a blind eye towards Iraq use since 1984".

135 Ibid. "In May 1989 French arms sales to Iraq ended. In August 1989 the BNL Atlanta operation was raided and closed down; in October 1989 the U.S. Export-Import Bank ended guarantees for Iraq, and in May 1990 the U.S. Department of Agriculture announced an investigation into alleged Iraqi abuses of the CCC program".

136 Hiro, D. 1992. *Desert Shield to Desert Storm*. Paladin, p.166. "The Iraqi aggression had automatically given the U.S. the chance to get the bases in Saudi Arabia, they had been trying to acquire for 40 years without success.

and war avoided.¹³⁷ If the U.S. did not provide Saddam with all the military technology and financial aids, Iraq would never have acted with hostility to its neighbours. If the United States took the border issue seriously when raised by Saddam to the U.S. Ambassador April Glaspie instead of saying “the U.S. policy takes no position on such inter-Arab affairs” just to avoid diplomatic complications with Kuwait, this war could never have taken place. If the State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler did not announce on July 24, 1990, few days before the invasion, that “We don’t have any...special defence or security commitments to Kuwait”, Saddam might consider the international community and the United States before invading.¹³⁸

There is also the moral preference for sanctions over war that is sanctions were a more proportionate response to the invasion of Kuwait than war. That is why many argue that this war was bound to be a disproportionate and, therefore, in an unjustifiable response.

The issue here is the unworthy consideration for the need of war. The idea of proportionality forms an essential part of the moral assessment of war which was not given consideration in the Gulf War.¹³⁹ However, the U.S. declared that sanctions alone would not get Saddam out of Kuwait. They were worried that Saddam may use this time to upgrade his military preparedness which may cause the U.S. to fight later on a difficult war in which Saddam may use his nuclear weapons.¹⁴⁰ But there was always more to the war than the defence of Kuwait and the vindication of international law. Of course the war was about oil, regional security, and the balance of power.¹⁴¹ The Bush administration explained to the American public the reasons why U.S. would send their forces to liberate Kuwait and defend Saudi Arabia.¹⁴² President Bush tried to scare the American people into believing that U.S. economy would suffer imminent danger if the Iraqi army was not defeated. He also tried to link these vital national interests with ensuring peace and stability in the world.¹⁴³

It was argued that the cosmopolitan image of the war for the overthrow of a legitimate authority and establishing a new regime in its place is belied. Despite the UN sponsorship, the war had little to do with international community. The real prime mover throughout was the United States and its allies who tried their best to undermine the efforts of Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar to maintain UN control and to achieve a diplomatic solution to the crisis.¹⁴⁴ Also the cosmopolitan and humanitarian purposes for which the war was fought were contradicted by the West’s agenda, namely, securing its

137 Ibid. ‘... According to one version of events, for example, the U.S. government laid a trap for Iraq by simultaneously encouraging (or not discouraging) the Iraqi move against Kuwait while bolstering Kuwaiti and Saudi Arabian resistance to Iraqi claims for boundary changes, a reformed oil pricing policy, and financial compensation for losses incurred during the Iran-Iraq war.’

138 Above, n105, *The Saddam Hussein Reader: selections From Leading Writers On Iraq*, New York:Thunder’s Mouth Press, p. 269-270.

139 Above, n128, p. 42.

140 Above, n136, p. 266-267. “...Bush...wanted to rush the military action for several reasons. He was unsure that the coalition would hold for a year. There was a major problem looming about the presence of U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia during the holy month of Ramadan (beginning on 17 March 1991) and then during the hajj pilgrimage three months later. Finally, the continued uncertainty in the Gulf was having an adverse impact on the world economy”.

141 Id., p.108. ‘At the National Security Council meeting...2 August, the seriousness of the Iraqi action was discussed... Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady pointed out that by taking over Kuwait Iraq had doubled its oil reserves to 20 per cent of the total world reserves. With this, argued President Bush... Iraq would be able to manipulate oil prices and hold the U.S. and its allies ‘at its mercy’. Higher prices would fuel inflation, worsening the ‘already gloomy condition’ of the American economy, he predicted. Richard Cheney, secretary of defense, stated that the ‘marriage of Iraq’s military of one million men with 20 per cent of the world’s oil’ presented ‘a significant threat’.

142 George Bush, “U.S. Action in the Gulf: A Matter of Principle” (remarks to Arab-American Group in Washington D.C., on 24 September 1990), U.S. Department of State Dispatch, 1 October 1990. ‘Bush said, “It is about our vital national security interests and ensuring peace and stability in the world”.

143 Ibid.

144 Ibid.

own strategic interests.¹⁴⁵ When Saddam was described as evil it was because he was using chemical weapons against the Iranians and his own people in Kurdistan back in 1980. The Reagan and the first Bush Administration tried their best to cover for Saddam's regime when it came into criticism in the United Nations and the U.S. Congress. After all, the U.S. was providing him with the satellite photography in order to help him use his chemical weapons more efficiently against his enemies.¹⁴⁶ Not only has the United States participated in atrocities in Iraq but they also ignored episodes of brutality of Saddam against Iranians and Kurds.¹⁴⁷ When the result of the Gulf War came unexpectedly to Saddam; he gave his delayed decision to withdraw from Kuwait.¹⁴⁸ However, the U.S. forces showed their brutality too in an image not quite different of Saddam during the withdrawal. The U.S. and British military officers used cluster bombs to attack Iraqi soldiers retreating from Kuwait and elsewhere. Such military action was done under the leadership of General Schwarzkopf.¹⁴⁹ The retreating army was severely attacked by the coalition aircraft on what was called the "highway of death"¹⁵⁰. This action was described as "turkey shoot"¹⁵¹ where it was obvious that the allied forces were effectively shooting Iraqi troops in the back killing enormous numbers of soldiers.¹⁵²

4. The Invasion & International Law

According to article 2(4) of the UN Charter "[a]ll members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations". At the same time, article 2(6) of the Charter provides that the UN "shall ensure that States which are not members of the United Nations act in accordance with these principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security". It is clear that this declaration is regarded as a principle of customary international law and all States are binding upon in the world community.

As a result, the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait seems to deliver a case in point for a just cause. By invading into Kuwaiti territories (without Kuwait having posed a serious threat to Iraq), Iraq has violated international law, committed aggression against the sovereignty of Kuwait. Iraq had posed a real and certain danger to the security in the Gulf region and to international peace. The nature of the Iraqi actions against Kuwait could not have justified the action by international society. Also Iraqi actions against Kuwait are to be seen as a "breach of international peace and security".¹⁵³ From the perspective of international society, state sovereignty and its corollaries, the equality between States, their political independence and territorial integrity form the fundamental pillars of the international system.¹⁵⁴ Central to the principle of state sovereignty is the universal norm of non-intervention or nonaggression. It is clear that Iraq committed the crime of aggression and violation of the constitutive norms which sustain the international order.

145 Above, n128, p. 36. As one critic of the war...has written, "The reality is that the Western powers are pursuing a strategic policy, linked to the control of Gulf oil, that has nothing to do with support for human rights or condemnation of military aggression".

146 Mearsheimer, J. and Walt, S., op. cit.

147 *Ibid.*

148 Above n136, p. 380. 'Iraqis will never forget that on 8 August 1990 Kuwait became part of Iraq legally, constitutionally and actually. It continued to do so until last night, when withdrawal began.' President Saddam Hussein, 26 February 1991.

149 *Id.*, p. 389. "General Schwarzkopf said: 'There is a lot more purpose to this war than getting the Iraqis out of Kuwait.'"

150 Above, n119, p. 203 "Bush worried that his triumph might be marred by charges of brutalization".

151 Baudrillard, J. 1995. *The Gulf War That Did Not Take Place*. (trans.) Paul Patton Indiana University Press.

152 Above, n108, p. 69. "Casualty figures, estimates that a total of between 177,500 and 243,000 Iraqis were killed during the air war, the ground war, and the aftermath of war. Some 70,000 to 115,000 of those people were in the military, while between 72,500 and 93,000 were civilians".

153 United Nations: <http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/1990/scres90.htm>, Resolution 660.

154 *The Ethics of Intervention*, s. 120 ff.

Conclusion

The dispute between Iraq and Kuwait was the result of many reasons. Some of them were long term disputes and some increased with time. There were also many agents that led to it. With the failure of diplomacy, the conflict between Iraq and the U.S.-led coalition took place in the Gulf in February 1991. The armed conflict which lasted for 42 days was between Iraq and a coalition of 32 nations including the United States, Great Britain, Egypt, France, and Saudi Arabia. It was a result of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990. Iraq then annexed Kuwait, which it had claimed. The Iraqi President Saddam Hussein declared that the invasion was a response to overproduction of oil in Kuwait, which had cost Iraq an estimated \$14 billion a year when oil prices fell. Saddam also accused Kuwait of illegally pumping oil from Iraq's Rumaila oil field.¹⁵⁵ The UN Security Council called for Iraq to withdraw and subsequently embargoed most trade with Iraq. U.S. troops moved into Saudi Arabia to protect their oil fields. On 29 November 1990 the United Nations set 15 January 1991, as the deadline for a peaceful withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait. When Iraq refused to comply, the Gulf War commenced. The U.S.-led coalition began a massive air war and also embargoed most trade with Iraq. The U.S. troops moved into Saudi Arabia to destroy Iraq's forces and military and civil infrastructure after the Iraqi invasion. On 24 February 1991 Kuwait was liberated and Iraq was defeated.¹⁵⁶

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The Iraq War as Seen from Hiroshima: DU (Depleted Uranium) Weapons as the Nuclear Shadow

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DU (Depleted Uranium)

In the aftermath of the Gulf War, a controversy erupted over whether DU (Depleted Uranium) was a cause of the so-called “Gulf War Syndrome”. Stating that DU weapons “indiscriminately harm soldiers and civilians alike”, in 1996 the UN Human Rights Sub-committee adopted a resolution calling DU “incompatible” with international humanitarian law and human rights law. It adopted similar resolutions in 1997 and 2002.

After the “Balkan Syndrome” emerged among European soldiers following the Kosovo conflict, in January 2001, a European Parliament resolution called for a moratorium on the use of DU. It passed similar resolutions in 2003, 2005, and 2006. And finally, in December 2007, the UN General Assembly overwhelmingly passed the “Resolution concerning the effects of using weapons and missiles that contain Depleted Uranium”; although what this resolution requested is not an immediate ban or moratorium on DU weapons, it called the attention of the international community to the DU controversy and requested its member States and related international organizations such as WHO, IAEA, and UNEP to submit their views about the harmful effects of DU weapons. A similar resolution was adopted again by an overwhelming majority in 2008. Thus, the long-overdue DU issue will be put on the agenda at the UN General Assembly in 2010. Let us first give a brief overview of the problem as seen from Hiroshima since from the time when the Iraq War was to break out.

“Operation Iraqi Freedom” and DU weapons

Year by year more experts, peace activists and concerned citizens had been raising the alarm, but the governments of the United States and United Kingdom continued to deny any danger to health or the environment. Early in 2003, as opposition to DU grew with opposition to the impending attack on Iraq, the following claim appeared on the White House homepage.

Depleted Uranium Scare

During the Gulf War, coalition forces used armor-piercing ammunition made from Depleted Uranium, which is ideal for military purposes because of its great density. In recent years, the Iraqi regime has made substantial efforts to promote the false claim that the Depleted Uranium rounds fired by coalition forces have caused cancers and birth defects in Iraq. Iraq has distributed horrifying pictures of children with birth defects and linked them to Depleted Uranium. The campaign has two major propaganda assets:

- Uranium is a name that has frightening associations in the mind of the average person, which makes the lie relatively easy to sell; and
- Iraq could take advantage of an established international network of antinuclear activists who had already launched their own campaign against Depleted Uranium.

But scientists working for the World Health Organization, the UN Environmental Program, and the European Union could find no health effects linked to exposure to Depleted Uranium. The truth has not deterred the Iraqi disinformation campaign.

Is the anti-DU campaign a result of Hussein's propaganda?

This claim remained up until very recently on the home page of the U.S. Department of State, and a Japanese translation used to be posted on the website of the American Embassy in Tokyo, too. This section, which makes the case against the Saddam Hussein dictatorship, is entitled "Apparatus of Lies: Saddam's Disinformation and Propaganda 1990-2003". But when it comes to DU, nothing could be more obviously deceitful than the U.S. claim.¹⁵⁷

The White House maintained that "uranium is a name that has frightening associations in the mind of the average person, which makes the lie relatively easy to sell", but what does the U.S. government really know about the dangers of uranium? Have they proven that this radioactive, chemically toxic substance is safe enough to spread over cities? Where is their data on that?

Just until recently there were many criticisms of U.S. attitudes toward nuclear problems. This applies to gaps in accounting for tons of plutonium, the most toxic substance on Earth; its official posture that even threatened the preemptive use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States; and to its efforts to develop nuclear bunker busters and "mini-nukes". In Iraq, this attitude was witnessed in its slipshod control of the nuclear facilities at Tuwaisa near Baghdad, where residents were reportedly allowed to steal drums full of yellow cake (refined uranium ore) after the "end of major combat". The common factor throughout has been inexcusable indifference to or profound self-deceit regarding the grave consequences of radiation exposure.

The White House suggested that Iraq had taken advantage of an established international network of antinuclear activists to launch a campaign against Depleted Uranium. However, the anti-DU campaign in Hiroshima was a totally spontaneous response to what persons saw as a serious war crime. As a member, I can say that we had had no contact whatsoever with the Iraqi government. In fact, we had never met any Iraqis until after the campaign was well underway. Perhaps the best proof of our independence is the *Hiroshima Appeal for Banning DU Weapons*, which we published at our own expense even after the collapse of the Saddam Hussein regime.¹⁵⁸

Who Hindered a Thorough Investigation of the DU Problems in Iraq?

The U.S. government defends the safety of DU weapons based on certain limited studies, but many experts have shown how profoundly inadequate and biased those studies are. In July 2003, the Nuclear Policy Institute in Washington produced a report, entitled "*Depleted Uranium: Scientific Basis for Assessing Risk*", that rebuts this claim as follows:

"In January 1993 a study done by the United States General Accounting Office (GAO) stated that "inhaled insoluble oxides stay in the lungs longer and pose a potential cancer risk due to radiation. Ingested DU dust can also pose both a radioactive and a toxicity risk. A 1995 study by the Army Environmental Policy Institute (AEPI) reiterated the negative health effects stating that "if DU enters the body, it has the potential to generate significant medical consequences. The risks associated with DU in the body are both chemical and radiological'..."

Despite this research, the *Final Report: Presidential Advisory Committee of Gulf War Illnesses* released in 1996 stated, "it is unlikely that health effects reports by Gulf War Veterans today are the result of exposure from Depleted Uranium in the Gulf War. It is undeniable that there are extremely grave problems with the claims of the U.S. government regarding not only the Iraqi weapons of mass destruction but also regarding the hazards of DU weapons. Nonetheless, the U.S. government's stance toward DU weapons

157 Now it can be found at <http://georgebush-whitehouse.archives.gov/ogc/apparatus>

158 The version of Hiroshima Appeal for Banning DU Weapons was published in August 2003, and its first English version in October 2003, and 23,000 copies have been printed including both Japanese and English version. This article is based on its main appeal drafted by the author.

did not change all through the Iraq War. On March 26, two days after our “NO WAR NO DU” opinion ad¹⁵⁹ appeared in the *New York Times*, General Brooks admitted at a press conference held at the U.S. Forces headquarters in Qatar that they were using DU weapons in the Iraq War, too. For them, DU weapons are still nothing more than “conventional weapons”.

Furthermore, almost simultaneously, an article appeared on the homepage of the U.S. Department of State, which defended the claims of the U.S. government while indirectly disparaging our ad. The article was “*Depleted Uranium Myths Examined: Iraq never allowed DU follow-up investigations*” by Ronald Bailey, science correspondent for *Reason*. It is dated March 26, two days after the appearance of the “NO WAR NO DU” opinion ad in the *New York Times*.

However, even the subtitle runs squarely counter to the facts. The above-cited report by NPRI points out clearly as follows:

“[T]he U.S. government has made it difficult for international agencies to conduct extensive studies. In November 2001, following a strong U.S. lobby, the UN General Assembly rejected a longstanding Iraqi proposal for a UN study on the effects of DU in the Gulf War, which had already been approved by the committee on disarmament and international security”. (underlined for emphasis)

It was the U.S., Great Britain and their allies that opposed the proposal for “an investigation by a UN organization” at the General Assembly of the United Nations. If they were wary of possible intrigues or propaganda by Saddam Hussein, that excuse vanished with the Hussein regime. In my opinion, in order to prove their innocence, the U.S. and Great Britain must immediately allow a thorough, independent investigation of DU presence and consequent health effects, especially in Southern Iraq.

Are DU Weapons as Harmless as Maintained?

Bailey bases his argument denying any harmful effects of DU on human bodies on a very small number of reports: a European Union study released in 2001, a 2001 report to the European Parliament, and a fact sheet provided by WHO in 2003. Bailey quotes from the latter saying, “because DU is only weakly radioactive, very large amounts of dust (on the order of grams) would have to be inhaled for the additional risk of lung cancer to be detectable in an exposed group. Risks for other radiation-induced cancers, including leukemia, are considered to be very much lower than for lung cancer”.

These conclusions, too hasty and too irresponsible considering the gravity of what is at stake, lose persuasive power altogether in the face of recent scientific findings. The NPRI report States:

“Studies by the DoD at the Armed Forces Radiobiology Research Institute (AFRPI) probe deeper into the possible health implications of DU exposure. In an ongoing study intended to verify the effects of embedded DU shrapnel on pregnancy and offspring development, female rats with implanted pellets indicated DU in the placenta and developing fetus. The Depleted Uranium did not have an immediate effect, though. The implanted pellets caused the litter size to decrease, but only if the rats became pregnant six months or more after DU is implanted. If the female rat becomes pregnant less than four months after receiving the DU implant, the size of the litter is not substantially affected. Researchers thus concluded that “the placenta is not a barrier to DU migration”.

159 On March 2, 2003, about 6,000 people gathered in Hiroshima’s Central Park to form the letters “NO WAR NO DU” in a “human message”; our plan was to place an opinion ad that prominently displayed an aerial photo of the *human message* in the *New York Times* to convey “No War No DU!” to the American government and people. The aerial photo was taken by photographer Naomi Toyoda. The present author was involved in these activities as director of the executive committee.

These results are in line with the CDC's determination that low-level radiation is cumulative....

[According to other studies] DU appears to have a "delayed effect", even a month after the DU was removed new cells exhibited damaged genes. Miller believes that the study which examined "tiny" amounts of DU, small enough to be radioactively and toxically insignificant, shows that it is the radioactive and toxic combination which catalyzes significant genetic damage". You can get more than an eight-fold greater effect than you'd expect", Miller says. This means eight times as many cells can be genetically damaged than previously foreseen".¹⁶⁰

Thus the U.S. claim that DU is harmless relies on citation of a very limited number of studies that lack scientific credibility. As with DDT, lead in petrol, PCBs, smoking, asbestos, and Agent Orange, the resistance from vested interests is strong, but the time is coming when DU weapons will be recognized as radioactive weapons with indiscriminate effects. The only question is, how much damage will have been done before the truth comes out.

Voices Echoing "No War No DU"

In contrast to the government, the media in the USA was quick to pick up the story. Many editorials and commentaries appeared. On March 30 and 31, soon after our "NO WAR NO DU" opinion ad in the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times* ran an op-ed piece by Susanna Hecht, professor in the School of Public Policy and Social Research at UCLA. The straightforward title was "Uranium Warheads May Leave Both Sides a Legacy of Death for Decades". It addressed the serious damage caused by DU weapons in an accurate and reliable manner:

"Although the potential human cost of the war with Iraq is obvious, not many people are aware of a hidden risk that may haunt us for years....Though the findings are controversial, many scientists now see these afflictions as the result of heavy metal poisoning and possibly exposure to very low levels radiation....

Iraqi civilians — many more than the 100,000 who died in the conflict or as a result of the war — also suffer from a range of similar health problems. Families of soldiers should be very worried....

The rosy fantasies of a democratized Arab world might make for good sound bites. But the reality of widespread DU use brings to mind the epitaph for the Punic Wars: "They made a desolation and called it Peace".

An editorial on March 30 expressed its author's sense of growing crisis by its very title, "Face Uranium Issue". It urged in its conclusion:

"In the 1960s, the United States used an herbicide called Agent Orange to defoliate the jungle in Viet Nam. In postwar years, about 60,000 veterans claimed they had been harmed because the chemical contained the lethal poison dioxin. The experience has left many veterans suspicious. Such suspicions may prove unfounded with Depleted Uranium, but history shows the importance of putting them to rest through full and candid disclosure".

In Great Britain, on March 30 an article by Niel Mackay appeared in the *Sunday Herald*, a Scottish newspaper, under the headline "U.S. Forces' Use of Depleted Uranium Weapons is 'Illegal.' This article centered on an interview with Mr. Doug Rokke, who maintains that the use of DU weapons is a "war crime" and a "crime against humanity". It argues in a resolute tone as follows:

"British and American coalition forces are using Depleted Uranium (DU) shells in the war against Iraq and deliberately flouting a United Nations resolution which classifies the munitions as illegal weapons of mass destruction. DU contaminates land, causes ill-health and cancers among the soldiers using the weapons, the armies they target and civilians, leading to birth defects in children.

160 *Depleted Uranium: Scientific Basis for Assessing Risk*, Nuclear Policy Institute, July 2003, p.15-16.

Professor Doug Rokke, ex-director of the Pentagon's Depleted Uranium project—a former Professor of Environmental Science at Jacksonville University and onetime U.S. army colonel who was tasked by the U.S. Department of Defense with the post-first Gulf war Depleted Uranium desert clean-up — said use of DU was a 'war crime'. Rokke said: 'There is a moral point to be made here. This war was about Iraq possessing illegal weapons of mass destruction — yet we are using weapons of mass destruction ourselves.' He added: 'Such double-standards are repellent.'

Rokke told the *Sunday Herald*: "A nation's military personnel cannot willfully contaminate any other nation, cause harm to persons and the environment and then ignore the consequences of their actions. To do so is a crime against humanity. We must do what is right for the citizens of the world—ban DU". He called on the U.S. and UK to "recognize the immoral consequences of their actions and assume responsibility for medical care and thorough environmental remediation". He added: "We can't just use munitions which leave a toxic wasteland behind them and kill indiscriminately. It is equivalent to a war crime".

DU Weapons with Indiscriminate Effects

The reason given by the U.S. and UK for attacking Iraq was the possibility that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. The basis for that judgment is now receiving harsh scrutiny. Whether or not the attack was a legitimate use of force, the Depleted Uranium or DU weapons that U.S. forces used in the first and second Gulf War, on the Balkan Peninsula, and in Afghanistan, are undeniably radioactive, chemically toxic weapons that are to inflict damage beyond battle fields spatially and temporally.

The Americans called their war Operation Iraqi Freedom, but how could a war that subjects untold numbers of adults and even children to the horrors of invisible radiation be a clean war for justice and liberation? When DU weapons enter the picture, the "justice" of this war sinks deeper into doubt. Now is the time to shift attention once more toward the problem of radioactive DU weapons with indiscriminate weapons.

As I said above, in my opinion, DU weapons are nothing other than inhumane weapons that produce an innumerable number of *hibakusha* (radiation victims): hence, they are undeniably weapons with indiscriminate weapons. We appeal to the conscience of all peoples around the world once more. We reach out from Hiroshima and Japan with hopes of healing, peace and justice for victims of radiation exposure everywhere. We speak out especially for the peoples of Iraq, Afghanistan and the Balkans, who have suffered attacks with unknown quantities of uranium weapons used by the U.S. and other forces since 1991. We call out to people of conscience in all countries of the United Nations to demand truth and justice concerning the development, proliferation and use of weapons using uranium warheads.

All uranium weapons, depleted or undepleted, result in permanent radiation contamination harmful to people and the environment. These are in direct violation of Articles 35 and 55 of the 1st Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions; they are all Weapons of Indiscriminate Effects. We call upon the world media, citizens, and governments of conscience to take immediate action to extend assistance to people living in the affected areas and to ban these weapons. In order to ban DU weapons, the people of the world do not have to prove that a radioactive and chemically toxic substance is dangerous. The U.S. and other militaries have to prove that breathing and ingesting uranium oxide is safe.

DU Problem as the Nuclear Shadow: Its triple meaning

1) DU is nuclear waste

DU is a waste product generated in huge quantities in the process of enriching uranium to make nuclear weapons or nuclear energy. Beyond the problematic human-centric term "waste", DU is the inevitable, colossal *shadow* brought about by the production of nuclear weapons and nuclear power. It is said that so far, a mind-boggling 1.5 million tons of DU have accumulated on earth. DU is the shadow of the nuclear age, which is so vast that it is difficult for us to see it since we ourselves are covered up in it.

2) Concealed toxicity

Despite the continued warnings sounded about the toxicity of DU, particularly since the Gulf War, both the U.S. and the UK continue to deny the danger. Even specialized UN organs such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and the International Atomic Energy Agency, continue to hold their views based on the so-called “lack of scientific evidence” of harmful effects, and contribute, as a consequence, to condoning and supporting the claims of the governments of the U.S. and the UK. The DU problem, which stems from the risks posed by low-level radiation, has thus been thrust to the periphery of the international community’s concern. The adjective “depleted” itself can be regarded as the shadow cast over the reality to cover up its harmfulness and project the impression of harmlessness.

Long before the Iraq War, UK Gulf War Veteran Shaun Rusling said, “The (UK) Minister of Defence is misleading the public about DU. In the end, they are misleading the whole world”. Thus, the “big lie” surrounding the harmfulness of DU can be considered a big taboo suppressed by the international community; its own dark shadow.

3) The problem of priorities

Following the repeated use of DU weapons in recent conflicts, many voices around the world are highlighting the harm inflicted. But even in the disarmament community and among anti-nuclear activists, DU tends to be considered a low-priority issue. The unparalleled *shadows* cast by nuclear weapons and other overwhelming global problems have hidden the gravity and the urgency of the DU scourge.

In the triple sense explained above, the DU problem can be considered the nuclear shadow.

Conclusion

If the problem of Depleted Uranium is obscured by the double and triple shadow outlined above, the response is clear: direct attention to the cover-up and shed the light warranted by its urgency and global scale. Democracy hinges on attention. The most catastrophic and unjust problems are often the most deeply concealed. Therefore, the success of our democracy depends on whether we can direct our attention to the hidden problems. The gravity and urgency of the DU problem remains largely invisible to the international community. Beyond the obvious inhumanity in using the substance in weaponry, Depleted Uranium is a human rights and environmental issue. In Hiroshima, we use the strength of our collective “attention” to draw the problem of DU into democracy’s “arena of struggle”.¹⁶¹

161 For the international campaign to ban DU weapons, please refer to the home page of ICBUW (International Coalition to Ban Uranium Weapons) at <http://www.bandepleteduranium.org/>

The present author has been involved in ICBUW since its foundation in October 2003, and now works as director of ICBUW Hiroshima Office; ICBUW’s main office is based in Manchester, UK.

Guidelines for Philosophical Understanding in Different Cultural Traditions

Sivandam Panneerselvam, India

Philosophy through Reflection and Critical Understanding

Philosophy implies exercising freedom in and through reflection. This means that any philosophical inquiry must lead to freedom. The word “freedom” here means freedom of expression, freedom of thought and freedom in deed. This is possible only through critical reflection. One who has no freedom cannot exercise his critical analysis and reflection.

Moreover, philosophy as an independent discipline is not only interested in the study of “knowing that” but also “knowing how”. This is possible only through critical reflection. Thus philosophy is concerned with the principles of knowing, “knowing how to be”. Philosophy is always used as a method, as a procedure, and as a method of teaching. All the three principles are included in a critical thinking.

Since 1953, UNESCO has emphasized the role of philosophy in becoming aware of the fundamental problems of science and culture and in the emergence of well-argued reflection on the future of the human condition.¹⁶² The notion of philosophy has changed in the 21st century. It has opened itself up to the world and to other disciplines. Philosophy is dealing with world problems: dialogue, analysis and questioning of contemporary society. Thus the traditional definition of philosophy has changed. It is concerned with “discourse” or “dialogue” which is possible through inter-disciplinary approaches that explain the relationship between philosophy, natural, social and human sciences in the contemporary period.

For example, translations of philosophical works will promote inter-cultural understanding. Different traditions have different cultural identities and divergences. There is a need to re-establish a dialogue between sociologists and philosophers to reduce the gap between these two disciplines in understanding the societal issues. Philosophers cannot live in ivory-tower ignoring the social values, norms and concern for others. So the important questions that play a significant role in the contemporary dialogue, include: What is the right attitude of philosophers? How should philosophy proceed in the 21st century? How can intercultural understanding possible? What does the culture in the 21st century signify? How can multiculturalism be a part of philosophy? What is the significance of human rights in the context of philosophy?

Philosophy of Cultures

Culture adopts itself to the situation. It takes into account the changes that are taking place outside. It is slow but steady. Culture unites people into one cultural group. The development of many cultures is due to various causes like physical habitants and resources, which are outside of us, and causes like the range of possibilities inherent in various areas of activity, which are inner. All cultures are important because they have some essential elements in common. These essential elements common to all cultures will constitute the universal world culture analogous to the universal grammar in the sphere of language. Although we can question if we already do have one “world culture”, this does not mean that the many cultures are opposed to one another. Their plurality is real and their unity is important to appreciate.

Cultural sustainability as the sustainability of economic activities must concentrate on both the individual as well as community. The individual values and the values of the community or the cultural group must be safeguarded. Though communities integrate their values with the individual, it should

162 UNESCO, *The Teaching of philosophy: an international enquiry of UNESCO*, Paris, 1953.

be understood that the individual values cannot be sacrificed. Moreover the culture carries the values to the future generation and hence its values must be preserved. Individuals as well as the social values constitute culture.

Commenting on the individuality as well as the universality of human nature Professor G.C. Pande says: "The individuality of Indian culture must be so interpreted as not to militate against the universality of human nature and value-seeking. At the same time, the unity of Indian culture has to be interpreted with sufficient catholicity to include numerous communities, regions and epochs, which have historically entered into its making. This search for the cultural identity of India, individual but inspiring after universality, one but inclusive of differences, continuous but developing, arises from the awareness of India's historic traditions". Culture is the guardian of the people. It reacts whenever there is a threat to it. When the rights of the cultural group are affected or violated there is always protest.

We always find different conceptions of culture. The culture of people takes into account the language, ideas, customs, taboos and other related components. One must always consider the following aspects with regard to culture: (1) culture unifies people into one cultural group and (2) the development of many cultures is due to various external causes like, physical habitats and resources, and inner causes like range of possibilities inherent in various areas of activity. If conflict among cultures follows from the very concept of culture, then there emerges a theory where there is a relation between culture and rationality. The difference between cultures and rationality is that a culture unifies all those who belong to that culture, whereas all men united in rationality by sharing this essential feature. Culture endows people with their identity. Scholars like Professor G.C. Pande emphasize that there are three approaches to culture, namely the scientific, historical and the metaphysical. The scientific approach according to him, is essentially modern whereas the historical is both modern as well as traditional depending on one's approach to history. The metaphysical approach is basically traditional and it has two varieties. The first one is identified with orthodoxy and the other is with the content of mystical revelation or intuition.

Philosophers have tried to explain the distinction between science and non-science. Karl Popper, for example, has explained the progress of science in terms of bold conjectures which scientists attempt to falsify rather than confirm. What makes a conjecture a scientific one is that it is open to be tested and perhaps refuted. Theories, which are in principle immune to the refutation, are not scientific. Similarly, Kuhn described a psychological experiment, which explains the nature of scientific discovery. The history of science is characterized by periods of normal science within which scientist work. Scientists working within the received paradigm will not give up it easily, even in the face of anomalous results. Feyerabend attacks science and scientific education. He claims that science is simply a form of ideology like any other ideology.

The Need to Develop Alternative View Points in Philosophers' Dialogues:

There are two or more conceptual worlds at the same time: (1) the world of the great traditions in which the mythological past lies in the present, time exists in a mosaic of different periods, matter and mind appear on the same continuum, and the dominant conceptions are of groups, clusters, and patterns and (2) the modern world of science and technology in which mathematics plays a major role in describing the world, matter and mind though related are discrete entities, and conceptions are deductive, linear and of individual events. But which one is the most important?

Philosophers need to develop alternative world-views, alternative metaphysics, as the basis for reflection on technology vis-à-vis society and civilization. The way towards understanding the metaphysical roots of technology, must lead through the creation of an alternative world-view which will enable us to grasp sharply and clearly ramifications and consequences of present technology for a future human society. It is here people from non-Western cultures have much to contribute. But how to start? The starting point is that we must re-examine our intellectual heritage and tradition in the light of our present situation. Tradition is always hermeneutical and accommodates new interpretation and understanding. This

reconstruction means the reconstructing the present categories of knowledge. The human mode of “being-in-the-world” helps a person to evaluate the tradition. It is not possible for a person simply to follow the tradition, but he has the right to evaluate the tradition. The world of historicity will have an impact on the tradition and it accepts evaluation and reinterpretation. This does not mean that we are revolting against the tradition, but interpreting them in the context of present historicity. The cultural world, which one belongs to, allows a radical interpretation of the tradition. This sort of interpretation teaches a way of looking at the tradition afresh from a new perspective, which will suit for our present situation. Husserl, for example, who used phenomenology to investigate the *a priori* of the life-world, develops a concept, “the surrounding world” to explain this. It is a concept that has its place exclusively in the mental-spiritual sphere. He argues that we live in our particular surrounding world, which is the locus of all our cares and endeavours. Our surrounding world, according to Husserl, has a spiritual structure in us and in our historical life. It is absurd to look upon the nature of the surrounding world as something alien to the spirit. This explains how a particular person is placed in the surrounding world or tradition though his physical world is supported by scientific and technological society. Every person is placed in a tradition or culture, which cannot be avoided.

We need alternative views of knowledge. For example, philosophers, futurists, and others who are interested in the future of technology and thus with the future of culture would be benefited by a dialogue with the alternative world views of Indian culture in which alternative basis for knowledge and of life is admitted. The Western or the technological society is based to a great extent, on the qualitative-instrumental values. It is true on the basis of these values, the social and political assessments are made. As long as the quantitative instrumental basis remains unchanged and channels its imperative via descriptive science, through industrial profit-efficiency-oriented technology, the order of things will remain the same. It must be noted that even the prevalent approaches to values cultivated by the majority of contemporary philosophers are reductions, and indirectly serve the cause of the quantitative world-view.

Some of the reductionist approaches are:

- (1) the Linguistic Approach (for example, J. L. Austin)
- (2) the Formalist Approach (for example, George Henrick Wright)
- (3) the Simple minded Approach (for example, E. Mesthene) and
- (4) the Simplistic Mathematical Approach (for example, A. Rosenstein).

What is interesting is that in all these approaches, values are reduced to something other than they are linguistic utterances, logical structures, technological commodities and mathematical functions. Thus to change the predominantly quantitative temper, our civilization will require a through-going change in our modes of understanding.

Philosophy and Tradition: Their Interrelation

Philosophy consists of reflection on human experience in relation to ourselves. But a reflection on one's experience is based on what type of philosophy one is subscribing to. By “type of philosophy”, we mean whether one is rooted in one's own tradition or rooted in “borrowed tradition” of the West. If a person develops her reflection on a borrowed tradition, then one must also see how far this will help. Can we simply ignore our own tradition and adopt the tradition, which is completely alien to us? Professor K.C. Bhattacharyya's remarks on this must be taken seriously. His article entitled, “Svaraj in Ideas” deals with the distinction between cultural subjection and cultural assimilation. He explains the dangers of cultural subjection and argues that it is the suppression of one's traditional cast of ideas and sentiments without comparison or competition by a new cast representing an alien culture. In this article, he stressed the need to make our own distinctive estimates and evaluations of foreign philosophy.

He also rejects “hybridization of ideas” and “patchwork of ideas of different cultures” and suggests that one need not accept the foreign valuations or appraisals of our culture. He was very much supporting the need for a translation of all foreign ideas into our native ideas and for thinking “in our own concepts” to be able to “think productively on our own account”. He says: “We can think effectively only when we

think in terms of indigenous ideas that pulsate in the life and mind of the masses". The need to return to the cultural stratum of the real Indian people and to evolve a culture along with them suited to the times was emphasized by K.C. Bhattacharyya. Sri Aurobindo and S. Radhakrishnan have expressed the same idea. "We cannot cut ourselves off from the springs of our life", says Radhakrishnan. Further he says that there is nothing wrong in observing the culture of other peoples; only we must enhance, raise and purify the elements we take over, fuse them with the best in our own. Our philosophical tradition should be the basis for our present philosophical approach. We must think in our own concepts and stick to our own ideas. It is clear from the above passages that there has been a call by some of our philosophers to retain Indian identity and to make philosophy more indigenous. But let us see whether it reflects the views of the majority of philosophers in India, and also whether there is any real need for it.

Three Different Conception of Philosophy in India

The issues raised will be discussed through the context of a class study from India. The study of philosophy in Indian universities and colleges shows it has dwindled over the years after independence, like other subjects under the humanities. This is mainly because philosophy does not lead to any specialized profession (except the teaching of philosophy), though it could lead, like any other subject, to any general administrative job. At the same time, we find society waking up to a sense of values at the sight of increasing impropriety among individuals. We hear of demands for value-based social activities like politics, economic management, education, medicine, and so on. It is little realized that the special study of values belongs to the realm of philosophy, says Professor T.P. Ramachandran.

Philosophy has three broad areas of inquiry – metaphysics, epistemology, and philosophy of values. Metaphysics is inquiry into the nature and scope of reality. Epistemology is inquiry into the methods of knowing about reality. And philosophy of values is inquiry into the goals of human life. The study of values is closely related to metaphysics. A value is anything which one considers to be valuable, worthy of pursuit. The conception of values in schools depends on its conception of reality. For example, materialism has no place for salvation in its scheme of values, but a school that recognizes the soul naturally admits of the idea of salvation. Just as one thinks of reality, so does one conceive of values.

Philosophy is not necessarily allied to religion, though a school or tradition may choose to be so. But to be independent of religion does not necessarily mean that a philosophy is against religion. Philosophy is a matter of speculation; religion is based on faith and practice. So there is a distinction between the two without any necessary contradiction. But whether philosophy is allied to religion or not, like religion, it is closely related to life through a discussion of values. The search into reality and knowledge is finally bound to come up against the question "what is the meaning of life?" The fact that even a layman would raise this question only shows that philosophy is latent in every human being.

Philosophers differ in the solutions they offer to questions in all the three areas. Which solutions each will accept is a matter of choice for individuals. In any case, the general impact of philosophy on the pursuer is a widening of their perspective. So far as values are concerned, one gets to compare the different types of values and assess their relative importance. There are material values, cultural values, and spiritual values. Are all these of the same importance? Can we afford to pursue one type of values in disregard to other types? Such an enlargement of perspective would make our judgments safer. In the present period of rapid material development, the philosophical question facing society is the moral impact of development on the character and well-being of human society, on the lives of other organisms, and even on the security of inanimate nature. Our moral circle is so wide, and we cannot afford to be indifferent to it.

Professor K. Satchidananda Murty in his book, *Philosophy in India*, argues that there were three different conceptions of philosophy that prevailed in India at different periods: (i) Philosophy as the rational, critical and illuminating review of the contents of theology, economics and political science and also the right instrument and foundation of all action and duty, which helps one to achieve intellectual balance, (ii) Philosophy as a system of ideas comprising epistemology, metaphysics and ethics, and (iii) Philosophy is the intuitive network of views regarding man, his nature and destiny. Of these, the second conception is found in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit sources and the third is expressed in other Indian

languages. Philosophers in India are concerned with all the three conceptions of philosophy though philosophers choose their conceptions based on their interest. But a total understanding of Indian philosophy becomes complete only through the understanding of all three conceptions of philosophy taken together.

When Indian philosophy was dwindling under the yoke of British rule, and English missionaries with a view to exposing weakness of Indian thought and culture and establishing superiority of their own, writing books and translating a number of religious and philosophic works in Sanskrit, a new wave of consciousness was created in India. The coming of the Europeans and the establishment of a vast British Empire on Indian soil in the 19th century, no doubt, opened a new chapter in the cultural and political history of India. The strong impact of Western culture, religion, education, politics, economics, law and order, and its science and technology on Indian ancient culture and religion, political and economic structure also resulted in the creation of a void in the life and thought of the Indians of the period. There was conflict between traditional values and foreign cultural patterns. For a time, everything Indian was considered inferior before the superior civilization of the new rulers. Just as the British market had been closed to Indian commodities and self-sufficient village economy was brought to a stand still, similarly in the cultural sphere, the British and Western ideas came to reign supreme over Indian ideas and a deliberate and systematic attempt was made to cripple Indian ideas.

The Orientalists have made an attempt to revive Indian philosophy. But unfortunately the Indian that was rediscovered now, was the Indian seen through Western eyes. The Western-oriented Indian intellectuals had their visions coloured by the Western world. They began to judge Indian concepts in Western terms. The dynamic civilization of the West began to break the age-old Indian traditions and ideals. At one stage, it was even felt that the ancient Indian civilization would just be replaced by the Western. This was not a genuine renaissance. In genuine renaissance, new ideas are absorbed in already living traditions. Kalidas Bhattacharyya says: "What happens in genuine renaissance is that under the impact of some powerful new ideas people with living tradition adjust those ideas to the tradition... what these English educated Indians did was to understand and interpret the traditional Indian ideas— Indian philosophy, for that—in terms of ideas that were Western. This is no renaissance" Rammohun Roy, the father of Modern India emerged during this period, followed by Swami Vivekananda, Swami Rama Tirtha and others. These Western educated Indians were appalled at the plight of their countrymen who were reluctant to leave their ancestral heritage and embrace the alien cultural patterns and values imposed on them. The translation of many ancient Sanskrit texts into English by the Orientalists and their publication by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, under the general title "*Sacred Books of the East*" helped the Indians to know the significance of their rich spiritual heritage. They felt the need to defend it. But they also understood the necessity of accommodating and absorbing certain trends of Western civilization, into the fabric of Indian culture, without affecting the essential root bases of the ancient past. In order to suit modern conditions, they sought to revise their ancient pattern of thoughts.

In the development of Indian philosophy and other allied fields, Christians and the Seminaries have made a significant contribution. For example, Raimon Panikkar, Richard V. De Smet, Paulos Mar Gregorios are some of the great Christian scholars who have contributed substantially for the development of Indian philosophical tradition. Panikkar's cosmotheandric vision of reality, which is similar to that of the Visiãæ dvaita conception of reality, presents an organic unity of reality, allows interdependence and interconnectedness of the Divine-Man-World. His book, *Vedic Experience* is a unique one. De Smet, who worked on "*The Theological Method of Ōaôkara*" was an active participant in the philosophical seminars and was closely associated with eminent scholars like T.M.P. Mahadevan. Many of his articles deal with Ōaôkara's Advaita Vedanta, Indian Philosophy and interreligious dialogue. He was regarded as one of the Vedantins of India. Similarly, Gregorios, also contributed to a great extent for the field of Humanism and secularism. His book, *The Human Presence*, deals with the new understanding of the relation between humans and nature.¹⁶³

Many contemporary Indian philosophers have shown the need and the methods to evolve a truly modern way of doing philosophy. There are philosophers who talk about establishing a creative philosophical

163 Gregorios, Paulos Mar. *The Human Presence: Ecological Spirituality and the Age of Spirit*. New York: Amity House, 1987.

tradition in India, for national philosophical identity. The UGC report (1978) also sought the need for an independent Indian identity in philosophy. Indian philosophy, like its counterpart, must allow different philosophical methods. No philosophy is inferior or superior. Philosophies are common. Philosophizing must be autonomous. The authority of our own tradition or of the West should not curb its freedom. No philosophical idea is the property of a nation alone. We philosophers have to allow different methods. Here the question of East or West should not be important. Mohanty wrote: "... any philosophical work which self-consciously takes up that core-tradition, and perceives itself as continuing the discussion of the themes, issues and problems formulated in, and arising out of, that tradition, no matter in what language and irrespective of the geographical and socio-political loyalty of the author".¹⁶⁴

Sibajiban Bhattacharyya's usage of mathematical logic to represent Navya-Nyaya, B.K. Matilal's application of analytical philosophy to understand Nyaya realism, J.N. Mohanty's application of Husserlian concept of phenomenology to Indian philosophical problems, Ganeswar Mishra's linguistic and analytic trends to interpret Advaita, R. Balasubramanian's phenomenological model for understanding Advaita are all creative methods which show the contemporary thinkers have not lost their identity. For example, Ganeswar Mishra approaches Ācārya's philosophy from the analytical standpoint of Wittgenstein. His two important books in this direction, namely, *Analytical Studies in Indian Philosophical Problems* and *The Advaita conception of Philosophy: its method, scope and limits* throw enough light to approach Advaita from analytical perspective. In this new approach Mishra tries to see Ācārya's philosophy of language in the background of Western tradition. This model tries to give enough arguments to prove that Indian tradition does not lack the so-called analytical approach, which many are fond of. "The traditional Indian philosophers of the past were actually doing the same thing which the contemporary Western philosophers are at present doing in the name of philosophy" according to Mishra. He further says: "Ācārya's logic corroborates and confirms the findings of this philosophy of language. His theory of meaning and his theory of propositions show that all descriptive language is incomplete in sense and that identification propositions alone are self-complete in meaning". What is interesting and novel in the above approaches is that these thinkers have tried to approach traditional systems of philosophy from Western model. Indian philosophical tradition will become a living tradition only when modern thinkers establish continuity with it. Such attempts prove that there is always a need for unexplored possibilities which throw new lights on the traditional problems and such attempts teach that philosophy is not a mere "edifying discourse". I am in full agreement with Daya Krishna's following remarks: "The dead, mummified picture of Indian philosophy will come alive only when it is seen to be a living stream of thinkers who have grappled with difficult problems that are, philosophically, as alive today, as they were in the ancient past... It is time that this false picture is removed, and that the living concerns of ancient thought are brought to life once more".¹⁶⁵

Philosophy and Secularism

The Indian Constitution's Preamble declares that it will secure to all its citizens justice (social, economic and political), liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and workshop, equality of status and opportunity, and to promote among them all fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation. The conception in Article 15 in the chapter dealing fundamental rights, the conception clearly States that the state shall not discriminate against any citizen on the ground only of religion, race, caste, sex, and place of birth. Article 16 provides that there shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment of appointment to any office under the state and no discrimination shall be made on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, or residence. Thus as far as the state is concerned, the state has no religion of its own and as a sovereign democratic republic, the people had solemnly resolved that they shall not make any distinction of discrimination among citizens on the basis of any of the above factors. The constitution abolishes untouchability and made its practice in any form an offence punishable under the law because untouchability was considered as the worst

164 Mohanty, Jitendranath. *Reason and tradition in Indian thought: an essay on the nature of Indian Philosophical Thinking*. Oxford University Press, 1992.

165 Daya Krishna. "Analysis of the religious factors in Indian metaphysics", In *Philosophy of Religion*. Ed. Perrett, R.W. p. 347-360. New York: Garland. 2001.

disgrace and scourge of the Indian society. In the contemporary political discourse, secularism occupies a central stage in intellectual discussion. Philosophers, historians, socialists, jurists, political scientists — all give variant interpretations to the term “secularism”. Secularism is, an alien idea to India, envisaging separation of the Church and the State. But in the Indian context, the term acquires some other meaning quite different from that of the original one. The architects of our constitution, namely, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Jawaharlal Nehru used the same word “secular” as long as it suited their temperament of keeping religion away from politics. But reality demands a new conceptualization, if at all the word was to be so habitually used. At the political level, the idea of “secular” has been a prisoner of perceptual distortion and semantic overtones to the extent that the very meaning and content of this term has been lost.

A point of departure from the original concept of secularism was to clarify the role of the state *vis-à-vis* religion. Opposed to theocracy, the debate in the Constituent Assembly affirmed that secularism was a religious or anti-religious concept but as Ambedkar pointed out clearly, “All that the secular state means is that the Parliament shall not be competent to impose any particular religion upon the rest of the people”. Secularism is neither anti-God nor pro-God. It treats alike the devout, the agnostic and the atheist. Equal treatment of all religious communities by the State, *Sarva-dharma-samabhava* is the central idea of Indian secularism. The Indian Constitution Articles 15, 16 and 23 specifically provide non-discrimination as the essence of secularism. But what is happening in reality is something different. It is necessary to stress the human rights aspect of the protection of minorities as dimension of secularism and to resist the tendency of making secularism a sanctuary for the psychosis of minority separation. The future of secularism is in an intimate sense tied up with the future of religion and the equation and orientation of religion *vis-à-vis* science, state, political parties and organization, individual freedom and social and private morals.

What do these different emerging frameworks signify? They explain that there is a need for the spirit of tolerance, catholicity of outlook, respect for each other’s faith and willingness to abide by rules of self-discipline. This has to be both at individual as well as group level. It should be understood that different religious communities are all part of one nation is not its strength and glory, and should not, in any way, detract from national unity. It would be a tragedy if for lack of tolerance and deviance from the essential of strength and glory into a bane of weakness.

In the broad context, there are some fundamental concepts that we must accept, if religion is not to become increasingly peripheral to the vast majority of human beings but, on the contrary, develop into a dynamic force for a new integration. The first is the concept of the unity of the human race. The second concept of *vasudhiva kutumbakam* (the world as a family) is now becoming a reality. The second concept is the divinity of humankind. The third is the essential unity of all religions. Finally there is the reconstruction of society. It is our duty to work for the betterment of society. We must realize that as long as millions in the world go without adequate food and clothing, shelter and education, our theoretical postulations regarding the divinity of man have little relevance. Religion if at all is meaningful, should be viewed in wider perspective and it needs a public sphere.

In this new millennium where science and technology play a major role, it is natural to ask about the status of religions. The question namely, what is the religious phenomenon of our time and whether it can promote peace and bring harmony is important in the third millennium. Religious phenomenon can no longer be viewed within one religious tradition, within one geographical region, even within one continent, or within one hemisphere. It must be viewed globally, for the religious phenomenon of our time is a global phenomenon. The religions of the world can no longer live in isolation, nor can they rightly live in tension or hostility. The organic interaction of the human race is becoming so extensive that the religions of the world must seek new ways of mutual understanding and interrelation.

What should be the response of the religions to the problems that are faced today? The great religions of the world always retain a level of myth and ritual. Often there is a tension between the mythic, ritualistic archaic substratum, which is based on faith on the one hand and logical reasoning on the other. Starting from the Greek philosophy, we see the tension between *mythos* and *logos*. It was heightened with the development of modern science and the philosophy of Enlightenment. Philosophy in the West during the last century, due to the influence of Logical Positivists and later by Russell and (early) Wittgenstein, approached the metaphysical issues and problems to “dissolve” them and rejected the role of revelation and faith in the philosophical debates and discussions. Today human beings throughout the world are divided in the name of caste, region, religion, and nation. There are also clashes among civilizations.

Pope John Paul II in his Encyclical Letter, **Fides et Ratio** explains the necessity of showing the inter-relation between faith and reason to see whether they are important or not, and if important, to what extent and in which sphere. This Encyclical Letter has a special significance because the Pope not only speaks about the inter-relation between faith and reason but also addresses himself to the teachers of philosophy and also to the scientists. He asks the philosophers to have the courage to recover, in the flow of an enduringly valid philosophical tradition, the range of authentic wisdom and truth— metaphysical truth included—which is proper to philosophical enquiry.

In the Hindu tradition belief or faith is a mode of valid knowledge, and not something different from it. Knowing from an authoritative source is, as a rule, attended with confidence. There cannot be any knowledge as long as doubt prevails in the mind of the cognizer. A doubtful cognition is not equated as knowledge. No information gained is a valid knowledge for the cognizer unless he is convinced of its truth. According to Vedanta, implicit belief or faith usage acceptance if, or the reliance on the words of the trustworthy, which need no verification. It is other than credulity or gullibility. It is conviction of truth and tantamount to valid knowledge. As such it is different from feeling, volition, imagination or assumption. Reason is implicit in faith. It is not unreasonable to rely on the reliable.

Multiculturalism, Multinationalism and Polyethnicity in Philosophical Discourse

At least for the past ten years, communitarianism has become an important theme in the political sphere of life. It is claimed by its proponents to supercede both the rampantly libertarian individualism inherent in the liberal tradition and the straightjacketed statism of what is regarded as no more than that tradition's alter ego, socialism. It is in tune with the postmodern times in which we live. By denying any sort of universal foundations, it avoids the totalizing tendencies of universalist Enlightenment thinking and emphasizes instead the epistemic norms and practices of specific communities. Politically and morally, it strikes a balance between the unrooted and finally identity-less liberal individual and the all too rooted— and so just as identity-less member of a putatively socialist order.

Communitarianism has its historical roots in the cultural and conceptual relativism, which arose in the English speaking philosophical world of the 1960s. That relativism allegedly mediated through the work of Wittgenstein, was in turn rooted in two closely related fates of the 60s: the political retreat from colonialism; and the intellectual reaction to Anglo-American liberalism's historical twin, empiricism. The retreat from overt colonialism, however, was to be followed by the imposition of subtler forms of domination, both economic and cultural— and in a way which was at least parallel if not causally connected. It is open to other cultures. The communitarian philosopher Charles Tylor defended the minority rights. The Summit of the Council of Europe, 1993 brought forward that Europe is being confronted with a challenge, that has to do with national minorities which the upheavals of history have established in Europe. The European countries have become poly-ethnic. Almost every European country can be called multicultural, be it multi-national or poly-ethnic or both. Multi-culturalism speaks about the politics of equality leading to universal equal rights irrespective of group membership. This politics of equality should be complemented by politics of difference, which takes into account the differentiation and heterogeneity of human existence, and the particular identify of cultural groups. Within this context various cultural groups indicate that they want to preserve their cultural identity and express their demands for recognition, which results in an advocacy of minority rights. Kukathas and Waldron argue that preservation of a cultural identity need not require special rights and that a politics of difference can be integrated into politics of equality. A politics of multi-culturalism can be both universal and particularistic.

Privileged Knowledge and Subjugated knowledge:

The word "knowledge" essentially means two things: it is both an act and a process. Philosophers always are concerned about the first one namely, the act. The process of knowledge or the result of this act is the body of knowledge... This body of knowledge i.e., the knowledge construct is distinct from knower.

A study of knowledge is not new to philosophers. The knowledge process is one of the important issues for philosophers throughout the globe. This means that thinking about knowledge is not new; but what is news is that the concern about knowledge extended nowadays far beyond the philosophers approach. Hence the question of the consequences of knowledge is important.

Traditional knowledge is expressed through stories, legends, folklore, rituals and songs. Unfortunately in the knowledge-domain the traditional knowledge is not seriously considered as knowledge. The subjugated knowledge is the buried knowledge. It is buried under the official or dominant knowledge and hence it is subjugated knowledge. The privileged knowledge subjugates or marginalizes the indigenous knowledge; it silences the knowledge of the oppressed and suppressed and the skills that the ordinary people possess. They are like supporting actors. They can never share their views with the main actors. In Orientalism, Edward Said talks about the binary opposites. There is a distinction between Western people and oriental people. The Western people are always considered civilized, active subject of knowledge whereas the oriented people are barbarian, passive in nature. They are considered backward, and an object of knowledge. In the modern classification of knowledge, this is very much operative.

The scientific knowledge of nature is always considered something supreme and the knowledge in social science is considered as something inferior, and the contributions of the social scientists are not taken seriously. The governments also spend a great amount of money for science and technology whereas the social scientists are not taken seriously. Thus there is a partial attitude towards science. The knowledge of the IT sector is given prominence, while indigenous and traditional knowledge are neglected by the government as well as other agencies. Even in universities, the social scientists and their contributions are not treated on par with the scientists. This biased attitude prevails in many educational institutions. This is nothing but the wrong attitude towards social scientists. Quite often it is forgotten that knowledge includes both scientific as well as non-scientific knowledge. Knowledge is a complex phenomenon which can be studied from different points of view. Knowledge is the product of human evolution and it is a natural product – even though a human product, it is more like a tool. The social scientists consider knowledge within a naturalistic framework and emphasize the gradation of recent knowledge into knowledge acquired over many generations.

We need a world where access to knowledge is a fundamental right and the sharing of knowledge is a fundamental duty. According to the knowledge management theory, we have to understand the way in which knowledge is created, used and shared within organization. The scientific development had outpaced the moral and social evolution of humankind. We see only the lop-sided development. Knowledge is not always harmoniously related to humanity. The scientific knowledge does not make humans wiser.

The Scientific objectivity has made us to believe that natural science is a sort of false god. Where does the wrong lie in science? Rorty says that the wrong lies in an attempt to divinize it. Rorty feels that notions such as science, rationality, objectivity, and truth are bound with one another. It is believed that science is offering hard, objective truth, *i.e.*, truth as something corresponding to reality etc. It is believed that these concepts are something in which we follow some procedures laid down in advance and hence methodical. The scientist is always seen as the person who keeps humanity in touch with something beyond itself. The following remarks of Rorty are important, "The scientist becomes a moral exemplar, one who selflessly expresses himself again and again to the hardness of fact". For Rorty, those who are in support of solidarity do require neither metaphysics nor epistemology; what they need is the community.

For Socrates, virtue is knowledge. Knowledge in modern discourse is associated with the techniques of control. For Foucault and many others, it is never free from the power relations from which it springs and which are constantly transformed by it. Knowledge, according to him, is always part of a cultural matrix of power relations. Foucault believes that every production of knowledge serves the interest of power. Thus knowledge produced in economics, medicine, psychiatry, and other human sciences is nothing but a part of the power of the social institutions that have grown around these disciplines. For the Tamil sage, Tiruvalluvar, knowledge is that which saves a person from evil. The question here is: Why should one gain knowledge? Since knowledge is that which helps us to distinguish truth from falsity, it is necessary

for us to gain knowledge. Tiruvalluvar establishes the importance of knowledge, for he believes that knowledge of one person can guide others in the same way as a lamp that is lit can light other lamps. Knowledge of the children, he says, is conducive to the happiness of the parents and also to the delight of the whole world. The whole world is a beneficiary of this knowledge, and hence it is necessary for us to acquire true knowledge. The distinction which he makes between unstable and stable (permanent) knowledge, is intended to convey that the false knowledge is only temporary, whereas true knowledge is always permanent and real. Since knowledge, which alone is true, can remove ignorance, he points out that knowledge is essential for all and is more important for a king. Knowledge is that which always grows. Like a sand-spring which gives greater flow of water when we dig further and further, knowledge also grows. It is a weapon, which saves one from evil. In the Indian tradition, knowledge in the final analysis is equated with truth. For Foucault, knowledge is made up of perspectives, ideas, narratives, commentaries, rules categories, laws, explanations—all these constitute knowledge. Different and new knowledge emerges from the struggle.

Generally it is presumed that knowledge constituted an authentic truth which explained and evaluated many of the important “how’s and whys” in life. Also it is believed that this production of knowledge is part of an ongoing process of civilizations. But the post-modern thinkers have challenged these two assumptions to argue that knowledge is now seen as being full of contradictions, and unanswered questions. Instead of official knowledge otherwise known as the “privileged knowledge”, as the only explanation of things, there are different explanations, one replacing the other. One explanation is normally considered as right knowledge due to political or other reason and hence it becomes knowledge and hence it becomes truth. This is now challenged by the post-modern thinkers. In his preface to *Knowledge and Human Interests*, Habermas says that a radical critique of knowledge, i.e. meta critique of epistemology, is possible only as social theory. No doubt, epistemology underwent a revision in the writings of Kant. But it cannot be denied that a study of epistemology is essential, because it gives a foundation for philosophy itself. In the post-modern thinking, Habermas emphasizes how knowledge and human interests are interrelated. Knowledge through communication is made possible by the linguistic symbols. In other words, knowledge comes through social interaction or inter-subjectivity. It is through a dialogue we understand each other, and it should be considered as a definite source of knowledge. “Reality is constituted within a form of social life where social groups communicate through the medium of ordinary language”, says Korten. Only a new philosophical reflection can awaken us, from the dogmatic slumber, i.e., a reflection on philosophy, most notably on political philosophy and its heritage. A philosophical response is very much necessary for understanding social problems.

Philosophy of Human Rights

The concept of freedom accords priority to duty over rights. For Kant and Hegel the human goal is the perfection of the will in the fulfillment of duty. According to Gandhi, the true spirit of rights is duty. “If we all discharge our duties, rights will not be far to seek”. This shows that rights and duties are always interrelated. It is because each right can be enjoyed only in relation with others. A person cannot have a right unless others accept it and create conditions for a person to enjoy it freely. This means that rights always presuppose duty. But others will not admit it unless I assure a similar right to them. It implies that the nature of their obligation is determined by the content of their right. So a person’s duty follows from their rights and not vice-versa.

In India, the demand for the human rights during the freedom struggle can be traced with the formation of Indian National Congress itself. The demand for fundamental rights appeared in the Constitution of Indian Bill. Between 1917 and 1919, the Indian National Congress passed a series of resolutions demanding civil rights and equality of status with the Englishman. The second demand for the fundamental rights was Annie Besant’s Commonwealth of India Bill in 1925. The Nehru Committee in 1928 stated that the guarantee of fundamental rights should be in such a manner that it would not permit their withdrawal under any circumstances. The Indian leaders pressed for the inclusion of the Bill of Rights at the Round Table Congress in the proposed Constitution. The Indian Constitution, in Part III, guarantees certain fundamental freedoms to criticize, or the negative obligations of the State not to encroach upon such rights. The right to life and personal liberty is one of such important rights.

The Constituent Assembly of India considered a comprehensive system of fundamental liberties to be drawn as a part of the Constitution. The Constituent Assembly began its deliberations on December 9, 1946. Its first achievement was the adoption of the 'Objective Resolution' on January 22, 1947, moved by Jawarlal Nehru on December 13, 1946. It provided that people of Indian would be guaranteed freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, association and vocation. The Constitution of India has issued two broad mandates to the Parliament, the Legislatures of the States and to all institutions of the Government. They are: (1) not to take away or abridge certain rights described as fundamental rights; and (2) to apply certain principles described as Directive Principles of State Policy. Both are interrelated. The social and economic obligations of the State are to protect the rights of the citizens prescribed in the ancient texts like Kautilya's *Arthasastra* which says: "The king shall provide the orphan, the dying, the infirm, the afflicted and the helpless with maintenance, he shall also provide subsistence to helpless expectant mothers and also the children they give birth to". The idea of Directive Principles of State Policy is borrowed by our Constitution makers from the Irish Constitution of 1937, which contains a number of similar provisions called "Directive Principles of State Policy".

To show the importance of human rights and to protect it, the President of India promulgated an Ordinance on September 28, 1993 with a view to provide for the setting up of a National Human Rights Commission for better protection of Human Rights and for matters connected therewith. Later on, Parliament embodied the provision of the ordinance into the protection of Human Rights Act, 1993. The gap and disparity between the fortunate, less fortunate and unfortunate inevitably lead to disturbance, tensions, conflicts, violence and commission of offences. This will impair peace, stability and progress of the country, activating the forces opposed to the preservation of human rights. "Humanize the globe so that human rights violations are less. All human rights for all should not merely remain a declaration on paper, but must be the spirit of living", says the National Human Rights Commission.

Inter-regional Philosophical Dialogues Critical for Our Future

Darryl Macer, UNESCO Bangkok

Dialogues are Critical for our Future

Confucius said that “to love a thing means wanting it to live”. Prophets, scribes and persons of all corners of society have taught that love is the basis of life ethics. Love in different expressions is a common element in our biological, social and spiritual heritage, that constructs our religious and cultural identity. We live in a fluid society and form our identity by an ongoing process of interaction with others. A persons’ life is developed based on interactions between their own and other people’s opinions that grows as we face various dilemmas through our life.

Part of the societal development seen in Asia includes importing and developing ethical approaches that can be debated, as well as the involvement of the public in discussion and development of the indigenous diversity of ethical traditions. As cultures evolve, it becomes impossible to separate which aspects were introduced from the different sources at what time. Many Asian and Arab countries have been successful by merging a range of influences to create their modern society. Thus their identity is fluid, but still being preserved. We need to promote greater dialogue between different regions of the world, separate to the export of ideas from Europe. This idea lies behind the various UNESCO dialogues.

Most communities have intrinsic traditions of dialogue and consensus. To have a balanced opinion from the community, it is important to hear from persons in a range of positions with different occupations. The Silk Road was an early point of the interchange between Asia and Arabia and Europe, along which much more than trade was passed. Ideas, philosophies, religious diversity, and culture spread in recent years. However the pursuit of economic wealth has become a dominant influence, and now there is a major trade from Asia to all regions of the world of electronic products, vehicles and many processed products, with a reverse trade of energy. There continues to be associated economic trade as well.

The blind consumerism or market forces has been spurred on by technology – and this has reshaped our cultural identity, and perhaps a new religion of consumerism has appeared. An important dialogue that is occurring between Asia and most regions of the world is the export of consumer goods based on technology, as new idols of both societies. These idols such as TV, DVDs, cars, and others have become global material goods challenging the values globally. We need to promote greater cultural exchange in this age of a global society so it will become truly global.

In recent times the teaching of philosophy in almost all regions of the world has included some core components with a predominance of Western philosophers. This relates to the predominance of published works in European languages, the impact of colonization and more recent globalization, and to the higher educational output of institutions granting postgraduate degrees in philosophy in North America and Europe, in the past two centuries.

In order to strengthen local, regional and global awareness of the rich philosophical traditions of many regions of the world, UNESCO Social and Human Science Sector’s program in philosophy in Paris and in field offices launched programmes in inter-regional philosophical dialogues in 2004. The dialogues between philosophers from Asian and Arab States involves the close cooperation between UNESCO offices in Bangkok, Paris and Rabat, and many willing philosophers. It is hoped that the initiatives will generate significant interest to motivate philosophers and institutions to continue interregional dialogue as a critical element of philosophical exchange in the future to add the richness of traditions found in many civilizations to the mainstream of philosophical tradition.

This Dialogue is part of the Interregional Strategy on Philosophy adopted by the Executive Board of UNESCO at its 171st session (12–28 April 2005), and specifically of the first of its three key pillars for action: ‘Philosophy facing world problems: dialogue, analysis and questioning of contemporary society’.¹⁶⁶ Interregional Philosophical Dialogue aims to encourage open and productive dialogue in the fight against ignorance fostered by dogmatists who would still have us believe, in the name of a school or a tradition, not only that they alone know the “Truth”, but, more than this, that theirs is the only correct method of verifying knowledge. The meetings organized by UNESCO welcome dialogue, discussion, polemic and challenging debate as key steps in the process of presenting and developing philosophical thought and philosophical concepts. UNESCO is often referred to as the ‘intellectual arm’ of the United Nations system. This dialogue is essential for the UN at a time when topics such as the relationship between education and globalization, the ethics of science and technology, cultural diversity, the building of knowledge societies, human safety and conflict prevention, ‘good’ democratic practices, the fight against poverty, the impact of globalization, and short-term economic visions of future growth, occupy the forefront of political concerns. These questions demand sound philosophical enquiry and a solidly constructed philosophical base. The meetings organised in the program have provided an opportunity to examine the role for dialogue in a globalized world. Dialogue must become a tool of transformation to more tolerant societies and towards the culture of peace. Dialogue is a vehicle for diversity and pluralism.

In fact cultural interchanges have always occurred to some degree. Philosophical dialogue among people from different regions is also a descriptive historical reality that nations often deny. There is no civilization on earth that has not been enriched by contact, interaction and exchange with others. Within civilizations, too, interactions and exchange bring similar rewards. Civilizations are thus in constant dialogue not only with each other, but also with themselves.

In the Asian-Arab dialogues there was an initial brainstorming meeting in Paris in 2004. This was followed up by the conference, Interregional Philosophical Dialogues: Democracy and Social Justice in Asia and the Arab World in Seoul.¹⁶⁷ One of the challenges has been the languages of dialogue are often limited to English and French, with only recent provision of Arabic. However over three thousand languages exist in the world, so there are still many indigenous philosophers who are excluded from the process.

In 2006 there was a further conference held in Rabat, at the occasion of the celebrations of World Philosophy Day.¹⁶⁸ The theme was Asia-Arab Inter-regional Philosophical Dialogues: Encounters of Asia and the Arab Regions with Modernity.

In the future one can imagine electronic resources and files to supplement those available through digital dictionaries of ideas and philosophy that exist, with particular emphasis on alternative visions of the “truth” to those that dominate the current texts that are used around the world.

Meetings organized within the framework of this programme aim to foster constructive, free and open – if need be, critical – dialogue between two regions, so that the philosophers can exchange ideas on all of the great questions that interest them. The Interregional Philosophical Dialogue project will make it possible to envisage the creation of new projects and networks, to propose innovative methods and to establish new areas of cooperation.

The groups are also being involved in dialogues on other specific topics, such as ethics of energy technologies, bioethics, and other applied ethics topics. One can also expect the political philosophers to become increasingly more active with regard to policy questions that grip modern society, as philosophers retake their role as shapers of social transformations and sustainable futures.

166 UNESCO Intersectoral Strategy on Philosophy, Paris, UNESCO, 2006. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001452/145270e.pdf>

167 This meeting was held from 28–30 November 2005 in Seoul, with the active collaboration of the UNESCO National Commission of the Republic of Korea. The papers have been published, and the report is on-line, through www.unescobkk.org/rushsap

168 The dialogue was held on 17-18 November in Rabat, Morocco.

The meetings have addressed questions such as: Why is interregional philosophical dialogue important today? In what way could philosophical dialogue contribute to the development of the study of philosophy? What are the necessary elements required for such a dialogue? What are the objectives in establishing such a dialogue? Which themes/problems should such dialogues focus on? What action plan should UNESCO take up in order to launch a successful programme of interregional dialogue? What methodologies could be employed to teach Asian philosophy in different parts of the world, such as Africa and the Americas? What types of programmes directed at capacity-building and the exchange of ideas could be considered that would offer young philosophers a possibility for reciprocal learning? How can an understanding of each other's traditions of thought be promoted in the two regions? These are stimulating questions that we must accord the greatest attention.

With its Interregional Philosophical Dialogue programme, UNESCO is working to ensure that dialogue among cultures, religions and spiritual traditions underpins the fundamental objectives of building peace, security and sustainable development. Such dialogue contributes significantly to reflection on such key contemporary issues as peace, globalization, human rights, democracy, development and forms of cultural and religious exclusiveness. It is hoped that the project will become self-sustaining as philosophers enter new eras of dialogue and scholarship methods. UNESCO is attempting to act as an interface for the formation of dynamic networks of philosophers from different parts of the world, and particularly in regions between which the tradition of philosophical dialogue that existed through the times of the Silk Road has been lost for many reasons.

We invite readers to join in the dialogues, and when considering where to study, where to take sabbaticals, which students and scholars to nurture, what topic to write about...consider how it can promote diversity of ideas and help us rediscover our lost memories and vision of humanity and life itself.

Human Security and Perpetual Peace

The United Nations Decade of Peace was declared in 2001. Actually despite the images we have due to the global media that appear to present increasing numbers of conflicts, the 1990s saw a decline in global conflicts and wars. However, many tasks are still before us.

UNESCO was founded immediately after the end of the Second World War. It started in its Charter with the words that its ultimate goal is to build the defenses of peace in the minds of men, since it is the minds of men that wars begin. So with this mandate to promote peace and security through international cooperation, the participants in these dialogues attempt to motivate persons of all places to live in peace. Many writers in this volume focus on this challenge in schools and educational institutions, which are central to promoting peace.

The Culture of Peace is dependant upon recognition of the respect for cultural differences and diversity. It is essential to this work to plant the seeds of peace through education; education that promotes the values of tolerance, justice, equality, mutual understanding, love and peaceful coexistence. A quality education is also one of the most powerful tools in shaping and conquering the evils of hate and fear that really are threatening us.

In order to strengthen local, regional and global awareness of the rich philosophical traditions of many regions of the world, UNESCO launched its programmes on inter-regional philosophical dialogues in 2004. Through a series of meetings and dialogues there was consensus that war and peace is a critical issue for dialogue.

In the Joint UNESCO-UNITAR Asia-Arab Interregional Philosophical Dialogues on the Roles of Philosophy in War and Peace, held in Hiroshima, Japan on 25-27 July, 2008, the participants discussed themes pertaining to the philosophical analysis of War and Peace. These included the roles of philosophical dialogue in the practice of non-violence, analysis of the Culture of Peace, analysis of how to recognise and reconcile conflict, and peace. education There was analysis of past and present wars, examination of so-called just, pre-emptive, and preventative war, the use of Depleted Uranium, and how we can link traditions of philosophical reflection to policy making and implementation of policy.

The meeting recognised that 2008 is the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and that violence is counter to the protection of human rights, and to the survival of the biosphere, environment and all species on the planet. The participants also made a "Proposal to Make a Declaration on Enduring Peace and Justice", in mutual abhorrence against all forms of violence, noting that the distinctions between war and terrorism are difficult to define.

Let me quote from the suggestions:

Recommendation to the International Philosophical Community

As a group of philosophers from many cultures, we urge all thinkers to recommit themselves to the goal of mutual understanding between people of different worldviews and traditions.

We realize the fragility of our contemporary global institutions to sustain the necessary social and environmental conditions that will protect and enhance the well-being and dignity of our peoples.

We also find that every religious and philosophical tradition in the world strives to promote a philosophy of life, peace and non-violence. We urge philosophers around the world to analyse, teach and research how ideas can be used to overcome the prevailing culture of violence and strengthen the culture of peace.

Given the growing gaps between the rich and poor in the world, and the uneven distribution of risks and benefits, we urge greater attention be paid to examining social and environmental justice, and nurturing traditions that promote a culture of peace. We also urge philosophers to find ways to promote the philosophy of love and justice as a necessary response to violence and hatred.

Recommendations to States

The freedom of thought and expression are enshrined as human rights, yet philosophers in many States continue to face repression and threats to their lives. The targets of this violence have included those who promote peace. We urge all States to enable thinkers to work in intellectual freedom, while they take responsibility for the growing ways in which ideas are shared with information technology.

We urge States to include human rights in the constitutional processes of their laws, promoting social responsibility and justice.

We urge States to support the teaching of philosophy at all levels to assist in the development of critical thinking among their citizens.

Mindful of the tragic loss of lives and resources that the history of war has caused as a consequence of the aggression of those who have dominated the economic, technological and political imbalances within our social and environmental systems;

We propose to the UNESCO, as a specialised organization that aims "to build the defences of peace in the minds of men" to rejuvenate its efforts for the construction of an enduring peace through the promotion of social and environmental justice and a culture of peace in our world today. We propose that UNESCO consider developing a "Declaration for the Construction of an Enduring Peace Through the Promotion of Social and Environmental Justice" (Short title: Declaration on Enduring Peace and Justice).

In 2008 UNESCO also completed a six year international study on Human Security, allowing each region to identify critical issues for the region. There were such subregional meetings and reports in East Asia, South East Asia, South Asia, Central Asia, for example. UNESCO Bangkok is also working with partners in the project "United for Peace in Asia and the Pacific: Strengthening and Expanding Regional Human Security and Peace". These efforts include goals of setting goals, and evaluating proposals for a peace curriculum in universities to educate students and society on how to promote tolerance, and peace. We are looking forward to the results of this workshop, and appreciate the energy and devotion of all to work this essential goal for humanity and the environment.

Love of Nature and Worldviews

Peace does not just involve human beings, but in our relationships to all of nature. One of the keys to Asian ways of thinking of the world is embedded in relationships between members of the living world. A love of nature suggests not just a hierarchical domination of humankind over non-humans, but love between partners. The principle of stewardship is not limited to one region of the world or one religion. Stewardship can be balanced with support for the creativity of humanity to find new technology. Although some have said that industrialization was a force that led to the destruction of nature in Asia, historical studies suggest that despite the animism and Buddhist views of the oneness of nature, forests were converted into farmland over the past hundreds of years. In South Asia, however, we do find sacred groves where nature was preserved over human needs, and the trees and plants in these groves were not cut down and destroyed despite human need. Research into these areas of the philosophy of nature would be very opportune given our common environmental crisis. We can see our identity has become anthropocentric rather than ecocentric.

Although for some there is a feeling that we should not explore all the secrets of life, that the mystery of life will be gone if we discover too much, it does not feature much in modern thinking in Asia. One area however that we do see this is in the lack of dialogue between religion and science in some countries, such as Japan. While the conflict metaphor between science and religion was imported to some Asian communities during the 19th century, as we know scientific questions and questions of religion are both important but different domains. Thus there is still much hesitation for science-centred people to apply their spiritual faith to the same realm. This may not be too different from the traditions in many parts of the world, which were subject to European colonization. We need to understand our history in dialogue, as well as working together to consider our shared future in dialogue.

However, as many scientists will say, the more we know, the more appreciative of the workings of life we become. The fact that we have practical requirements, such as to feed, house and heal people of the world, are major justifications for the pursuit of practical knowledge in any system of religion or philosophy that places a high value on life, it is the principle of love.

We need to consider different life views each of us can have when confronted with moral dilemmas that shape our identity. Some believe that there is a right and a wrong choice to be made for a person's action in each moral dilemma, and that they can also tell others what is morally right or wrong. Prescriptive ethics is to tell others what is ethically good or bad, or what principles are most important in making such decisions. While policy making may at times demand prescriptive decisions, policy also demands respect for moral diversity. Asia tends to be relativistic, and tolerant to moral diversity in the decisions that people make, leaving moral decisions to the realm of private affairs. However, Asia is still communitarian in nature so shame upon those that are judged to have morally "erred" may be just as strong as the more rigid moral laws found in some monotheistic religions.

A person's identity and ethic is developed based on their own and other people's opinions that grows as we face various dilemmas through our life. To have a balanced opinion from the community, it is important to hear from persons in a range of positions with different occupations. This common social goal has developed hand in hand with the emergence of increased media attention in pluralistic democracies to display the divergent views on science and technology. While "love" is ambiguous, we can apply ethical imperatives or principles of self-love, loving others, loving good and loving life with reference to new technology. From the past years of research across many countries I think "love" can be a fruitful language for debate in ethics, despite its ambiguity. We can consider the four principles of love bioethics, as self-love (autonomy), love of others (justice), loving life (non-maleficence) and loving good (beneficence). It has been argued that love is not only a universally recognised goal of ethical action, but is also the foundation of normative principles of ethics.

These fundamental principles of ethics may not have changed over time, but the emphasis placed on them has shifted. There was more beneficence a century ago but now there has been more precedence given to autonomy. This is due to a shift in identity from groups to individuals. As for the importance of justice and non-maleficence the trends in different localities are more difficult to determine. While ethical principles may be pre-human in biological, social and spiritual heritage, and evolved in other animals besides homo sapiens and thus almost universal, the balancing of them varies between individuals.

The ethical principle of loving good, beneficence, supports the development of science and technology that might cure sick persons or feed hungry people. It is found in all religions and demands us to work for a culture of peace together with all others, helpfully and generously.

Respect for the ethical principle of self-love, autonomy, supports empowerment of people so they can make choices, live their lives, and access technology according to their values. We respect families and communities.

The ethical principle of loving life, do no harm, warns us to avoid conflict. We must assess all options, current and new, to provide the best alternative for the local situation now. New options may do less harm to environment or to people's health, and thus need to be considered if they will promote the future peace and solidarity of the world.

The ethical principle of loving others, justice, makes us consider the risks for future generations, and for all to share in the fruits of our endeavour and good fortune. There is an existing basis for developing ethics in all regions of the world to overcome conflict, and UNESCO will work with those in every culture to help achieve these goals.

We still need much dialogue to increase our mutual understanding of each other's identity, which in turn creates our own identity. There is some hope it will occur as we look to rediscover values in every culture in their philosophical traditions. That is the message of the philosophical dialogues between Asia and Arab worlds. It needs to embrace further communities. This global debate is expanding, and we are living in an exciting time as we try to understand each other and how to apply values to moral decision-making for all people. As we try to develop an ethics for the people by the people, we hope that modernity and rapidity of transformations of society will continue to catalyse the creation of philosophy and ideas that we will need even more than today for our future global society.



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