

History and Philosophy of Nonviolence: Towards an Inclusive Dispute Resolution (DR) Curriculum

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Abstract

The paper outlines a spectrum of positions on Philosophy of Nonviolence (NV) and NV resistance action, from unconditional prohibition of lethal force (*agape/ahimsa*) labelled UNV, through conditional positions like the "just war" position (CNV); to merely pragmatic prohibition of violence (PNV). It sketches a history of major contributions to NV practice reflecting the spectrum. It then correlates this moral spectrum with one of rationality, ontological commitment, and religious belief. It is suggested that while unconditional nonviolence is hard to rationalise on naturalistic agnostic grounds, it becomes more plausible on theological/metaphysical grounds, which are "rational" in a secondary sense. Despite obstacles to religious belief, which are rational in a third sense, experience of idiosyncratic "I-Thou relations" (Buber (1937)) between individuals as individuals, can also support religious intuitions of the possibility of *agape* and human transcendence. A DR curriculum based on agnostic assumptions could stand alone, but should include theology and religious studies in order to understand UNV and the more commonly accepted CNV, and also Middle Eastern realities (Moore (2007)).

Part I Introduction

Dispute Resolution (DR) is now an accepted practice in most Western states, institutionalised and supported by law and order at moderate levels, within Enlightenment-based, secular orders. About three hundred years ago, European religious wars ended in a truce. It was agreed by the warring parties that the God the parties claimed to revere would not allow the killing of other believers for the purpose of maintaining specific dogmas. This was a momentous triumph of Nonviolence, mistakenly attributed by some to retreat from religion or theism. It was actually achieved by the ascendancy of previously underplayed interpretations of Scripture, those emphasising forgiveness, tolerance, and non-killing; the waning of Papal secular authority; and growing agnosticism respecting the detailed content of God's ordained providence. The parties did not abandon their theism, belief in higher powers, or differing confessional beliefs, but only killing for them. The secular order had been accepted in some form since Augustine, but was now extended by agreement to permit religious tolerance. This development has not occurred in the Middle East, and nations there are now convulsing for want of a solution of this Non-violent kind, extending the secular order in part for religious reasons. As Diana Moore (2007) suggests, attempts to resolve their conflicts are still not adequately informed by an understanding of religion and religious difference, using the relevant handles to be found within the creeds of the warring parties, rather than imposing the Western ideal of the secular state from without, on purely secular grounds.

Theism includes a God creating the cosmos ex nihilo, pantheism, panentheism, process theology, and paganism. It is challenged by agnosticism and atheism. Religion covers theisms like Judaism and Christianity, with creation stories, but includes atheisms like Buddhism and Jainism. Belief in an afterlife is largely supported by theism, theistic and atheistic religion, spiritualism and philosophical dualism. This belief in human transcendence underpins unconditional nonviolence as a belief and practice. The paper presents a brief history of the Philosophy of Nonviolence, mainly of the unconditioned version of Nonviolence (UNV), defined here as one absolutely prohibiting any deliberate use of lethal force on persons (pacifism), absolute respect for the

person, even that of enemies, and absolute commitment to universal justice and peace. This history suggests there has always been a spiritual, usually a religious, component to its robust practical enactments in deep conflicts, those occurring in the most vital sub-set of cases, where it is being practised in circumstances where life and wellbeing is known by the practitioner to be clearly on the line, for the sake of justice or peace, positively conceived. Some people do affirm and practise Non-Violence (NV) in a conditional, circumstance-defined, form (CNV). Practitioners of CNV can use collective NV strategically, and often go to jail or die although aware of the risks, for justice's sake, e.g. defending democratic secularism, itself often based on agnostic or atheistic metaphysical assumptions. But they cannot consistently and rarely do, practise or affirm UNV in its unconditional spiritual form, as in Gandhi's *ahimsa*, or Jesus of Nazareth's notion of *agape*-forgiveness and love of enemies and of the wicked, as transcendent fellow-creatures, for God's sake. The history of NV presented here will however also include both religious and non-religious versions of CNV and pragmatic/strategic versions of non-violence, PNV.

Unlike negative duties not to harm others, positive, blanket, interpersonal "duties to love" are rationally more problematic. They go beyond limited benevolence and family duties, to parents, children, and siblings; contracts, promises; and indefinite, "good will" towards colleagues and fellow citizens. An ethics of temporal happiness, and specific obligation in a context, based on the common good of society, is basic in secular ethics/politics. National service qua citizen can be a duty. But nobody must, on that same basis alone, yield their "moral free space" (Urmson (1968); Chisholm (1968); Taylor (1989)) to an open-ended love and care of the totality of persons or an arbitrarily chosen other, get married, have children, or volunteer for "just, but dangerous", social projects. Some social duties may generate role-duties entailing risking death, but secular ethical reason's generalisation of principles and rules, based on maximising collective happiness (Utilitarianism), personal rational self-consistency (Kant/Deontology) or the Golden Rule, "Do as you would be done by" recognise that a matter may be "above the call of duty" or "supererogatory" for that person. One often cannot close the gap between: "Somebody should speak up or do/stop this" and "I should speak up or do/ stop this," without further enabling "supernatural" assumptions. It may involve facing an immediate death threat for truth's sake; caring for distant strangers in mortal danger; or resisting/forgiving wicked enemies. Sometimes only a believer in higher powers and divine law can renounce their life and think they have a moral duty to put themselves in harm's way for the sake of God, forgive their wicked enemies, or leave vengeance to God. Socrates, Jesus, Gandhi, King and their like were not pursuing temporal happiness as their ultimate goal. They consciously subordinated temporal wellbeing to the highest, transcendent Good, Truth, or God.

There is however enough ethical consensus between UNV believers and CNV or PNV agnostics on core issues and nonviolence (NV) to allow for a common curriculum for Ethics, Peace Studies, and Dispute Resolution (DR), based on CNV social justice; and for discussion of the case for UNV as an open matter. A model of reason is presented here which allows for three applications or senses of reason, elicited in response to iterated why?-questions, which yields: natural scientific, theological, and religious reasons, labelled R1, R2, and R3, pro and con. This model of reason suggests UNV can be rational in sense R2 and R3; explicates where consensus can and cannot be expected, especially regarding the relevance of R2 and R3; and suggests that DR often comes into play at the particular level at which any "off the shelf" moral generalisations based on reasoning of any

type, including R1, sometimes cannot resolve problems. Resistance to acceptance of the discussion of possible results of R2 and R3 in any future DR curriculum by DR practitioners, is not itself R1-rational.

Explicating the Preliminary “Screen” for Constructing this History

William James says somewhere that history is “an avalanche of murders”. Others have noted that history is written by the victors. A more upbeat account is that history records our human ancestry and, in a sense, attempt to preserve ourselves across time from total extinction. So we value our individual reputation; and that of organisations, institutions, communities, and States, in obituaries and other historical narratives preserving their achievements in cultures, arts, and the traditions they express. In this incomplete history of a historical movement, contribution to the Philosophy of Non-Violence (NV) is taken to embrace both theory and practice as equally important. It will mean here primarily the rationale for *prohibition of deliberate lethal force against human persons unconditionally, and unconditional respect for, and forgiveness of, enemies (UNV)*. In this tradition, justice is presupposed as the end and personal and social peace; it is seen as both the end result of UNV resistance activity (*satyagraha*), and UNV is seen as the absolutely necessary means for just peace. A strict notion of “Non-attachment” to temporal goods often, but not essentially, accompanies the practice, including ranking voluntary poverty/non-acquisitiveness, and a chaste, celibate, mendicant, ashram, or monastic life, over practical engagements, including family life; and, less often, celebrating tribal or village commune-ism, and vegetarianism. UNV is the absolute version of Nonviolence,(NV). As an Ideal, UNV is seldom followed; and seldom rejected outright, even by its critics. Before listing the big names in the historical narrative, it is worth distinguishing the UNV position from a more common one, which nearly all people follow, and which includes permitted use of personal lethal force in specific cases.

In this position are included people who accept possible use of lethal force in some circumstances, such as in policing aimed at preserving community law and order, using deterrent lethal force; those who in principle accept capital punishment in extremis; and state use of standing professional armies using deterrence. UNV cannot accept these exceptions or permissions. But rather than seeing conditional non-violence as totally opposed to NV, I will be assuming that a conditional nonviolence (CNV) ideal is still NV. Even though it does not absolutely require UNV, it will be assumed that CNV is still a species of NV, especially suitable for communities and states, and still allowing personal conscientious pacifism. Even some individual UNV proponents have either waned in their zeal (Hennacy, Kagawa) or finished up in or close to the UNV camp, after practising CNV for a long period (Tolstoi, Mandela). Furthermore, some CNV practitioners absolutely reject capital punishment and some lethal weapons like chemical and nuclear devices. There are unconditional elements within such conditional positions. In a CNV position, such as the “just war/just punishment” position, proportionate, limited violence against killers is permitted as necessary, or a last resort, with the intention and for the sake of peace or justice restoration, only in some cases; and for some agents, e.g. self-defence or defence of innocents by the police; or just war by the army of the just state. Obviously, the just war criterion that innocent non-combatant persons be discriminated from the non-innocent, cannot be met by nuclear and chemical weapons, so they are unconditionally prohibited in this sort of view (Ardagh (1990)). These “law and order” or “just punishment, and “just war” style parties, will be taken here to commend and support NV, but conditionally. There are also,

within CNV, general supporters of Non-Violence who still allow for unique circumstances to permit an individual to overrule the unconditional norm and killing of a murderous individual.

Finally, and still under the Nonviolence banner, there are the “tactical-strategic-pragmatic” nonviolent supporters, such as the “principled negotiators” of the Harvard School, designated here as PNV upholders. PNV types need not necessarily invoke or mention justice, rights, or morality as essential to DR, and tend to exclude only positively listed types of lethal force. In the historical period covered in the list below, an asterisk to the right of parties mentioned warns that CNV or PNV not UNV is in play, and it must be remembered that many parties on the list moved along the spectrum from UNV to pragmatism or back the other way in the course of their career.¹ This makes the story longer to tell, so it will not be possible here. Consequently, your indulgence is asked for such an over-simple, imperfect but hopefully useable history. Space requires that in most cases the NV person or group is simply named, and the reader can refresh their understanding via the internet or elsewhere.

Both UNV and the other views share a robust vision of communal peace, enabling personal need satisfaction, in a just state generally and indefinitely conceived. One main difference is that UNV rules out one means to the same end of justice and peace, without basing this exclusion on as detailed a specification of the end of justice as the others, and the other views do not rule out violence absolutely. This is reflected in their modal moral status: for one group, violence is in the modal category:” prohibited absolutely in all circumstances”. For the others, UNV is an ideal to be striven for, but violence is in the modal category:” permissible under some specified circumstances, and forbidden in all others” (CNV); or only select positive exclusions of lethal violence like murder are listed (PNV).

The history suggests a spectrum:

Figure 1: Spectrum of Nonviolence (NV)

No Lethal force/ Agape/A-temporal BlissConditional lethal force....Pragmatic Non-violence
 No Capital Punishment/War Just punishment/ war..... Tactical and strategic
 Pacifism/Commune-ismJustice, Law, and orderPrincipled Negotiation
 UNV.....CNV PNV

UNV based resistance for the sake of positive peace and justice or *satyagraha* includes: legal and illegal sit ins; boycotts; marches attempts at stopping trains or trucks by “lie-ins”; human shields; banned publications; social media; strikes; picketing;; rallies and demonstrations; street theatre; fasting and hunger strikes; slow-downs; self-defence arts; withholding taxes; refusal of induction to armed services; lobbying.

CNV permits in addition the application just war criteria (JWC) permission for use of coercive force/violence:

¹¹ See below e.g. Tolstoi, Kagawa, Hennacy, Mandela,

States: States must have proper authority; just intent; NV methods are to be tried first and violence is the last resort; there is no alternative; proportionality (the good achieved probably will successfully outweigh evil caused; discrimination of innocent non-combatants and prohibition of killing them; only discriminatory weapons in combat; ambassador safety; there is probable success. An analogue for persons and organisations would be: there must be just or humanitarian intent; NV methods tried first and violence is the last resort; proportionality (the good achieved probably will successfully outweigh evil caused). Despite their slightly different modalities, PNV will be rolled in with CNV for the purpose of this discussion. Normal dispute resolution practice (DR) would fit under CNV and PNV and presupposes that state/communal law and order is in place to prevent lethal violence and enable the parties with perceived needs, perceptions of possible unfairness, and election of DR intervention as a possible means of achieving agreement on remedies, to convene in peace. After this meeting has occurred, the verification of success and possibly enforcement is likewise assured by the state provision of enveloping national peace, and shared enjoyment of regional international peace. When the state itself is in civil or international disorder or conflict; or itself corrupt or repressive; or just incompetent, then DR practitioners, such as negotiators, need to take more risks; have more dedication; and sometimes show heroic courage and compassion.

Within the NV community, some of the arguments between the more idealist, unconditional (UNV), and the more realist conditional NV views (CNV, and PNV), are set out below. From the beginning of recorded history over 4500 years ago, Non-Violent (NV) warriors have sought to understand the role of the community/state law and order in the rationale for NV; the motive for NV practice; and its scope. As suggested, their answers on NV practice and rationale have been of three broad kinds. First those who unconditionally forbid lethal violence on religious or supernatural grounds and enjoin universal love (UNV); second those who maintain it as an ideal, prohibit most lethal violence absolutely, such as murder (deliberate killing innocents and killing non-combatants or killing indiscriminately), but allow lethal violence under some circumstances, as in justified self defence or defence of innocent third parties; and third are those that those who follow a tit-for-tat strategy, condemn some violence, like murder; accept that NV can in some cases be shown to be pragmatically successful as a strategy, and part of the repertoire of politics, but they hold that use of lethal force is justifiable on secular cost-benefit grounds, and moral obligations to love is limited by reciprocity and positive contracts (CNV).

In the lightning history in Part II below, the first two positions are highlighted, because they speak about nonviolence as a presumptive policy, not a tactic, and will say less about the third. PNV is less explicit about prohibiting lethal force and dates largely from the last four centuries of the European post-Enlightenment. It is focussed on reciprocity and maximising utility, social contract, and seeing positivist natural and social science as the only source of reasons. It cannot rationally accept deliberately placing oneself in lethal harm's way or refraining from inflicting it, unless the context allows one to demonstrate or rationally believe independently that there is positive duty of active universal brotherly love. Forgiveness of enemies or the wicked is not a standard topic in secular Political Philosophy save as a possible strategy. The other views of NV condemn all lethal violence absolutely (UNV) or some lethal violence not meeting explicit excusing criteria categorically (CNV); enjoin love and forgiveness as the first word; and call for non-violence and presumptive dispositional love of others, as required or ideal, on grounds going beyond those which are based on tit for tat reciprocity

and are scientifically reasonable. Unlike PNV, they claim to be “reasonable” on some metaphysical, non-natural, spiritual grounds, and my interest will be in them, and the other correlative neglected, non-scientific, senses of “reasonable”. The pros and cons of both UNV and CNV positions are illustrated in Figure 2.

The basic two sides are often expressed on practical, imperative, injunctions, not in assertions of truth. These cannot be formally contradictory. Where they are in the form of assertions, they rarely contradict each other formally. The time frame of possible response is often the issue and that is clearly somewhat elastic in many circumstances. There is truth in both positions. For example, preventative measures which have been talked about but not tried are hard to evaluate rationally as to their probable success. A non-violent national defence strategy was advocated in the 1970s by Lanza del Vasto, and after this for Australia by David Martin (1984), with a small armed force and national service consisting of training in how to collectively sabotage and befuddle an invader on the Norway-Nazi model. Since this alternative has not been tried, the truth of the corresponding claims is indeterminate. If it were tested and proved viable, it would apparently demolish the case for many expensive weapons like strike fighters and submarines. So the dialogue below glosses over some of the empirical probability issues, while trying to convey the flavour of the main branches of the NV movement. In the history which follows, the taxonomy of arguments below is the background.

Figure 2. Nonviolence

CNV: Conditional Nonviolence

1. Self-defence, and defence of innocent third parties, is permissible. No absolute prohibition of a means (violence), or of an abstract act-type or end (killing), is rational; or “more moral” qua exception-less.
2. Consensus building needed for NV-resistance activity is organised, slow, and in urgent cases, useless.
3. Just war criteria (JWC) are clear and workable with smart weapons.
Democratic states can apply JWC progressively
4. When criteria are met, there is no alternative; intervention is justifiable. Just war permitted.
5. Nonviolence works only when violence is possible
6. No world order exists with resources to prevent violence. World order possibly dangerous.
7. Ruthless dictators crush peaceful protests/resistance. early: this makes CNV impossible.
8. Nuclear deterrence has worked for 70 plus years
O.K to threaten to do what would be wrong to do
Trust needed for “de-nuclearisation” not present
9. Secular reason and ethics of reciprocity suffice to motivate CNV of just war /peace keeping type.
Theology cannot deliver content. Religion divides.
10. Universal love cannot be commanded; Golden Rule and limited benevolence suffice for global ethics.

UNV: Unconditional NV

1. Use no deliberate lethal force ever. NV resisters are to identify the issue, build a consensus, ask for redress. Act one step at a time.
Casualties reduced when we act in numbers.
2. NV resistance process experimental/reversible
Non- fatal damage can be reversed.
3. Just war criteria are always abused/ extended.
“Smart” weapons often kill many civilians.
States are modern entities often unjustly imposed.
4. A reign of terror can follow successful war;
Leave a legacy of hate; alternatives always exist.
5. Public avowal of UNV to oppressor allays fear/ hate
6. Proactive NV best for needs-satisfaction
Theology can promote global cosmopolitanism.
7. Recorded successes of NV Resistance
with dictators documented (Sharp (1973)).
8. If nukes used, possible extinction; fail the just war criteria; choice is: NV or non-existence!(M.L.King).
Threats of moral wrong are wrong
9. Theology /religion can cross cultures and stem nationalistic militarism. Only distortions divide.
Risks of UNV can be offset in an afterlife.
10. Fatherhood and Love of God and *caritas* commanded in theistic religions is linked to UNV.

Ask yourself whether this taxonomy of arguments is complete or helpful. In other words, find yourself on the DR spectrum. Part III will explore how one might persuade oneself to move towards the more exacting unconditional NV position.

Part II: The History of the Philosophy of Nonviolence and the Non-violent (NV) Spectrum

In the history presented a clear line has been drawn to exclude from CNV terrorism deliberately pursued for national liberation or social revolutions, even for humanistic reasons; or incitement of open-ended violence as a means to such ends, like the vague exhortations of Marx –Engels in the Communist Manifesto, and Mao’s Cultural Revolution. References to almost all or the named persons or groups up till 1960 are omitted, but in all cases the worldwide web will supply these.

Prehistory

Humans date from 2.5 million years ago, and modern *homo sapiens* from about 200,000 years ago. Prehistorically, it is estimated that Australian indigenous peoples; their culture; and its oral traditions have flourished in this country for about 50,000 years before the recent British occupation. In such oral traditions “The law” is featured, and governs intra- and inter-tribal relations. Given evidence of farming yams and fish, and about 200 geographically located cultural groups. It is reasonable to assume there would have been an implicit “folk anthropology” based ethics, used as a base for discouraging tribal and family violence, and cultural practices to protect life and satisfy need like rituals for establishing peaceful contact without alarming others- a precursor of the custom: “ambassadors are safe”. The idea of savages living on *terra nullius* invented by colonialists was always a convenient British fiction to lubricate violent and lethal dispossession. Australia today is built on this original violence to Aboriginals.

History: from c 2000 B.C. till about 6 BC

- Jainism: There are explicit versions of UNV in Mahavira, a Jain teacher;
- Hinduism: Unconditional non-violence is at least strongly commended in some Hindu scriptures: e.g. *Yahir Veda* and *Valmiki Ramayana*.²
- Judaism: In some Judaic texts: Isaiah/ Micah/ Hosea there is prophecy of lions lying down with lambs and swords beaten into ploughshares when the Messiah comes ; the Ten Commandments forbid killing, theft, and adultery. But killing is interpreted more narrowly as killing innocents deliberately or murder and communal punishment allowed for execution. Deuteronomy says vengeance is for God. ³ God creates ex nihilo.
- Buddhism: Buddhist texts attribute UNV to Gautama/Siddhartha; ⁴ the teaching is atheistic but adopts transmigration of soul/reincarnation.

² The current position of the Hindu-dominated, nuclear armed state of India is clearly not UNV, and arguably not even CNV.

³ Again, modern Israel is a nuclear power.

⁴ Sri Lanka, a self-styled Buddhist state, waged an indiscriminate, racially complicated, brutal civil war with its Tamil minority

- Taoism and Confucianism both commend UNV as an ideal, not a universal requirement;⁵
- Plato/Socrates: "It is better to suffer than inflict harm"; Demiurge shapes matter; there is a World Soul; Mind /body dualism; immortality of soul.
- *Aristophanes' comic play *Lysistrata*, about a sex strike to stop Peloponnesian war, may have been implicitly anti-war; Olympic Games inception.
- *Early notions of Natural Law beyond convention, latent in Plato and Aristotle, and the Stoic/Ciceronian Logos, pre-figure global ethics. Primary precepts prohibit murder and theft. Secondary include ambassadors are safe and some other limits on war conduct. Sacred Mount demonstration by Plebs is an early example of NV
- *Cineas said to have challenged Pyrrhus of Thessalonica regarding ultimate ends of war and "Pyrrhic victories"

6 B.C- 300 A.D.

Jesus of Nazareth-as portrayed through the Canon recognised by the time of Eusebius in the 4th century

- a) 'Love God, and Love your neighbour as yourself.' ⁶
- b) A more exacting response principle, implicit in Jesus, and also found in Jain Hinduism, Buddha, Socrates, Tolstoi, Gandhi, James Bevel and M.L. King of SCLC is: 'Suffer rather than inflict unjustly imposed harm' as an unconditional policy.⁷Vengeance is for God.
- c) In Jesus there is also teaching about *agape*: "God is Love" (John 4:8-9; 'Render good for evil'; 'Love your enemies' 'Forgive your enemies' (Luke: 27-28; Matthew, 18; 21-35). The love of strangers, forgiveness of sinners, (John 3:16; Romans 5:8) and infinite forgiveness of others (1Tim 2:1;Matt 6:14-15; Luke 17:3-4). Who, without sin, will cast the first stone at the adulterous woman? ⁸All this clearly goes beyond the meaning of both reciprocity and justice, and would render capital punishment impossible.
- d) There is an egalitarian message in parables of the Good Samaritan, and Divus and Lazarus, the outward looking social focus and the themes of non-attachment, the dangers of wealth, and of indifference to the poverty or suffering of others. Parable of wheat and tares also discourages vengeance on wicked.
- e) And finally, what many consider the absurdly altruistic Christian injunction: 'Do unto to others as I have done for you' i.e. laid down my life for my friends, (John 13:34).This is expressed also in John 12.25: 'He who loves his life in this world will lose it, while he who hates it will keep it for eternal life'; and in Luke 14:26: and Matt 10; 37:" He who loves his father and mother more than me is not worthy of me". All this may be toned down in translation commentary to suggest it only means one is not to preference one's family over God, but the texts are pretty blunt. This teaching is clearly inviting self-sacrificial love, and goes well

⁵ China is a nuclear power.

⁶ This is the first general precept of natural law according to Christian philosopher Aquinas⁶. As noted, it is found in the Jewish Old Testament and all the early religions noted. If interpreted as being an attitude like 'good will' such as found in Kant, such love may not be outside the scope of justice, conceived as the Golden Rule. But it potentially asks for love of humans beyond justice.

⁷ This teaching, for Gandhi and King, entails that only non-violent resistance (satyagraha) or non-violent ju-jitsu is permitted. Vengeance is prohibited Romans 12:19. Peaceful means to just ends and outcomes are required

⁸ John 8,7

beyond justice. Jesus expected to see the good thief crucified with him in paradise (eternity). There are other resurrection/atonement narratives in non-Christian cultures such as Osiris, but none like this.⁹

St. Paul would appear to teach the above unreservedly. Adopts and adds to Natura Law, assumes immortality of soul; Doctrine of Charity.

Early Christians till about 300AD are UNV pacifist/anarchist and perhaps commune-ist. Clement of Alexandria; Justin Martyr; Origen

c 300 AD-1945

*St. Augustine 5th century -Just war a "mournful necessity"; Western CNV (Just war theory begins); Cities of God (ideal)and Man (real) doctrine.

*some early texts of Islam 7th century; Sufi mysticism;

Cathars, 11th century, reject Augustine; Waldo/Waldensians, 1173; St. Francis of Assisi, 13th

*St Thomas Aquinas-*caritas(agape)* is a theological virtue; UNV ideal and required for clergy only; Dante follows;

John Wyclif 1361; Jan Hus d. 1415; Unity of the Brethren; Eckhart (mysticism) 14th; Peter Chelcicky; Moravians 1457;

Chaucer, *Melibee's Tale* ; Erasmus; Conrad Grebel, Swiss Brethren; Anabaptists, 1524; Montaigne/de la Boetie *On Voluntary Servitude*1550; Hutterites 16th; Menno Simons;

*Emeric Cruce,1640;B de la Las Casas 1560; late Shakespeare /*Measure for Measure, A Winter's Tale* Vitoria; Suarez; H.Grotius,1645.

C.J. Fox 1620 Quakers; Amish 1660s; 1755 Dukkhabors; Church of the Brethren 1770s; Shakers 1780; J.Commenius (universal education); J.Wesley

*Rousseau; Bentham; Locke; Spinoza; Toland; Hutcheson; Hume; Kant (*on Perpetual Peace*); the early critique of standing armies, 18th; Wilberforce (RSPCA and Anti-slavery Act 1833; Kierkegaard: *Works of Love*.

1845-1945;

Victor Hugo, recommends a U.S. of Europe; Seventh Day Adventists, 1860; Christadelphians; Dostoevski/*The Idiot* and *Grand Inquisitor*; L. Tolstoi; P.B.Shelley; RW Emerson; H. Thoreau, W.L Garrison, F. Douglass, Mark Twain/*The War Prayer*; Adin Ballou, *Christian Non-Resistance*. Dickens- *A Christmas Carol*; *Tale of Two Cities**.The Red Cross/ Henri Dunant. Nobel Peace prize instituted in 1901; the Geneva Convention; Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1914; Opponents of WW1 included pacifists Ben Salmon, Keir Hardie, Evelyn Underhill and Emma Goldman and socialist E Debs. Suffragette movement (Wyoming, Utah, New Zealand, S. Australia,

⁹ nominally Christian states have nukes, For further critical evaluation of Christianity see Appendix 1 and PartIII

Women's Social and Political Union; 19th Amendment) included hunger strikes, as did several Irish rebellions on the 1920s period.

T.Kagawa produces antiwar critiques in Japan 1928-35; R. Gregg writes *The Power of Nonviolence* (1935) and A. Huxley defends NV in 1938. In 1930s-40s Gandhi is a pivotal figure promoting NV in South Africa and *sarvodaya* in India till 1948 with the help of likeminded Muslims, like Abdul Ghaffar Khan, and the Ahmadiyya community; Vinoba Bhave and the atheist Lavanam. His NV repertoire included self-suffering (*tapasya*) of hunger strikes. Other major figures in this period were the pacifist nun Dorothy Day of Catholic Worker movement, and A. Camus.

*In WW11, it is arguable that the allies fought a just war. Some claim that, despite appearances, Christian alleged attempted assassination of Hitler. *Christians D. Bonhoeffer, and the Jesuit Rosch, were basically non-violent, but like Kierkegaard, Bonhoeffer allowed "teleological suspension of the ethical" of the Abraham/Isaac type. F. Jagerstatter is hanged by Hitler for opposing war service. Fire-bombing of Dresden and nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki condemned by Catholic philosopher E. Anscombe, and many others.

1945 –2001

Pax Christi forms in France 1945. The UN is formed in mid-1940s, with Trygve Lie and Dag Hammarskjold as first two Secretary Generals, and used to support conditional NV, but was drawn swiftly into the Korean War. Otherwise able to navigate the Cold War in Vietnam and elsewhere, and mount credible peace-keeping forces and agencies thereafter in Africa,(e.g. Angola) Central America,(e.g. Haiti) Asia and the South Pacific (e.g. Timor), Europe (e.g. Croatia) and the Middle East (e.g. Cyprus).

Gandhi success in 1947 influences James Bevel (S.C.L.C) and M. L. King till his death in 1968; Cesar Chavez, N. Aquino, K.Nkrumah in Ghana (1957); J. Nyerere in Tanzania and others successfully use NV tactics.¹⁰Post-Hiroshima/Nagasaki, and the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, strong interest emerges in avoiding nuclear mutual assured destruction (MAD). But nuclear strategy rapidly switches to the more dangerous Nuclear Strategy and Tactics,(NUTS). After John XXIII's *Pacem in Terris*, Roman Catholic, United Church, and other official church documents appeared, stopping just short of condemning NUTS outright for failing the "just war" permissions¹¹. Along with atheist Lord Russell, Catholic Philosopher Elizabeth Anscombe, and the Quakers' Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, CND, there emerged concerned anti-nuclear writers like A. Schweitzer, A. Einstein, T. Schelling, Raiffia, Burton, and Galtung, Burton is known for his stress on the role of needs, and Galtung for supporting others in pushing the case for attacking the "white violence" of injustice, also exposed by Liberation Theology of Gutierrez, L. Boff, H. Camara, D. Goulet, et alia.

D. Ellsberg whistle-blows on Vietnam War; the Jesuit priests known as the Berrigan brothers are just two of many UNV Anti-Vietnam War protesters. Another CNV opponent, Sydney Lens, picks up the phrase "the military –industrial complex" from Eisenhower and criticises its role in sustaining militarism. J. Lennon and Y. Ono and many song writers and musicians espouse pacifism and /or condemn the Vietnam War-J. Baez, P. Seeger, W.

¹⁰ See *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, H. Ramsbotham, et al. for details of other anti- colonial NV struggles using NVR

¹¹ See my 1990 article

Guthrie, et al. Mohammad Ali refuses induction. Scores of national liberation struggles in colonial empires use mix of UNV and CNV. F. Lundberg's 1968 *The Rich and the Super-Rich* begins a sharp critique of inequality of global wealth which persists to today with the work of Picketty and Milanovic.

World Order Model Project/ World Policy Institute worked at world peace and founded a dedicated journal (Hollis, Mendlovitz, Falk). Also contributing to peace initiatives are Ken and Elise Boulding, the latter founding International Peace Research Association (IPRA); Gene Sharp, George Lakey, Joanna Macy, Joan Bondurant, and Barbara Deming; anti-war defenders of CNV resistance, and peace like Petra Kelly, A.J. Muste, A. Hennacy, H. Arendt, N. Chomski, and Judith Hand. UNV is propounded by Lanza del Vasto of L'Arche, D. Dolci, T. Merton, E. F. Dear continue this effort The Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, is a public exponent of UNV. Post this war, the Irish and some Cubans again used hunger strikes.

The Christian Cecil Jackson-Cole founds Oxfam in 1948 and expands it till his death in 1979, by which time it is flourishing. In 1971 Medecins Sans Frontiers was co-founded by Raymond Borel, Bernard Kouchner and several others and went global under Claude Malhuret from 1979 onwards. Secondary and Tertiary Peace Studies/Education grows from the 1970s with books like C. Alder's *Columbus: The World*. Religious people joined in the anti-war movement. Amnesty International, and Christians Against Torture are started by P. Berenson; Greenpeace is co-founded and named by the author of *The Jesus Sayings*, Rex Weyler¹². President Carter tries hard to raise peace consciousness. Mother Teresa receives Peace Prize in 1979.¹³ The Philippines had a nonviolent revolution 1983-86; In DR, at the practical level, from the 1980s onward, many bodies, like Stella and Helena Cornelius' Conflict Resolution Network in Australia, "operationalise" and enable CR/ADR at a more personal and organisational micro level, with a curriculum of twelve skills of CR; with Wendy Faulkes, Community Justice Centres appeared in NSW. The authors in *Essays for Peace* ed. M Salla et al. such as Keith Suter, keep the issues alive. 1989 saw the Czech Velvet Revolution. In U.S., Brian Willson of Veterans for Peace loses both legs when run over by an arms train while protesting Reagan's arming of the Contras. Fisher and Ury promote principled negotiation; Adler, Moore, Bush and Folger, mediation. In the late 1980s, M. Gorbachev, a self-confessed atheist fan of Francis of Assisi, signs the partial denuclearisation INF treaty 1987,¹⁴ and frees up Eastern Europe in 1989 receiving the 1990 Peace Prize. Nelson Mandela achieves the end of *apartheid* in South Africa. Also on the "positive peace" front are many books on structural violence and the environmental crisis, by Rachel Carson, D. Suzuki, Al Gore, and others; and on development, P. Berger, D. Goulet, F. Lappe's *Food First*, and S. George's *The Debt Boomerang*.

2001-2016

The 9/11 incident and terrorism continues to be focal in the literature. "Cosmopolitanism" is fostered through the *Journal of Global Ethics*, and building local CR strengths emerges from P. Freire's followers like A. Curle and the Mennonite writer, J. Lederach. Edward Azar develops a complex model for analysis of intractable conflict, featuring preserving cultural identity and meeting needs, clashing with post colonial economics, and weak

¹² Rex Wheler of Greenpeace wrote a book entitled: *The Jesus Sayings*, featuring the Sermon on the Mount.

¹³ Christopher Hutchens famously attacked her motivation, but the works still stand.

¹⁴ Under pressure from R. Reagan and Pope John Paul II, who respectively commissioned and accepted idea of the nuclear deterrent Star Wars.

imposed state authority. Some excellent textbooks appear, such as *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* by Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall as noted above. The UN now has a Restorative Justice Working Group. Academic centres have flourished in the UK (Bradford; Manchester) and the US (Georgetown¹⁵; George Mason; Matsunaga Institute, Hawaii).

Contemporary groups include Waging Peace; International Committee to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN); International Solidarity Movement (ISM) founded by Ghassan Andona; Waging Non-violence; Ploughshares Fund and Jody Williams' campaign to ban landmines (ICBL). The Sydney Peace Prize winners since 1998¹⁶ reflect a gradual shift towards realisation that we are one planet under threat from racism, religious fanaticism, inequality of opportunity, industrial pollution, Western imposition of democratic state model on all, and loss of spiritual self-rule.

Part III Types of Reason and Degrees of Non-violence

Looking back over the rich complex history of the human project, the descriptions of NV and the rationales offered for world peace and global ethics and comparing this with the accounts in the best contemporary textbooks, the latter lack a dedicated, thorough treatment of the rationale for NV and the differences listed in the Ethics of NV. What they say is comparatively abstract and "thin": a cluster of abstract "principles,"¹⁷ assumed to be evident, and perhaps a sketchy anthropology of needs. By contrast, Charles Taylor's cross cultural "hypernorms" are better explained because backed by a "thick" description of Philosophical Anthropology, the data on multiculturalism in other Social Sciences, and with a place for belief in non-secular entities. To explain the fact that the vast majority of the UNV and CNV figures in the above history are theists or religious, or at least very preoccupied with religion, we will need to refer to Natural Theology, and Religious Studies. To introduce this addition, we can ask: "Why do particular things in the Universe do the things they do?" The answer seems to be: they follow law-like patterns of regularity, described and verified by natural and social scientific reason – let us call that application of why? an exercise of R1. The laws of natural and to a lesser degree social science, are tested, predict outcomes verified by observation, and are replicable.

Then we can ask: "Why is this in fact so? Why is science successful in understanding the infinite cosmos by means of universal mathematical physics and causal laws? Why does the Universe exist at all? Why is the universe so fine-tuned? Is science itself a miracle calling for explanation? Some since Plato, Augustine, and Descartes suggest that Mind/Reason/Soul on the one hand, and the material bodies they prima facie direct on the other, are distinct entities and there must in some analogous way be a necessary uncaused quasi-personal spiritual being or entity, whose Reason (and Will) accounts for the spectacularly cosmos-wide fine-tuned order discovered by human reason R1, and reflected in the "e-ternal" quality of law discovered by human reason itself. Perhaps reason itself exists in some way apart from humans and continues after life. Demonstrable prediction and confirmation of the answers by observation is impossible given the terms of reference of question 2, but the question stands and is coherent. Call this sphere of rational operation the level of reason

¹⁵ Craig Zelizer Peace and Collaborative Development Network

¹⁶ Including D.Tutu,S. Ashrawi,N. Chomski, A.Roy,J. Pilger, and I. Khan, and N.Klein.

¹⁷Miall et al : Impartiality; mutuality, sustainability, complementarity, reflexivity, consistency, accountability, universality. Tom Campbell defends a principle of humanity-relieve suffering where you can

R2. However inconclusive, science cannot rule this enquiry out, if it is regarded as itself the explicandum. For the answer to Question R 2 we turn to Natural Theology, including pantheism, panentheism, or atheology.¹⁸

The reasoning at level R2 concerns the nature, completeness, and limits of explanation, causality, and possibility; and allows for possible mind-body dualism. We can then ask, of the answer to R2: “What does the entity, or entities, posited in the R2 enquiry suggest about a possibly existent higher power or powers? Why does this probably non-material entity operate to create and sustain the R1 level laws which it supposedly creates?” and/or “What is that entity’s quasi-reason (and will) in doing so, and its will towards us, here and possibly hereafter?” This is the R3 level; and for answers to Question 3, R3, we can turn to the ‘grand narratives’ or “total interpretations” of the major religions mentioned above, and studied in Religious Studies, and challenged in atheist and non-religious counter-narratives. For example, one reason offered in answer to the R3 question might be: to give humans freedom to experience the joy and skill of bringing good out of evil. The evidence in this application of reason is based on religious visionary and prophetic experience, and alleged miracles and testimony about alleged revelations. The atheist reply might be: such testimony is worthless and the whole R3 project requires the God-figure permitting cruelty like child abuse and so is immoral.¹⁹ I pursue this issues further in Appendix 1. But now I want to present a diagrammatic model of the types of reason and nonviolence.

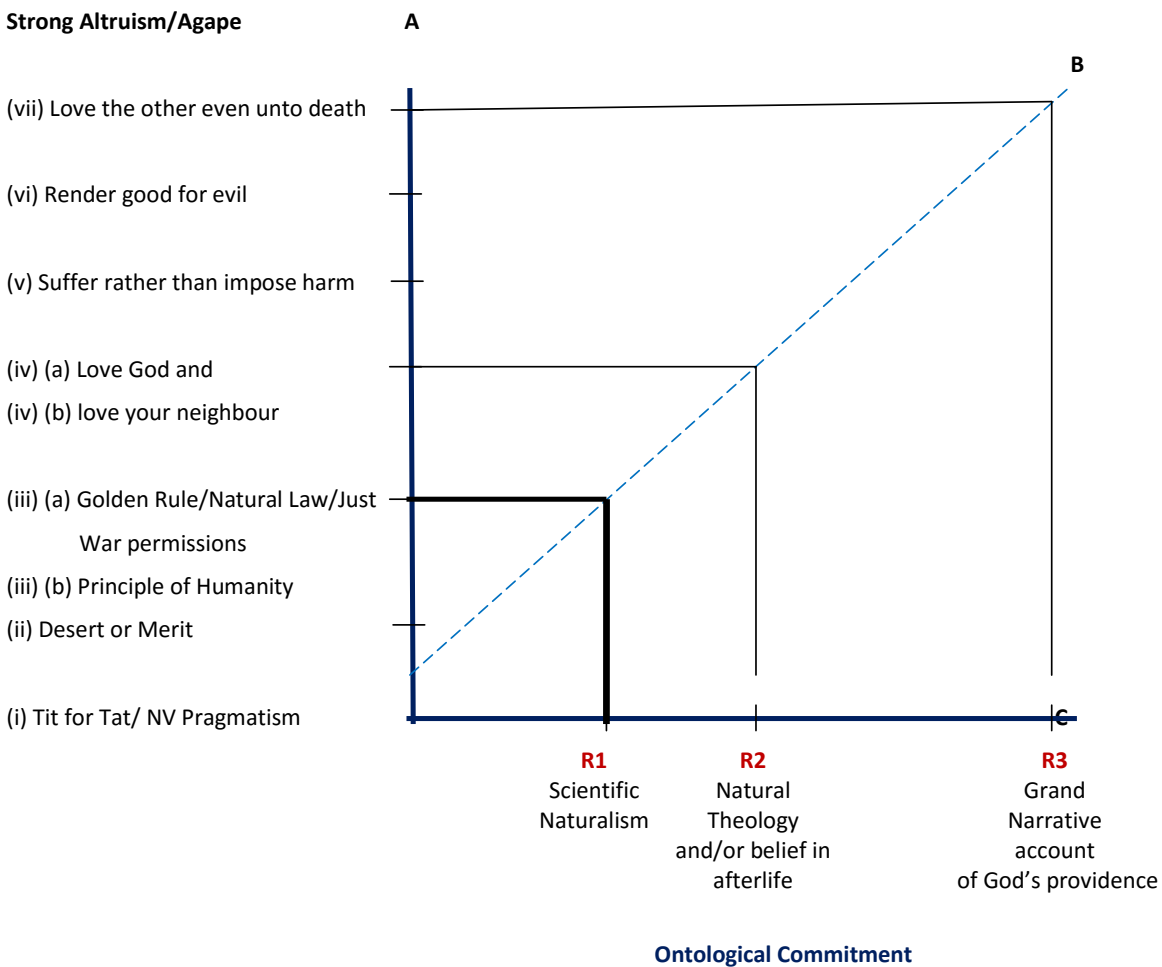
R1 is the province of natural and social science; empirical verification/falsification of hypotheses; enumerative and eliminative inductions; mathematics and mathematical physics; and necessary truths of fact if any²⁰. R2 is the province of cognition, philosophy of science, modal logic, metaphysics, natural theology, and the study of metaphysical and empirical evidence for supernatural /transcendent entities if any; R3 is the study of comparative religion total interpretations, and its basis includes evaluation of testimony and of religious experiences if any. If we think of these positions as on a spectrum of graduated permeable intervals of increasing degrees of belief, in metaphysics and “higher powers” or transcendence; or of invocation of the supernatural, sustained by progressively expanded applications and forms of reason, with quality metaphorically measured by quantity, we might construct a graph with this spectrum as a horizontal axis.

¹⁸ See e.g. N. Smart *Philosophers and Religious Truth*; R. Swinburne *Does God Exist?*; K. Yandell, *Philosophy of Religion*. Atheology is at least implicit in T.Aikenhead, J. Toland (pantheism) P. B. Shelly, B. Russell, and more recently M.Scriven, J. L. Mackie and R.Dawkins. For Pantheism, Process Theology and Panentheism, Spinoza, Whitehead, de Chardin, C. Hartshorne, and J.Cobb.

¹⁹ See Appendix 1

²⁰ The past cannot be changed/time is one-way; left and right are reversed in the mirror; nothing red and green all over in same conditions; events are caused.

Figure 3 : Responsiveness to evil/good and transcendental reason.



At one end is belief based on perception/observation used to test physically verifiable hypotheses of natural and social science and the capacity to do this declines as we move along the axis to belief in the results of the study of the non-physical or metaphysics. In the R2 zone, answers will not be confirmable by experimental hypotheses and replicable observations. The data are the successful laws themselves. Likewise R3 narratives are not reports on physical experiments. The graph is only suggestive of a very complex intellectual territory. Under R3 would fall both dharma (action) and bhakti (worship) versions religious practice. The axis is constructed to reflect the gradually increased ontological commitment associated with cumulative answers to repetition of the why? question, asked three times in succession.

The vertical axis shows increasing degrees of altruism correlated with increasing belief in supernatural moral demands and divine providence, divine reason and goodness and human transcendence based on reason, The furthest points on the spectra, as one moves to the 'absolute' end of each line, are marked by increasing reference to the notion of a God of some sort, with a Providential Will; or a transcendental World-Soul or truth-force (*Satyagraha* or *Tao*; a law of conservation of moral energy (*karma*); or a notion of personal transcendence (reincarnation/immortality); and are correlated with increasingly exacting moral requirements-

like non-attachment, absolute non-violence, non-acquisitiveness, and self-suffering. The vertical axis is similar to the spectrum noted above as Figure 2, but now seen vertically .It runs from “tit for tat” through minimal justice reciprocity to stronger unconditional altruism, not based on tendency to temporal wellbeing alone.

In some way and to some degree, the differences outlined here have to do with different estimates of the likelihood that, by confronting evil, one will jeopardise one’s temporal happiness. As noted, if a peace keeping law and order background is absent, the NV warrior or DR practitioner is often at risk of temporal pain and even death. At the top of the left vertical axis in Figure 3 are the UNV absolutists, such as the Jesus of the Sermon on the Mount (turn the other cheek and love strangers, sinners and enemies). In Figure 3, Jesus, Gandhi, M.L.King, and others would appear at B, the intersection of R3 and A, along with Quakers, Tolstoi, the religious mystics of Judaism, Islam, and other religions such as Jainism and Gandhi. In the middle of the left vertical axis would be those who go further than R1 to admit angels, God and souls, via R2, but not necessarily endorse any R3 narrative. They would uphold the use of legalised violence by nation states; standing armies, law and order measures like courts, police, prisons and capital punishment; the concept of hereditary property; the 'just war' theory of mainstream Christianity since Augustine; and an institutionalised church supplying chaplains in just wars. There is at least quasi-theistic belief, some idea of ‘Divine Justice’, in an afterlife. Towards the base of the vertical line are the many forms of pragmatic secularism.

Taking Aristotle as an example, in the first level enquiry, he uses reason of type R1, as conceived by Neo-Aristotelian Virtue Ethics (NAVE). Aristotle’s own version of NAVE, driven by R1 and a version of R2, is theistically impersonal, an Unmoved Mover, “thinking on thinking”, and a very thin concept of an afterlife for the agent intellect. Reason seeks to discover “the highest good”, (THG), whatever it turns out to be, for him the Unmoved Mover. Ethics celebrates knowledge and friendship between citizens and especially virtuous aristocrats; and conditional justice. The Golden Rule is implicit at best, and not explicitly applied to slaves and aliens. NAVE treats our limited understanding of THG as showing similarity with some of our human powers (intellect) as themselves ‘higher’ than others, architectonic with respect to others in animal mentality/intentionality, range or scope, capacity for diachronic time conception, ultimate finality, flexibility, and directional power, at least in specific orders of consideration. But there is no clear immortality²¹ or R3 story, and morality is bounded by aristocracy and scientific elitism. So in the diagram Aristotle would be in the R1 sector.

Taking another example, many forms of Jainism, Buddhism, Taoism, Paganism, Shamanism, and Pantheism deny a God creating ex nihilo, of the sort posited by religions of the Book (Judaism, Christianity, Islam) with revelations at level R3. They are harder to place in the diagram exactly, but arguably would not be ‘full strength’ theists. There is less sign of the R2 question being posed, or answered. But atheism is relative to type of theism e.g. one with or without a creation, an atonement, or hell story; and need not be full strength. Forms of Pantheism and paganism are sometimes mistaken for atheism, when they only deny creation ex nihilo. There is a World Spirit and cognitive life is still the central miracle. There is often a non-creating artist as in Plato, a Demiurge working pre-existing matter, and a “conservation of moral energy” principle or karma, and some non-creating god-like, angelic eternal beings. They can still appear as partly accepting the R2 level on the horizontal

²¹ Aquinas notwithstanding

axis given their acceptance of reincarnated souls and some quasi-divine transcendent beings. The “un-knowable-ness” of God in R2 type for religious mysticism (Erigena²², Eckhart, Sufi, and Kabbala) is in some ways very close to atheism. They deny that God, qua cause of types, exists in any ordinary sense as an instance or a token of a type. Thus Buddhist belief in transcendence via reincarnation and non-acquisitiveness²³ arguably fits under R2 and R3. Some Humanists may see theistic projections of non-existent gods as a means to advance the human project (Feuerbach); or on the other hand, religion may be seen as a means to the same project by theists (Liberation theology).

The nature, being and causality of the God entity posited at level 2 by R2 to explain laws of nature is such as to permit God to suspend or override these created scientific laws, at least on an ad hoc basis, as in miraculous healings, without incoherence, despite miracles being contrary to scientific law. They must be scientifically attested as being beyond scientific explanation, yet they can be attested by experience or testimony without incoherence. Their being inexplicable by R1 is a good prima facie general reason to doubt their truth, but not their possibility. If one rejects R2 and R3, they are simply surds. If one accepts the latter they are potential evidence of higher powers. However, in so far as UNV depends on Christianity, and that on R3, we need to take a hard look at R3 deliverances, using the joint secular and theistically grounded Golden Rule.

For the UNV religious believer, what is for secular-R1-reason, charity, is seen as asked in divine justice at level R3. If you only pay your debts etc and do not adopt agape, imitate Christ, and forgive your trespassers, you cannot be friends with the Christian God, or with the potential recipients of the charity, here or in an afterlife. There is a weak case in R1 and in R2 for “conservation of moral energy” and an afterlife, but if it is R1-weak, to be based only on R3, it will not be sufficiently “generalise-able” for acceptance by most philosophers. If, as Buddhists and many Hindus believe, there is conservation of moral energy and all harm which I introduce can bounce around forever to possibly harm someone I love, or my later reincarnated self, then I should avoid it. But Hindu or Buddhist karma is not provable at level R1 since it is closely tied to physical observables. On the other hand the observables are such to the psyche which is not itself observable..For R2 believers like Gocke et alia (2012) reductive materialism is being increasingly challenged

However, another possible way of thinking about R3 possibilities is provided in Kant’s third Critique of (aesthetic) Judgement discussion of the beautiful and sublime in art, music and nature, and in Buber’s distinction of I-It and I-Thou relations, attitudes, or realities developed from Spinoza and set out below in Figure

4

²² God is so great He is “beyond being” and our knowledge.

²³ An alternative would be to acknowledge they are a bad fit and leave them out of the model as non-theistic.

I-IT world	I-THOU world
<p>Individual seen as an accidental concatenation of universal properties, a variation on the rational species, <i>homo sapiens</i>. People may be generalised about, (once you've seen one..) and given measurable quantitative rating or exchange value, in the objective world. Realism and economies of scale in politics; speed and routine valued in interaction; interchangeability the practical focus. What you are/have done the measure of worth, not what you can do if. Arms-length measurement/manipulation.</p>	<p>Individual seen subjectively as idiosyncratic /unique changeable entity, physically and psychically, with <i>haecceitas</i>-own qualitative essence/ <i>species specialissima</i> (Scotus) cognised by intuitive cognition of individual as individual or "inscape"(GM Hopkins). I am not a particular in the scientific sense (Gocke; Priest in Gocke(2012); indescribably connected to the All. Intuitive awareness found in ecstatic/aesthetic experiences. Slow and small is beautiful. Contemplation focal</p>
<p>Scientific experimental critical study of species itself rational; deals in laws, formal recursive functions and descriptions with impartial decision procedures for judging probable truth value; all knowable objects, including persons, to be described, discussed, assessed impartially; managed; one role player to many clients, customers, consumers, patients etc .</p>	<p>Attitude to the person of self and the other is hopeful, empathetic, a-rational, discursive, informal, playful, creative, and tacit. Not based on their actual virtue alone, but their humanity/being and potential. Personal objects cannot be explicitly described replaced or measured; symbol and metaphor needed; persons as ends in themselves; one to one intimate relations.</p>
<p>Role/Task orientation; impersonal; overt; objective; public; one-many relations focal ; socio-political order addresses basic social needs for security , health, work, and information as prime; sphere of contract and commutative justice; quid pro quo reciprocity. Absolute clarity ideal.</p>	<p>Expressive orientation; personal; subjective; immanent; private, family domain; one to one relations is focal; personal higher development needs included. Sphere of domestic justice and agape. Making relation explicit is difficult because hope creates change in the object(s).</p>
<p>Science and policy are both disinterested; impartial; seek the replicable; the controlled; treat the same the same; justice as desert is focal; the explicit as prime; in practical order, principle, rule, law target common good, with equity as the only personal relief; market exchange arena,</p>	<p>Ethics requires emotional engagement; partiality is OK; unconditional creative love not necessarily based on merit focal; needs of the other matter; agape for the sinner, enemy, stranger. The irreplaceable; ecstatic; implicit are intuit-able: casuistry in decisions; no market "commodification."</p>
<p>Practical reason as contractual; pragmatic, instrumental and manipulative; quid pro quo reciprocity; sphere of unfettered market.</p>	<p>Practical reason as based on treating person as ultimate transcendent end (Kant); capable giving/ receiving unconditional commitment.</p>

FIGURE 4 The I-It and I-Thou Dimensions: Adapted by the author from Buber I and Thou

Natural science or R1 success in the understanding of I-It relations is necessary and good in itself and also provides the explicandum of R2. If R1 is confined to description and generalisations about the world and includes only actual generalised human value preferences, it is formally silent on normative matters of Ethics. For how we ought to live, we will need ethical norms, even though these can be informally and dialectically reasoned to from R1 data about temporal wellbeing. These arguably yield the desirability of reciprocity and limited altruism, a just war stance, but not *agape/ahimsa/caritas*.

Perhaps if R2 and R3 accounts take what Buber dubs the “I-Thou relation” as part of the human data and “the highest human good”—one of the key elements in describing wellbeing and the basis of Ethics—as their joint explanandum, they are capable of supplying some reason for practising UNV. The idea of experiencing self-transcendence and applying absolute self-suffering *agape* to one’s partner or child or parent or friend, makes good sense. R3 religious narratives depend on belief in some form of immortality/eternity at R2. This might be supported by Dualism in Philosophy of Mind, religious experience or testimony, spiritualism, or tradition; or the conservation of moral energy/karma. R3 accounts also depend on the idea of God from R2. R1 can exist without R2 or R3. But empirically unconfirmed intuition, the non-scientific one-on-one personal knowledge, especially the knowledge of partners, is not strictly speaking on the radar of natural science. Religious experience, intuition of other persons as persons and/or apprehension of harmony through meditation techniques, or other personal and interpersonal historical testimony, may be capable of bringing us knowledge of higher powers. R1 alone does seem incomplete.

Atheistic R3 accounts or grand narratives of course do not accept any of this. But only if total reductive physicalism were to be proved complete and consistent as a description and explanation of I-Thou phenomena will R3 be irrational, and that is at best in the distant future. One might argue that altruism of the divinely commanded R3 type is suitable only for communists or mendicants and irrational because excessive, on impractical on moral grounds, but that too seems unlikely for folk who have experienced I-Thou relations, and reductive materialism, though forecast for three centuries, has not been proved yet.

As David Martin argued, secular rational defence of some form of strategic non-violence, even for states, is not out of the question given the threat of nuclear annihilation of the species. But absolute non-violence, and *agape*, especially for states with police and armed forces, is not rationally demonstrable by using R1 and/or R2 alone. Secular charity, tied to R1 and physical observables, albeit observed by the psyche or soul, is usually limited to the worthy poor, and the state’s own strategic good, not unconditioned *caritas*. On the basis of R1, one can assume only conditioned moral principles can be rationally argued on General Ethical grounds as part of wellbeing and justice. The more generous Socratic, Thomistic, M.L. King (*caritas* or *agape*) or Gandhian non-violence (*ahimsa*) approaches, are based on type 3 rational grounds, presupposing R3 rationality.

If the basic accuracy of this often bloody history of sacrifice by saints and heroes for the ideal of UNV, and the three-tier model of reason is accepted, then R1-R3 are not necessarily mutually exclusive but can be seen as different, interlinked, and complementary. The data of R1 is the explicandum of R2 and likely to be seen as part of God’s revelation in theistic R3 accounts. The step to UNV can be facilitated by R2, and can be bolstered by R3.

But the way R3 is rational is far from determinate. It is unparalleled in our I-IT dealings and an elusive type of rationality based on tradition, testimony, and particularly intimate experience. But as we saw in the comparative taxonomy of arguments in Figure 2 above, there are some independent considerations to favour it. If the model is accepted, global peace will not only have to be the work of the UN or its successor, but will have to be partly the work of something like Hans Kung's 1993 foundation – the Parliament of the World's Religions.

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Appendix 1 Problems for UNV Christianity as a type of R3 grand narrative

The unfamiliar types of reason introduced above were R2 and R3. Christianity is one of three "Religions of the Book" (Old and New Testaments of the Bible and the Quran) with a creation *ex nihilo* story which has an interest in the viability of R2 reason's concluding the world is not self-explanatory, and that one needs to posit a necessary being. It also has an interest in defending the viability of an R3 -type "grand narrative" about God's Providence and good will towards humans, e.g. with an Original Sin story, and salvation (eternal happiness) depending on humans showing forgiveness. We said above that R1 is the province of natural and social science; empirical verification/falsification of hypotheses; enumerative and eliminative inductions; mathematics and mathematical physics; and necessary truths of fact if any, such as : "The past cannot be changed (time is "one-way)"; "Left and right are reversed in the mirror"; "Nothing is red and green all over in same conditions"; "All events are caused."

R2 asks the innocent looking questions: "Why is science successful? "Could these things and laws and principles be caused by some Necessary Being-cognitive, and itself uncaused? Could the laws be otherwise than they now are?"

The problem is that "the possible" can be the imaginable, logical compatible or consistent, that which has latent causal potential, or active disposition or tendency, and much more. It is a notion relative to some subject, standard, context, respect, or order of consideration. There is for example "internal "possibility of something, relative to the given-what we know now (*de re or ordinata*), versus the possible in the sense of the possible result of possible changes within the structure of this world , and, even more challenging, the possibility of other imaginable or logically possible worlds we can talk about (*de dicto*), but which may not be really possible. These questions are the province of modal logic, metaphysics, natural theology, and include the study of evidence for supernatural /transcendent entities if any. The existence of God is generally argued on the basis of the alleged need for an uncaused cause of causes- a cause of the existence of the being of all contingent things by some necessary being. The argument for such a being usually appeals to the notion of causality itself, applied to the universe as a whole object or set of events, which is taken to be contingent. If there were a clear enough need for an answer to the question: why are there any beings at all or why are there just the things and law-like connections of the type we find in science, the argument might proceed.

But what is the need? The answer may be: science is a miracle or mystery but we do not know where to go from there. Or that we can never know because that question /argument depends on the analysis of knowledge/ cause/ explain themselves, whose range of application might be limited for all we know, as Hume and Kant held. Yet, as Yandell has argued, the argument of Hume is muddled by his doctrine of knowledge depending on sensory impressions. Reason seems not to be limited in the relevant way, so the onus is *prima facie* on the doubter. But we do not know where the onus lies. The "God as necessary cause" argument is not persuasive to many people.

Sometimes it is supported by the contentious claim that what is imaginable is possible. This "maxim of admissibility" is used by both Algazzali and Nicholas of Autrecourt to posit God by challenging natural science, and invoking divine necessity, infinity; and omnipotence; and also later by Hume to challenge theism, so there are reasons to doubt a principle pointing opposite ways. If there are necessary truths of fact or causality; discovered proofs of impossibility of previously imagined possibilities within the world, shown not to be possible from the necessary truths, then the universality of the imaginable /possible maxim is questionable. The argument that all non-divine things are contingent will need to stand on some other ground than that we can imagine the Universe not existing. It might be that the cosmic universality of the causal principle can do the job in some form of reasoning, but even if the causal principle is indubitable, we need an account of a necessary being which would evade it-an uncaused cause. Aquinas seems to offer some such argument.

Christianity must also show that an afterlife is coherent and plausible for supernatural beings, and we are in some way or part such beings. That task has been afoot since Plato, Descartes and the Dualists. It is made recently by several authors in Gocke and again the case is not closed. In a review of the latest book by Hugh Mackay, Stephanie Dowrick quotes Teilhard de Chardin's assertion that we are spiritual beings having a human experience. One can argue that God is good on the assumption that being, especially life, is a contingent good,

and evil only a privation or perversion, of being; that evil is required as necessary for the ends of the ultimate necessary being. Perhaps God is free to create beings less perfect than Himself as perfect highest good, in order to create a lesser good. But we can surely ask whether the evil we experience is necessary in the many senses that we noted regarding the possible. This runs into the next question.

R3 and the creation/ Providence story

R3 is the study of comparative religion total interpretations and its basis includes evaluation of testimony and of religious experiences At R3 level there arise problems about natural and moral evil, as features of cosmic design, and various ingenious possible solutions to the problem of evil and God's omnipotence have been proposed. As Dostoevski and others have suggested, free choice seems to entail some evil and we would not appreciate good without it. But animal pain is not explained thus. Von Hugel suggests our knowledge of God is like animal pets' understanding of their masters: dim but significant. And we are in fact well- disposed to our pets even if they don't realise it fully. The case is not closed. One promising line of defence is to compare the situation to our unpayable debt and duty to our parents as our part creators and our incomprehension till maturity of their possible reasons for bringing us into being. Job is told that as a mere creature he does not know enough about principles of and constraints on cosmic creation. Some theologians and philosophers like Kierkegaard think we are here to learn forgiveness. Atheism and agnosticism might even benefit from some crafting a counter to alleged R2 and R3-type reasons with an "a-theology" and irreligious "grand narrative".

But the whole original sin/atonement story depends on a notion of our collective responsibility for a past Original Sin of another earlier human, and of Satan and the fallen angels, punished by death and toil. This responsibility for the past doctrine is debatable, even if we throw in from science and history our evolutionary-driven violence and our enjoyment of benefits acquired by imperialist slaughters conducted by our ancestors. Along with the points mentioned in the account of Jesus given in points a) to d) above, and often in the same context (Matt 5:17-48), are references to plucking out one's eyes to avoid temptation to adultery, needed to avoid hell as eternal punishment for failures. This raises the question: How can a God, who loves sinners and wants us to forgive and love them, punish them as sinners, inheriting a wound of nature through original sin, with eternal torments in hell worse than having one's eyes plucked out if they do not forgive etc.? And if everyone were to follow the call for abandoning all things for the sake of agape, there would be no families. Alas, the UNV Cathars were strong on the doctrine of atonement and hell and non-acquisitiveness. In short, there problems about creation, evil, and continued non-physical life; and less tractable ones, about collective responsibility for the past, about hell and God's goodness, and about the practice of extreme poverty. These may be soluble by adding or subtracting non-essential assumptions, but they are severe difficulties,

Most self-styled Christians today would accept CNV, but they would not accept UNV, except perhaps as an ideal, perhaps for some only. They accept state and local police, criminal punishment, including for some capital punishment, till recently; and the just war teaching spelled out by Augustine and Aquinas. They place the highest value on love within the family and deny that this could clash with God's will. They accept a) Love god and your neighbour-in some qualified form and perhaps b) (Suffer unjust harm rather than impose it); c) (Render good for evil) and d) the egalitarian project, in principle if not practice, but certainly not e) –lay down your life for humanity for Christ's sake. Perhaps they would accept points a)-d as an ideal. They accept liberal

state welfare capitalism, wealth pursuit, and legal punishment, and decline the invitation to give away their wealth and follow Jesus. The Jesus position is not clear on the extent of the duty of poverty, or on the prohibition of punishment.

Appendix 2 The UNV and CNV relation

Gandhi in places says CNV is excusable rather than accepting humiliation and doing nothing at all. In understanding this sort of possibly confusing remark, it may be helpful to recall the debate, from Aristotle to the pragmatist C.S. Pierce and beyond, over the alleged superiority of the contemplative/cognitive life over the practical life or the correspondence theory of truth over pragmatism, or of intellect over will. These debates end for most of us in a draw. The ideal of knowledge and love of truth seems to be in some ways nobler, abstractly, than attaining individual wellbeing; but in some circumstances truth must be suppressed; and we must enjoy the goods of wellbeing to pursue truth. Scholars must be fed, and work for the true good. The best theory is partly the one which works. But the true good is grasped by intellect and it has to be true that the theory works. But knowledge discovery, and teaching knowledge, must both be ethical to succeed. And so on ad infinitum. UNV versus CNV debate may be like this, with both sides talking at different levels of abstraction from circumstances or comparing the two doctrines in different respects, or orders of consideration.

If this model of the dialectical outcome of the contemplation/ practical and correspondence theory/ pragmatism debate is accepted, then, as we may allow truth to be architectonic to wellbeing/good, and direct it in some respects and orders of consideration, and even give the “win” overall to truth: and yet we can also allow the good, and what works, to direct truth discovery in other respects and orders of consideration, so similarly we may allow peace and UNV to trump coercive lethal force and CNV in most respects and orders of consideration, and have the overall edge, but not in all respects or orders of consideration, and not in all circumstances. Whether something belongs under UNV can be difficult to decide as in the case of hunger strikes, which are included here but the intent and circumstances are essential to evaluation in such cases.

Appendix 3: Summary of Time-line Sequence of NV.

The short list is composed on the basis that Nonviolence pursues Galtung’s “positive peace”- the absence of structural violence, not just absence of war.

Jain; Select Hindu – Select Judaic- Buddhism-Confucius-Taoism–Socrates-Aristophanes-Stoic Natural law- Jesus of Nazareth-Clement/Justin-Augustine-Select Islam/Sufi-Cathars-P. Waldo/Waldensians-Francis of Assisi-Aquinas- Dante- Eckhart-John Wyclif-Moravians-Jan Hus-Peter Chelcicky-Chaucer /Tale of Melibee; Erasmus; Conrad Grebel, Anabaptists, 1524 Swiss Brethren; de la Boetie 1550; Hutterites 16th; Menno Simons- *B de la Las Casas 1560; Shakespeare / A Winter’s Tale; Vitoria; Suarez; Enrico Cruce, 1640, H. Grotius, 1645; CJ Fox 1620 Quakers- Comenius, 17th Amish 1660s; 1755 Dukkhabor; Church of the Brethren 1770s; Shakers; *18th : Rousseau- Hume- Hutcheson- Bentham- Locke-Spinoza- Kant,; Wilberforce (RSPCA and Anti-slavery Act 1833)-Kierkegaard- Wesley-Victor Hugo- Seventh Day Adventists, 1860- Christadelphians- Dostoevski-Tolstoi-P.B.Shelley-RW Emerson-H.Thoreau-W.L Garrison- Mark Twain- Adin Ballou.

*The Red Cross/ Henri Dunant. Nobel Peace prize instituted in 1901; Geneva Convention.

Opponents of WW1 included Fellowship of Reconciliation-pacifists Ben Salmon, Keir Hardie- Evelyn Underhill and Emma Goldman, and socialist E.Debs-Suffragettes hunger strikes 1869-1919; Irish hunger strikes 1923-T.Kagawa-A. Huxley-R. Gregg -Dorothy Day-A. Camus; D- Bonhoeffer-Rosch- F. Jagerstatter-

In late 1940s, Gandhi achieves British withdrawal from India, with Abdul Ghaffar Khan, and the Ahmadiyya community; V. Bhave- The UN-Trygve Lie and Dag Hammarskjold-A. Schweitzer-A. Einstein-T. Schelling- J. Burton-J. Galtung, Ken and Elise Boulding- Gene Sharp- Bertrand Russell- Quakers' Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament CND; J. Bevel (S.C.L.C) and M. L. King- Cesar Chavez- Berrigan brothers-Bobby Sands-N. Aquino- Nkrumah-Nyerere- John XXIII's - L. del Vasto- D. Dolci- T. Merton- E. F. Schumacher- George Lakey- Joanna Macy- Joan Bondurant, Barbara Deming- A.J. Muste- A. Henneey- H.Arendt- WOMP-N. Chomski- Petra Kelly- Sydney Lens-P.Berrigan-Mother Teresa-Mohamad Ali- Lennon/Ono- Cecil Jackson-Cole/ Oxfam- Medecins Sans Frontiers-J. Douglass- Desmond Tutu-Nelson Mandela- Helen Caldecott- John H. Yoder- Jim Wallis- John Dear; -The Dalai Lama (Tenzin Gyatso) -M. Gorbachev-Goulet- H.Camura-Goulet- Amnesty International-Christians Against Torture-P. Berenson; Greenpeace/RexWeyler; President Carter- Gorbachov- Stella Cornelius- Brian Willson of Veterans For Peace-Wendy Faukes Laurence Street- Fisher and Ury-Adler, Bush and Folger- Desmond Tutu- Sharan Ashawai- Arundhati Roy-, Irene Kahn, Noam Chomski and Naomi Klein. ICAN, Jody Williams ICBL, G. Lakey Waging Nonviolence- ICAN.