

Symposium Report

Shared Values and Democracy in Asia

Organizer: Nikkei Inc. / Co-organizers: The Japan Foundation, The Vivekananda International Foundation, The Nakamura Hajime Eastern Institute
Supported by: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan / In association with: International Buddhist Confederation

NIKKEI



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1. Overview

(1) Overview

The international symposium “Shared Values and Democracy in Asia” was being held as the fourth symposium of a pair of Japan-India conferences. The first symposium was held in India in 2015. In 2016, the second symposium was held in Tokyo. The third symposium was held in Myanmar in 2017.

This symposium was planned and organized for the purpose of discussing and trying to find a common thread of core values in Asia that have made many countries in this region embrace democratic systems of government. We invited renowned scholars and thinkers from various Asian countries to have an open public forum.

(2) Detailed Information

Date: Thursday, July 5th, 2018

Time: 12:50-18:30

Venue: Hotel Okura Tokyo

Organizer: Nikkei Inc.

Co-organizers: The Japan Foundation Asia Center

The Nakamura Hajime Eastern Institute

The Vivekananda International Foundation

Supported by: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan

In association with: International Buddhist Confederation

2. Presentations by Participants

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Remarks by Director, Vivekananda International Foundation

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09. Chongsuh Kim (Professor Emeritus, Seoul National University, Korea)
10. Goshin Shaku (Director, The Nakamura Hajime Eastern Institute, Japan)
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12. Ambeth R. Ocampo (Associate Professor, Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines)
13. Kitti Prasirtsuk (Vice President, Thammasat University, Thailand)

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14. Nobukatsu Kanchara (Assistant Chief Cabinet Secretary, Japan)
15. Tunku Zain Al'Abidin ibni Tuanku Muhriz (President and Co-Founder, Institute for Democracy and Economic Affairs, Malaysia)
16. Pema Khandu (Chief Minister of Arunachal Pradesh, India)
17. Ketty Wan-I Chen (Vice President, Taiwan Foundation for Democracy, Taiwan)
18. Sujit Dutta (Senior Fellow, Vivekananda International Foundation, India)
19. Jorge Villamor Tigno (Professor, University of the Philippines, Philippines)

Closing Address

20. Narendra Damodardas Modi (Prime Minister of India)
21. Shinzo Abe (Prime Minister of Japan)

22. 前田 專學 (中村元東方研究所理事長、日本)
23. 孫 晶 (中国社会科学院哲学研究所教授、中国)
24. 釈 悟震 (中村元東方研究所理事、日本)
25. 兼原 信克 (内閣官房副長官補、日本)
26. 安倍 晋三 (内閣総理大臣)

01. Banwarilal Purohit

Governor of Tamil Nadu, India

I am delighted to participate in the 4th leg of the Samvad -- which in sanskrit language means Dialogue -- organised by the Japan Foundation and Vivekananda International Foundation Delhi. Even though I am participating for the first time in Samvad, I have familiarized myself with the first three chapters of Samvad -- first one held in the year 2015 being at Delhi, and the second in the year 2016 at Tokyo and the third one in the year 2017 being at Yangon in Myanmar. While the first one was a confluence of Hindu Buddhist civilizations for understanding the contemporary issues of conflict and environment from their perspective and the 2nd leg was on the shared values and democracy in Asia. The fourth leg of the Samvad now being held intends to carry forward the theme of the 2nd leg held in 2016.

The concept note of the current Symposium speaks of values of self restraint, mutual respect and consideration for others, which have sustained democracy in Asia, as the common values of Asian nations. While there are several facets to the idea of democracy, I will in my speech focus on Dialogue -- which is necessary to avoid conflicts, resolve them if they cannot be avoided, and finally understand even irresolvable conflicts -- as the core of democracy. Democracy is not founded on arithmetics of votes. Votes and majorities are just the outcome of democracy. Democracy is not the cause or product of votes. The idea of votes and elections have existed in India long before it was adopted anywhere in the world. I am the governor of Tamil Nadu one of the most advanced states of India. The Tamil language and civilisation date back to the millennia before the Common Era Stone inscriptions of 10th century CE at a place known as Uttiramerur in Tamil Nadu, during the reign of Raja Raja Chola [who built the marvel of the stone temple at Tanjavur] bring out the fact that there was in vogue a well-regulated system of voting and election, merits for qualifying as candidates, even recall of wrongdoers.

It was an amazing system considering that the rest of the world was ruining in violence and dictatorship. Democracy is the product of consensus. Consensus is mothered by dialogue. Dialogue is necessitated by the existence of conflicting viewpoints that inheres in diversity --- which is the divine rule of nature and creation. Capacity to avoid conflicts -- not just resolve conflicts after conflict arises -- is the very purpose and function of dialogue in the Eastern Hindu Buddhist tradition. Elaborate rules of dialogue exist in the traditions of the two civilisational cousins known in their vocabulary as Tarka Sastra which had evolved in the second and first millennia in BCE! . A dialogue need not always lead to agreement or consensus. Dialogue may even stop at agreeing to disagree -- without getting deeper into conflicts. Just agreement or consensus is the result of dialogue. Dialogue leads to understanding even if there is no consensus or agreement. Understanding the differences and living with differences is the ultimate core of dialogue. What causes differences.

Human diversity which is the outcome of the diversity in nature is the the cause of differences.

The entire creation is diverse.

That nature is diverse was known to the Hindu Buddhist and Asiatic religious philosophers long before contemporary science evolved out of the mechanical theory and into atomic, subatomic, wave and consciousness theories to understand nature as diverse.

Every human collective anywhere in the world is marked by diversity. Homogeneity attempted by human leadership has produced endless violence everywhere in the world. Homogenising generates power over others, but it is equally self destructive of those who attempted to homogenise their fellow humans. So diversity and differences are the rule of nature. Without differences, the world, a nation, a society and family is unthinkable. It is because the mind of each human being is unique. So is each society and nation in comparison to another. It is human thinking faculty that makes every human collective diverse.

How then the human beings manage differences? The capacity to manage differences -- even irreconcilable differences -- arises by dialogue.

While reconcilable differences are resolved by dialogue, by dialogue, irreconcilable are understood as differences which the humans have to live with. There are areas still farther from irreconcilable differences -- totally contradicting situations. The Hindu-Buddhist philosophy has developed the capacity to handle totally contradicting situations.

They even see convergence of contradictions through the idea and institution of Dharma which is common to both.

Now let us come to how India with its unbelievable diversity is able to work as a democracy. The Indian democracy owes its foundations to the great philosophy and philosophers who had taught our forefathers the rule of diversity of nature and how to avoid and resolve and if it is not possible to avoid or resolve, live with differences and contradictions. I will now take forward how it worked in that ancient nations through millennia -- not just centuries. India has over a 1000 languages and dialects. It has hundreds of thousands of Gods and Goddesses and as many counts of the ways of worship. The diversity in India is more than the diversity of the rest of the world put together. India has not a 180 degree bandwidth, but 360 degree one. It is able to reconcile and live with contradictions without conflict because of the higher idea of Dharma -- which a rule to understand contradictions. Just to give an example of how thanks to Hinduism India is able to reconcile or live with totally contradicting situations.

Take for instance the one Great epic of Hindus, the Ramayana, which is the story of Sri Rama and his wife Sita.

Sri Rama is revered because he obeyed his father and gave up his throne. But Prahlada who defied his father and refused to obey him is also revered. Likewise Sita, Rama's wife, obeyed him totally and she is revered for that. But Bakta Mira, a great devotee of Sri Krishna, defied her husband and she is revered for that. Similarly, Kumbhakarna, Ravana's younger brother obeyed his elder brother Ravana, totally and died in his defence and he is respected for that. But Vibhishana, another younger brother of Ravana, defied his elder brother Ravana and even joined Rama to fight his elder brother and he is respected for that. Here the contradictions

--Rama's obedience to his father and Prahlada's defiance of his father;
 --Sita's obedience to her husband and Mira's defiance of her husband;
 --Kumbhakarna's obedience to his elder brother and Vibhishana's defiance of his elder brother
 converge on the notion of Dharma which reconciles the contradictions. The idea of Dharma makes people understand why each person took the position he or she took. Both the obedient and defiant feel justified by the higher value of dharma as they see vibhishan it.

This is because every icon's conduct is debated openly and even criticised. Rama is revered by almost a billion Indians as God incarnate. And yet even God incarnate is not beyond debate, comment and criticism in Hindu religion. Debates take place in Hindu temples where Rama and Sita are revered as God and Goddess incarnate, as to whether Rama should have obeyed his father and Sita should have obeyed her husband. Rama killed the monkey King Vali by hiding from behind bushes and debates take place even today in temples whether Rama was right in killing Vali by hiding himself.

Rama sent Sita to forest because a washerman spoke casually about her, who was the queen of Ayodhya and the consort of Rama. And debates take place in temples even today whether Rama was right in sending his obedient wife Sita to forest. If a religion could accommodate debate, and its Gods could be commented and criticised, that religion itself is a philosophy and not simply a faith or contemporary ideologies. Ideologies claim infallibility, and say others are wrong, like some religions claim to be the only true ones, and declare others as false. So a religion, like an ideology, will claim it is right and other religions, wrong, like an ideology will claim other ideologies to be wrong. In comparison the Hindu and Buddhist religions are more near a philosophy than near a religion or ideology. The difference between a philosophy and ideology is that philosophy will accommodate debate and dialogue, but an ideology will never accommodate debate or dialogue. The Hindu Buddhist thought systems are basically philosophies which believe in dialogue and debate. It is philosophical approach which believes in dialogue that accounts for the values of mutual respect, self restraint and consideration for others. Ideological approach, which does not believe in dialogue, has no self restraint, mutual respect or consideration for the views of others. It is these common philosophical values, common to Hinduism and Buddhism, which form the foundation of democracy in India and in Asia. Philosophy promotes dialogue. Dialogue brings in consensus. In consensus inheres democratic spirit. And in democratic spirit lies the success of democracies. The Indian-Asian democracies are different from the unbridled individualist democracies of the Western world. The Indian-Asian societies are founded on a trade-off inter-se between Individuals, families and societies. The institutions of society and family are as real as the institution of individual and not less. The individual gives into the family and the family gives in to the individual and both give in to the society. This tradeoff -- where everyone yields one's individual space to create a collective common space -- produces social capital. The family and society are social capital. Social capital is now recognised as a critical component of even the development economics. While the contemporary State is formed by social contract, social capital is formed by values of self restraint and mutual respect. Self restraint is the restriction one voluntarily puts on one's rights for common good -- like a parent or son or daughter does -- to build and sustain the family as an institution.

Any voluntary restraint on one's rights turns rights into duties as two sides of the same coin. At that point there is a convergence of rights and duties. And that convergence, Maharishi Aurobindo, the great Indian freedom fighter and philosopher, calls as Dharma. The idea of convergence of rights and duties extends beyond the families and into the society and that turns into social capital.

What is a social capital as distinct from individual capital ?

While financial and intellectual capital belongs to the individual, the social capital belongs to the collective of humans as a whole. Thinkers like Robert Putnam and Francis Fukuyama have of late expounded the concept of social capital. Originally Emile Durkheim the French sociologist laid the seeds of what is now being expounded as social capital. Emile Durkheim said that the state is too remote an institution to connect and work with an individual and it needs intermediary institutions like family, community and society to socialise the individual into playing the larger role as citizens of the state. The intermediary institutions also build values into the individual to prevent deviance from virtues which unburdens the state from having to punish deviance. That is how social capital and democracy work in tandem.

Asian democracies work with social capital and builds social capital and social capital supplements democracy.

While democracy sustains rule of law, democracy itself is sustained by social capital.

As I had said earlier social capital is a product of the convergence of rights and duties or dharma as Hinduism and Buddhism call it -- that results in self restraint, consideration for others and mutual respect.

I am happy that the 4th leg of Samvad on the shared values and democracy intends to focus on sharing research finding to actionalise the concepts.

I wish the Symposium all success.

02. Arvind Gupta

Director, Vivekananda International Foundation, India

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We offer our thanks and gratitude to **Nikkei Inc, The Japan Foundation, The Nakamura Hajime Eastern Institute, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan** and **International Buddhist Confederation** organising the international symposium on the theme of “Shared Values and Democracy in Asia”. Their great initiative, ability, generosity and meticulous planning has made this conference possible.

The Vivekananda International Foundation was privileged to host the first session of the Hindu Buddhist dialogue in New Delhi and Bodh Gaya in 2015. We are honoured to have been involved in all the sessions organised so far. We will continue to remain engaged with our counterparts in different countries to organise such sessions in the future.

We are immensely grateful to Prime Minister Abe and Prime Minister Modi for their continuing support and encouragement. The global Hindu-Buddhist samvad was set up in 2015 as a result of their vision.

Friends,

We are living in a moment of a great transition. The post-war order constructed in 1945 by the so-called ‘victors’ of the Second World War has come under tremendous stress in the last few years. A multipolar world is emerging but the rules of the game are not clear. The realignment of political, economic and technological forces has resulted in turbulence and turmoil. The fruits of globalisation have been shared by only a few. The current economic model is leading to the deepening of inequality in the world, which creates conflict and strife.

Conflicts

In the last few years, the world has seen interminable **conflicts** involving large scale violence in which thousands have been killed, and many more maimed and injured. People are migrating from conflict zones in large numbers to areas lives in camps and ghettos. A generation of children is growing which was born into conflict and has seen nothing but violence, poverty, hunger, pain and suffering. Women in particular have borne the brunt of the conflicts which they did not start. Many of these conflicts are going on unabated and threaten to engulf even larger areas.

New organizing principles

We need **new organizing principles** for the emerging world. We must not miss the chance. Our effort should be that peace and cooperation should be the given priority in the emerging world order rather than conflict violence and war. Prime Minister Modi has in his

news numerous speeches underlined the themes of *Vasudhaiva Kuntumbkam* the ‘world is a family’, and *Sarve Bhavantu Sukhinah*, ‘let there be happiness for all’. We must find an alternative to the world order driven by greed and profit motives and based on competition and conflict, reckless exploitation of the resource. The Eastern religions, particularly Hinduism and Buddhism, offer a host of alternative ideas which can help shape the new world order. It is necessary that differences between different ideologies are reconciled through dialogue.

In the previous editions of the Hindu Buddhist Samvad series, some of the greatest minds and thinkers have articulated the principles on which the new order can be based. Several innovative, useful and practical suggestions have emerged. The key message of the Hindu Buddhist dialogue can be summed up easily – avoidance of greed, living the life in accordance with simple moral principles, respect for nature, an open dialogue between the religions, raising awareness about the need to avoid conflict and protect environment, introducing value-based education etc.

Democracy has been adopted by many countries. This is a positive sign. But the democratic experience of countries has been varied. Political democracy alone is not enough. Ensuring justice and equality is equally important. Democracy is no guarantee that conflicts can be avoided or that it will result in enlightened leaders coming to office. Democratic principles are violated with impunity by those who preach them. Climate change threatens the very existence of mankind. Environmental degradation has led to enormous loss of biodiversity, shortages of water resources, hunger and disease. The ideal of ridding the world of Weapons of Mass Destruction remains elusive and subservient to the geopolitical considerations. Cyber security is a new concern, which has so far defied solution. New threats are emerging which will require new approaches based on new global ethics.

The Hindu Buddhist dialogue can provide an outline of the ethical principles on which the new order can be based. The world’s oldest religions have a lot to offer to help bring peace and happiness to the individuals, societies and nations. These ideas must be given due publicity. The awareness about what these religions have to say should be raised. The VIF has brought out a book on the 2015 edition of the Hindu-Buddhist Dialogue. This is available for download on the VIF website. The global outcome of the Global Hindu-Buddhist must be brought to the attention of the UN and the world. The dialogue amongst religions must become frequent and substantive.

Once again thanking the hosts, I wish the symposium all success.

03. Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo

Former President of Republic of the Philippines

Many thanks to Nikkei and its co-organizers for inviting me to this symposium. It reminds me of the first time I addressed the Nikkei forum in 2003.

Over the last fifteen years, our Asian community has continuously evolved towards a stronger sense of regional identity, harmony, and of shared values such as democracy. Throughout this process, Nikkei has been both chronicler and participant, as the world's largest financial publication.

The co-organizers of this symposium have long been doing their share to promote the harmony in our region that is so valuable for the Asian model of democracy. The Japan Foundation is widely known – for more than 45 years it, has been promoting cultural friendship between the people of Japan and other peoples, such as the Filipinos. The Eastern Institute of Dr. Hajime Nakamura has been spreading the message of peace and Buddha's teachings for close to 50 years now. The Vivekananda Foundation, since its formation in 2009, has been spearheading research that furthers the cause of a strong and prosperous India within a peaceful and harmonious world.

I accepted your invitation with the sentiment that I belong to a people that were perhaps the earliest in Asia to manifest their aspirations to democracy in the classical format – in a constitution duly approved by a Congress with duly elected representatives. The Philippines may perhaps be unique in our part of the world in being able to trace its background and experience in a democratic system from as early as the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

This is how that democracy was born: In 1896, a colonial revolution in the Philippines gave birth to the first republic in Asia. It was spearheaded by a troika of revolutionaries. The first of the troika was a poor man, Andres Bonifacio, now referred to as the Great Plebeian, who sparked the revolution. The second was a fighter, General Emilio Aguinaldo, who, on June 12, 1898 declared the Philippines independent of its colonial father Spain. Seven months after his declaration of independence, the revolution had made enough headway to enable the proclamation of a new constitution for the new nation. The democratic character of that constitution can be attributed to the third member of the troika, Apolinario Mabini, who was the recognized “brains” of the revolution.

The declaration of the first Philippine republic coincided with the Spanish-American war of 1898, which was settled by the Treaty of Paris wherein Spain ceded ownership of the Philippine islands to the United States. Thus, for more than 3 years, the Filipinos had to fight the Philippine-American war. The Filipino people paid dearly for their aspirations – with a population then of 9 million, it is estimated that nearly two million Filipinos lost their lives in that war.

In April of 1902, the last Filipino general standing, Miguel Malvar, surrendered to the

American forces. Within a year of its victory, the American Congress enacted the Philippine Bill of 1902 establishing a Philippine Assembly with members to be elected by the Filipino people themselves. Thus, from America's early magnanimity was born a tradition that lives to this day, wherein Filipinos freely elect their national and local officials.

But America never had to bring the spirit itself of democracy to the Philippines – the Filipinos embraced democracy, and they spilled their blood for democracy, all on our own.

Since 1896, democracy has been our only experience in post-colonial governance, until martial law was imposed in 1972. That was just an interruption. In 1986, a peaceful "People Power" revolution propelled Corazon Aquino to the Presidency, and within months, the democratic rule was restored that Filipinos enjoy to this day.

I will share a historical footnote to illustrate how our founding fathers embraced democracy over a century ago: One of the American generals in the Philippine-American war was Joseph Wheeler, a veteran of the American Civil War wherein, ironically, he had fought on the side of the Confederate rebels. Apolinario Mabini wrote him a letter to explain the revolution that Wheeler was now trying to extinguish. These were Mabini's words: "the popular desire of the people (is) to have a government that would assure to the Filipinos freedom of thought, conscience and association; immunity in their persons, homes and correspondence; popular representation in the drafting of laws and imposition of taxes; equality of participation in public offices and public benefits; respect of laws and property; and the progressive development of public welfare with the help of means offered by modern progress." If Thomas Jefferson himself, who wrote the American declaration of independence had written a defense of the Philippine revolution, he could hardly have done a better job than Mabini.

This brings me to the underlying question that we seek to answer in this symposium: Where does this aspiration for democracy come from? Are there values we share in Asia that sustain this aspiration? Let me make 5 assertions.

My first assertion is that it is universal. Tradition dates the concept of democracy back to the ancient Greeks, then to historic symbols such as the Magna Carta, the French Revolution, the American Revolution. And then it flows further to national events unique to each of the countries represented in this conference who now enjoy democracy. Thus even if the early milestones of democracy are by tradition Western, we should note that represented in this conference are two of the great democracies in today's world – India, the world's largest democracy, and Japan, among the world's most advanced democracies.

Thus, the stirrings of democracy do not seem to arise from geography or race. At its most dramatic, the inherent human desire for freedom, and in a civic sense, democracy, is awakened whenever and wherever those who govern use their power oppressively, without giving the governed effective means of redress when they feel oppressed. But it could also begin with the simple sense of realization by a people that they have become a community bound together by ethnicity, common values, common history, or simply by the land that they have come to embrace as their homeland.

A national literary artist of the Philippines, the late Nick Joaquin, wrote of an anecdote that illustrates this innate sense of democracy. The people of the Philippines refer to themselves as “Filipinos”. But it turns out that the first to use the term “Filipino” were not the indigenous natives of the Spanish-era Philippines, but a group of Spaniards and creoles who had come to view themselves as of the Philippine islands first, then as Spaniards second. In the late 19th century, the Spanish Empire convened a conference of its worldwide colonies, where the Spanish delegates from the Philippines proudly declared themselves to be Filipinos. Thus, this sentiment cut across ethnic lines – whether indigenous or of Spanish descent, they were all Filipinos.

My second assertion is that there are indeed certain shared core values in Asia, and these have helped sustain the evolution of Asian countries into modern democracies.

Some possible core values have been suggested by the background theme of this conference – consideration for others, self-restraint, mutual respect. The question is, are these unique to Asia? I normally avoid using stereotypes, but in some instances the respectful use of stereotypes can be illuminating.

The typical Westerner is said to be more direct, more effusive, less sensitive to the feeling of others, less bound by tradition. These are traits that tend to promote pragmatism in order to achieve quick and clear-cut results. The Oriental is said to be indirect, more self-effacing, more considerate to the feeling of others, more respectful of old traditions and of elders. These are traits that tend to promote social harmony, and longer patience in achieving results.

The implied conclusion is that democracy in the West can differ from democracy in Asia, not in its essence, but perhaps in the pace of its evolution. I cannot speak for any other country represented in this conference, but I do know Philippine democracy. The Philippines is a functioning democracy, but in the practice of it, it probably has many differences from the practice of democracy elsewhere, whether in the West or in the East. Those differences arise from the unique culture, history, and temperament of the Filipino people, and therefore they represent the collective choice of our people as of this point in time.

My third assertion is that the power of democracy is magnified by the power of education. In his book “Asian Drama” the historian Gunnar Myrdal observed that at the end of its colonial rule, the Filipinos were a uniquely educated people. The foundations were laid by the superior Spanish colonial policy towards mass education. It is interesting to note that our University of Santo Tomas was established by the Spanish Archbishop of Manila, 25 years before Harvard University.

Myrdal adds that “during both the Spanish and American eras, efforts were made to improve the status of women, as a result of which the literacy rate in the Philippines not only (was) high but differs relatively little between the sexes.”

My fourth assertion is that standards do exist for what constitutes a developed democracy, like the standards described by Mabini in his letter to Wheeler. Standards against which progress can be measured are always very helpful to guide us all. Standards also help to fact

check regimes that may style themselves to be democratic when in fact they are not.

My fifth assertion is that while I believe in democracy in its purest sense, I would at the same time doubt that there exists any perfect democracy anywhere in the world today. Rather, as each democratic country goes through the evolution of its civil society, the march of history tends to bring that country closer and closer to, rather than away, from the pure, ideal democracy that we all hold dear.

Sometimes it seems to be one step back then two steps forward, but the tide of history is relentless. Over time, the spread of education and enlightenment, of information technology, of social media, of globalization – all combine with economic progress and the steady rise of the middle class, and together all of these create pressure for more and more individual freedom and personal dignity in the day-to-day life of the population.

To the credit of the most advanced democracies in the world, they are closer to the pure ideal, and understandably they think they have thus earned the right, and perhaps even the obligation, to encourage further democracy in the countries that are farther behind along the road to the ideal. I would only urge that no country blindly impose its own standards on any other country, because each democratic country has arrived at its time and place in the evolution of its civil institutions based on the democratic choice of its people.

In conclusion, the desire for harmony is perhaps the most important commonality we share in Asia. Harmony brings other cultural factors into play, such as the influence of the family, the tribe or linguistic or ethnic grouping, the influence of traditional leaders and of elders, and perhaps generally, the tendency to bring about change gradually rather than rapidly, in order not to disrupt the harmony of the status quo. This shared value of the desire for harmony is perhaps the value that most defines the evolution of sustained democracy in Asia.

But I am still a student on the various Asian democracies, so I look forward to the other views that will be presented during this conference. Thank you.

04. Swaminathan Gurumurthy

Vice Chairman, Vivekananda International Foundation, India

I am honoured and delighted to be participating and speaking at the Symposium on the Shared Values and Democracy in Asia.

The present symposium is the fourth leg of the first initiative, Samvad [meaning Dialogue in Sanskrit language] which started in September 2015 in New Delhi in India.

The Delhi conference, expounding the paradigms of “Conflict Avoidance” in support of “Conflict Resolution” and “Environmental Consciousness” as supplement for “Environmental Regulation” was a profound, pathbreaking and landmark event which has the potential to change the global discourse on the contemporary challenges of conflict among humans and between humans and nature.

The second leg of the Samvad meet was in Tokyo on the same theme as the present one -- the Shared Values and Democracy in Asia, with the difference that the first was exploratory. The present one intends to carry the theme forward by examining the commonly shared values that have sustained the evolution of the Asian democracies and by proposing to institute researches to deepen the understanding of the civilisational and cultural foundations of democracies in Asia.

The third leg of Samvad was in Yangon and in Burma was intended to carry forward the larger civilisational exploration of the Delhi meet. It had proposed and actually held confabulations of socio-cultural, political, intellectual and spiritual leaders committed to the promotion of democratic values, conflict avoidance, environmental consciousness, universal responsibility and ethical behaviors rooted in our shared philosophical thoughts and heritage -- by focusing on Asian philosophies.

The 4th leg of the Samvad now opening intends to deepen the inquiry into the sources of shared values of contemporary Asian democracies. The concept for the 4th Samvad meet mentions that the core values of Asia -- consideration for others, self-restraint, and mutual respect -- have played a role in sustaining democratic institutions in Asia. These core values are the yields of millennia of civilisational, spiritual and social churning which the New Delhi and Yangon meets explored. This links the first leg of Samvad in Delhi and the third leg of it in Yangon with the second and fourth leg of the Samvad in Tokyo.

The emphasis on the contemporary democratic political architecture in the Second and Fourth Samvad meets and the exploration of the larger spiritual, civilisational and cultural roots of Asia in the First and the Second meets are interlinked. The first and the third meets examine the civilisational basis for the consideration for others, self-restraint, and mutual respect which, the concept for the present note says, have played the central role in shaping democratic institutions in Asia.

Philosophies -- the core of Asian civilisation

Time now is apt to examine the civilisational assets of Asia which has demonstrated the potential to germinate contemporary democratic values.

Now let us look at the present Samvad idea which rests on the exploration of the Asian foundations for the contemporary Asian democracies. The concept specifically mentions that the speakers will shed light on the philosophies, religions and political systems of Asia. The choice of term philosophy, which is basically Asian, is self explanatory -- with the only addition that even religions that emanated out of Asia are also fundamentally philosophies.

The contemporary world, particularly the Western part of it, has been operating on ideologies for millennia. Philosophical approach, that is basically ancient and currently Asian, is a contrast. We need to understand the basic and fundamental difference between philosophical and ideological paradigms. This leads us to a discussion on what constitutes a philosophy. And as a consequence and corollary what is an ideology.

There is a world of difference between philosophy and ideology. Ideology presumes it is correct while the other view is wrong, with some ideologies even considering the other view to be so dangerous that they ought to be eliminated. This inevitably leads to conflicts as there is no room for dialogue in ideological approach.

But a philosophy thinks itself to be correct but does not outright reject the other view as wrong and therefore makes room for dialogue. That is what is called Samvad in Sanskrit.

What looks like a philosophical principle is actually integral to the contemporary political discourse. The difference between the ideological and philosophical paradigms may be explained and understood in terms of their outcomes for the contemporary world.

It was not a philosopher, but political leader, the former US President Bill Clinton, who spoke of the critical distinction between philosophy and ideology — in the context of contemporary politics. Citing too much dogma and too little philosophy as the reason for finding it so hard to achieve political consensus, Clinton said: “If you have a philosophy, it generally pushes you in a certain direction or another; but, like all philosophers, you want to engage in discussion, and argument. You are open to evidence, to new learning. And, you are certainly open to debate the practical applications of your philosophy. Therefore, you might wind up making a principled agreement with someone with a different philosophy. The problem with ideology is, if you have got an ideology, you have already got your mind made up; you know all the answers. And, that makes evidence irrelevant, and argument a waste of time. So, you [use] assertion and attack.’...”If you have a philosophy, it means you’re generally inclined one way or the other but you’re open to evidence. If you have an ideology, it means everything is determined by dogma and you’re impervious to evidence. Evidence is irrelevant.”

In the Keynote address for the first Samvad at Delhi I had quoted Bill Clinton’s profound words to underscore the philosophical underpinning of Samvad.

Dialogue -- Asian civilisational gift to the world

To put in simple language ideology -- that evades dialogue -- leads to conflicts and philosophy -- which engages in dialogue -- yields consensus.

Traditionally, dialogue has been the mainstay of even religious philosophies of Asia -- of the Hindu and Buddhist streams of religions. Religions generally regarded as religious ideologies in the Western discourse because of the dogmas inherent in them took the shape of philosophies in Asia, because of faculty of inquiry inherent in them.

That explains how the two great religions of Asia -- Hinduism and Buddhism -- had no mutual conflict other than intellectual. This also explains their mutual respect for each other. Hinduism respected its dissenter Buddhism so much that it regarded Buddha himself as a Hindu Avatar to propagate compassion and Adi Sankara the foremost Hindu philosopher was critiqued as Prachanna Buddha [Buddha in disguise]. There was no clash or war between the two great religions at any point. In contrast every other religion in the world had conflict among themselves including with Hinduism and Buddhism.

Because of this non-conflicting tradition among the two religions, the states in India did not have a theocratic character. The kings were duty bound by the idea of Rashtra

Dharma [ethics of statecraft] to promote all religions. One of the rock edicts of the great Buddhist emperor Ashoka records how he valued the promotion of all religions.

King Piyadasi, [Emperor Ashoka] does not value gifts and honours as much as he values this - that there should be growth in the essentials of all religions. Growth in essentials can be done in different ways, but all of them have as their root restraint in speech, that is, not praising one's own religion or condemning the religions of others without good cause. And if there is cause for criticism, it should be done in a mild way. But it is better to honour other religions for this reason. By so doing, one's own religion benefits and so do other religions, while doing otherwise harms one's own religion and the religions of others

This acceptance of all faiths was more than the "modern" idea of tolerance. This more than modern idea was practised in Asia more than two millennia before the contemporary world -- known as the modern world -- emerged in the West

How did Hinduism and Buddhism handle each other without conflict? To answer in one word: Dialogue. How could the two religious philosophies have dialogue? They could have dialogue because they were religious philosophies and not religious ideologies. Therefore they could engage in dialogue. This is explicit in the edict of Ashoka.

The ancient Hindu Buddhist philosophers of Asia used to engage in public debates -- known as Tarka in Sanskrit. A huge body of literature laying down the discipline of the debate [known as Tarka Sastra in Sanskrit] evolved in Hinduism and Buddhism. The condition precedent Tarka Sastra is to study the other viewpoint as well as one studies one's own view

point and then only critique it. This is known as Purva Paksha in Sanskrit. The criticism was interlaced with respect for each other's viewpoint.

Dialogue leads to doctrinal tolerance

The concept of debate and dialogue which was integral to the ancient Hindu Buddhist Asian philosophies made both of them doctrinally tolerant. What is the impact of doctrinal tolerance? How does doctrinal tolerance differ from individual tolerance?

Doctrinal Tolerance persuades the follower to be tolerant. This makes individual intolerance a deviation from the doctrine. The follower of a tolerant doctrine may be intolerant only by choice or in retaliation, but not proactively intolerant. This makes the deviant forces marginal, and compliant forces main, in doctrinally tolerant societies.

Doctrinal tolerance sometimes mandates the follower to be tolerant even in the face of intolerance and face intolerance with tolerance like how Mahatma Gandhi forged the weapon of nonviolent struggle against provocative colonial violence.

In contrast, Doctrinal Intolerance influences the followers of the doctrine into intolerance. The individual has to deviate from the doctrinal influence to be and to remain tolerant. This makes the compliant with the doctrine the main body of the society and the deviant as the marginal. More critically, if the doctrine is dogmatic, then it compels the followers into intolerance, leaving no scope for the individual follower to be tolerant unless the individual rejects or disowns the doctrine.

To state in one sentence, all philosophies are invariably doctrinally tolerant and all ideologies are invariably doctrinally intolerant. The difference between philosophy and ideology is dialogue -- samvad. That is why the symposium series between India and Japan has been aptly titled Samvad

Dialogue fills the void between philosophy and ideology

Another important facet of ideology vs philosophy discourse is that Ideologies emanate out of belief systems which do not permit questioning their fundamentals, while philosophy allows questioning of its foundations. Many ideologies do have their origin in religions by approbation or disapprobation. Many of them also originated in the struggle between religions interse and between the believers and non believers, religion and secular state and so on.

To handle the challenges of the contemporary world, there is a clear need to understand the powerful role of religions and belief systems in the world of today after material ideological clashes have abated with the dissolution of the cold-war.

The greatest appeal for dialogue out of ideological constraints to take to philosophic route for conflict avoidance among religions came from Hans Kung the great Catholic Theologian of the last century.

Hans Küng is a Catholic priest and theologian who has devoted the past thirty years of his very prolific and influential career to the questions about the place of religion and religions in the quest of world peace. In the early part of his career he served as a special advisor to the German Cardinals at the second Vatican Council. He went on to become perhaps the most well known theologian of the last half of the twentieth century due to his in depth and best-selling explorations of Christian history and theology.

He later became Catholic theologian at the University of Tubigen in 1979 and in addition later in 1980, Küng became the director of the Institute for Ecumenical Research at Tubigen. It was in this capacity that Küng began to explore the possibilities for inter-religious dialogue (between Christianity and the other religions of the world, particularly those understood as world religions: Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Judaism and Islam). Richard H. Morgan, Professor, School of Social Welfare.

Stony Brook University writes, “Through his work at the Institute, dialoguing, writing and lecturing with either representatives of the other faiths or Western academic experts from those faiths, Küng gradually began to develop the insight that world peace is dependent upon peace among the religions”.

Adds, Richard Morgan, “In what became his guiding hypothesis for most of his writing for the next twenty-five years, Küng summarised this conviction: With the programme I have formulated for the global change of consciousness which is vital for our survival:

- No peace among the nations, without peace among the religions;
- No peace among the religions, without dialogue between the religions;
- No dialogue between the religions, without investigation of the foundations of the religions

Kung could not have put it more forcefully or truthfully. Dialogue is necessary to avoid conflicts and dialogue is impossible without questioning the fundamentals of belief systems. It means by allowing and engaging dialogue an ideology itself transforms into a philosophy. Hans Kung model of investigation of the foundations of the faith systems approximates to the Purva Paksha concept of ancient Asian Hindu Buddhist dialogue model of Purva Paksha inherent in the Tarka Sastra.

Most conflicts among humans and nations today undeniably have the underpinning of religions. Yet the present conflict resolution paradigm of the world avoid discussing the conflicts arising out of religious thoughts. Therefore the contemporary Conflict Resolution ideas and structure are increasingly becoming weak and inadequate, needing an alternative approach. Hence the importance of Hans Kung formula of investigating the fundamentals.

Conflict Avoidance paradigm promoted in the Delhi meet compares with Kungs counsel not just in the domain of religions, but in every aspect of human thought, belief and endeavour, open and transparent philosophic dialogue.

Asia's contribution to the emerging world

Asia is now emerging as the global power centre -- like it was three centuries ago. Many world thinkers have predicted 21st century to be the Asian Century.

What will Asia contribute to the world in what is seen as the Asian Century? It is not just Asian share of World economic growth or power. It is all about Asian values.

The Asian civilisational virtue of self-restraint has meant trade-off between individuals' rights on the one hand families and society on the other; of mutual respect which is the product of doctrinal tolerance has ensured respect for each other faiths. In this respect the Asian civilisational foundation avoids unbridled individualism which tends to erode the family and society, which are regarded even in contemporary discourse by thinkers like Francis Fukuyama as social capital for growth and happiness.

The rise of Asia will redefine the world that rests on ideology into a world that leans on philosophy. Asia's rise should redefine the world that follows unbridled individualism into a world that respects the balance between the individual and family based on cultural and civilisational values of self-restraint.

In the year 2015, the United Nations General Assembly debated extensively about the relation between culture and development and concluded that sustainable development is possible only by aligning culture and development -- that is development with culture.

The Asian philosophical model which combines the social, cultural and filial values with contemporary world's economic and political architecture will need to be captured and presented to the world by the Asian nations.

That will be the most signal contribution of Asia to the world which has run on ideological foundations for too long and has had endless conflicts and violence, so as to bring peace and harmony to the world through dialogue which is the core of the initiative now under way. The Samvad series and the follow up work based on that should ensure that Asia plays its constitutive role in reshaping the world.

05. Sengaku Mayeda

President, The Nakamura Hajime Eastern Institute, Japan

My teacher, Nakamura Hajime, was born in 1912 and died in 1999. This means that Prof. Nakamura was a thinker of the twentieth century, the so-called century of wars. Through the 20th century, Japan underwent a gradual transition from the Taisho Democracy movement, started under the Meiji Imperial Constitution, to the nationalistic and militaristic period. It then suddenly transitioned at end of the war in 1946 to a democratic nation under the Constitution of Japan, based on the three principles of popular sovereignty, pacifism, and respect for fundamental human rights.

During World War II, upon being conscripted into the military, Prof. Nakamura experienced a life a soldier for a brief time and the rapid changes that visited Japan. After the end of the war, he lived as a thinker as Japan transformed into postwar democracy. Thus having lived through the volatile time, I believe his thoughts and views warrant our attention.

According to Prof. Nakamura, “Human beings cannot live without thought, and even the thought that asserts “no need for any thought” is itself also a thought.” He further asserted:

“The transition and change of thought must have occurred in keeping with the reality of human life in human society, which must have aroused serious battles and complications in their hearts. Scholars of the history of ideas must listen to the tortured groans in the hearts of the people.”

He also maintained that thought do not simply appear spontaneously but “always come into existence under historical and social conditions. Hence, the relationship between thought and history-society is also an important issue.” Prof. Nakamura also thought religion was the greatest system of thought created by human being. Thus, values, the theme of today’s symposium, also constitute one form of thought.

Prof. Nakamura’s disciplinary focus was, indeed, on the study of the history of Indian thought, but he was not confined to it. Utilizing his remarkable linguistic skills, he conducted extensive comparative studies on not only Eastern and Western lines of thought, with their differing tradition, but also on thoughts across the Eurasian Continent.

In-depth analysis of the enormous amount of materials collected as a study outcome demonstrated that the Eastern thought, long alleged to be inferior to Western thought, turned out not to be so, for it was demonstrated that Eastern thought had been undergoing a process of development in parallel with that of the West. Please note that the problem of an inferior-superior relationship between the two schools of thought has been discussed in vain on both sides. Prof. Nakamura, thus, completed writing an unprecedented four-volume set of History of World Thought, the first ageless, seminal work of the universal history of thoughts. It is a broad work that compiles worldwide views and employs a comparative method that no one has ever attempted.

Prof. Nakamura clearly said, “One of the aims of studying comparative thought is to provide a clue to realizing world peace. It may strike some people as an overly idealistic claim, but our study aims at the realization of world peace. So, if we deviate from this mission, there would be no hope for the future.” And as a final conclusion of his four-volume set, *History of World Thought*, he stated,

“From these studies we learned that human beings are a unified existence. Thoughts are spoken in various ways, but there is just one humanity. The world will grow into one. Today, mutual understanding among different cultural regions moves much faster than any time in the past. In the era of mass communication and mass transport, young people above all else have come to be interested in similarities and differences between them and other nationalities living on earth. I sincerely hope these studies about the global history of religious and philosophical thought will serve as an overview of the lines of thought across the world and foster mutual understanding among various nationalities in the world, eventually establishing an idea of human beings as one.”

In that conclusion, Prof. Nakamura pinned these intense hopes on future generations. I believe Prof. Nakamura’s conclusion, that “human beings are one,” suggests a successful realization of world peace and gives a distinct hope for the realization of world peace, as well as encouraging people to strive for that goal. Having lived through the ages of both war and democracy, Prof. Nakamura was convinced, “It is peace that people today should achieve as the most important task,” and he showed us its possibility.

Prof. Nakamura said,

“Due to the development of civilization, I feel that the earth has become like an island nation. Even if we refuse to live here, there is at present no way of escaping to other planets. The development of the civilization makes the earth feel smaller and is now causing the world to become one entity. We must think for ourselves as to how to live, as we remain here and deal with the problems that arise here in the world.”

Well, I wonder how we should live within the framework of post-war democracy. How shall we live in the world that will become one entity, which is now a world full of hatred and ego-centeredness (*ahamkara*) and trembling with fears of terrorism? While resorting to nuclear bombs that can wipe out humankind, I wonder how we can live in a world where there are battles over territory with fangs bared like beasts. On the other hand, with what sense of value must people live in the democratic system? I also wonder how people in democratic societies can deal with people living in socialist and Islamic countries.

Unfortunately, natural science and technology, no matter how advanced they are, cannot provide answers these questions. They are able to produce nuclear bombs to destroy our civilization; however, they cannot respond to the question of how to live. Prof. Nakamura searched, investing half of his life, for the answer in oriental thought and traditions as a branch of humanities. He stated:

“I had long been inquiring into oriental ideological and spiritual traditions. I wondered if there is anything underpinning what can be called ‘oriental spirit.’ I may safely say half of my life was spent on exploring the current that runs under it. I believe that ‘something’ must be not only in the Eastern region but rather universal and spread over the world. And what that ‘something’ is none other than ‘warm-heartedness.’”

At a lecture in 1993 he said, “We may as well refer to that ‘something’ as ‘warm-heartedness’ toward others.” Speaking firmly to the audience, he continued, “As a traditional Buddhist wording, it is ‘compassion.’ I believe that word reflects the heart and essence of the teaching of Buddhism.”

On another occasion, Prof. Nakamura said:

“The problems we currently face, I think, can easily be solved. The applicable principle here is ‘Do not hurt others.’ Love for life is the most important thing for everyone; life is most precious. However, even though hurting life is the ultimate sin, this axiomatic principle is today often forgotten and trampled on. That is partly because human ego (ahamkara), often uncontrollable, has become stronger with the progress of civilization. Buddhism originally taught its central principal of selflessness, which means ‘we must become free of ego.’ From another angle, that means to think from the point of view others, or to have sympathy or empathy, or to love others. In Buddhism, this is referred to as ‘Jihi’ (compassion). Abiding by this principle, we will surely be able to find the clue to solutions to many difficult problems.”

The “ji” of “Jihi” is “maitri” (friendship) in the Sanskrit of ancient India. In Buddhism, it means to spread true friendship or true affection widely to others. In contrast, “ji” is “karuna” in Sanskrit. This means sympathy, gentleness or mercy. By “ji,” a person wishes to provide others with advantage and comfort, while by “hi,” a person wishes to eliminate the disadvantages and suffering of others. However since the two words “ji” and “hi” ultimately have the same meaning, the two concepts were integrated into one idea. Buddhism insists on not only putting this into practice but teaching it in various ways. “Jihi” transcends love and hate and extends to all beings, including humans.

After that lecture on his 82nd birthday in 1995, Nakamura offered to build a stone monument near his grave in Tama-reien cemetery, Tokyo. An inscription on the monument says, “The Words of Buddha: Compassion.” However, the plan failed to be realized due to the professor’s medical treatment in the following year. I believe it was completed on May 4th, 1997, the birthday of his wife, Mrs. Nakamura.

The gravestone is made of shiny black granite stone from Kunnamm, India. The inscription by Prof. Nakamura and his wife shows their message about how we should live. This is probably intended for future generations, reflecting Prof. Nakamura’s strong desire for the realization of world peace. For this wording, he simply extracted the essence of the words from the earliest sutra, *Sutta Nipata*, and freely translated it.

“The Words of Buddha: Compassion” goes as follows:

*Let all living beings be happy, peaceful and safe.
Let all living beings be happy.
No one should deceive others;
nor make light of others anywhere.
No one should wish to hurt others.
Firmly keep in mind this consideration of compassion.*

I have in hand a photo of Prof. and Mrs. Nakamura standing amicably together in front of the inscription. This photo, I think, represents the outlook of “consideration of compassion” that Prof. Nakamura continued to put into practice throughout his life.

Conclusion

Well, it is time to close my presentation. For Prof. Nakamura, who was born in the war-filled 20th century and experienced disastrous wars before living the latter half of his life in post-war democracy, the peace of the world itself was the most precious value. Starting from the study of Indian thought, he became vigorously engaged in the comparative study of thought, which he thought would provide a clue to the realization of world peace. Eventually he found that human beings are one; although their thoughts are presented in various ways, mankind is ultimately one. He was finally convinced that the world would surely become one.

With the progress of civilization, the earth seems to have grown into one island nation because of globalization. I wonder how we should live our lives on such a small earth; in order to realize world peace, with what sense of value should we in democracies deal with people in socialist or Islamic nations? And how should we live together with them?

Prof. Nakamura looked for answers in oriental thought and spiritual traditions, the study of which is one area of cultural science. His answer was “warm-heartedness”(Jihi). In Buddhism, it was “compassion.” In other words, it was none other than “compassionate heart.”

The value of compassion that originates from India is not necessarily a term unique to Buddhism. It has a sense of value equivalent to “Jin” (human warmth), the key idea of Confucian thought in China. The Chinese character “Jin” is a semantic and phonetic compound character consisting of “number 2” and the character for “human,” meaning two people getting mutually closer and more familiar with each other, i.e. a mutually commiserating heart. The idea is to affirm love for oneself and extending it to others. Simply put, “Jin” is referred to as “love of mankind,” which turns out to share a commonality with “compassion” of Buddhism. “Compassion” is in turn understood as a spirit of tolerance or a spirit of harmony.

I would like to suggest that we advocate “warm-heartedness” or “compassion” as an Asian value for those of us living in democracy in order to make steady steps toward the realization of world peace.

06. Siddheshwar Rameshwar Bhatt,

Chairman, Indian Council of Philosophical Research, India

Distinguished, scholarly and dear brothers and sisters from different countries of Asia.

I am indeed happy and feel privileged to partake in this International Symposium and represent India, one of the oldest culture and civilization of the world. I am thankful to the organizers for inviting me and congratulate them for conceiving this theme as the subject is of great importance and needed for meeting the demands of the present times. The theme of the symposium is also significant in the context of the view that 21st century belongs to Asia to lead the world and Asian modes of thinking and living can and should provide new insights and fresh approaches to the present day turbulent world. There are some noble and sublime ideas and ideals in Asian thought which the world has to emulate for universal peace, prosperity and wellness. The Indian foreign policy of 'Look east' and "Act East" is just a corollary of this.

My paper is divided into two parts as per the theme of the symposium dealing respectively with "Shared Asian values" and "Democracy".

Asian Mind

It is truism to agree with the Japanese thinker Mr. Tensin Okakura, the author of "The Ideal of the East" who has averred that "Asia is one". (Ref. Towards Understanding Each Other: Fifty Years' History of India-Japan Mutual Studies, Eds. Chie Nakane and Masao Naito, P. 12) However, Prof. Hajime Nakamura in his book "Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples" has highlighted that in spite of important similarities there are differences in modes of thinking and ways of living of different peoples of Asia. Of course, we need not bulldoze the differences as they provide richness and variety. But one should not harp on the differences and attend to the commonalities for common good.

Further, we may set aside the flotsam of "East" and "West", or "Oriental" and "Occidental" yet we can discern certain characteristic modes of thought and behavioral patterns on the basis of which we can talk of "Distinct Asian shared values." The variety of Asian cultures has certain broad similarities which may enable us to use the word "Asian mind" and call for mutual understanding and re-enforcement for global wellbeing.

Diversity of Human existence, culture and value schema in Asia:

Though human thoughts and value-pursuits know no geographical confinements and boundaries or barriers, there is something unique and distinctive in each individual culture that gets shared or may remain unshared at trans-geographical spheres. In the process of sharing there are encounters and confluences, submerging or overpowering or retention of identities. The values posited and pursued in each individual culture are global and universalizable and yet the ways they are posited, pursued and realized are uniquely local to its culture. There is bewildering diversity and yet there is striking similarity. The universe is also a multi-verse. But

given the will, human rational mind is capable of bringing about a synthesis incorporating the best in all.

The multi-hued tapestry of Asian cultures glitter with numerous shining strands, right from the dawn of human civilization. The multiple cultures of Asia are quite varied. They display some commonalities as well as differences, similarities as well as dissimilarities. Without proper understanding and appreciation of these and without thorough grasp of these one should not undertake generalizations and comparisons otherwise they may not be genuine and helpful. In this enterprise one should take judicious care to avoid false anti-thesis and monolithic comparisons. However, the variety of cultures has broad similarities which may enable us to have mutual understanding and call for a need for co-existence with mutual reinforcements. They provide richness to human heritage and are valuable in themselves. In the history of Asia there has been ceaseless flow of several thought currents with new tributaries joining them. There is multiplicity embedded in unity and therefore Asian cultures contribute to the symbiosis of the mixed fragrance. It is like a symphony of the play of multiple musical instruments in an orchestra each contributing its melodious tune to the totality. Of course there have been some jarring notes but they should be treated as aberrations rather than normal happenings. So the point is that multiculturalism has come to stay.

Spread of Vedic dharma in Asia

One of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of human relations is introduction, spread and influence of Vedic Dharma, which later on acquired the name of Hinduism, and Buddhism in Asia and the rest of the world. The transmission to and pervasive acceptance, assimilation, modification and trans-creation of Hindu-Buddhist ideas and ideals, beliefs and practices in the countries of Asia in the course of several centuries, are most fascinating. This evinces a common Asian mindset, shared modes of thinking and ways of living in spite of all differences and distinct identities. Had there been no commonality of thought, belief systems and value-patterns such a reception, absorption and intermingling would not have been possible. It is therefore not an exaggeration to say that there is something called Asian mind, howsoever pluralistic and diversified it may be. One can discern an underlying commonality that has made cross movement of ideas possible. Furthermore, the way, the ease, and the swiftness with which this cultural appropriation and assimilation took place in the local cultures, atmospheres and environments, are suggestive of the metabolic dynamism of the Asian psyche.

It is my firm belief that solidarity of Asian cultures on the ground of commonalities is mutually beneficial and serves to benefit the world at large. Consequently, I urge that there is greater need for frequent cultural contacts, interfaces, dialogues and exchanges.

II

Cultural pluralism

Culture is the basis of individual progress, social solidarity, national development and mutual cooperation. It stands for beliefs and practices and a value schema a country upholds

and pursues. Quest for values and their gradual and graded and methodical realization have been prominent concerns and aspirations of humankind. This involves value-schema based on concrete social and historical realities. It also calls for symbiosis of being, knowing and doing. Value schema is multi-layered and multifaceted, involving the mundane and trans-mundane, empirical and trans-empirical, physical, vital, mental, intellectual and spiritual dimensions. It can be individual and social; local, regional and global. All these are distinguishable but not separable. All these are to be pursued in simultaneity or in succession depending upon needs, requirements and situations. A value-schema has four phases of end, means, modalities and realization. Knowledge of the end, proper acquisition of the means, and skillful employment of the modalities, and judicious utilization of the realized result are the prerequisites of a rational value-pursuit. This means adequate management of reality-situation, knowledge-field, action-program, and distribution-system.

Value- realization and civilized living imply constant and all round development. Culture in all its facets and dimensions is a crucial constituent and instrument of this development. It is a state of being, a mode of thinking, a way of living, and a set of commonly shared values, belief patterns, practices and efforts. It is a complex whole comprising stock of knowledge, beliefs, customs, conduct, morals, law, and artistic, scientific and technological pursuits, humanities and social sciences. It is an individual as well as social affair. It is a totality of heritage borne by a society. It is crystallization of material, mental, intellectual and spiritual wealth generated and preserved by the society. It contributes to discovery of meaning of life and enhances quality of life. Thus it enriches life, enlarges fullness of life, brings delight of mind, and sharpens intellect and ushers in plenitude of peace. But it is for human to live up to them or falter and fail.

III

Culture and tradition:

In all cultural traditions emphasis is laid on utilization of past experiences as also experiences of others. The past is handed down to the present in the form of tradition. In this sense tradition is rooted in culture. Tradition is a movement (parampara). It is embedded in the past, it lives through the present and it flows into the future. It is to be deeply rooted in the past, firmly footed in the present and judiciously embodying the glorious vision of the future. It is accumulative process of acquiring and transmitting, adjusting and applying lived experiences and embodied values and norms cherished in a culture. It is continuity as well as change. In a good and healthy tradition there has to be judicious discrimination as to what is to be retained and what is to be discarded as dated and outlived. It thus admits of creative freedom and innovative changes. No culture can survive and thrive if its seminal ideas, key concepts, fundamental doctrines get fossilized and out-worn. Therefore a constant reflective review of tradition is necessary; otherwise it becomes a dead weight and burden on individual and society.

Need for value realization

The quest after values and the attainment thereof constitute the very core of human life. There is an innate necessity for human to participate in the process of value-realization. That is

why consciously or unconsciously value-concepts, value-discriminations and value-judgments feature prominently in his/her life. Human being is not only conscious but self-conscious as well. He / she has the painful realization that all is not well with the present existence. There is a constant feeling of imperfection and finitude. This is a hard fact of life which is undeniable. There is an inevitable feeling that there is something missing, something lacking and something wanting. This is not a cause for pessimism but a call for enlightened activism. It stimulates and motivates a knowledgeable person to undertake planned and skillful performance.

Noetic basis of Value-considerations

When once we accept the fact that the nature of human, and therefore his / her constitution, is such as to urge him / her to participate in the fullness of life, to be receptive of the significant, and to lie upon to whatever has meaning and value, then the question arises as to how do we know what is valuable in life and in the world? What are we to make our own, to understand, to appreciate so as to be human in the full meaning of the word? What is it for which we still lack the ability so that we must first realize our capacity, sharpen and educate it? The question, in short, is how can we discern the values of human life and education? The same problem in a different form confronted Socrates when he posed the problem, “Can virtue be taught”? The solution arrived at by him is of great relevance to our problem. He maintained that virtue is knowledge and therefore it can be taught in terms of inculcation. The process of value-realization presupposes knowledge. Knowledge is the presupposition of all value-decisions. This conclusion leads us to consider the noetic-basis of values. Human being as a rational, free and goal oriented agent undertakes a voluntary action after acquiring knowledge of the Reality which surrounds him / her. His / her purposive agency stems from free will which is guided by rational considerations. Human being is potentially gifted with the capacity to know the goal, the means and the modalities.

Value is prospective and it is to be accomplished through proper human effort and that is why it is called human accomplishment. It is an ideal which is realizable and which ought to be realized. There is an optativeness or ought-ness associated with it. It is injunctive in nature. This value-realization is a spiritual necessity.

There is a quadruple principle underlying pursuit of values. It is knowledge-will-effort-result. All these four are to be properly harnessed in their symbiotic interrelationship. One has to know the end, the means, the modalities and the outcome. Thereafter there should be a will and inclination in the agent to undertake the activity. This inclination to do the good and to shun the evil must fructify in suitable action. When an act is undertaken it has to result in some consequence which should be enjoyed judiciously and distributively.

A value-pursuit has to be collective and corporate enterprise. An isolated human individual never exists. He / she is a part and parcel of the total Reality and has no existence or meaning apart from this totality. There is reciprocal dependence, supportive co-existence, judicious cooperation and mutual caring and sharing. Of course, it is the individual who is the agent but this agency is possible only in a collectivity and therefore the motives and intentions of every act should be the wellbeing of the collectivity.

Two types of Values

All the values of life can be brought under two heads, viz., material welfare and spiritual realization. Though these two types of values refer to two different orders of being, there is no incompatibility between the two. There is no schism in the two orders of being, and hence no bifurcation between matter and spirit. Therefore they do not admit of any exclusiveness of 'either-or' position. Since matter provides the arena for the self-realization of the spirit, the material prosperity has the natural claim to be first catered to. But one should not remain entangled with it forever. After the necessary gratification of the material needs one should make a passage to the spiritual. The material, thus, is the proximate value and spiritual is the absolute and ultimate value. So far as the spiritual is concerned it is above the interest, motive or happiness of the seeker. It does not go against the true interests of the seeker. But the material or the proximate values, being based on the empirical nature of the individual, differ from one individual to another individual, because of their differences in personality traits and consequently in psycho-physical nature.

The process of value -realization encompasses the entire human nature and extends to the entire cosmos. There is fundamental unity of the microcosm and the macrocosm. Human nature can be analyzed into five aspects, one leading to the other in succession, but there is also simultaneity in them from ontological point of view. They are physical, vital, mental, intellectual and spiritual. The same aspects are there in the outer cosmos as well. An all-round development of human being means fullest development of all these aspects in a proper proportion. These aspects exist not only in a juxtapository order but in a hierarchical order as well and so should be their development. Therefore, the process of realization should start from that which is the outer most and should culminate in that which is the inner most. Since material aspect comes first, it should be first developed. But one should not feel contented with the development of the material only. After its necessary development it has got to be transcended to the higher one and so on. It should be made clear that in this transcendence from outer to inner, the outer is not negated or annihilated by the inner but is absorbed by it. Each inner principle is more inclusive and comprehensive than the outer, and in the realization of the inner the outer ipso facto gets realized. The outer takes its proportionate place in a pattern of living in which the inner gives the general direction of emphasis. When we speak of self-realization we mean the realization of this total self. There is no antagonism between matter and spirit. Matter is the 'vale of soul-making', and there is nothing unnatural in spiritual attainments being realized in a natural worldly order.

IV

Harmony of Prajna and Sila (Karuna) for Global Peace and prosperity

Buddhism is a predominant culture in Asia. Buddhism lays great emphasis on proper knowledge and good conduct. Knowledge always leads to good conduct. Prajna (wisdom) and karuna (compassionate friendship) are the two facets of the same bodhi-situation. Prajna without karuna is lame and karuna without prajna is blind. Knowledge without conduct is futile and useless. A person having knowledge without practice is compared to a donkey who carries

burden of sandal wood without knowing its value or utility. As the donkey bears the burden of sandal wood but has no share in the wealth of his load, similarly a person without practice merely bears the burden of his knowledge. He cannot enjoy spiritual progress which is the real fruit of knowledge. Instead he indulges in evanescent and fleeting worldly affairs which invariably end up in pain and suffering and a feeling of vanity of life.

Against this background it is hoped that Buddhist thought, which is at once both ancient and contemporary, with its rationalistic philosophy of interdependence, reciprocity, and mutual care and share, universal love and compassion, fellowship and participation, can offer an effective and more beneficial alternative to the present day individualistic, materialistic, competitive and consumerist view of life and reality. There are some seminal ideas, ideals and guiding principles contained in Buddhist thought which may help humanity from its present plight.

According to Buddhist thought the richness and complexity of Reality cannot be apprehended in terms of logic of exclusive 'either-or'. The dichotomous approach is not conducive to comprehend its diversity and dynamism, openness and infinite expansion, perfect and yet ever-growing nature. As Prof. D.T.Suzuki in his 'Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism' has rightly opined, it requires a holistic and integral approach, which is all-inclusive and all-comprehending. It takes into account the Reality in its non-manifest unitary nature as well as in its manifested diversified form. This organic view accommodates all opposites as distinct. It is not negative and exclusive and therefore it defies the logic of dichotomies. It accepts pure experience of self-awareness at the transcendental level and a relational logic of complex interactions at the empirical level. One is depth level and the other is surface level. One is the level of the whole and the other is the level of parts within the whole. The one is in many and the many is in one. The basic idea is that one and many are not incompatible but mutually reinforcing, as they are two facets of the same Reality. The Avatamsaka Sutra (The Flower Ornament Scripture) gives the analogy of Jewel-net in which each jewel reflects the rest of the jewels all at once and all appearing at once in one jewel. If you are in one jewel you are in all jewels because in one jewel there are all the jewels. Hua-yen Buddhism of China is based on this scripture and highlights this point. As Hua-yen Buddhism puts it:

In one is all, in many is one,

One is identical to all, many is identical to one.

The central Buddhist doctrine of Pratityasamutpada represents this fact of interconnection, interdependence and inter-penetration of all phenomena and the 'implicate order' prevailing in the cosmos. The Dharmakaya is the universal field all-pervasive, all-accommodating, all-unifying and all-penetrating. There is nothing apart from It and outside It. But within It there is infinite multiplicity all intertwined like flowers in a garland.

As stated above the cosmos is a vast and subtle inter-netting of multiple interrelated and interdependent existences which are in a constant flux. It has physical, mental and spiritual dimensions. It is self-fulfillment through corporate living and partaking. It demands harmonious organization and skillful management of end, means and modalities (upaya kausala). It implies

just and equitable sharing of fruits without selfish considerations which is possible only through equanimity of mind (samadhi) and feeling of selfsameness with all (paratma samata and paratma parivartana). This is ego-less-ness (anatmabhava). This is the practice of 'brahma viharas' which are universal friendship (maitri), universal compassion (karuna), rejoicing at the happiness of others (mudita) and indifference to one's selfish concerns (upeksa).

V

Rethinking Democracy and a plea for Dharmocracy

One of the most striking features of contemporary political scenario is widespread popularity of democracy so much so that many people think that there can be no other desirable alternative. They may argue that there is end of history / ideology and with democracy saturation point has reached in political thought. They may assume democracy to be the best form of government that can be conceived by human mind and think that no alternative to democracy is conceivable. There is an end to human rational capacity and there can be no advancement beyond. 'Thus far and no further' position seems to be the point of culmination of thought to them. To a rational and creative human mind it is irrational to think and talk of end of history or saturation in thinking. To ask reason not to think further is to ask it to commit suicide. Innovative thinking, transformative thinking and radical thinking should be regarded as natural to human mind.

Therefore, with regard to political thinking also there must be rethinking about democracy leading to search for an alternative. To safeguard freedom and justice we shall have to reexamine tenets of modern political thinking, premises upon which it is built and policies upon which it acts. The alternative may or may not be radically different but it must surely be essentially different in the sense that it should transcend all the limitations, deformities, drawbacks and demerits of democracy, particularly the ones of the manifold forms of democracy practiced in modern times. It is not a plea to distrust or reject but to reexamine it, to transform it, to cleanse it and if needed to go beyond it and look for an alternative. It is too well known to argue that all is not well with democracy. The search for an alternative requires newer intuitions, fresh insights and innovative thinking. If necessary, it may call for paradigm shift in end, means and modalities, and consequent structuring of new vocabulary and phraseology.

It must be admitted that democracy is the best form of governance evolved so far but it cannot be said to be the best or that there can be or should be no scope for modification or improvement in its theoretical foundations and actual functioning. As Winston Churchill once remarked, "No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time." (Hansard, November 11, 1947) There is lot of truth in what Churchill opined.

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya in his booklet "Integral Humanism" very correctly opines about the functioning of democracy in India. He writes, "Consequently, opportunists with no principles reign in the politics of our country. Parties and politicians have neither principles nor aims nor a standard code of conduct. A person feels there is nothing wrong in leaving party

and joining another. Even alliances and mergers of parties or their bifurcations are dictated not by agreements or differences in principles, but purely by gains in elections or in positions of power. ... Now there is complete license in politics. As a result, in public mind there is distrust for everyone. There is hardly any person whose integrity is beyond doubt in the public mind. This situation must be changed. Otherwise unity and discipline cannot be established in society.” (P.4)

History of political thought has witnessed several forms of political organizations ranging from autocracy to democracy. These various forms need not be enumerated. Some of them continue even now along with democracy. Of democracy also we find various brands. There are most liberal as well as most dictatorial forms and both call themselves democratic. Democracy is thus the most contested concept. Different people mean different things by democracy with the result that the word democracy has lost its meaning. We have people's democracy in which people are hardly involved in governance. We have liberal democracies that are most conservative and despotic. We have socialist democracies in which freedom, equality and justice are trampled with. In the name of democracy the powers that be can do anything and everything for self-interest and self-aggrandizement. Opponents and dissenters can be crushed and wiped out. It is quite evident from history that the democratic England promoted colonialism and democratically elected heads of states or prime ministers have become dictators. We have deliberative democracy in which people hardly deliberate. We have guided democracy in which only one or a few persons guide the nation to assume powers. We have propagation of 'Radical democracy', 'limited or lesser democracy' (Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamad of Malaysia), 'Committed democracy' (Mrs. Indira Gandhi), 'Controlled democracy' etc. But 'Purna Svaraj' of Mahatma Gandhi offers a genuine outline of 'Dharmic democracy' which can also be named as 'Dharmocracy' in which sovereignty of people is based on pure moral and spiritual authority.

Theoretically, the essence of democracy consists in people's participation in self-governance. That is why Abraham Lincoln's most popular definition is accepted as, "government of the people, by the people and for the people." But this is all in theory only. It has only remained as delusory ideal. James Boward, in his book "Freedom in Chains", describes its functioning as "largely an over glorified choice of caretakers and cage keepers" (p.4). Sometimes democratic governments have behaved like 'lumbering giant bulldozer'. "We the People" has been a vacuous phrase and in the name of supremacy of parliament this has been trampled. In actual practice no government, even in direct democracies, has truly been representative of people's will in toto. No form of democracy has been able to ensure all people's participation genuinely.

Democracy is considered as rule of majority, but how much is the percentage to form the majority is something to be pondered over. Less than half of the people are the voters, less than half of the voters show up for voting at the polls, less than half of the voters who show up understand the issues, and politicians themselves are often unaware of what lurks in the bills they vote for. It is difficult to ascertain majority and that apart majority is not always right. Not only there is 'illusion of majority rule' measures are more often decided not according to the rules of justice or public well being but by the superior force of interested and overbearing majority, silencing the minority even though it may be enlightened and right.

Another feature of democracy is rule of law, but a distinction must be drawn between

supremacy of “an authority” and supremacy of a person or group of persons “in authority”, between “law as sovereign” and “law emanating from sovereign.” “Rule of law” has been really a very attractive proposition but it has proved to be utopian in democratic framework. Sometimes freedom under law becomes freedom under leashes. The constitution can be said to be ‘an authority’ but it is quite often relegated to the background by the persons ‘in authority’ who become dictatorial. Imposition of ‘emergency’ in India by Mrs. Indira Gandhi can be cited as an example. Constitutions have been mutilated, suspended and overthrown and laws have been misinterpreted mercilessly. It needs to be seriously thought over as to how to preserve and safeguard the supremacy of ‘an authority’ so that sanctity and functioning of constitution is not suspended or abrogated by powers that be who manage to be in authority.

The hallmark of social progress and of civil society is respect for human dignity and human freedom within an ordered cosmos. This involves cultivation of values like liberty, equality, justice and fairness. It should be realized that each individual has immense potentialities and capabilities and should be given freedom and opportunities to manifest them. In different individuals there are diverse capabilities and all are useful for social progress. Every human individual is a potential person and should be given scope to cultivate personhood. Personhood is an achievement concept. A person is one who is knowledgeable, ratiocinative, free and responsible being. He has to be an integrated, creative and freely acting social and moral being. He must know and realize the meaning of life, justify his / her existence and make it valuable and worthwhile for himself/herself and the society.

The criterion of social progress is realization of the spirit of fellowship, democratic mode of thinking and living and not just democratic form of state or political governance. Genuine democratic spirit prevails only when diversity is fully recognized and well accommodated in an overall unity. In the unity differences are to be protected, preserved and enriched. They should receive natural and reasonable place and respect within the unity. Diversity is an outer expression of inner unity, like seed and tree. The unity in seed finds expression in various forms – the roots, trunk, branches, leaves, flowers and fruits and multiple seeds. All have different forms, colors, and properties. Genuine democratic process should not be suppression of thoughts, feelings and aspirations of any section of people but their enfoldment and reinforcement. In other words social progress has to be in the form of inclusive pluralism, having multiplicity well situated in unity like the organs surviving and thriving in an organism. In the ultimate analysis there should be no difference between ‘I’ and the ‘other’. On the front gate of Parliament House of the Republic of India in New Delhi a verse from the traditional Indian culture is inscribed which states that the notions like “This is mine or this is that of others” is nurtured only by persons of mean mentality and narrow mind. For broad minded persons entire universe is a family. The implication is that instead of viewing differences as “I and the other” they should be viewed as “I and we”. The other is not to be regarded as an alien, an adversary, a competitor, or a threat to one’s existence but a partner, a companion, a fellow, an aid or help.

Democracy in all its present forms does not ensure any of the above stated aspirations and requirements. In actual functioning democracy in all its three wings of legislature, executive and judiciary is vitiated with multiple and incurable drawbacks, deficiencies and deformities. Though theoretically there is separation of powers among these three, often

there are confrontations. Most deplorable has been the functioning of legislature, to which Gandhiji and Deendayalji have referred. To use Indian vocabulary, though Indian democracy is called svarajya (self-rule) it has never been surajya (good government). It is debatable whether democracy failed or people failed democracy. Even if it is granted that democracy in itself is good but we could not evolve suitable mechanism to practice it, and this also calls for rethinking about democracy. We have also to think going beyond democracy, if need be. Going beyond does not mean rejecting the basic spirit or merits of democracy. It only means rejecting all that is not good and beneficial, that which is detrimental to well-being, and that which is harmful. It is only rejecting the darker side of it. At any cost people's participation in self-rule, freedom of expression and rule of law are to be ensured. Important point is that we should at this juncture be willing to rethink the notion of political organization.

There can be several alternatives available. One possible alternative is proposed here for considerations of scholars that a good alternative can be sought and worked out from the age-old organic approach to understand the Reality and its manifestations in myriad social and political and other forms. The analogy of organism may be helpful in drawing out an outline of such an endeavor. It will be natural also as the order and harmonious functioning in an organism is built in it by nature itself. It has a sort of pre-established harmony, to use Leibnitzian phrase. The whole organism, along with its multiple organs, functions smoothly in perfect coordination. It presents a model of peaceful coexistence, of harmonious functioning, of mutual care and share, and of multiplicity co-inhering in unity both at macro and micro levels. It is an apt and rich analogy that may profitably be harped upon.

In an organism there is a built in organization but no outside control and imposition, though there are external influences, some good and some bad. The good ones are to be assimilated and bad ones are to be thwarted. There is no ruler-ruled relationship, no hierarchical order or authoritarianism in the functioning of organism. It is incorrect to understand that the cerebral system controls the nervous system unilaterally. There is supportive mutualism. Every organ in an organism functions in a natural way and contributes to the functioning of the total organism. The organism nourishes all its organs and is in turn nourished by each one of them. The functioning of organs and the organism is not rights-based. No one organ has any special privilege or position. The organs do not function in isolation or in collision. This is how the whole macrocosmic and microcosmic cosmos functions. In the cosmic process every one performs its assigned role dutifully and naturally.

This analogy has very interesting and promising implications for political thought. Some of the seminal ideas which can be attended in this regard are (a) corporate living with peace and harmony, (b) co-existence and cooperation, (c) mutual caring and sharing, (d) collective functioning, (e) self-regulation and self-control (f) no demands for rights and privileges but only proper discharge of duties and obligations etc.. In organic form of political organization there is no governance but regulation. Everyone is equal and every one serves the other with mutual care and respect. Every one acts in cooperation performing the role assigned in the social setup. Though there will be no external authority, there will be a regulatory force and that will be a body of rules and regulations, checks and balances. There will be a set of rules and regulations "in authority" but there will be no person or a group of persons as "an authority" imposing their will

from outside, a situation contrary to the present one. It will be rule of law and not of individuals. Equality, fraternity and intra and inter generational justice will be the guiding principles. This form of political organization can be termed as DHARMOCRACY or “DARMATANTRA”. This was the ideal of ancient Indian polity where the king at the time of enthronement was required to take an oath that he would abide by dharma and serve as a servant of the people and not as a master. The concepts of ‘raja’, ‘nrpa’ etc. etymologically imply that even if it is rule by an individual he / she has to look after the happiness and well-being of the public who is under his / her protection and not to bother for self-interest. The goal of any human organization, political or otherwise, should be ‘p’alana’ which stands for maintenance, protection and promotion. This is the rule of dharma. In this context the analogy of pregnant woman is put forth who protects and nourishes the fetus in the embryo even at the cost of self-sacrifice. Adherence to rules and regulations will be spontaneous and natural and not forced or imposed. Life has to be natural and spontaneous. It has to be in harmony with other existences. Coexistence, cooperation, reciprocity in help, mutual caring and sharing etc. are hallmarks of a civil society. To talk of conflicts and clashes or to indulge in them is uncivilized, a decadence, a regression and a perversion. There has to be coexistence or confluence of cultures and civilizations. All regulations should be in the form of self-regulation. It means each one minding one’s own business, each one taking responsibility for one’s own actions, each one respecting the person of others and refraining from intruding into the lives of others. All this is possible through proper education of body, mind and will. This is what ethical teachings of seers and saints, particularly of the East, stand for. The Anarchist thinkers like Leo Tolstoy, Mahatma Gandhi and others have argued abolition of state in favour of self-rule.” They advocate cultivation of dharmika individual, dharmika society, dharmika economy and dharmika political order based on cooperation, non-violence, mutual trust and respect, mutual care and share, and universal responsibility. They appreciate the need for decentralization up to village level, not from top to bottom but from grass root itself. If there can be self-regulation there will be no need of government, they maintain. To govern is to control and to control is to coerce or to use force. It is said that if men were angels no government would be necessary. And why can we not make humans angels. Why can there be no moral and spiritual progress? Why should education not be human-making? Boward reports (p.26) that the Montgomery County, Maryland, government sought to soften its image in 1985 by dropping the word “government” from the County Seal, from government workers’ business cards, and even from the sides of County government automobiles. County Executive Douglas Duncan justified the change by saying that the word ‘government’ was “arrogant” and “off-putting” and “did not present the image of public service”. This was the situation in ancient India, as has been reported, when social and political organizations were in the form of “ Panchayata”. In the booklet “Hind Swaraj” there is citation of the views of Sir William Wedderburn Bart in the Appendix and it may be reproduced here for our perusal. It runs like this,

“The Indian village has thus for centuries remained a bulwark against political disorder, and home of the simple domestic and social virtues. No wonder, therefore, that philosophers and historians have always dwelt lovingly on this ancient institution which is the natural social unit and the best type of rural life: self-contained, industrious, peace-loving, conservative in the best sense of the word.... I think you will agree with me that there is much that is both picturesque and attractive in this glimpse of social and domestic life in an Indian village. It is a harmless and happy form of human existence. Moreover, it is not without good practical outcome.” It is

not that we have to imitate the past blindly but, as Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru once opined, it is good to be benefitted by revisiting the past. Of course it is desirable that governance or political organization should be by the people but more basic is that it should be for the people. It must be kept in mind that any organization, political or any other, is for what or for whom. Peace within and peace outside should be the ultimate goal of all human endeavors. Peace and prosperity go together. Prosperity has to be a shareable good and genuine prosperity is holistic and universal based on inter and intra generational justice. State and government are human institutions which can be made and unmade. They are for humans and humans are not for them. H. L. Mencken in "Treatise on Right and Wrong" (1934) (quoted by Boward on page 213) writes, "The great failure of civilized man is his failure to fashion a competent and tolerable form of government". There has been a saying, "That government is the best which governs the least". If this is the case then why crave for 'statism' and why not to seek alternative. There can be alternative in allowing people to lead their own lives provided people are properly educated from very childhood in the ethics of self-regulation.

In fact this organic model calls for a paradigm shift of values and structuring of a new set of suitable vocabulary. Some vocabulary like that of 'public servant' can be retained, if it helps. It further requires a suitable system of education, as the new value system is to be cultivated right from childhood. Education is the best and surest means available to humankind. The way pet animals are trained and their mindset conditioned the same can be applicable to rational human beings who are more amenable to education and transformation. In the history we have experimented with many forms of governance, and even now we are experimenting with democracy and communism, and it is hoped that this model can also be given fair trial. But care is to be taken that the basic spirit and good features of democracy are not bartered. Only the deficiencies, drawbacks and pitfalls painfully experienced everywhere are rectified and removed. As the society progresses human mind also develops the capacity of innovative thinking and therefore the question is can we not think of a system better than democracy, a system in which all the merits of democracy are well preserved and demerits negated. Though we have come to stay with democracy as the best so far available form of political governance, this cannot be treated as the end of history. The rational and ingenious human mind should not entertain the idea of end of human reason or thinking capacity. It should be possible for the creative mind to grow, to move ahead and to evolve to think of a state higher and better than democracy, a state which encapsulates all the virtues of democracy and discards its vices and defects.

Concluding remarks

May we through this symposium call upon, without being parochial, all intellectuals, scholars, experts in various fields and walks of life in the whole of Asia to look at each other more closely, to discover our commonalities, to take stock of as each other's strength and weakness, to learn from each other's experiences and lessons so that India along with other Asian countries may march into the future centuries and millennia as partners in universal well-being, as intimate neighbours and cultural cousins. India is the homeland of Hinduism and Buddhism and the whole of Asia is the repository of Hindu and Buddhist thought and culture and therefore a pan-Asian cultural platform is the need of the times.

07. Yenny Wahid

Director, Wahid Institute, Indonesia

Your Excellency Mr. Shinzo Abe, Prime Minister of Japan

Excellencies, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen

I am delighted and honoured to be invited to speak at this esteemed forum on a very topical theme: shared values and democracy in Asia

In this talk, I shall highlight the flourishing values of democracy across the continent of Asia, considered among the world's most socially and culturally diverse regions. We shall assess how the democratisation process is intertwined with inherent Asian values. Lastly, I shall touch upon the unique characteristics of Asian communities and the connection with economic, social and political successes of many countries in the region.

The reelection of DR. Mahathir Mohammad, as the new Prime Minister of Malaysia has prompted a new interest in the concept of Asian values.

Throughout the 1990s, Prime Minister Mahathir along with the late Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kwan Yee, championed Asian values as being the main factor of Asia's impressive economic growth over the previous decades.

Many scholars especially in the West, have long debated the concept and definition of Asian Values. Many sees it as nothing more than political gimmickry and even an excuse for authoritarianism by the said leaders.

They posit that the concept lacks detailed definition and ambiguous at best. In the words of Prof. Amartya Sen : "There are no quintessential values that apply to this immensely large and heterogeneous population, that differentiate Asians as a group from people in the rest of the world."

Attempt to contrast it with the similarly vague concept of the so called "Western Values" only managed to put it in dichotomous relations with the West.

When advocates of "Asian values" celebrate the community over individualism, the family as the basis of society, frugality, respect for learning, hard work, public duty, teamwork, they usually demean their argument by contrasting these with the breakdown of the family, decadence, hedonism, excessive individualism, lack of teamwork, fecklessness, and ill discipline in the West.¹

Yet despite the struggle to clearly define Asian values and its contributions to democracy, something must have worked, for democracy remains the chosen form of government in

¹ Introduction : "Asian Values" and Democracy in Asia, Takashi Inoguchi and Edward Newman

majority of the countries in the region, albeit several setbacks in the past few years. Indonesia and India, two largest emerging democracies in the world, saw its position dropped in the 2017 annual ranking of global democracies by the Economist Intelligence Unit, due to the rise of conservative religious ideologies that attempt to subdue civil liberties in both countries. Yet in Indonesia's case, only last week we reached a milestone in our democratic achievement. More than 100 million Indonesians made electoral choices at polling booths to directly elect their local leaders. This was not a national election, mind you, since only half of the population took part in the regional polls. However, this is considered a milestone for the sheer size of it plus the conduct of the election, which was peaceful and orderly without any reports of repression, with a huge voter turnout, reaching around 70 percent, one of the highest in the world for a country where elections are not mandatory. This is of course a clear mark of democracy. Next year, around 195 million Indonesians will go the polls to choose our next president. Indeed, these are examples of how Indonesians embrace democracy as part of our lives.

Other setbacks aside, such as a military coup in Thailand, as an aggregate index, the score of Asia and Australasia is almost unchanged since a decade ago and according to the definition used by the Economist Intelligence Unit, many democracies actually now falls into the category of 'flawed democracy'. The Index are compiled based on 60 indicators across five broad categories : electoral process and pluralism, functioning of government, political participation, democratic political culture and civil liberties.

The list of flawed democracies includes the US -long seen as the standard bearer of democracy, France, Greece and Japan, as well as India, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and almost all of the countries represented by the panelists here. The Scandinavian countries dominate the category of full democracy with Norway topping the ranks.

Despite what some people see as diverging values between Western style democracy and Asian values, I see a convergence when it comes to basic objectives of democracy.

To some critics, the democratic practices of many Asian countries may not have the emphasis on individual rights, accountability and transparency, as the bedrock of liberal democracy in the West. Instead Asian put premium values on consensus-building and face saving gestures. Cooperation and mutual respect based on collective needs run parallel with individual interests. Resolution of conflicts outside the legal norms are preferred, to strive for a win win solution. But do any of these values actually undermine democracy ?

Some experts suggest that these values contribute to the success of political stability and economic growth in the region. A study conducted by a group of scholars from Huazhong University of Science and Technology in 2010 found the evidence that cultural attitudes toward trust, respect and self determination have positive impact on economic growth. However, cultural attitudes concerning obedience are found to be negatively associated with economic growth of the countries chosen for the analysis. ²

² Cultural Values and Economic Growth in Asia : An Empirical Analysis. International Journal of Business and Social Science Vol. 1 No. 2, Nov 2010

Indonesia, like Malaysia, India, the Philippines and Japan, embody crucial elements of democracy such as the rule of law, independent judiciaries, active civil societies, transparent governance and a free press.

The Inter Parliamentary Council in their Universal Declaration on Democracy put the objective of democracy as essentially aiming to preserve and promote the dignity and fundamental rights of the individual, to achieve social justice, foster the economic and social development of the community, strengthen the cohesion of society and enhance national tranquility, as well as to create a climate that is favorable for international peace.

These are values that very much used as the guiding principles within many of the Asian societies. Some experts question the prioritization of societal needs as allowing the government to consolidate the authority at the expense of the society and has allowed for lack of transparency and accountability in the former part.

Emphasis on social harmony and collective welfare are indeed two main priorities in many Asian countries, yet without transparency - a precursor for a market based economy- sustainable economic growth will be transient at the most.

In Indonesia's case, the lack of transparency and accountability led to massive corruption and nepotism during the New Order government, which created fundamental flaws in the economy. The economic crisis of '98 wiped the regime out of power after 32 years rule.

The former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore was a great champion of "Asian values," and has defended authoritarian arrangements on the ground of their alleged effectiveness in promoting economic success.

There is, in fact, little general evidence that authoritarian governance and the suppression of political and civil rights are really beneficial in encouraging economic development. The statistical picture is much more complex. Systematic empirical studies give no real support to the claim that there is a conflict between political rights and economic performance.³

Efficiency and stability used to rank higher than transparency and accountability in people's attitude, but this is changing. Semblance of transparency and accountability, at least in service delivery, is needed to appease the population.

In the area of freedom of expression, openness in Asia is tempered with the exercise of self restraint to foster societal harmony. You won't find Asians mocking their leaders the same way Americans making crude jokes about President Donald Trump in many of the popular late night shows on American TV. Yes politicians need to be held accountable, but soft humor and satire will also do the job of building critical thinking without having to resort to vulgar jokes and offensive remarks.

³ Speech by Prof. Amartya Sen at Sixteenth Annual Morgenthau Memorial Lecture on Ethics and Foreign Policy. Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs, May 1997

Accountability is not a new concept in Asia. Emphasis on communal relations dictates that a person will have to act with integrity to sustain his or her dignified place in the community. Honesty, loyalty, and humility apart from integrity, are traditional characters that most Chinese aspire to possess. Bonds of familial relations and friendship often bound people more than legal contracts.

Tolerance and Freedom

Asia is the home to some of the biggest religious groups in the world : most populous Catholic nation, the largest Hindu nation as well as the world's largest Muslim majority populations.

As such, religious teachings also form the basis of Asian ethics and philosophies.

Confucianism is often cited as the basis of Asian values in East Asia along with Buddhism and Shintoism in Japan. While Islam and Christianity flourish in South East Asia and South Asia, and Hinduism as well as Baha'ism and myriad other religious beliefs shape the many norms of countries such as India, Bangladesh etc.

Yet one would be wise to draw a comparison to other regions to see that it's more than just religious philosophy that shapes values of communities in Asia. How those philosophies interact with the established cultural norms ended up in creating a more harmonious outlook of life. Take the unparalleled regional stability of Southeast Asia for example. Such stability is nurtured over decades and attained through peaceful attitudes and acceptance of differences in the society. Case in point, Indonesia and Malaysia are not beset with the same levels of conflict that plagues regions like the Middle East despite all of the countries being Muslim majority populations. In fact, Islam, as is proven time and time again in Indonesia, is perfectly reconcilable with democracy.

We are built on a strong foundation of tolerance and pluralism. Indonesia's achievements demonstrate that Islam and democracy can thrive together. ISIS is not the representation of Islamic values, in as much as the small number of right wing Buddhist monks in Myanmar cannot be said to be implementing the same principles as more than 50 millions of peace loving Buddhists of Japan. In fact it's quite interesting for the world to see that many Japanese claim affiliation with multiple religious beliefs, with Shintoism being the overriding principles.⁴

So what is it about Asia that undoubtedly give ways to a more inclusive ways of practicing religion? The answer lies in the value of tolerance that long been the characteristic of the region.

In the island of Java, Sunan Kudus, one of the 9 saints of Java responsible for spreading the teaching of Islam in Indonesia, ordered his followers not to slaughter cows in deference to the Hindu community's belief system of cow as sacred animal. As a result, people started to eat buffalo meat instead. To this day you'll find the most delicious buffalo meat soup in the city of Kudus.

⁴ Data from the US Department of State : State.gov

Secondly, it's the emphasis on social harmony and the act of kindness as the building block of such norm. This character trait is very inherent in Japanese society which believes in *yasashii* or *omoiyari no aru* or thoughtfulness of others. Indonesia's concept of *gotong royong* or carrying the burden together is very similar in its intention for the betterment of the society.

Role of Women in the Society

The achievement of democracy presupposes a genuine partnership between men and women in the conduct of the affairs of society in which they work in equality and complementarity, drawing mutual enrichment from their differences.⁵

Without having to resort to a revolutionary suffrage movement to demand equality of the sexes, Asian countries have seen many female figures rose to positions of power, be it President or Prime Ministers. Many Asian cultures put women in a unique or even exalted position in the society. The concept of women as the mother of nation creates a unique space for women's involvement in the political arena. Queens and female freedom fighters are common heroines in Indonesia's history text books. The contemporary era also brought a mandated quota of 30 percent female representations through political party nominations in Indonesia.

The commitment of Prime Minister Abe to address gender imbalances notably in executive boards of companies is hugely commendable and further establishes Japan's position as a female friendly model of democracy in the region.

Closing

Ladies and Gentlemen, before closing let me remind you once again of the mighty influence of Asia.

Contributing to a whopping 60 percent of global growth, Asia is home to more than 60 percent of global population. Without a doubt, Asia is certainly a region with the eyes of the world upon it. The choices that the region makes, regarding its own development and political and economic paths, will have a significant bearing for global development prospects.

Meanwhile, across the continent U.S. President Donald Trump has been injecting conservative mood in American strategy and putting American needs first above the rest, in a contrarian move to the Asian value of collective prosperity.

Like the rest of the world, we watched in dismay as he pulled his country out of the Trans-Pacific Partnership and the Paris Accord on Climate Change. And most recently from the UN Council on Human Rights. These are signs that the degree of American influence abroad may likely to decrease. With the U.S. losing its moral authority, the time is now for the world to look to Asia for democracy that works for the people – not just for the leaders. Thank you.

5 Inter Parliamentary Union Universal Declaration on Democracy, adopted at 161st session in Cairo 1997

08. Sun Jing

Professor, Chinese Academy of Social Science, China

1. Opening Remarks

The *Book of Changes* has the longest history of all the Chinese ancient classics at around 6500 years. From the perspective of how the *Book of Changes* developed and was applied in ancient people's real lives, it should be considered firstly as a book of divination. It was a systematic fortune-telling technique that connected people with supernatural beings, so it could provide guidance for people's everyday lives.

The *Book of Changes* went through a very long history of development. About three thousand years ago, at the beginning of the Zhou Dynasty (1046-256 BC), the present form of this classic came into being. It continued to be reformulated, eventually becoming a philosophical classic that could be used in establishing a state and governing a country, as well as in personal cultivation.

At the beginning of the Han Dynasty (202BC-220), the *Book of Changes* was given special attention by emperors, and it shifted from a book of divination to become a book that was useful in governance and personal cultivation, and it began to be regarded as the most important classic among the Five Confucian Classics, and the source of the Great *Dao*. Thus, from the perspective of ancient Chinese traditional culture, the *Book of Changes* is surely the source of Chinese culture, and it can be regarded as the root and starting point for all Chinese culture.

2. Centrality and Harmony (*zhonghe* 中和)

When the wisdom of the *Book of Changes* was applied in human society, it began to form the ancient Chinese systems of value and ethics. It is said that when *yin* and *yang* communicate there will be generation, when *yin* and *yang* separate there will be destruction, when *yin* and *yang* exchange with each other then changes appear, and when *yin* and *yang* are peaceful then the situation will be stable. This kind of relationship between *yin* and *yang* affects the idea of governance, the way of regulating the family, and the route for cultivating oneself. The core value of the *Book of Changes* is the Centrality and Harmony that can be applied to all states under Heaven.

The *yin* and *yang* of the *Book of Changes* need to be balanced, so when they are applied to things this means to search for harmony among things. The value of the *Book of Changes* is its insistence on the concepts of Centrality and Harmony, in which Centrality means the boundary of one side of existence to be kept in relation with the other side, so there will not be radical changes for either side, and the Centrality (*zhong*) of things will be maintained. Thus, Centrality is more important than Harmony (*he*) because one exists only when its counterpart continues to exist, and Harmony can be maintained only when balance continues. Therefore, only when the *dao* of Centrality and Harmony continues can the ideal world of bringing harmony to all states

under Heaven be realized.

3. The Idea of the Continuity of Heaven and Humanity (*tianren heyi* 天人合一)

The *Book of Changes* influenced the *Daodejing* and the *Inner Canons of the Yellow Emperor*, which focus on the *dao* of Heaven (*tiandao* 天道), and the ontological relationship between Heaven and humanity, as well as the ethical relationship between humanity and the natural world. The way that Chinese people search for the highest spiritual fulfillment is similar to that of Indian people who also search for the continuity between Heaven and humanity.

There are two levels of meaning in the idea of the continuity of Heaven and humanity: the first is the inseparability of Heaven and humanity. Heaven and the highest self are the Big Cosmos (*dayuzhou* 大宇宙), while humanity and the small self are a Small Cosmos (*xiaoyuzhou* 小宇宙). This is similar to the unity of Brahman and Atman in ancient Indian thought. The second is the essential nature of the continuity between humanity and nature, such that all human intentions and behaviors must follow natural laws in order to achieve the harmony between humanity and nature. This can be compared to the idea that the highest self creates the small self in Indian thought because they are essentially continual, and the small self returns to be the highest self.

4. Ancestor Worship

It is said in the *Commentary to the Kun Hexagram* in the *Book of Changes*: “The family that accumulates benevolence will bring fortune to future generations; the family that accumulates evil deeds will bring misfortune to future generations.” That is to say, each family is composed of many individuals, and the deeds of these family members will affect the whole family. Therefore, everyone must be responsible for the fortune of his or her family. This is related to the ideas of family values and ancestor worship. This kind of idea remains as mainstream as in ancient times. Chinese people view society and family as a whole, and do not pay much attention to the existence of individuals, in that individuals always exist through their relationships to family, society and all under Heaven (*tianxia* 天下). This kind of idea that family is more important than individuals started in the *Book of Changes* and strongly affected the ancient Chinese social system, which valued the continuity of family culture through the family system and ancestor worship as the core of maintaining the continuity of the family through history. Thus, each short personal existence was always interweaved with the development of the whole family and society, and in this way, each personal lifetime was merged into the generational continuity of family, and each existence was enlarged to be much longer with deeper historical meanings.

09. Chongsuh Kim

Professor Emeritus, Seoul National University, Korea

1. Democracy and Asian Values

Despite the many forms and the various phases of democracy that countries throughout the world have experienced at different times in their history, one of the most fundamental characteristics of democracy is ‘rule by the people,’ which is derived from its etymology of the Greek word, *‘demokratia.’*

The ‘rule by the people’ premises, above all, ‘the rights of all the people’ (not a particular person or a single party), that is, the “human rights,” which include individual freedom and equality for all humans.

Although it is well known that they each had their own political intentions, we remember that Lee Kwan Yew of Singapore and Mohammad Mahatir of Malaysia pointed out the Asian values for democracy in the early 1990s. They were outstandingly distinct from those of the Western tradition for democracy, which underlined individual beings.

Even when the Asian economic crisis occurred in 1997, they asserted that it was not ‘Asian values’ but Western capitalism that truly caused the financial difficulties in Asian countries. In addition, they added that social corruption, patronage system and nepotism, which were regarded as the Asian main problems at that time were not the essence of ‘Asian values’ but ‘distortions of Confucian values.’

The so called spokesmen for ‘Asian values’ like Lee Kwan Yew and Mahatir stressed community rather than the individual, social order and harmony rather than individual freedom, religion not separated from other areas, being thrifty and saving, diligence and education, respect for political leadership, no opposite relations between government and business, and specially loyalty to one’s family. Above all, they gave priority over community rather than individual within the context of Chinese Confucianism.

However, in addition to such Asian values based on Confucianism, I think that we can also point out another important Asian value for democracy from the Indian Hindu and Buddhist context. Democracy is fundamentally ‘rule by the people,’ that is, ‘rule by all the members of society, not a particular person or a single party.’ In other words, democracy is not based on monism but pluralism.

There are innumerable gods in Hinduism and similarly there is not a single Buddha but many Buddhas in Buddhism. One of the most important teachings of the Buddhas is ‘compassion,’ which means ‘benevolent sympathy for others,’ not simply self-actualization. Such idea of compassion is culminated in the concept of the ‘bodhisattvas,’ beings who have attained Enlightenment but have postponed Nirvana in order to assist others to attain Enlightenment. Ultimately, democracy begins with consideration for others (that is, respect for the views of all

the members of society), which is distinct from autocracy and dictatorship.

2. Traditional Values in Korea related to Democracy

Koreans also emphasize communalism over individualism, as most Asians do.

However, traditional Koreans have preferred vertical communalism within the Confucian framework over equal and horizontal communalism. And the most representative community tradition consists of familial relationship originated from blood ties and regionalism derived from territorial roots.

Anyway, communal values have been recurrently emphasized in the Korean tradition.

Even *Tangun*, the legendary founder of Korea, first established the kingdom of Old Korea, based on the nation's founding principle of humanitarianism, which means 'broad service for the people.' It refers to communalism and furthermore consideration of others (that is, all the people).

Such democratic communalism was embodied in the 'Council of Nobles' which premises the unanimous decision-making procedures for the state affairs in *Shilla Dynasty* (57 BC-AD 936).

Suun Choe Che-u (1824-1864), the founder of Eastern Learning that became the first indigenous new religion in Korea, also emphasized the spread of virtue to the whole world as well as individual wellbeing. Afterwards, his teachings were developed into the thought of 'Man is God.'

In addition to such communal values, the multi-layered plurality of religion created a precious tradition for democracy in Korea. Shamanism, Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity coexist in the Korean society and even a person often participates in various religions depending on the situation. Such multi-layered plurality of religion naturally leads to religious pluralism. And it tends to invite democratically open ideas that no particular religion takes precedence over another. More studies are needed to determine whether such social recognition of Korean religious pluralism is originally and directly related to the pluralistic Buddhist tradition, or not.

3. Modernization and Change of Values

Of course, such religious pluralism is by no means restricted to the Korean religions today. Religious hybridism and pluralism is often indicated in many countries such as the United States of America, India, China, Japan, etc. What distinguishes the Korean case from other pluralistic countries is that in Korea both Eastern (shamanism, Confucianism and Buddhism) and Western (Christianity) religious traditions are represented evenly, each with equally significant number of members. In other words, Korean religion uniquely displays the characteristics of what may be called a multi-layered pluralism, including almost equal representation of both Eastern and

Western religious elements. If pluralism is the precondition of democracy as mentioned above, Korean religious pluralism, which includes Eastern and Western elements in a balanced way, seems to be open, in its true sense, to more possibilities toward democracy.

As modernity progresses, Korean society has experienced differentiation into many areas. And the overthrow of status system has led to popularization of religion, education, public service, and liberation of woman. This can also be understood from a wider viewpoint as a part of democratization of Korean society. Such change also does not entail profit for the people of particular status but the consideration of the whole community and further horizontal communalism rather than vertical communalism. For instance, vertical loyalty to the country has been replaced by horizontal civil rights.

To sum up, Koreans share Asian (Confucian) values of communalism rather than Western values of individual freedom, which is related to democracy. On the while, another important aspect of Korean democratic thoughts reflects the long tradition of religious pluralism. In the end, the Asian value of community affiliated with pluralism invites more open and horizontal values for a mature democracy in Korea.

4. Today's Issues of Democracy in Korea

The word, 'Gapjil' (contractor's style action) is very popular in Korean society these days. Gapjil means the arrogant and bossy attitude of a person with the upper hand over the other. In other words, it is referring to the abuse of power by people in superior positions. For example, recently a senior vice president of a large conglomerate, also the daughter of the owner, threw a water bottle at an advertisement agency employee, because the employee failed to answer her question. When it was reported, people are calling for punitive action against the vice president. In fact, the family, including her, faced criminal charges against their Gapjils. Afterwards, many people have disclosed instances of Gapjil from diverse cases. Sometimes, such disclosure of Gapjil cases goes beyond just critiques of the people in superior positions and has been compared to the people's court in the communist countries. However, if democracy is to give equal chance to the weak as well as the strong, I think, the recent prevalence of the Gapjil debate means that there is still much to be desired for the weak in Korea.

Koreans often say that although there is a relatively short history of democracy in Korea, it is important that Koreans have accomplished several turnovers of political power by way of considerably fair and peaceful elections. Nevertheless, more mature and compassionate democracy accomplished by fairness and freedom that are fundamental to human rights is increasingly hoped for the weak in Korea today.

10. Goshin Shaku

Director The Nakamura Hajime Eastern Institute, Japan

Since ancient times in Japan, I think we have always been trying to build a democratic nation based on traditional values peculiar to Japan, of tolerance and living in harmony with others. Today I will give you an example and put forward a suggestion.

So I would like to make some recommendations to our seminar focusing on the teachings of Dr. Hajime Nakamura (1912-1999), the Japanese-born top global expert on authentic Indian philosophy, Buddhist studies and comparative philosophy.

[The “Onshin-byodo” way of thinking and democracy]

In Japan there is an old saying, “Onshin-byodo” (Treating hate and love alike). This is a Buddhist idea based on the spirit of compassion. It means to comfort the spirit of the dead, friend and foe, who are killed in the battlefield and to transcend hatred to help them be reborn as equals in Amida’s Paradise.

As we all know, the word “compassion” describes the best virtue originating from the creed of Buddhism. And it should be noted that samurai advocated realization of the ideal, even while they actually killed each other in the battlefield. They had no time to hesitate in the midst of battle. But after the battle finished, they lay aside their hatred to mourn for the dead, their foe. When two samurai faced each other and fought a duel, the winner used to clasp his hands in prayer toward the corpse of a fallen samurai.

This happened after battles as well. Warlords prayed for the souls of not only their soldiers but also those of the enemy’s commanders. It reflects the spirit of “Onshin-byodo.” While they are alive in mutual adversity, they feel themselves to be in conflict situations. But when they are dead, these conflicts will be overcome. Another example can be seen the battles called the Bunei no Eki (1274) and Kouan no Eki (1281) in the Kamakura era, where, after repelling the Mongolian invasion of Japan, our army prayed for the repose of the souls of dead commanders of the Mongolian army as well as those of our soldiers.

To perform this kind of memorial service for the souls of both sides, friend and foe, is of course the “Onshin-byodo” way of thinking. And after the Shimabara Rebellion, a memorial service advocating “Onshin-byodo” was performed even for the souls of Christians killed. Our ancestors prayed for the repose of the souls of the dead, friend and foe, transcending the sharp divisions among nations that led to wars and the rivalry among different religions.

This spirit of “harmony” (relief of tension) represents “Japanese democracy,” which has fostered both a long-standing Japanese spirit of “tolerance” and a spirit of symbiosis.

The origin of “democracy based on harmony” stretches back a long way to ancient times, in the sixth to seventh centuries, when Mononobe no Moriya was fighting battles against Soga

no Umako to abolish Buddhism. Seeing the battles, Prince Shotoku expressed some wisdom that led to the promulgation of the Seventeen Article Constitution, Japan's first constitutional law. I think this serves as the base of traditional Japanese values and democracy.

The Seventeen Article Constitution, said to be enacted by Prince Shotoku in 604, in general served as cautions given against government officials. It was apparently construed as a moral code that, based on the spirit of harmony, coordinated the thoughts of Confucianism and Buddhism and served as a guide to the essential deeds of lords and vassals and a moral precept for people.

The emphasis in the Constitution can be placed on article 1. "Harmony is to be valued, and an avoidance of wanton opposition to be honored." Such a mindset represents the concept of value common among human beings based on a democratic way of thinking from a "global perspective."

Whereas in reality, due to its geopolitical advantage, Japan has seldom suffered military invasions domestically by any other country as a historical fact, I think various shapes of nations or provinces have been handed down from the age of the provincial wars or earlier.

For example, during the Onin War, 1467-1477, triggered by disputes over the succession of the private estate among the Shogun Ashikaga and the kanrei (shogun's deputies) Hatakeyama and Shiba, the eastern camp (Katsumoto Hosokawa's side) and the western camp (Sozen Yamana's side), respectively with various kinds of Daimyou, were fighting big battles, mainly in Kyoto, turning Kyoto into a province devastated by warfare and turmoil. This campaign reduced the authority of the shogunate and, furthermore, marked a turning point of the era, with its influence shifting to society and culture. In the meantime, a group of about 20,000 Christians led by Masuda Shiro Tokisada based at the remains of Hara Castle encountered an attack by troops of shogunal envoy Itakura Shigeaki (1588-1638) and fought them to the death. During the Shimabara Rebellion (1637-1638), Matsudaira Nobutsuna, senior councilor of the shogunate, arrived at his post and attacked Hara Castle to defeat the allied forces composed of peasants and Christians. Another example is Oda Nobunaga, who often did pretty rough things against Buddhists. In the Ishiyama Hongan-Ji War (1570-1580) Nobunaga defeated Ishiyama Hongan-Ji, and in 1571 he attacked and burned the temples of Mt. Hiei. In 1571 he inflicted further damage to the Hokke Shu (the Hokke School of Buddhism) when holding a religious debate (known as Azuchi Shuron). In contrast, Toyotomi Hideyoshi manipulated Buddhist organizations with a carrot-and-stick approach, defeating some rebellious groups while showering capitulants with favors. He destroyed Negoro-Ji temple (Wakayama Prefecture) by fire in 1585 and went so far as to attempt to destroy Koya-San temple. Mokuji Ogo (1536-1608) asked for forgiveness so that Koya-San temple could avoid being destroyed by Hideyoshi. Then Ogo, upon orders from Hideyoshi, rebuilt Kondo (Main hall), Dai Tou and Kyojo (Sutra repository), opened Gakuryo (Seminary) to make the Tendai doctrine more active, and had Seigan-Ji built on the site of Daidenpo-in temple.

In modern times, Buddhism, left behind by the guiding principles of the Meiji Restoration, encountered religious persecution in the anti-Buddhist Haibutsu-Kishaku movement. Buddhists

indeed then showed a spirit of charity reflecting the word “Onshin-byodo” and devoted themselves to put into practice the idea of tolerance and symbiosis following the Buddhist way of thinking, “For hatred does not cease by hatred at any time; hatred ceases only by discarding it. This is an old rule” (Dhammapada 5, translated by Nakamura Hajime).

Instead today, to my regret, I often wonder if dominant figures misusing state power have forgotten the spiritual traditions of Japan, while the traditions of the spirit have been passed down by ordinary Japanese. For instance, in February 26, 1936, a coup led by the officers of Imperial Way Party of the Imperial army erupted. For the purpose of revamping the nation and defeating the Tosei faction, with a troop of 1,500 soldiers they attacked the Prime Minister’s Office and other institutions, murdering then-Minister of Interior Saito Makoto, Minister of Finance Takahashi Korekiyo and others and occupying the entire Nagata-cho area. The next day, martial law was declared and the coup was suppressed without further bloodshed.

After the incident, under the pretext of an army purge, the government became much more subject to military control. A cenotaph was built in Udagawa-cho, Tokyo to the people involved in this unforgettable serious event in Japanese modern history. Its inscription says, “In honor of all victims of the incident.” It reminds us that in any circumstance the most important thing is a spirit of tolerance and symbiosis, leading to the idea of mutual respect and mutual recognition. Stated another way, the philosophy of the teaching “Harmony is to be valued, and an avoidance of wanton opposition to be honored,” I think, is a huge step forward in making a genuine democracy nobler. And I am also convinced that this kind of Japanese ancient value will contribute to advancing the principle of “democracy from a global perspective.”

I would like to thank you all for your attention today.

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11. Alubomulle Sumanasara Thero

Chief Religious Adviser, Japan Theravada Buddhist Association, Sri Lanka

We are confronted with a very complicated problem that calls for detailed and time-consuming research works to lay out basic outlines for understanding. I take the pleasure of indulging in using a metaphor. Let us imagine an extremely wide natural forest, habitat for a variety of living beings. Let us imagine a mammoth national safari park, for better understanding. Various types of wild animals live in this park maintaining their territories. The safari park is not a place for confrontation but cohabitation. One species of animals do not try to exterminate the rival species though one cannot say that the park is a model for harmony and peace. There are predators and preys. Each animal regards the existence of other animals and respects their right to survive.

In Asian countries, there are many ethnic groups, many languages, myriad of customs, hundreds of beliefs and religious customs, several standard religions, freethinkers boasting their survival techniques lasting for thousand years. People of Asia do not fence off themselves refusing modernization or modern technology to preserve their ancient customs and beliefs. They love IT technology and modernization. They do not worry about deterioration of their culture, languages, beliefs, and customs. The reason is natural and easy to understand. Any species of animal can enter into the safari park and create their habitat without trespassing the rights of other inhabitants.

Influence of Buddhism

Values of Buddhism nicely fit with the values of Asian people. Compassion and loving kindness that Buddhism advocates do not involve only human beings. One who adheres to values of Buddhism, one has to love the entire spectrum of living beings. The motto looks like “live happily and peacefully and let others also live happily and peacefully.” I hope that you can discover the similarity of lifestyle in a safari park.

Let us point out some of the principles Asian method of living.

1. Understand the differences and enjoy it.
2. Understand the similarities and try to build harmony and peace with others.
3. Do not enforce your way of life to others.
4. i.e., Cook the various types of meat separately in a fitting manner to the type of meat. But avoid mincing all types of meat into one lump and cook hamburgers. One needs to respect the people who hate hamburgers with passion.
5. Understanding others make you smarter and help your survival.

Difficulties of understanding Asian values I

Understanding and sharing values of Asia is not an incurable disease. It is a viral infection named as westernization or modernization. The modernization requests unity and homogeneity. Computer systems and smartphones digitally manage all the phases of life. The life of Asia is almost analog.

The next problem is western monotheism. Monotheism does not allow different values, customs, and beliefs. This belief expects the man to be a factory product. Quality control is a serious issue. Asian culture cannot digest this aspect of life without supplement medication to boost digestion. Asian people think that monotheism is another species of living beings in the mammoth safari park, nothing more nothing less.

Difficulties of understanding Asian values II

I would suggest the second analogy of a perfectly maintained zoological garden where several types of animals enjoy the luxury of best maintenance. This garden is a peaceful place without any confrontation among animals. They enjoy nutritious food in right quantity, proper medical treatment. Animals get used to the digitally controlled lifestyle.

Suppose that somebody wants to compare the lifestyle of the living beings of mammoth safari in contrast to the sophisticated lifestyle of the zoological garden what would be the report? That person may conclude that life in a safari park is hard to understand and thoroughly different from the life of the zoological park. A comparison of digitalized lifestyle in contrast to analog lifestyle ends up with misunderstanding. People of Asia prefer to stick around its analog lifestyle.

Finally, the conclusion with another metaphor.

When one says that something is not white, that does not mean it is black. It could be one of the million types of colors or mixture of several colors. Yes, that something is not monotonous white.

Thank You.

12. Ambeth R. Ocampo

Associate Professor, Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines

I. Culture and Diplomacy.

I was nine when I made my first trip to Japan for Expo '70. It was my first trip abroad and in that sprawling Osaka park many countries of the world displayed their national identities by showing through their best in the arts and sciences. Architecturally it was a vision of the future.

Memory has faded, but my first impressions are preserved in a childhood diary ornamented by the stamps I collected, from different national pavilions and attractions on those two memorable days. On later trips to Japan I carry a notebook to fill with stamps from train and Metro stations. With my smartphone I photograph Japanese man-hole covers, unique in the world, evolving from simple utility to objects of beauty.

Expo 70 Osaka opened the eyes of a boy to world geography, the diversity of cultures, and the multiplicity of national identities compressed in one place, one time. Expo 70 Osaka made me see my national identity in relation to Japan, Asia, and the world that has become smaller today because of the internet and TV allowing people to know far-off places, peoples and cultures even before they have physically travelled abroad. Before I visited Japan, I knew of it from the TV series Shintaro the Samurai, from Godzilla films, from my uncle's Japanese-themed hotel in Angeles, Pampanga, an hours drive north of Manila, built around an authentic Japanese tea house set against the backdrop of a manicured Japanese garden and pond with koi. My uncle had a Japanese-trained cook who introduced me to tempura, sukiyaki, and teppanyaki long before these became popular in the Philippines. My early relationship with Japan was fostered not by geopolitics or history but in the realm of culture.

II. Japan Foundation Manila, the Asia Center, and the WA Project.

A new generation of Filipinos classified demographically as "Millennials" are coming of age in the 21st century, all wired to the internet and reared on cellphones and tablets that is their window to Japan and the world. Their early impressions of Japan are formed by manga, cosplay, film, and food. Their experience is also rooted culture.

Pinoy Millennials are more fortunate than me because the Japan Foundation Manila Office was founded in 1996 and for the past twenty-two years, the length of one generation, has been very active in the area of culture focusing on three key areas:

Arts and Culture through programs on music, dance, film and literature for the general public;

Japanese Studies and Intellectual Exchange, through conferences, grants and fellowships on the academic and professional levels; and

Japanese Language Education Overseas.

There are many projects undertaken by Japan Foundation Asia Center that can be accessed in their website and brochures available in this meeting. Three areas are worth noting here: Film, Language, and Disaster education.

Building on existing Japan Foundation Cultural Exchange programs the films of ASEAN are screened in the annual Tokyo International Film Festival with a focus on the best current and vintage films from one chosen country per year, while in the Philippines Japanese films are screened in an Eigasai Film Festival not just in the capital, Manila, but in other regions as well.

Another project Dance Dance Asia focused on street dancing, bringing selected youth groups from Japan and ASEAN to dance together and in the process made lasting friendships while teaching each other new techniques and best practices. Young visual artists, young musicians, young performing artists, young art critics and curators have been brought together in Japan and the Philippines on grants and fellowships that enhanced both people to people interaction that made participants see unity in the diversity of cultures. By focusing on the young the Asia Center invests in the future.

Building on existing Japan Foundation Language Programs, Nihongo Partners were sent to abroad building a two-way street where the Japanese teaches Nihongo but learns about the Philippines, its culture and people stimulating lasting a meaningful relationship on both sides.

Building on Japan's expertise in disaster response and prevention the Hopes and Dreams or HANDS project provided disaster education in the Philippines visited every year by a succession of tropical storms often leaving regions and communities in ruins as like: Ondoy in 2009 that flooded many areas of the Philippines or Haiyan in 2013 with winds ranging from 200-300 kilometers per hour was one of the strongest and the deadliest storms on record leaving over 6,000 dead in its wake. Bohol island was devastated in 2013 by an earthquake took cultural heritage rather than human casualties leveling several ancient Spanish-era churches. HANDS Fellows learn how Japan copes and prepares for disaster so that they may form their own protocols that save lives in times of crisis.

The Asia Center also took over the Asia Leadership Fellow Program or ALFP that since 1996 has annually brought to Japan diverse individuals from South and Southeast Asia for two months to discuss current social issues and see these from other viewpoints. As an effective and meaningful way for people to people contact it should be continued on a new format of two weeks instead of two months to bring more people together to spread the Wa project ideals of harmony and fusion in a world confused and fragmented by politics.

III. Conclusion: Culture and the WA project.

Cultural exchanges between the Philippines and Japan continue today and new generation of Filipino children are growing up on manga and anime, they dress in cosplay costume, and are equally at home with sinigang and sushi, adobo and sashimi, pancit and ramen. So ingrained

are some aspects on Japanese culture that Filipinos are often surprised by their origins. Filipino children are familiar with: *papel de japon* the Spanish-Philippine term for Japanese Paper, the inflatable Japanese paper ball; the childhood game “Jak en Poy” played with a nonsense rhyme in Filipino, accompanied by hand gestures of rock, scissors, and paper from the Japanese “janken pon” they call Jak en Poy. Mosquito coils are called “katol” in the Philippines from the Japanese “katorisenko.” The Philippine word for bottle caps---“tansan” traces its etymology to a brand of bottled carbonated water introduced in the Philippines in the early 20th century.

Finally we have “halo-halo” or “mix-mix” a tasty assortment of sweets under shaved ice and milk that is a favorite summer treat in the Philippines. It traces its roots to the Japanese “kakigori.” The Philippines first had ice in the mid-19thC when ice travelled all the way from Boston to India, with a stopover in the Manila. The sweet beans or mongo-ya and other preserves used in halo-halo were introduced by the Japanese before World War II, from then it was only one step from simple sweetened shaved ice to halo-halo. Completing the circle is the Japanese version of halo-halo available during the summer in some kombini.

July is Philippines-Japan Friendship Month commemorating July 23 the date of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries in 1956, but historical and cultural relations between Japan and the Philippines go further and deeper, beginning in the 16th century when the Philippines was still a Spanish colony, or perhaps even earlier. The Asia Center does not create from nothing, it builds on existing goodwill built over centuries of cultural exchange and the current increasing Filipino tourist arrivals in Japan.

It is in the realm of culture that true harmony and fusion can be built and the Japan Foundation Asia Center WA project is one way to do it right.

Thank you.

13. Kitti Prasirtsuk

Vice President, Thammasat University, Thailand

I have three points each on both achievements and challenges.

Achievements

In my opinion, there are at least three major impressive achievements from the Asia Center.

1. Multi-activities : The Asia Center has been actively organizing a variety of activities, ranging from art exhibitions, street dance, movie festivals, intellectual seminars, youth training on how to deal with disaster, and Nihongo Partners or Japanese language partners program.
2. Multi-levels / actors : Accordingly, these activities engage with multiple actors at multiple levels, particularly civil society and local community.
3. Two-way exchange : The Asia Center has spelled out from the outset to promote two-way exchange between Japan and Southeast Asia and it has been committed to do so. Many of activities mentioned above tend to be participatory, in which Southeast Asians can take part as actors, not just audiences.

Over all the breadth and depth of the Asia Center's activities are remarkable, carrying the spirit of 'Wa' or 'harmony' among people of Japan and Southeast Asia.

However, there are still some challenges. Or speaking differently, if we take the Japanese concept of 'kaizen' or 'continuous improvement,' there is still some room to make the Asia Center's contribution even better.

Challenges

1. More responsive to the diversity of ASEAN : In ASEAN, there are various countries with different levels of development and levels of engagement with Japan. To make it simpler, there are old and new ASEAN member countries. The new ASEAN countries, namely CLMV (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam), are still very much in the industrialization process. Here, Japan can contribute like it did with the old ASEAN member countries in the 1980s. For example, intellectual seminars and symposiums were frequently organized during that time to shed some light on industrial development and the overall development of the country. Therefore, I think Japan, together with the old ASEAN member countries, can share good practices and lessons learned to the new ASEAN members through intellectual or policy seminars and symposiums.

For the old ASEAN countries, like Thailand, Malaysia, and also the Philippines, are increasingly moving from manufacturing to service. Here Japan's experiences are very

useful by intellectual or or policy seminars and symposiums.

Moreover, in the new ASEAN countries, the degree of exposure to Japan generally is not yet as high as in the old ASEAN countries which had received Japanese culture, particularly pop culture, earlier since the 1960s or so. The new ASEAN countries are like a green field opening up recently for any foreign culture. So, the Asia Center can promote a more basic Japanese culture there. Don't be shy to promote manga and anime, for example.

In short, the Asia Center's activities can be tailor made a bit more to suit each country's demand and interest.

2. More relate to aging society in Southeast Asia : Many activities tend to focus on youth in the perspective of nurturing the future. It would be good to promote more activities oriented toward the middle-aged or the elderly, who are still very influential to the society. For example, nostalgic cultural activities for people who were growing up with Japanese pop culture during the 1970s, 1980s or even the 1990s. Of course, intellectual sharing on Japan's experiences in handling aging society would be also very useful for many Southeast Asian countries.
3. Move beyond Southeast Asia : With remarkable achievements mentioned earlier, another challenge would be how they can go beyond Southeast Asia to be expanded toward other countries in South Asia like India or countries in East Asia like China and Korea.

14. Nobukatsu Kanehara

Assistant Chief Cabinet Secretary, Japan

In September 2017, Prime Minister Abe and I visited the practice and meditation hut (ashram) of Mahatma Gandhi in Ahmedabad City, Gujarat State, India. The ashram where Gandhi lived from 1918 to 1930 is a white, one-story house situated beside a river. In the house with one shabby, boarded room we saw nothing but a spinning wheel, a small low table and a white floor cushion. The thought that the very man who sat here in those days made drastic changes to the world history of the 20th century struck a chord in my heart.

The dramatic changes in the 20th century swallowed up people on earth just like floodwaters. The industrial revolution provided a handful of countries including European countries, the United States and Japan with national power that goes far beyond the agricultural reform of 10 thousand years ago. Those countries that greatly grew in power dreamed of supremacy by force, only to get involved in all-out war, in a dog-eat-dog scenario.

Long ago, abundant snowmelt from the Himalayas and the Tibetan Plateau grew into great rivers, the Ganges, Brahmaputra and Indus Rivers, the Yellow River, Yangtze River and Mekong River. Asian ethnic groups used to be important players in the development of agrarian civilization originating from control of the great rivers. However, in the 19th century most of them were colonized or half-colonized by industrialized nations, which gained huge power through coal burning. The water civilization bowed down to the fire one.

Then, in the first half of 20th century, a golden age of imperialism, three new powers appeared, the leaders of which in turn produced strong power to change the world in the latter half of the century.

The first of the three powers is the new liberal thinking by the U.S., which gained extraordinary power due to its victories in two world wars. The U.S. advocated the establishment of the League of Nations after World War I, while after World War II, the U.S. became an advocate for organizing the United Nations and adopting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the free-trade system. In this way, the U.S. dared to put forward the idea that the global society should be organized as a single community.

The second one is the power to correct huge disparities in industrial society. The Industrial Revolution not only created great wealth but possibly caused social gaps. With regard to a social structure, I think it is natural for any human society to be shaped like a rugby ball, because swelling up in the middle means a society having more population in its middle class. I think it's correct. An early industrialized society often turns out to be a gourd in shape, meaning that the gap between rich and poor widens, resulting in a dysfunctional society. The communism originating in Germany approved an armed class conflict and advocated revolution. Communism created revolutions in Russia and other countries, while in some countries it took the shape of an authoritarian mindset that embellished authority. In the meantime, in the Western democracies, moderate socialists have continued to strive toward the policy goal of the redistribution of wealth

by way of parliamentary government.

The third power, with the most enormous impact on the world, was the awakening and independence of Asian and African nations represented by Mahatma Gandhi. According to his autobiography, he was involved in World War I as a medical soldier. He said that at the time he did not have any doubt about his obligations to the British Empire. Afterwards, however, he accomplished the great feat of freeing India from the fetters of the Empire by preaching non-violence (ahimsa). I wonder what made Gandhi awaken. We often hear that the racial discrimination he experienced in an African train made him awaken. Instead, I think he awakened to the very love for mankind.

Gandhi calls it “satya” (truth). He preached that it is important to stand firm (agraha) with truth, and that truth contains love, which produces power. The teaching does not suggest any passive resistance, neither languid nor inactive. The thought of fighting it out for the sake of love of mankind while denying violence was lit in the mind of Gandhi. He adopted the Hindu doctrine of “ahimsa.” The flame in Gandhi’s heart before long lit fires in the hearts of billions of people who were deprived of sovereignty. Thus in the latter half of the 20th century, most Asian and African colonies attained independence.

As for the books that had an impact on him, Gandhi pointed to the works of Swami Vivekananda and Nikolayevich Tolstoy, in particular the one titled “The kingdom of God is in your midst.” Tolstoy called God’s love that Christians believe in “truth” and called God “love”; he said God gives human beings absolute freedom, and he likened the energy from that freedom to steam that drives steam locomotives and steamboats. A great power that drives people from inside is also referred to by Tolstoy as God and love and truth. And Tolstoy denied violence, too.

Someone who had an ideological impact on this great man, Tolstoy, is William Lloyd Garrison, an abolitionist activist of the United States in the first half of the 19th century. He was persecuted for saying that slavery violates the teachings of God; he advocated the emancipation of slaves. However, in 1838 at an assembly in Chicago he declared a platform of negation of violence. It touched the heart of Tolstoy. The event occurred 20 years before the Civil War in the U.S., which Lincoln eventually won to emancipate African American slaves.

Another figure especially worth mentioning is Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the father of the American civil rights movement. He changed the history of mankind as well. The racial discrimination in nations all over the world that was widespread until the first half of the 20th century disappeared like mold exposed to the sun. The reason why the United States remains the leader of the world is that they have come to apply universal principles of nation-building, freedom and equality to all people regardless of their race and nationality.

The speeches of Rev. King remind us that in the world just as there are laws of physics, there is a moral foundation, “spiritual,” as Rev. King said. On the night when he received a call warning him of assassination, Rev. King said, “I saw a flash” and wrote, “I heard Jesus Christ saying ‘Continue to fight out.’ ” The spiritual experience he had is remarkably similar to that of Gandhi. Rev. King also denied violence, and he too was struck down by an assassin’s bullet.

We will eventually see a wave of inspiration coming from these great people, Garrison of Chicago, Tolstoy of Russia, Gandhi of India and Rev. King of Montgomery flowing around the earth across centuries and continents and moving people. We will see how intensively, how long and far the strength to pursue human dignity as well as the equality of all people can drive people from their hearts.

The source of strength is love. As for “love,” in Japanese I think the wording “gentleness” makes more sense. Prof. Nakamura of the Nakamura Hajime Eastern Institute referred to love as “warm-heartedness.”

“Warm-heartedness” inspires enthusiasm for justice. Truth that gleams deep inside yourself is, as Gandhi says, gentleness with which all human beings are endowed.

Whoever realizes this is absolutely free and unwavering. Whoever finds their own position can confidently go by themselves without guidance in the forest.

Jesus Christ, in the teachings known as the Sermon on the Mount, said “Everyone who shall be in accordance with my teachings should build their house on a rock.” Meanwhile, Buddha said, “Make in yourself an island that is not washed away in the flood of desire.” Chinese Buddhism teaches, “Live based on your own light and on the law.” These two teachings express the same effect, I think.

Truth gleams in the depth of the mind of each individual. To affirm this means to have respect for the dignity of individuals. Each individual is endowed with dignity, because he embodies what he really is as he is, irrespective of color, religion, political belief and gender as well as regardless of whether he is handicapped or not.

Justice originates from an individual, which produces freedom as one set of values. I think this is a liberal way of thinking. The ways of thinking about justice indeed are different for different people. However, the source of energy that gives people the power to realize justice is the “warm-heartedness” with which each of us is endowed.

Therefore, we face the same direction called “good.”

We are thus in a position to – and obliged to – discuss things in order to reach a consensus, create a society of justice and reform society. Just doing this makes the voice of the people the voice of heaven. Systematization of this, I think, is democracy. Political power is nothing but a tool to enforce the law that is produced through discussion. Democratic thought is important because democracy is a system that is rooted in the truth of mankind. The ideas that, “Where there are people, there is the law” and “The voice of heaven is the voice of the people” are rooted deep in the hearts of us Asian people. The Asian spiritual tradition represented by Gandhi provides a fertile spiritual ground in which modern democracy originating in the West can take deep root.

To my regret, it was not communist authoritarian states but the Western, so-called

advanced democratic states that caused great hardship for Asian countries through colonization prior to their independence. I feel it is inevitable that in the post-war period Asian countries politically held the line against the West. After the end of the Cold War, however, one country after another in Asia has, with pride, become democratized. The Philippines, represented today by President Arroyo in this symposium, became the forerunner of democratized nations in East Asia. Democratization in East Asia started with the Philippine Revolution in 1986. Then the wave of democratization spread through Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia and Myanmar.

Many of these countries have industrialized. What we have learned two centuries since the industrial revolution is that good governance, diligence and education can in fact make any country industrialized.

Now it is time for Japan and many Western democratic nations to start building a trusting and mutually respectful relationship that shares the same values with increasingly prosperous Asian countries. With the price of our blood, we at last in the 20th century have obtained a post-war liberal international order. The time has arrived to support international society based on the rule of law in cooperation with many Asian countries.

I would like to thank you all for your kind attention today.

15. Tunku Zain Al-'Abidin ibni Tuanku Muhriz

President and Co-Founder, Institute for Democracy and Economic Affairs, Malaysia

Good afternoon distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It's my privilege to be back here in Tokyo: a city that shows how dense urbanisation, capitalist-propelled development and democratic progress can go hand in hand in a city steeped in so much history. Thank you to the Japan Foundation, Vivekananda International Foundation and Nakamura Hajime Eastern Institute for inviting me to be a part of today's conference.

Liberation and democratisation in Asia is a complex story. As already mentioned this afternoon, our continent is geographically so vast and is home to so many different cultural and religious narratives that have given rise to multiple justifications for political legitimacy; and our myriad interactions with powers within ourselves and outside Asia, whether in imperial, diplomatic – or right now, football – terms, has also been varied.

The terms themselves may be contested: certain geographical areas or communities may have more legitimacy than others in seeking “liberation”, and the means by which it is sought also matters: do violent means justify supposedly peaceful ends?

And so, we can speak of liberation movements as those which secured independence from foreign powers, such as the case of India or Cambodia; Indonesia or Kazakhstan; Bangladesh or Timor-Leste. But we can also speak of liberation movements as those that ended oppressive national governments. Of course, many of these are subjective and require the benefit of hindsight, but many might point to certain periods of Indonesian, Philippine or South Korean history where a transition took place from a more authoritarian government towards a stronger democracy. Some countries like Afghanistan, Iraq and Myanmar now seem to be undergoing such a process, even if the starting points and expectations might be different.

Of course, liberation does not necessarily lead to immediate democratisation: and some countries were liberated from an imperial power only to need liberation from its own oppressive government soon after.

Furthermore, definitions of “democracy” remain contested. As we can see today in many democracies such as the United States of America, different people emphasise different aspects based on their political ideology. Some aspects, like rule of law, separation of powers, elections and freedom of expression seem obvious, but other areas like education and welfare, health and defence can be fiercely contested in the name of “democracy” – as can assumptions of the primacy of the individual versus the primary of the community.

That is why it is useful to learn from the real experience of countries and leaders, such as India and Mahatma Gandhi, although exploring his struggle for India's liberation through *satyagraha* and its subsequent democratisation would require another conference in itself.

Many people have noted how Martin Luther King was inspired by him, but throughout Asia too his legacy has been invoked as people seek freedom. This was the case as Tunku Abdul Rahman sought independence for Malaya. As observed by the scholar S Durai Raja Singam in a tribute to the latter, “The Mahatma and the Tunku are of men of two different moulds, but they have very much in common... Both were barristers of the Inner Temple [and had great wit and humour]. When Ghandhiji sought independence from India, it was a struggle that inspired and aided the freedom movement in other Asian countries. The Tunku’s achievement of Merdeka for Malaya is already leading to the freedom of four other territories which merge with this country in Malaysia.”

Despite these optimistic pronouncements at the foundation of so many countries, democratic values have nonetheless been assaulted. This can happen particularly when authoritarian leaders who come to power through elections attempt to centralise power at the expense of checks and balances. Corruption and money politics can compromise the integrity of independent institutions. And competing interpretations of the constitution - often on religious grounds - have challenged the democratic origins and intentions of the founding fathers. Throughout Asia there have been many examples where promising democracies have slid backwards with long lasting consequences on economic prosperity and political freedoms. In this regard, comparative tools such as the Economist’s Democracy Index help us understand the relative states of democracy throughout the world.

My own country has just seen its biggest political event in decades. Two months ago Malaysian voters enabled a possibly new trajectory for the country when the parties of the governing coalition were rejected for the first time since independence, after years of perceived erosion in institutions such as the judiciary, police, election commission, media and others, apart from the use of oppressive legislation and a massive corruption scandal implicating the former Prime Minister.

I say “possibly” because there is no guarantee that all the promises of reform will actually come to fruition. After all, the new Prime Minister is the same man who is widely deemed to be responsible for the erosion of democracy when he led the country in the eighties and nineties.

Some initial signs bode well though, such as the appointment of a highly respected and independent lawyer as Attorney General who believes in separating his role as legal advisor from also being public prosecutor. However, it seems his first task is to prosecute the former Prime Minister who was formally arrested and charged yesterday.

With more members of the cabinet being appointed last week too, the priority for us in civil society is to ensure that there is enough political pressure to ensure that the manifesto pledges will come true regardless of whether or not Dr Mahathir has changed.

In terms of foreign policy it seems that both India and Japan are priority countries, with the visit of Prime Minister Modi to Malaysia and Mahathir’s visit to Japan taking place a few days within each other. From the latter, the “Look East” policy is a buzzword again. But while previously the focus was on industrial and infrastructure development with knowledge exchange

on technical expertise, today there is a new geopolitical dimension with the rise of China. And so I believe there should be a democratic element too: the shared realisation that open tenders and transparent bidding with the rule of law and fair contracts is superior for economic and political development, without compromising on national sovereignty.

The other contemplation brought about by this renewed bilateral engagement is the lessons that Malaysia can learn from Japan. Both the UMNO party in Malaysia and the Liberal Democratic Party in Japan have dominated their national politics since 1955. Of course the circumstances of their setbacks are different: not just in terms of the themes of the campaign, but also the fact that the opposition coalition in Malaysia was led by a veteran who had been Prime Minister before.

But one valid question is how the losers will react. Having been defeated, Japan's LDP managed to win again the next time round: voters either thought the government had failed, or conversely, that the LDP managed to reform itself. And so in Malaysia now, the question is whether UMNO will be able to adjust to new realities. However, the two so-called "moderate" or "reform" candidates for the party presidency lost last week to the party's deputy who was also Deputy Prime Minister.

Despite this period of excitement, I am also aware that the state of democracy in Malaysia is very much healthier compared to many other Asian countries. But while we pride ourselves as being a multi-racial, multicultural and multi-religious country for tourism purposes, unfortunately this diversity has also been used all too often to justify authoritarian policies.

But if Malaysia can institutionalise reforms according to its original constitution that followed the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi, then we go one step closer to proving that liberty and democracy – just like football aspirations in the World Cup – are indeed Asian and universal values that can complement our great cultures and traditions.

Thank you.

16. Pema Khandu

Chief Minister of Arunachal Pradesh, India

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

Konnichiwa

Japan is the Land of Rising Sun. I come from the state of Arunachal Pradesh in India, which literally means 'Land of Rising Sun'. I am most delighted to be here amongst you all today. My warm regards to my co-presenters in this Second Panel Session.

At the outset let me first congratulate NIKKEI Inc., The Japan Foundation, The Nakamura Hajime Eastern Institute of Japan, Vivekanand International Foundation and the International Buddhist Confederation for organizing this fourth symposium on '***Shared Values and Democracy in Asia.***' I would also like to complement the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan for supporting this unique initiative that discusses values that Asian states commonly share and the role these shared values play in sustaining the democratic institutions.

I am honored to speak today on the universal legacy of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of our nation or *Bapu* as we fondly call him in India. '*Experience of Liberation and Democratization in Asia*' is a very thought provoking topic. It talks of unique and many a times overlapping concepts-Liberation and Democratization as seen through the prism of Mahatma Gandhi's legacy in Asia. These concepts are integral part of the shared history and culture that begin with the spread of philosophies of Hinduism, Buddhism, Shintoism and other similar teachings. They can be traced in the struggle against colonial powers and reflect themselves in coming together of Asian and African states in Bandung. The waters of the Indo-Pacific have borne witness to these shared civilizational values and have carried with them the traditions that sustained over time.

The legacy of Mahatma Gandhi is also not distinct. In fact it embodies these concepts. He showed the world that *Satyagraha* or Truth Force and *Ahimsa* or Non-Violence can be marshalled to create a more just world. From his struggle against colonialism to fighting societal ills, Mahatma Gandhi had striven for liberation of the masses and more democratic power to the citizens.

You would be aware that Mahatma Gandhi's experiments with the use of truth against violence in South Africa were later developed to create a mass peace movement in India, of a kind the world had never seen. This inspired movements against colonialism and imperialism across the world. His thoughts and actions inspired people and leaders across the world including Martin Luther King Jr. in America, Lech Walessa in Poland, Nelson Mandela in South Africa, Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam, Kwame Nkrumah in the British colony of the Gold Coast, Gedong Bagus Oka's work in Indonesia, Aung San Suu Kyi in Myanmar, Dalai Lama and the list continues. Former Vice President of Indonesia Boediono called Mahatma Gandhi "*the guiding light of our inspiration*".

Today, in this august gathering, we are people of different nationalities, with different lifestyles, but what binds us is the fact that the roots of our civilisations are in our shared philosophies, history and heritage. Spreading from India to Central and Southeast Asia, China, Korea, and Japan - Buddhism has played a central role in the spiritual, cultural, and social life of Asia. I am a practicing Buddhist and we have a large population practising Buddhism in Arunachal Pradesh. Arunachal is home to the world's second largest monastery in the form of Tawang Monastery.

Gandhiji in his autobiography *'My Experiments with Truth'* writes about *'The Light of Asia'*. He writes *'That renunciation was the highest form of religion appealed to me greatly'*. While this has spiritual connotations as well, I think, he also meant liberation. Liberation from slavery, liberation from poverty, liberation to express one's views freely and liberation to live an equal life. Aren't these also the principles of a Democratic society? The values of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity enshrined in the Constitution of India have been derived from the teachings of Lord Buddha. Mahatma Gandhi too propagated these values. He advocated equality-equality among citizens and sovereign equality among nations. The values of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity form the cornerstone of Panchsheel and can be seen in the fundamental principles of ASEAN. In my view Mahatma Gandhi's influence on the Asian nations was no less than the influence of Buddhism.

Today under our Prime Minister Narendra Modi, India is striving hard to fulfil the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi. Working with the guiding principle of *'Antyodaya'*, we are working towards delivering governance to the *'last person'*. Gandhi ji's Talisman or test is our guiding star, *'Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest person whom you may have seen, and ask yourself, if the step you contemplate, is going to be of any use to them. Will they gain anything by it? Will it restore them to a control over their own life and destiny? In other words, will it lead to swaraj [freedom] for the hungry and spiritually starving millions?'*

Ladies and Gentlemen, today when the world is confronted with evils like terrorism, hatred and rising neo-colonialism Gandhiji's legacy becomes even more relevant. And we need not look beyond, Mahatma Gandhi's life was his message.

Thank You!

Arigato Gozaimashita!

17. Ketty Wan-I Chen

Vice President, Taiwan Foundation for Democracy, Taiwan

Why democracy in Taiwan persists: a post-Sunflower Movement puzzle

More than half a million Taiwanese flooded the streets of Taipei on March 31st, 2014 to demonstrate their support forst the democracy activists who scaled the wall of the Legislative Yuan two weeks prior. The demonstrators crowded Ketagalan Boulevard, an open road in front of the Presidential Office, and permeated the surrounding streets extending north to the Legislative Yuan and south to Liberty Square and the National Central Library. The activists consisted on mainly youths entered and occupied the Legislative Chamber to protest the Cross-Strait Service Trade agreement (CSSTA), Taiwan's Ma Ying-jeou administration signed with the People's Republic of China. The protesters would ultimately occupy the Legislative Yuan for twenty-three days, and the movement would now be known as the "Sunflower Movement", the largest social movement in Taiwan's recent political history.

To many Taiwan observers were surprised by the Sunflower Movement. They deemed the Sunflower Movement as a worrisome event. To them, the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) was elected to power by the mandate of majority, and if the citizens were unsatisfied with the KMT governance, they should resort to the Schumpeterian minimalist definition of what democrats should do when they are unhappy with the regime – vote the party out in the next election. Some of these observers even wrote articles and opinion pieces to condemn the young protesters as illegitimate, violent and destructive to Taiwan's democracy, especially those who attempted to occupy the Executive Yuan on March 23rd-24th.¹ What these Taiwan observers failed to understand was the Sunflower Movement's fundamental mandate and its legitimacy with the public was actually the Movement's mission to protect Taiwan's democracy. One of the most frequent slogans the young activists chanted was "Protect Democracy! Repeal the CSSTA! (退回服貿, 捍衛民主)". Under this view, the Sunflower Movement not only marked a critical juncture of Taiwan's political history, it should be seen as an event that consequently helped to stabilize and assist the persistence of Taiwan's democracy and democratic system.

Democratization in Taiwan

It's been three decades since Taiwan's transition to democracy. According to Shelley Rigger, many Taiwan observers viewed Taiwan's direct presidential election in 1996 as the marker of Taiwan's democratization (Rigger, 1999). In the last thirty years, the quality of

1 David Brown of Johns Hopkins' SAIS and a board member of the American Institute in Taiwan (AIT), wrote in a response to DPP legislator Hsiao Bi-khim's article, "it is remarkable that the students reacted so quickly at same evening to occupy the LY...the KMT has accused the DPP of instigating this action. An accusation many believed. Unnamed DPP legislators were reportedly on the scene later that evening; and the party endorsed the action the following day, and then encouraged all its members to support the students' illegal occupation". According to Brown, "rather than have the DPP LY caucus responsible for continuing to block consideration of the [CS]STA, wasn't it in the DPP's interest to have students play that role?...the DPP will go to whatever lengths are necessary to back the majority when their key interests are involved or what it suits the DPP's election mobilization goals to exploit issues for political advantage". Alan Romberg of Stimson Center also entered his criticism of the Sunflower activists by writing in the Nelson Report that "...while as an American I very much respect free speech, I am not in favor of activities that disrupt the government, either in the legislature of the Executive Yuan, and I regret any suggestion that the students have been encouraged to proceed along that course¹".

Taiwan's democracy continued to advance. Even though scholars and members of the NGO communities are still critical of Taiwan's democratic development on issues such as transitional justice, the treatment of ethnic minority, migrant workers and even on gender based violence, Taiwan has consistently ranked as one of the most free and democratic countries in the world by international organizations such as Freedom House (Freedom House, 2017), Human Rights Watch (HRW, 2017) and Reporters Without Borders (World Press Freedom Index, 2017). Even though Taiwan's modern political history has never been short of instances of large scaled protests, street marches and political rallies that drawn tens of thousands of citizens to the streets, Taiwan's democracy remained intact and strong and has never come close to breaking down. Therefore, the purpose of this talk investigates the puzzle of such resilience of democracy in Taiwan.

Main Variables for Democracy Resilience

I am purposing four major variables to explain the democratic resilience of Taiwan. First, during the critical junctures of democratic crisis, certain socially well-embedded and established civil society leaders, instead of some populist leaders or demagogues, were willing and able to assume the responsibilities to invoke the awareness of the public and mobilize the masses to defend democracy. Second, in response to the mass demonstration, among the ruling elites, there are also the presence of soft-liners that are willing to accommodate policy, procedural, or ideological demands, and, thus, to make some yielding compromises. Such soft-line elite were also able to translate the social demands to implementable and concrete policies or political measures to ease the tension in the critical juncture threatening the persistence of democracy. Once the masses are mobilized, the strategy adopted by the social movement must be non-violent. More importantly, the social movement's priority must be for the preservation of democracy instead of serving a populist leader's personal agenda or partisan power struggle. Third, the principal purpose of the public demonstrations from civil society must be for the preservation or advancement of democracy instead of for other religious or ideological reasons.

Variable 1 : Well-embedded and established civil society leaders who were willing and able to invoke mass public demonstration to defend democracy.

I contend that during the critical junctures of Taiwan's political history when Taiwan's democracy was in danger of being tarnished, some civil society leaders that are well-embedded with other organizations and groups were willing to rise up to invoke awareness of the masses and to take the leadership to organize public demonstration for the protection of democracy and democratic institutions and practices. Such a leadership may be assumed by those who society considered as prestigious or well-respected; it may also be a group of civil society organization leaders regardless of age group, who share common views regarding democracy and are in solidarity to work together. Without any abovementioned leadership and attitudinal characteristics, the authors contend such democracy preserving movement would not take place. In some other cases, when a young or fragile democracy is under threat, there may either be no civil society leader that can come out to organize a resistance, or the civil society is too fragmented to be organized under one leader.

Variable 2 : Among the ruling elites, there were soft-liners who were willing to negotiate and accommodate different policy proposals, procedural or ideological demands, and thus to make some yielding compromise.

As identified by Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter for authoritarian regimes (O'Donnell & Schmitter, 1986), under the democratic context, the hardliner and soft-liner groups also exist. And, during the critical political juncture, the two groups' point of contention became whether the ruling administration continued to forge ahead with its political positions and policies with coercive repression, or does the administration grant the opportunity to form the symbiotic relationship with the civil society leaders to stabilize and harness Taiwan's democratic institutions. Furthermore, hardliners within the regime view the civil society protesters on the streets as a force to overthrow or remove the current administration, whereas the soft-liners tend to understand, though not fully agree with, why the social forces rise up to contend and thus willing to communicate and negotiate. In response to the appeal of social movement, the soft-liner ruling elites are willing to accommodate different policy or procedural positions raised by the social contenders, and thus the political agenda of the protesting social forces can be absorbed into the democratic political system.

More specifically, the interaction between the democracy preserving and defending civil society leaders and the soft-liners within the ruling elites, whose position ultimately trounced the hard-liners, were the critical reason for the preservation of democracy. During the critical junctures in Taiwan's political history, the two groups were willing to form a symbiotic relationship to not only prevent democracy from toppling, but to in turn strengthen the democratic practices and institutions².

In some other cases, such as Fujimori's Peru or Erdogan's Turkey, the ruling elite responded to the social protest with repression or coercion. In such cases, the hard confrontation between the civil society and the hard-liners of the regime exacerbated the deterioration of democracy.

Variable 3 : Once the masses were mobilized, the demonstration strategy adopted by the social movement was non-violent in nature. More importantly, the movement's main mission and priority was for the preservation of democracy instead of serving a populist leader's personal agenda or partisan power struggle.

For the case of Taiwan's democratic persistence, the civil social leaders have all chosen to practice non-violent way to protest and to demand for political change. Non-violent nature of the social movement delegitimizes the regime and allows the social movement to occupy moral heights. The larger the crowd appealing to non-violent civil disobedience, the more powerful the movement becomes. Unlike the Jasmine Revolution or the Egyptian Revolution of 2011, the leaders of civil society of Taiwan honored the rule of law by their willingness to accept the legal consequences of their actions. Moreover, the social movement was not utilized by politicians for personal, factional, or partisan power struggle. In addition, all the three cases of social

² For examples of the relationship between the elites of the KMT regime and the opposition, see Thomas B. Gold, *State and Society in the Taiwan Miracle*, Armonk, M.E. Sharpe, 1986; Peter Moody, *Political Change on Taiwan: A Study of Ruling Party Adaptability*, New York, Praeger, 1992 and Shelley Rigger *Politics in Taiwan: Voting for Democracy*, London, Routledge, 1999.

movements identified in this chapter in Taiwan, the movement was relatively autonomous to the opposition political party or the soft-liners of the regime. This is not to say, however, the actors had no necessary communications. In Thailand, as a comparison, when the social movements are utilized or mobilized by political figures in a power struggle, it loses legitimacy to mobilize and unify more supporters for the cause.

Variable 4: The priority goal or main mission of the civil society and participants of the social movement was for the preservation and advancement of democracy, democratic practices and institutions and not for ideological purposes. In other words, ideological goals never trumped the betterment of democracy for the social movements.

The last factor is that the civil society that is engaged in resisting the autocracy must put the value of democracy in front of other religious or ideological goals. In Taiwan, the social movements' main mission were to defend democracy. For example, although there was a very strong stream of voices of advocating Taiwan independence in the Sunflower Movement, the call to defend Taiwan's democracy was the common denominator of the movement. A reverse case is the Muslim Brotherhood in the transition of Egypt. While the social movement was originally aimed at overthrowing the authoritarian regime and building a more democratic political order, the forces of Muslim Brothers directed the movement toward building a social and political order that was not tolerant of plural mundane values and religious beliefs.

Three critical junctures examined

I will identify and examine three critical junctures of Taiwan's political history. These critical junctures solidify the relationships between social movement elites and ruling administration soft-liner. The three critical junctures are: 1) The Wild Lilly Movement; 2) The Red Shirt Movement and 3) The Sunflower Movement. Scrutinizing the relationships between the protesters at Liberty Square and their demand for the re-election of the "Century old" Parliamentarians and Lee Teng-hui administration; the leaders of the Red Shirts and the Chen Shui-bian administration, and the relationship between the young protesters of the Sunflower Movement and members of the Ma Ying-jeou administration will demonstrate that the components of Taiwanese society, whether it be the protesters (social movement activists), ruling elite and the public, all have consistent goal; that is, to utilize whatever political or social tool possible to achieve their ultimate political goal, but more importantly, to also preserve Taiwan's democratic system at the same time. The unifying belief for the Taiwanese is that democracy is part of their being and should be protected and preserved at all cost. I will then seek to conclude that the willingness of the political actors to engage and collaborate through this complex relationship was the main reason for Taiwan's democracy to persist for the past three decades and for the future.

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18. Sujit Dutta

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Mohandas K. Gandhi, the iconic leader of India's national liberation movement, is revered across the country and the world as *Mahatma* Gandhi, who imbued politics and India's freedom struggle with an ethical and moral purpose well beyond the immediate goal of independence from colonialism. No other political leader in modern times had done so. He thereby became an inspiration for Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela and others who embraced many of his ideas. Without his political role and thought as guide, the Indian freedom movement would perhaps have been more elitist, been less discerning about violent means, and less infused with moral issues of politics. It was also largely because of his deep impact on the political process that post-Independence Indian governments remained concerned with the social and economic needs of the poor. Till his entry into its harsh world, politics was understood essentially in terms of pursuit of power and interests – of class, party or nation. Gandhi introduced the ends and means relationship as a fundamental basis of his new politics. Not only the ends should be noble but the means should be noble too – was a strong critique of *realpolitik*. His ideas remain a powerful critique of both domestic politics and international politics as they are conducted even today.

The nationalist movement in India till the return of Gandhi from South Africa in 1915 was searching for a unifying leader who would become the rallying point for the contending political strategies of the moderates and the radical wings for national liberation. Gandhi became the unifying leader under whom all factions and ideologies could rally round, and also the guide who would steer the political struggle through a path that shunned violence but at the same time transformed the freedom struggle into a vast movement into which all classes, men and women, old and young, moderates and radicals were drawn. He transformed the national struggle into the largest peaceful mass movement ever with a mission to replace the British colonial rule with a new form of democratic state where the *raja dharma* is one of service and welfare of the people. He visualised a state that governs through consensus and persuasion and not coercion, and has a democratic system of decentralised interconnected largely self-sufficient, self-governing communities. His call for non-violence or a peaceful path appealed to the moderates, women and the older people, his mass struggles attracted the radicals, and his ethical and moral politics drew in the idealists. Millions joined Gandhi in crafting the largest independence and democratic national struggle inspired by his *idealpolitik*.

It was among the greatest contribution of Gandhi to take the concept of *Swaraj* or 'self-rule' and imbue it with a content in which the goal would not be to remove colonialism alone but to replace the entire structure of colonial ideology, administration and economy with an entirely different system of state in which the *dharma* of politics and governance would be service for the welfare of the people. The binary between the ruler and the ruled would give way in such an order. Coercion, repression and propaganda would be replaced by Satya and Ahimsa or truth and non-violence. For Gandhi, India was not struggling for independence but *Swaraj*. This new meaning changed the national discourse with wide transformational political impact. While Gandhi was not the only leader of India's national struggle –there were many other tall leaders

such as Subhash Chandra Bose, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel with their own visions – but Gandhi was the undisputed leader of the masses and for national liberation till his tragic passing away in January 1948.

II

That India would be a democracy was an idea universally shared among the modern Indian national elite from the early 19th century onwards. Ram Mohan Roy and his colleagues and followers had worked closely with his Irish and Scottish friends in Calcutta to popularise the ideas of liberalism, democracy, and a rational scientific temper as the most important task for the new India. That India would be a democracy was an idea that was shared among the political elites across the country, though small pockets of resistance remained within some of the princely states. However, given the growth and expanse of the idea over 100 years it was not difficult to have the consensus to draw up a democratic Constitution.

Gandhi was a severe critic of modern industrial system, parliamentary democracy and representative politics seeing them as deeply penetrated by money, violence, and exploitation of the people. His concept of *Ram Rajya* was an idealpolitik where grass root democracy prevailed in largely self-sufficient communities. He was similarly against modern capitalism and saw it as exploitative of both man and nature. Such a Gandhian idealpolitik cannot be built in an international environment of inequity, violence, use of force and culture of realpolitik. However, that it is a higher value for which Asia must aspire and which would bring collective gain is being recognised. Gandhian ideas and critique have continuing appeal among people from diverse cultures even when some of them are not implementable immediately.

He recognised that the Indian modernists such as Jawaharlal Nehru did not favour Gandhi's developmental or decentralised democratic model as a feasible alternative to parliamentary democracy, capitalism and effective welfare state for rapidly transforming independent India, and therefore he did not stand in the way. The Constituent Assembly, in 1946-49, worked to create a modern welfare state based on democracy, universal adult suffrage, rule of law, federalism, with reservations in educational institutions and jobs for the tribal and *dalit* (*subaltern*) classes. However, the reservations were a legacy of Gandhi's agreement with the dalit leader Bhimrao Ambedkar worked out in Poona in September 1932. It was also Gandhi's influence that Ambedkar, a *dalit*, was made the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly that drew up the Indian Constitution in 1950. Similarly, the 1992 Constitutional Amendments 72 and 73 or the '*panchayati raj* bills' that initiated widespread reforms in the local governments across rural and urban India, and which today reserves 33 to 50 per cent of the seats for women in all local elected bodies, are directly inspired by Gandhian thought.

III

India was an extremely poor country in 1947 when it became independent despite its vast natural and human resources. The British rule had ravaged its economy, created terrible poverty and illiteracy among the peasantry as a result of its land revenue policies that precluded modernisation and caused numerous famines. Till well into the 1970s few gave India a chance

to survive population pressure and poverty, or to succeed as a democracy.

In the 70 years since Independence, India has not had any famine, its poverty has declined from over 80 per cent in 1947 to 15 %, its economy is now among the largest in the world. It is also one of the largest food exporters, and its achievements in controlling diseases that killed millions during British rule is today recognised universally. There have been waves of democratisation in the country empowering millions. It is significantly because of Gandhi and Nehru that a culture of coexistence, tolerance of diversity, and accommodation that India has not witnessed the bloody civil wars or the long years of authoritarian or totalitarian rule. Against all odds it has been the most successful democracy outside the G-7 developed states. While India has to do much more to become a prosperous, stronger and less factional democracy, the achievements are not small for a large developing country. The ideological and political legacy of Mahatma Gandhi has been a force of transformation— coexistence, non-violent political solutions, concern for the poor, and working for social reforms, equity and Swaraj.

It must be mentioned that Gandhi was not always an unconditional pacifist—he did not oppose India sending troops to Kashmir in the face of Pakistan's aggression in October 1947, and had helped recruit Indians for the British War effort in 1914-15. These were seen as special cases involving self-defence and protection of the liberal democracies. These underline the fact that Gandhi was well grounded in the immediate needs of the society and concerns of the people around him.

Throughout Asia, the culture of politics and foreign policy is gradually changing. Japan has Article 9 in its Constitution, ASEAN states have Treaty of Amity and Cooperation and the ASEAN Way, and South Korea, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh have all moved strongly towards democracy and peaceful foreign policies. Indian foreign policy has long been rooted in values of peaceful coexistence, peaceful resolution of disputes and law. Yet Asia has been for some time now passing through a phase of geopolitical tensions and uncertainties. Gandhi's legacy has much to offer for further transformation of politics in Asia, progress of the peaceful path, of squaring ends and means, sustainable development, and building a law based international order conducive for the era of deepening interdependence and coexistence.

19. Jorge Villamor Tigno

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Civility lies at the core of any genuine, humane, and liberal democratic society. Respect for civil liberties and the establishment of stable institutions for order and accountability are essential ingredients to a working democratic system. Over the last decade or so, however, the Philippines appears to be losing ground to uncivility and illiberality and that is putting it mildly.

A Philippines cleric and former president of the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) has described the events taking place in the country in the last two years as “the Reign of Murder and Vulgarity” and has called on the people to denounce the ills that are “slowly eating up our national soul” (Esmaquel 2018). The following remarks are but a few exaggerated (but nevertheless truthful) observations about politics in the Philippines. What is this political culture of uncivility in the Philippines and what makes it so wrong are the key points to be made in this short talk.

The Philippines was once the site of the first national liberation movement in Asia at the end of the 19th century. Even though it did not thoroughly succeed at the time, it did engender anti-colonial movements elsewhere in the world. In the 20th century, the Philippines was once again put on the map as the starting point in East Asia for what Samuel Huntington would refer to as the third wave of democratization (Shin 2008).

Perhaps it was the result of years of oppression by a dictator or perhaps it was a serendipitous appreciation of the sheer power of peace, millions of Filipinos in 1986 undertook what might well be the first successful, spontaneous, non-violent anti-dictatorship struggle in the world. It ushered in a wave of democratization in East Asia (see Carothers 2002) and was said to have inspired prodemocracy movements elsewhere in the world during the remaining years of the 20th century (see Hedman and Sidel 2000 and Palatino 2016). It even ushered in a new term – people power (Mendoza 2009: 179).

Nonviolent struggle against oppression and the armed might of the state is not for the faint-hearted. Mahatma Gandhi teaches the importance of sacrifice, and the passion for nonviolent struggle against imperial domination, discrimination, and institutionalized violence. It is impossible to prove but Gandhi may have had a certain popular (if indirect) appeal among those engaged in the struggle against the Marcos dictatorship. The award-winning movie “Gandhi” was first shown in the Philippines in 1982, around the time the popular anti-Marcos struggle was starting to pick up. Moreover, and quite ironically, the premier of the film took place at the opening of the Manila Film Center – a structure ordered built by Imelda Marcos, wife of the dictator – with lead actor, Ben Kingsley, in attendance (Munger 2013).

Three decades later, we find the Philippines in a totally different social and political climate. If 1986 was the cusp of the democratization wave in the Philippines, today represents its nadir. The country’s sense of rule of law has deteriorated significantly (Fonbuena 2018). Its peace and order situation has also suffered a significant decline over the last few years (Cabico

2018) due, no doubt, to the almost mindless pursuit of body count after body count in the war against illegal drugs. The International Criminal Court (ICC) has launched an investigation into the current government's role in the anti-drugs campaign that has taken the shape of a crime against humanity (Ellis-Petersen 2018). As well, critical observations from the United Nations, the European Union, and human rights groups, among many others, have been made of the state of the rule of law (or lack thereof) in the Philippines. From a peace loving country, the Philippines has become the second least peaceful country in the Asia Pacific after North Korea (Mangosing 2018 and Cabico 2018). All this uncertainty and insecurity has led millions of Filipinos to find comfort and security elsewhere.

Democracy in the Philippines has been associated more with the absolute and irresponsible exercise of freedoms rather than with resilient, strong, and accountable institutions (see Guerrero and Tusalem 2008) perhaps as a knee-jerk reaction to years under authoritarian rule. However, we seem unable to outgrow this transitional outlook. Such strong and popular emphasis on individual rights and liberties obtaining in societies undergoing democratic transition may explain the weakness or stunted character of social and political institutions in countries like the Philippines (see Mendoza 2009; Croissant 2004 and Hutchcroft and Rocamora 2003). Populist “me-first” attitudes create the conditions for patrimonialism (see Hutchcroft 1998) to thrive in the country. Today, patrimonialism is indeed thriving in the Philippines and it goes by the name of Rodrigo Duterte.

Philippine democracy is now at its worst – one that is increasingly being preserved in the formaldehyde of disconcerting “me-first” attitudes, irreverence, skepticism, and hate. Populist hyper-partisanship has precluded any attempt on the part of all sides of society to engage in meaningful, fruitful, and peaceful dialogue – the hallmark of any genuine democratic system. This cloud of hyperpartisanship (i.e., of protecting the leader at any cost) has enveloped the government at the expense of genuine and self-less public service, according to a distinguished Filipino journalist (Vitug 2018) and has polarized politics in the Philippines resulting in the shrinking of democratic space where moderates from all sides can converse.

The legacy of the 1986 people power uprising now seems a distant and fleeting memory. A die-hard and well-known supporter of the president initiated an online poll asking people if they “think the 1986 EDSA People Power is a product of FAKE NEWS” (emphasis not mine; see Ranada 2018). More than 60 thousand responses were generated of which over 80 percent were of the view that the events of February 1986 were indeed fake news. In the absence of final closure in the struggle against authoritarian rule (Mendoza 2009: 193), the 1986 event will continue to have this ephemeral effect on the Filipino popular psyche especially in the millennial age of Twitter and Facebook. There is certainly a creeping sense, particularly among the younger generation, that such an earth-shaking political event was a hoax given that it took place a long, long time ago and, therefore, quite possibly never took place and that Ferdinand Marcos actually did the country more good than harm. A changing moral compass has caused some Filipinos to quite literally, using the words of one critical commentary on the Internet nowadays, “switch off their souls” (BBC 2018).

To be fair, the formalistic and elitist political system that came out of the 1986 people

power uprising was certainly far from perfect (see Putzel 1999; Bello and Gershman 1990; Quimpo 2015). Presently, it may even be difficult to strictly classify the Philippines as genuinely and thoroughly democratic (see Miranda, et al. 2011). The political transition that came in the wake of the exercise of people power against Marcos was less cut-and-dried and more turbulent. After all, it was the first time that “people power” had been employed in such a manner and the political system that ensued certainly had its flaws and inadequacies. But it signified a tremendous victory for the Filipino people against the oppression of autocratic rule and “seemed to promise that peaceful opposition could transform repressive regimes into representative ones” (Brownlee 2007: 1). Nevertheless, with the exercise of people power, the subsequent regime that ensued had the intention “to make democracy work” for the Philippines and the Filipino people (Guerrero and Tusalem 2008: 62).

All is not lost. There is still hope for the country. The legacy of the 1986 people power uprising, like the principles which Mahatma Gandhi lived by, continue to provide a beacon of hope for the Philippines and the Filipino people. Non-violent struggle against injustice and the passion to serve others are the hallmarks of a true and decent human being as well as the necessary ingredients for a stable and viable democracy. However, given the creeping culture of vulgarity and hate fueled no less by the current leadership, genuine democratic consolidation will continue to be an elusive goal for the Philippines.

The struggle for a humane and democratic society does not come without a price. Given the climate of fear and hate today in the country, the Filipino people will have to make even more sacrifices. If vulgarity and inhumanity are the new normal, we need to respond with civility and humanity drawing inspiration from Gandhi’s passion for sacrifice. Doing so does not mean meekness but strength.

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20. Narendra Damodardas Modi

Prime Minister of India

My great friend and Hon'ble Prime Minister of Japan – Abe San

Distinguished delegates and participants in Samvad

Good morning - Ohayo Gozaimasu,

It gives me great pleasure to join you all through this message at the 4th edition of Samvad.

I am delighted that this edition of 'Samvad' is being held in Tokyo on the theme of "Shared Values and Democracy in Asia". 'Samvad' in Sanskrit means 'dialogue'.

The first Samvad in Delhi was on the themes of Conflict Avoidance and Environmental Consciousness. It examined these challenging issues facing humankind from the Asian perspective — particularly from the Hindu-Buddhist philosophical view.

The Second leg of Samvad in Tokyo and the Third Samvad in Yangon in subsequent years have consolidated this constructive dialogue.

The fourth edition of Samvad focuses on Asian democratic spirit, which is rooted in Asian civilization.

Commonly shared values have helped the evolution of the Asian democracies. Openness, and not dogma, and engaging in philosophy and not ideology give us our shared heritage of democratic spirit.

This philosophical and cultural heritage of dialogue in the two most ancient Asian faiths – Hinduism and Buddhism helps us promote better understanding.

Emperor Ashoka's rock edict brings out the fact that Ashoka wanted the essentials of all faiths to grow.

The core values of Asia, namely consideration for others, self restraint, and mutual respect find their historical origin in Ashoka's edict 2300 years ago. Those are the values that have sustained the culture of democracies in Asia.

Historical evidence from Tamil Nadu, during the reign of Raja Raja Chola in the 10th century, tells us that a detailed system of voting and elections was in vogue long before even the Magna Carta 200 years later.

Democracy is not just a system of voting. Democracy's core values such as self-restraint

and mutual respect make the democratic system function for the benefit of all : Sarvajana Hitay, sarvajana sukhay.

The Asian values of mutual accommodation and respect enable democracies to function on the consensual model and not purely in a competitive model.

In 2015 Hon'ble Prime Minister of Japan and my great friend Abe San in his video message to Samvad said and I quote, "Buddhism has played a significant role in forming the ideological foundation of Japan." The concept of 'rule of law' in Buddhism is similar to the idea of Dharma in India. This is the common heritage of both India and Japan. It also underlies universal sense of duty sustaining the life on the earth.

I am grateful to Abe San. His personal attention and participation in Samvad has played a key role in promoting Samvad as a platform for dialogue on core Asian values.

I am sure that the Samvad series will continuously explore the ancient spiritual and civilisational soul and contemporary democratic values of Asia.

As the Asian democracies rise in economic and political stature, their contribution to global discourse will need to enhance rapidly. I am confident that Samvad will greatly enhance the capacity of Asian democracies to contribute to fulfilment of human endeavours.

21. Shinzo Abe

Prime Minister of Japan

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. I am Shinzo Abe.

I wish to share some thoughts with you here in closing the symposium “Shared Values and Democracy in Asia.”

This is the fourth of our symposium. I join you all in applauding its continuity.

Ours is an especially unique venue for discussions. It is not only unparalleled anywhere in the world but also unmatched at any other time in history.

It has its beginnings in a proposal Prime Minister Narendra Modi of India and I made jointly when he visited Japan four years ago in the autumn.

Prime Minister Modi once again kindly provided a message to us here. He and I are both highly gratified that the symposium continues to be held.

Allow me to revisit with you the reason we launched this seminar.

The nation that has held democratic elections regularly at the largest scale in human history and, right up to the present day, has steadily followed through on its electoral outcomes each and every time is none other than India.

I was for a long time quite in awe of this fact.

And yet Prime Minister Modi understood that democracy is not something that comes to flourish through just chance.

I too shared that same understanding.

Democracy is of course something that develops only over the course of decades -- or rather, over the course of generations.

This year Japan commemorates the 150th anniversary of the Meiji Restoration.

One hundred and fifty years ago, as the new nation was being formed, the first article of the five-article oath taken by His Majesty at the time was that, “The practice of discussion and debate shall be universally adopted, and all measures shall be decided by public argument.”

Since that time until the present day, we have continued to walk what is, if we think about it, an unending path while we formed and fostered our democracy, facing various trials regarding it.

Is democracy not just like a tree that takes many long years to mature? In order to grow it must extend its roots deep down into the ground.

Moreover, as it is not a fast fashion T-shirt, democracy isn't something you can just take straight off the rack.

In this world, it is very hard to come by democracy that really fits no matter who dons it, from size to design.

Invariably, democracy is something that has to be tailor-made to the national character if it is to take root, and even then, getting those roots firmly set takes a great long time.

That said, ultimately, there is no other system that can replace democracy.

If that is the case, then wouldn't it be ideal to have a place where at least once a year, from all around Asia, people can bring their knowledge and experience about how to foster democracy -- their thoughts or even their worries!

It was from there that the concept underlying this seminar first came into being.

Democracy not as a "foreign species" introduced from the West. Democracy that is spoken of not in translation, but through our native words and concepts.

What could it be like? It was something we decided we wanted to discuss further.

So how do we foster our own democracy?

The issues involved in that vary with the country and the era.

One thing is certain no matter the era or the circumstances: the foundation of democracy lies in people's hearts.

In Myanmar, which is democratizing, the complete revision of elementary school textbooks is now underway.

People in the government of Myanmar decided that they wanted to foster in children's minds from an early age their ability to pose questions and then work out solutions by themselves -- that is, the ability to think.

I regarded this as an endeavor equivalent to building future human resources, who will shoulder efforts to cultivate democracy and make it into something good.

Looking at it in that way, I became rather solemn in my reflections.

That was because a great number of Japanese experts were already in Yangon to assist

with the complete revision of the textbooks, through the efforts of the Japan International Cooperation Agency, or JICA.

It was because they have been working together with educators in Myanmar over the course of several years.

In the 150th anniversary year of the Meiji Restoration, Japan has been successfully assisting with Asian nationbuilding and with forming the foundations for democracy.

Had they known, our now-deceased ancestors who carved out the Meiji-era world would, I'm sure, also feel they were well rewarded.

I believe that Japan must continue to make efforts going forward so that it remains a country able to enjoy this kind of trust.

Today we are joined by Professor Sengaku Mayeda and other experts from the Eastern Institute.

I am greatly reassured by the fact that the work of the late Professor Hajime Nakamura has been handed down to a new generation through The Eastern Institute and The Eastern Academy, both of which he himself founded.

Professor Nakamura was well versed in Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan, English, German, Greek, and French.

I understand he authored 1,186 books and articles in Japanese and as many as 300 in English and other Western languages. And I hear that this is only what they have been able to identify thus far.

His achievements are really amazing. I am proud simply to have breathed the air in the very same era of a person of such great learning, who was a truly great man in this way.

Over the course of his work, he gave deep thought to “compassion,” which both Buddhism and Indian ideologies advocate.

It seems that “compassion” has several possible word origins, including the Sanskrit word “karunā.”

Professor Nakamura explained that within the roots of ideologies that value “compassion” is the thinking that oneself and others are not different, but in fact the very same.

There are, from the first, no differences in social rank or hierarchy and there is no such thing as superior or inferior. There is also no single Absolute prominently projecting itself ahead of others who all fall equal. Right from the start, all are the same; all are equal.

That is the view of human beings, inherent to that “compassion.” My understanding is that was Professor Nakamura’s thinking on the matter.

The people pushing ahead with the Meiji Restoration were the youth of the day. Most were samurai, but from the lower echelons of that rank, far from privileged.

The idea that both you and I -- indeed, everyone -- is equal is a concept they at that time embraced naturally.

We can imagine that that is what channeled the undulations of reforms towards the establishment of an assembly that took the principle of one person, one vote.

It is also possible to find here one of the sources of our feeling, handed down continuously in modern Japan, that what we should deplore is not poverty but inequality.

I believe the lands of Asia seem to contain a rich variety of the nourishing food and the minerals needed to cultivate democracy.

On that fact, our symposium shines a light and promotes our own self-awareness. My congratulations to the successful completion of this year’s symposium. I would like to end my remarks with my sincere wishes that in future years the discussions here will go deeper still.

Thank you for listening.

22. 前田 專學

中村元東方研究所理事長（日本）

私の恩師中村元は1912（大正元）年に生まれ、1999（平成11）年に亡くなりました。と言うことは、中村はいわゆる戦争の世紀といわれる20世紀が生んだ思想家でありました。この20世紀には、日本は、明治帝国憲法下で起こった大正デモクラシーから、次第に国家主義や軍国主義が支配する国家となり、1945年の敗戦によって、1946年一転して現行の国民主権主義、平和主義、基本的人権の尊重の三原則を基調とする日本国憲法によって民主主義国家への道を歩むことになりました。第二次世界大戦の折には、中村自ら、短いながらも赤紙による入隊経験もし、激動の日本をつぶさに体験し、自ら呻き苦しみ、戦後民主主義に転換した日本に生きた思想家でありました。この中村の見解には聞くべきものがあるように思います。

中村の考えによれば、「人間は思想なしには生きていくことが出来ない。思想などはいらないのだということ自体が、また一つ思想である。」¹「思想の推移、変化というものは、人間の社会において、人間の現実生活に即しておこなわれたものであるに違いない。…そこでは心の中での深刻な葛藤抗争があったに違いない。思想史家はその心の中の苦悩の呻き声をききとらねばならぬ。」²そしてその思想は自然に現れ出るのではなくて、「つねに歴史的社会的諸条件のなかで生まれてくるものであり、思想と歴史・社会との連関の問題も非常に重要である」とし、さらに宗教は人間の生み出した最も偉大な思想体系であると中村は考えていました。本日の課題である価値観もまた思想の一つであります。

確かに中村の学問の基盤となったのはインド思想史の研究でありましたが、それに留まりませんでした。中村は異なった伝統を持つ東洋と西洋の思想のみならず、ユーラシア大陸全域に見られた思想の比較研究を非凡な語学の才を駆使して大々的に進めました。その結果集められた膨大な資料の綿密な分析から東洋でも西洋でもほとんど同じ問題が論じられており、しかも従来劣っていると考えられていた東洋思想は、決してそのようなことはなく、西洋思想と平行的な発展過程を辿っていることを明らかにし、前人未踏の『世界思想史』全四巻³を完成いたしました。これは視野を廣く世界にとり、比較という手法による、世界のだれも試みたことのない普遍的な思想史の最初の不滅の金字塔でした。

中村は「比較思想の目的の一つは世界平和の実現のための手がかりを供するところにある。というと、人々はいささか唐突の感を受けられるかも知れない。しかし、この研究は究極的には平和実現のための手がかりをめざすものであり、その使命をはなれては、将来への展望も見失われてしまうであろう。」⁴と明言しています。そして『世界思想史』全4巻の最終的な結論として、中村は次のように申します：「われわれは以上の考察によって人類の一体なることを知りえた。思想は種々の形で表明されるけれども、人間性の一つである。今後世界は一つになるであろう。今日では従前のいかなる時期におけるよりも以上に異なった文化圏の間の相互理解が敏速に行われている。マスコミュニケーションと大量輸送交通の時代になると、ことに若い

1 中村元『学問の開拓』佼正出版社、昭和61年、p. 115

2 同書、pp. 116-117

3 『中村元選集[決定版]』別巻1-4、春秋社、1999. Cf. PARALLEL DEVELOPMENTS: A Comparative History of Ideas by Hajime Nakamura, ed. by Ronald Burr with a Preface by Charles Morris. TOKYO and NEW YORK, 1975 and A COMPARATIVE HISTORY OF IDEAS by Hajime Nakamura: London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1975.

4 中村元『学問の開拓』、p. 158

人々は世界の他の諸民族との類似と差違ということにますます興味をもつようになって来た。世界の哲学宗教思想史に関するこのような研究が、地球全体にわたる思想の見通しに役立ち、世界の諸民族の間の相互理解を育て、それによって人類は一つであるという理念を確立するにいたることを、せつに願うものである。」⁵と中村はその強い願いを、このように次世代に託してその『世界思想史』を結んでおります。

中村の「この人類は一つである」という結論は、われわれに世界平和実現の可能性を示唆し、世界平和実現への希望と、努力をしようとする勇気を与えるものではないでしょうか。戦争の時代と民主主義の時代を生きた中村は「現代の人間がこの現在の世界において達成すべき任務のうち最も重要なものの一つは平和」と確信し、その可能性を示したのでした。

そして中村は、「文明の発達により、いまや地球は、一つの島国のような観がある。われわれはその島国がいやでも、現在の段階では、他の惑星に逃げていくわけにはいかない。文明の発達は地球を狭くし、世界を一つの方向に進めつつあり、われわれはその中から逃げることなく、そこに発生する諸問題と対処しながら、〈いかに生きるべきか?〉を自分自身で考えていかなければならない。」⁶と述べております。

では、今後民主主義体制にいるわれわれは、如何に生きるべきでしょうか。将来一つになるであろうこの世界において、しかし現在は怨念と我執が渦巻き、テロの恐怖におののくこの世界において、一挙に人類を滅亡できる威力を持つ核爆弾を盾にして、動物の縄張り争いのように牙を向き合っているこの現実の世界において、どのように生きていけばよいのでしょうか？民主主義体制に生きる人々は、如何なる価値観を持って生きていけばよいのでしょうか。民主主義の体制に生きる人々は、社会主義の国の人々やイスラム教国の人々などどのように生きていけばよいのでしょうか。

残念ながらこの問に対する回答は、自然科学や技術が如何に発達しようとも、自然科学や技術からは得られません。自然科学や技術は人類を滅亡できる核爆弾をつくることはできても、如何に生きるべきかに答えてくれません。中村は、その解答を、その半生を捧げて探求されてきた人文科学の一分野である東洋の思想・精神的伝統の中に真剣に求めました。中村は「私は長い間、東洋の思想・精神的伝統の探究をしてまいりました。それを貫く〈東洋のこころ〉と言うものがあるとすれば、それは一体何か。その底を流れるものを求めての半生であったといっても過言ではないように思います。その〈何か〉とは、ひとり東洋のみのものではなく、普く、広く、世界の人々にいきわたっているものに違いない。そのような確信をもつものです。その何かこそ、「温かなこころ」ということではないかと思うのです。」と述べております。⁷

そして中村は、平成五年、ある講演会の折に「人間の永遠の真理というものは何かということになりますと、それは人々に対する温かいこころということが言えるかと思うのです。」⁸「これは仏教の伝統的な言葉で申しますと慈悲ということですね。ここに教えの真髓が極まっているのではないかと思うのです。」⁹と、力強く、聴衆に語りかけました。

5 『中村元選集[決定版]』別巻4、p. 512

6 同上、p. 159

7 中村元『温かなこころ—東洋の理想—』春秋社、1999、p. i

8 同上、p. 17

9 同上、p. 8

中村は、別のところで、現在当面している様々な問題は、「原則的には非常に簡単なことで解決できるとわたくしは思っている。その原則とは、「他の人を傷つけない」ということである。何人にとっても生命が最も愛しいものであり、最も大切なものであるから、この生命を傷つけることは最大の罪悪である。……ところが、現代では、このわかりきった原則が忘れられ、蹂躪されているのである。文明の進歩が、とかくエゴイズムに駆られがちな人間の我執を、ますます深くしたのも理由の一つであろう。仏教における無我の教えは、もともと我執を離れなければならない、という教説であったはずである。それは別の側面からいえば、他人の身になって考えることであり、同情であり、共感であり、愛情であると言える。仏教ではこれを「慈悲」と呼んでいる。この立場に立って考えるならば、多くの難問も、おのずから解決の方針を見出すことができるに違いない。」¹⁰と述べております。

慈悲の「慈」は、インドのサンスクリット語の友情を意味することば「マイトリー」(maitrī)です。すなわち真実の友情、真実の親愛の念を他にあまねく及ぼすことを意味しています。これに対して「悲」はやはりサンスクリット語の同情、優しさ、情けを意味する「カルナー」(karuṇā)です。「慈」は他の人々に利益と安楽をもたらそうと望むことであり、「悲」は人々から不利益と苦しみを除こうと望むことであるとも解釈されています。しかし慈も悲も同じなので、二つの語を合わせて一つの観念として表現され、仏教ではそれを実践することが強調され、さまざまに説かれることになりました。慈悲は愛憎を超えたものであり、人間のみならず、生きとし生けるものに及びます。

その講演会の後、平成7年、中村82歳の誕生日に、東京の多磨墓地にあるお墓に、「ブッダのことば」「慈しみ」の石碑を建立することを発願しました。しかしその翌年に病氣治療のために実現が遅れ、平成9年の令夫人の誕生日、すなわち5月4日に完成したのではないかと思います。

墓石は黒光りのする南インド産のクンナムで、碑文は場所の制約もあり、原始仏典『スッタニパータ』のことばの精髓を汲み取って意識され、それを令夫人が筆で書かれ、中村の世界平和実現への熱い願いを込めて、ご夫妻で「如何に生きるべきか」を、後世の人々に刻み残されたものと思われます。

その「ブッダのことば：慈しみ」は：

一切の生きとし生けるものは、幸福であれ、

安穩であれ、安楽であれ。

一切の生きとし生けるものは幸せであれ。

何びとも他人を欺いてはならない。

たとどこにあっても他人を軽んじてはならない。

互いに他人に苦痛を与えることを望んではならない。

10 中村元『学問の開拓』、p. 161

この慈しみの心づかいを、しっかりとたもて。
であります。

この墓碑の前に、仲良く並んでカメラに収まっておられるご夫妻の写真が私の手許にあります。[ただ今その画像をお見せいたします。] ご夫婦の間の「慈しみの心づかい」の模範を示されているばかりではなく、先生ご自身が生涯にわたって実践された「心づかい」を示されたものであるように思います。

結 語

そろそろ時間が参りましたので、この基調報告を結びたいと思います。戦争の世紀 20 世紀に生まれ、悲惨な戦争の体験の後に、後半生を民主主義の時代を生きた中村には、世界の平和こそ最大の価値でありました。インド思想の研究から世界平和の実現の手がかりを与える比較思想の研究に没頭し、ついに人類の一体であることを知り、思想は種々の形で表明されるけれども、人間性一つである。今後世界は一つになるであろう、という確信を得るに至りました。

文明の発達により、グローバル化した地球は、一つの島国のようになった観があります。その狭い地球上で私共はどのように生きていけばよいのでしょうか？世界平和を実現するためには、私ども民主主義体制に生きる人々は、如何なる価値観をもって社会主義の国の人々やイスラム教国の人々などなどどのように生きていけばよいのでしょうか。

中村は、その解答を、その半生を捧げて探求してきた人文科学の一分野である東洋の思想・精神的伝統の中に求めました。その結果得られたものは「温かなところ」でした。それは仏教のことばで言えば「慈悲」でした。「慈しみのところ」でした。

このインドに由来する慈悲と言う価値観は、仏教特有のものではありません。中国の孔子の思想の中心的な理念である「仁」に相当する価値観であり、「仁は数字の二と人との会意形声文字で、二人の人間が対等に相親しむこと、お互いの同情心を意味します。これは自己に対する愛をみとめ、その自己に対する愛を他人にも推し及ぼすことを意味しており、仁は端的には人を愛することともいわれ、仏教の慈悲に相通ずるものがあります。慈悲はまた寛容の精神や和の精神とも通ずるものがあります。

「温かいところ」「慈しみのところ」こそ、民主主義体制に生きる私どものアジアの価値観として、世界平和の実現に向けて一歩でも、二歩でも進もうではありませんか。

23. 孫 晶

中国社会科学院哲学研究所教授（中国）

1、緒論

『易経』は中国でもっとも古い書物であり、約 6500 年の歴史がある。易経の誕生と、最初の活用方法から見れば、それは占筮という占いの本であり、人間が長い時間をかけて実践し、考え出した、神と通じる事によって予測する方法であり、人々の行動の拠り所となった。

『易経』は非常に長い発展と進化のプロセスを経て、約 3000 年前、中国の周の時代に現在の『周易』が誕生した。『周易』はその後長い間主に占筮に使われており、『春秋左伝』と『国語』の中に周易占筮の応用例が 22 記載されている。春秋時代、『周易』は主に占いに使われ、人々の行動にアドバイスを与えた。

そして『周易』は更なる進化を遂げ、終には国家安泰、身を修め人格を磨く為の哲学書になった。

『易伝』、これは通常孔子が書いたとされているが、その中で『周易』に関する解説を見ると、『周易』が占いに使われる事に注目し、『周易』は人間が天の意に従って、不敗の地に立つ最良の方法であると明確に記してある。

「是故君子居則觀其象而玩其辭・動則觀其變而玩其占・是以自天佑之・吉無不利。」（《系辞传》第七章第五節）（故に、君子居ればその象を觀てその辭を遊び、動けばその變を觀て、その占を玩ぶ。これをもって天よりこれを助け、吉にして不利なし。）（『繫辭伝』第七章第五節）

漢（紀元後）の時代から『周易』の性質は変わり、さらに新たな働きが加わった。と言うのも、『周易』には深い人生哲学が含まれており、それが『易伝』の中で取り上げられた事によって、さらに高度に哲学化され、思想豊かで深い哲学書となった。この為、『周易』は漢の時代の統治者に愛用され、元々占いの本であったものが、統治者が国を治め、行いを正しくする為の哲学書となり、五経の筆頭、大道の根源と呼ばれた。中華文化の伝統からすれば、『易経』は中華文化の源であり、つまりあらゆる中華文化の根源である。

2、「中和」思想

『周易』の知恵が人類社会に活用され、中国人の価値観と倫理観を形成した。「阴阳合则生，阴阳离则灭，阴阳错则变，阴阳平则佳。」（陰陽合えば即ち生、陰陽離れば即ち滅す、陰陽誤れば即ち變、陰陽平なれば即ち佳。）このような陰陽思想は中国古代からの国家統治思想であり、家内安全の道であり、更には個人の自覚、自分を省みる道でもある。「易道中和，和谐万邦」（易道中和にして万邦和諧す）、これは『周易』的価値観の核心である。

「中和」と言うのは元々、正しいとか穏やかと言うことを意味するが、後に中庸の道に合った道徳的境地の一つの原則という意味に拡大された。儒教によると、人々の道徳が正しい境地に達すれば、天地万物は其々すべて適材適所に活かされ、調和の取れた世界を実現できるという事である。

「公平者職之衡也，中和乾聽之繩也。」《荀子・王制》（楊倞注：“中和謂寬猛得中也。”）（公平なる者は聴政の均衡を量るための衡であり、中庸和解する者は聴政の基準たる繩である。）『荀子・王制』（楊倞注：“中和は所謂寛容と猛烈の間の公平中庸である。”）

「喜怒哀樂之未發謂之中・發而皆中節謂之和；中也者・天下之大本也・和也者・天下之達道也。致中和・天地位焉・萬物育焉。」《礼記・中庸》（喜怒哀樂の未だ発せざる、之を中と謂う。発して皆節に中る、之を和と謂う。中は天下の大本なり、和は天下の達道なり。中和を致して、天地位し、万物育す。）『禮記・中庸』

「古之人・使中和為我用・則天地自位・萬物自育；而吾順之者也・堯舜禹・湯・文・武之君臣也・夫如是・則偽不起矣。」宋：葉適《中庸》（古の人、中和をして我が為に用いれば、即ち天地自ら位し、万物自ら育つ。而して我順う者は、堯舜禹、湯、文、武の君臣なり。夫れかくの如くんば、即ち偽起こらん。）宋：葉適『中庸』

「易」の陰陽思想はバランスを大切にする。つまり物事の間の調和が求められる。「易」の価値観は「中和」という概念を徹底している。これは「中」と「和」という二つの部分に分けることができる。「中」というのは、ある片方が、相手方も同時に存在する様にその限界を維持していると言う事で、この限界を維持することで、一つの物事が量の変化から質が変化することなく、中和バランスを維持できるのである。したがって、「和」より「中」が重要である。なぜなら、相手を存在させれば、自分自身も存在できる。双方がバランスを取れば、調和がとれる。「中和」の道に達すれば、「和谐万邦」（万邦和諧、万国調和）という理想の世界を実現できる。

狭い意味で言えば、「中和思想」は方法論である。つまり、世界の多様化、思想の多元化を認め、許容し、上手く協力し合う処世術である。

3、「天人合一」思想

『周易』思想を継承した黄老学派の『道德経』と『黄帝内経』は「天道」を重んじている。つまり、天と人間の関係、人間社会の道德倫理関係などを問題にする。天道を重んじることは、つまり、人間社会の大小様々な面に現れるこれらの精神原則を見出し、それに従うことである。人間と天の関係や様々な社会関係を離れて個人の博愛や慈悲や仁徳を語ることはできないし、また普遍的な原則を離れて道德の教を論じ、それによって聖人賢者を識別してはいけない。

ここから分かるように、最高精神の実体に対する中国人の論述と体験はどちらも円満を追求している。この体験はインド人のように直覚するものではないが、天人一体の境地を求める手段は似ている。天人合一、陰陽調和も中国古典哲学の根本理念の一つである。儒教文化では、「天」の意味は大きく分けて三種類ある。

- 一、意志の天。董仲舒の神秘主義の主宰の天に代表されるものである。これは宇宙の規則、精神の実体と理解することもできる。
- 二、義理の天。孔子・孟子・朱熹の倫理的な意味を持つ道德化した天に代表されるものである。これは現象世界で遵守されるべき様々な法則に対応している。
- 三、自然の天。老子・孟子に代表されるものである。自然の本性、状態を指し、地に対応している。

「天人合一」には二つの意味がある。一つ目は天と人の不可分性である。天・自然・大我は大宇宙であり、人間と小我は小宇宙である。これはインドの梵（ブラフマン）と自我（アートマン）の合一の思想と大変似ている。二つ目は天と人の同質性である。つまり、人間と自然は根本的に通じ合っているので、物事はすべて自然の規則に従って、人間と自然が調和を取るようにならなければならない。これは、大我が小我を創造し、小我は根本的に大我と一致するので、小我は最終的に大我に戻る、というインドの思想と一致するのである。

4、祖先崇拜

『易経』には「積善之家,必有余庆;積不善之家,必有余殃」(積善の家には必ず余慶あり。積不善の家には必ず余殃あり)(坤卦)という言葉がある。それは、すべての家族は単独の個人の集まりで、各個人の行為が家族全体に影響を及ぼすので、一人一人は自分の家族の名誉に対して責任を持たなければいけない、と言うのである。これは中国で主流の社会制度であり、漢民族数千年来の家族制度と祖先崇拜を表している。インドと同様、中国でも、全体を強調し、普遍性を重視する考え方が主導的な地位を占めている。老子も朱子も整体思想を主張し、社会や家族を一つの全体と見なす。個人を個体の存在と見なすことはほばない。個人は家族、社会或いは天下の一員にすぎないのである。このように全体が個体を包含するという考え方は易経の時代から既にあった。このような社会制度には特徴がある。それは易経の特殊な時間と空間の観念を考えの基礎として、家族制度と祖先崇拜を通して一種の独特な文化観念を形成したことである。それは社会の集合体の全体性を主として、宗族と文化の普遍的な伝承を追求し、個人の短い生命は絶えず続いていく家族や社会全体の発展の流れに溶け込み、個人の時間的視野は個人の命の長さを超えて、家族の血をつなげ、祖先を供養し続けているのである。易経の世界観は天・地・人の三位一体である。

「有天道焉・有人道焉・有地道焉・兼三才而兩之。」(《系辞传・下》)(天道あり、人道あり、地道あり。三才を兼ねてこれを兩つにす。)(『繫辭傳・下』)

「立天之道曰陰与陽,立地之道曰柔与剛,立人之道曰仁与義,兼三才而兩之。」(《说卦传》)(天の道を立てて陰と陽と曰い、地の道を立てて柔と剛と曰い、人の道を立てて仁と義と曰う。三才を兼ねてこれを兩つにす。)(『説卦傳』)

老子によると、「自然」は宇宙の実体であると同時に、万物、特に人間の実体でもあり、この三者は一つに融合しているのである。老子は「天人合一」の宇宙全体論を徹底し、天・地・人が互いに依存し、自然界と人間社会にはどちらにも適用できる共通の原則があると主張している。儒教の伝統観念は全体の調和を強調しているが、実は個人の自我の実現が全体を調和の取れた状態に導くのである。老子は、自我の実現は「道」に達する事だと考えている。つまり自我と全体の調和が取れた状態は、シャンカラ¹で言う小我が大我と一つに溶け合った状態と同じである。なぜなら、小我と大我の本性は同一のものだからである。

インド人は人間の本性は自然の本性であると考え。それは彼らが生活規範と万物の本性を一つにしているからである。解脱というのは、個人の本性と終極的实在の統一である。中国哲学の基本的な思考方式と最高価値が理想とする「天人合一」という命題の着目点は、人間と自然界の関係を説明するだけでなく、もっと重要なのは、哲学の視点から人間の終極的な存在を説明し、価値観を立脚点として、人生の最高価値と終極意義を天と合一させることである。「天人合一」の理念は全体的・体験的・主体的・漠然的な方法或いは視点で世界を把握し、さらに人間と世界の相互関係を読み解くことを特に重視している。「天人合一」が最も重んじるのは、主に心の境地である。その根本的な意義は人間の心の問題を解決することである。「天道」は人の内にあって存在し、人によって体現され、実現させる。天道は「人道」と対になるが、そうでなければ、「天道」は意味がなくなるのである。

1 シャンカラ(紀元700年-750年)、インドのヴェーダーンタ哲学派別の有名な哲学者である。彼の最有名な哲学観念は、「梵我合一」である。

結論

易経は哲学書であり、伝統的中華文化の源である。従って、易経が中国人の価値観を確立した：

1、易経の「中和」思想によれば、「中」は物事双方の境界線である。それによって、双方は相手の存在を認識し、ある種のバランスを維持できるのである。このバランスがあるからこそ、双方は平和的に調和を保つことができるのである。相手を存在させることによってはじめて自分自身が存在できる、これが易経においてもっとも重要な考え方である。

2、「天人合一」の理念には、個体は全体に依存し、個体が全体に溶け込んでこそ、その価値が意義あるものになる。個人で言えば、その命は、民族・社会及び家族に溶け込んでこそ、価値があり、そうすることで人と天地自然は一つに溶け合うことができる。

24. 釈 悟震

中村元東方研究所理事（日本）

日本は古から日本民族特有の寛容性や共に生きようとする伝統的な価値観による民主主義国家形成を常に目指していたと考えております。ここにその一例を挙げながら提言したいと存じます。

そこで、日本が生んだ世界的な正統インド哲学、仏教学および比較思想学の権威である「中村元博士（1912～1999）」が示唆した教示を中心に本セミナーに建議を申し上げたいと存じます。

【「怨親平等」の思惟方法と民主主義】

まず日本では、いにしえから「怨親平等」という言葉がございます。つまり「戦場などで死んだ敵味方の死者の霊を供養し、恩讐を越えて平等に極楽往生させる」という仏教の慈悲の精神に基づいた理念であります。

「慈悲」という言葉は、もとは仏教の説いた理想的な徳であることは周知の如くと存じます。

ところが、この理想を武士が奉じていたということは注目すべきでありましょう。武士は戦場では斬り合いをする。命のやりとりで、逡巡（ぐずぐずすること）は許されない。しかし戦が終ると、一切の怨みを忘れて敵を弔う。二人の武士が向かい合って果たし合いをしたときに、勝者は敗者の屍骸に合掌して立ち去るのが常でありました。

戦争のあとでも同様でありました。武将は味方の将士の亡魂を弔ったばかりでなく、敵軍の将士の冥福をも祈っております。「怨親平等」の精神によるものであります。生きて、敵味方に分れて戦っているときには対立がありますが、死んでしまえば対立を超えるのであります。例えば鎌倉時代、文永（1274年）・弘安（1281年）の役において蒙古軍撃退ののちに、わが軍の将士の霊を弔うのみならず蒙古軍の将士の霊の冥福をも祈っておりました。これは、敵味方両方の霊を弔ったことは、民族や国の対立を超えることを意味するいわゆる「怨親平等」精神の思惟方法であることはいまでもありません。また、島原の乱のあとでは、殺された切支丹側の人々の冥福をさえも念じて、怨親平等の法要が行われました。

われわれの祖先は、国と国との対立を超え、異なった宗教の間の相克を超えて、敵味方の冥福を祈ったのであります。

この崇高な、和こそが、日本の伝統的な寛容性と共生の精神と共に発展させてきた「日本の民主主義」であると思います。

このような「和による民主主義」はより一層いにしえの時代にさかのぼることができます。つまり六世紀から七世紀にかけて仏教を排斥して蘇我馬子と激しく争った物部守屋たちを目の前にした聖徳太子の叡智を発したのが「日本伝統の価値観と民主主義」の基盤であったと思われます。それは日本初の憲法である「憲法十七条」であります。

西暦 604 年、聖徳太子制定とされる十七カ条なる憲法は、おおよそいうならば、道徳的規範とした、官人への訓戒で、和の精神を基盤とし、儒教や仏教の思想を調和し、君臣の道および諸人の則るべき道徳を示したものでありました。

殊に重視されるのは第一条であります「和を以て貴しとし、忤うことなきを宗とせよ。」というところであります。このような精神は人間の中において「全地球志向的な視点から」とらえた民主主義の思考による価値観であると思うのであります。

その実、日本は幸いなことに地政学的な側面により、日本以外の他国から武力をもって攻められた境遇は数えるほど多くない国ではありますが、国内的にはかつての戦国時代以前から継承された国の形としては様々な形状があったことは史実として記憶にたしかに残っております。

例えば足利将軍家および管領畠山・斯波両家の相続問題をきっかけとして、東軍細川勝元と西軍山名宗全とがそれぞれ諸大名をひきいれて京都を中心に対抗した大乱により、京都は戦乱の巷となり、幕府の権威は全く地に落ち、社会・文化を含めて大きな時代の画期となった応仁元年から文明九年（1467～1477）に発生した応仁文明の乱。またはキリシタン教徒が多く、益田四郎時貞を首領とし、その徒 2 万数千が原城址に拠り、幕府の上使として派遣された板倉重昌（桃山時代～江戸時代前期：天正十六年（1588 年）～寛永十五年 1 月 1 日（1638 年 2 月 14 日）はこれを攻めて戦死、ついで老中松平信綱（天正四年）1576 年が九州諸大名を指揮して城を攻落。天草および島原に起こった百姓一揆であった 1637～1638 年間の「島原の乱」。または織田信長は石山合戦（1570～1580）によって、石山本願寺を降し、元亀二年（1571）には比叡山を焼打ちにし、天正七年（1579）には、安土宗論を催して法華宗に打撃を与える等、手荒な仕方ではあるが、豊臣秀吉は、反抗するものは撃破し、降服するものには恩恵を与え、硬軟あわせ用いて、仏教教団を操縦したのです。彼は、天正二十二年（1585）に紀伊（和歌山県）に兵を進めて、降伏しない根来寺を焼却し、高野山をも伐たんとしたが、木食応其（1536～1608）の請いによって辛じて免れ、高野山は事なきを得たのです。応其はその後、秀吉の命により、高野山の金堂・大塔・経蔵等を修理し、学寮を開いて教学を盛んにし、大伝法院のあとに青巖寺を建立させました。¹

近代に至り仏教は明治維新の指導理念からは取り残されて、廃仏毀釈という仏教にとっては一大法難であったのでありますが、ここでこそ「怨親平等」という仏教の慈悲の精神を発揮し、「実にこの世においては、怨みに報いるに怨みを以てしたならば、ついに怨みの息むことがない。怨みをすててこそ息む。これは永遠の真理である。」（『法句経』第五 中村元博士訳）という仏教の思惟方法に従って寛容や共生思想の実施に徹していたのであります。

今一方においては国家権力を笠にきる支配者たちは、実は日本の精神的伝統を忘れていたのではないかと、という誠に残念ながら疑念が生じているところが往々考えさせられる諸事諸般であります。一般の日本人は決して忘れることなく、継承されつつあることが分かります。その一例として 1936 年 2 月 26 日、陸軍の皇道派青年将校たちが国家改造や統制派打倒を目指し、約 1500 名の部隊を率いて首相官邸などを襲撃したクーデター事件により、時の内大臣斎藤実・大蔵大臣高橋是清・教育総監渡邊錠太郎たちを殺害、永田町一帯を占拠。翌日戒厳令公布。29 日に無血で鎮定されました。事件後、肅軍の名のもとに軍部の政治支配力は著しく強化された日本の近代史に忘れることの出来ない事件に関わった人々のための慰霊碑が観音像を上 に 頂い

1 平川彰『インド・中国・日本 仏教通史』春秋社、1977 年、216～217 ページ。

て東京都渋谷区宇田川町に建てられておりますがその碑は、この事件で死歿したすべての人々の冥福を祈って、という趣旨のことが記されております。

つまり、いかなる事柄があつたとしても互いが互いを尊重し認め合う「寛容」や「共生」の精神すなわち、「和を以て貴しとし、忤うことなきを宗とせよ。」という古からの賢者たちによる思想と教示の価値観こそ真の民主主義を昇華させる大きな一歩であると思うと同時に、このような日本人による古からの価値観こそ「全地球志向的視点による民主主義」の発展に寄与するのではないかと確信を致しております。

以上、誠に拙い話しにも拘わらず最後まで御清聴、心より感謝を申し上げます。
誠に有難う存じました。

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25. 兼原 信克

内閣官房副長官補（日本）

昨年9月、安倍総理と一緒に、インド・グジャラート州、アーメダバード市を訪れ、マハトマ・ガンジーが1918年から30年まで住んだ道場（アシュラム）を訪ねました。川のほとりにある平屋建ての白い家の中に、粗末な板張りの部屋があり、糸引き車と、小さな座卓と、白い座布団だけが置いてありました。ここに座っていた人が、その後、20世紀の世界史を大きく回転させたのだという思いが、強く私の胸を打ちました。

20世紀の激動は、濁流のように地球上の人々呑み込みました。産業革命が、1万年前の農業革命をはるかに超える国力を、欧州、米国、日本を中心とした一握りの国々に与えたからです。巨大な力を蓄えた国々は、力による覇権を夢見て、最後には、骨肉を争う世界的規模での総力戦へと進みました。

遠い昔、ヒマラヤやチベット高原から、豊かな雪解け水が流れ出し、ガンジス川、ブラマプトラ川、インダス川、黄河、揚子江、メコン川などの大河となりました。アジアの諸民族は、大河の治水から生まれた偉大な農耕文明の担い手でありましたが、その殆どが、19世紀、石炭を燃やして巨大な動力を手に入れた産業国家によって、植民地・半植民地に貶められました。水の文明が火の文明に屈服したのです。

しかし、帝国主義が全盛時代となった20世紀前半に、既に、3つの新しい力が現れました。そして、その担い手たちの言葉が、20世紀後半の世界を変える大きな力を生みだしていきました。

一つ目は、二つの世界大戦後に比類ない力を手にした米国の自由主義的な新思想です。米国は、第一次世界大戦後、国際連盟創設を唱え、第二次世界大戦後には、国際連合創設のみならず、世界人権宣言、自由貿易体制を唱え、地球社会を一つの共同体として組織化する考え方を大胆に打ち出していきました。

二つ目は、産業社会の巨大な社会格差を是正する力です。産業革命は、巨大な富と同時に社会格差を生む危険があります。人間の社会は、皆、ラグビーボール型が自然です。中間層の真ん中が膨れているのが正しい。初期の産業社会に見られるように、社会が瓢箪型になって貧富の格差が拡大すると、一つの共同体として機能しなくなります。

ドイツで生まれた共産主義は、階級間の武力闘争を是認し、革命を唱えました。それは、ロシア革命を引き起こし、他の国々に広がり、一部の国では権力を飾る独裁の思想となりました。その一方で、西側民主主義国家では、議会政治を通じた富の再分配が、引き続き穏健な社会主義者の政策目標となっています。

三つ目は、そして、最も大きな影響があったのが、マハトマ・ガンジーに代表されるアジア、アフリカ諸民族の覚醒と独立です。ガンジーの自伝を読むと、ガンジーは、第一次世界大戦に医療兵として参加し、大英帝国に対する義務に何らの疑問も抱かなかったと述べています。しかし、その後、ガンジーは、非暴力を唱えながら、インドを大英帝国の桎梏から解き放つという偉業を達成しました。

ガンジーを、目覚めさせたものは、何でしょうか。ガンジーが南アフリカの列車の中で受けた人種差別が、彼を目覚めさせたという話は、よく聞く話です。しかし、私は、ガンジーは、心の最も深いところで、人類愛そのものに目覚めたのだと思います。

ガンジーはそれを「真実（サティヤ）」と呼び、真実を「堅持（グラハ）」することが大切だと説きました。そして、真実には愛が含まれ、そこから力が出るのだと説きました。それは決して無気力で消極的な受動的抵抗ではありません。ヒンズー教の不殺生の教えにのっとり、暴力を否定しながらも、人類愛のために徹底的に戦うという思想が、ガンジーの心の中に灯ったのです。ガンジーの心に宿った火は、やがて主権を奪われた何十億という人々の心に火をつけていきました。20世紀の後半には殆どのアジア、アフリカの植民地が独立を果たしました。

ガンジーは、自分に衝撃を与えた本として、ヴィヴェーカーナンダやラスキンの著作と並んで、トルストイの「神の国は汝等の衷にあり」という本を上げています。トルストイは、キリスト教徒の信じる神の愛を真理と呼び、神を愛と呼び、それは人間に絶対の自由を与えると述べました。また、そこから出てくるエネルギーを蒸気機関車や蒸気船の蒸気に例えています。人々を内面から突き動かしている大きな力がある。それを、トルストイは、神とも、愛とも、真理とも呼びます。トルストイも、また、暴力を否定しました。

このトルストイに思想的な影響を与えた人物がいます。ウィリアム・ロイド・ギャリソンという19世紀前半の米国の奴隷解放運動家です。奴隷制は神の教えに反するとして、奴隷解放を激しく唱えたギャリソンは、迫害を受けました。しかし、彼は、1838年、シカゴの集会で、暴力を否定する綱領を発表します。それがトルストイの心を打ちました。南北戦争の約20年前のことです。リンカーンは、南北戦争に勝利して、黒人奴隷を解放しました。

更に、ここで特記すべきもう一人の米国人がいます。マーティン・ルーサー・キングです。キング牧師は、1955年のアラバマ州モントゴメリーから始まった公民権運動の父です。彼もまた、人類の歴史を変えました。20世紀前半まで、世界中にはびこっていた国家による人種差別が、あたかも陽に当たった黴のように消えたのです。

米国が世界のリーダーであり続けているのは、彼らが自由と平等という建国の普遍的な理念を、人種や民族に関係なく適用するようになったからです。

キング牧師の演説集を読むと、世の中には物理的法則と同様に働いている道徳的基盤があり、また、それは霊的なものであると述べています。キング牧師は、暗殺の予告電話を受けた夜、「私は閃光を見た」、そして、「戦い続けよというイエスの声を聞いた」と書き記しています。キング牧師の霊的な経験は、ガンジーに酷似しています。キング牧師も、ガンジーと同様に、暴力を否定しました。そして、ガンジーと同様に、凶弾に斃れました。

シカゴのギャリソン、ロシアのトルストイ、インドのガンジー、そして、モントゴメリーのキング牧師と、靈感の大きな環が、世紀を越え、大陸を越えて、人々を動かしながら、地球を駆け巡る姿が見えてきます。人間の尊厳と万人の平等を求める力が、いかに激しく、いかに長い間、或いは、永遠に、人の心を突き動かしていくかが分かると思います。

その源が愛です。愛は、日本語では、平易に優しさと言った方が、しっくりくるかもしれません。東方学院の中村元先生は、「温かい心」と呼ばれました。

「温かい心」が正義への情熱を呼び起こします。ガンジーの言う通り、自分自身の奥底に光る真実とは、結局、人間に等しく与えられた優しさだと思います。そこに気づいた者は、絶対に自由であり、動じません。自分の定点を見つけたものは、森の中を、独り雄々しく歩む犀のように、進んでいくことが出来ます。

イエス・キリストは山上の垂訓で、私の教えに従う者は、岩の上に家を建てる者だと言われました。お釈迦様は、自分自身の中に、欲望の洪水に流されない島を作れと言われました。中国仏教では「自灯明、法灯明」と教えます。同じことを言っているのだと思います。

真実とは、一人ひとりの心の奥底に光るものです。それを認めることが、個人の尊厳を認めるということです。一人ひとりが、肌の色が何であれ、何の宗教を信じようと、どのような政治的信条を有していようと、男であれ、女であれ、どのような障害があろうとなかろうと、あるがままに人間の真実を具現化しているからこそ、皆に、等しく尊厳があります。

正義の原点は個人です。そこに価値としての自由が生まれます。それが、自由主義的なものの考え方ということだと思います。当然、正義に対する考え方も、人によって異なります。しかし、人に正義を実現させる力を与えるエネルギーの源は「温かい心」です。それは、私たちに普く与えられた力の源泉です。

だから、私たちは、善と名付けられた同じ方向を向くのです。

だからこそ、私たちは、常に話し合い、常に合意し、正義のある社会を作り、改めていくことができるし、また、そうせねばなりません。そうしてこそ、民の声が、天の声になるのです。それを制度にしたものが、民主主義だと思います。政治権力は、話し合いによって生まれる法に従い、法を執行するための道具にすぎません。

民主主義の考え方が大切なのは、人間の真実に根差した制度だからです。「人あるところ法あり」、「天の声は民の声である」という考え方は、私たちアジアの民の心に深く根ざしています。ガンジーに代表されるアジアの精神的伝統は、西欧に生れた近代民主主義制度が、深く根を下ろすための豊かな精神的土壌を提供しているのだと思います。

残念ながら、独立前のアジアを植民地化して苦しめたのは共産主義の独裁国家ではなく、現在、先進民主主義国家と呼ばれている西側諸国でした。戦後、アジアの国々が、政治的に西側諸国と一線を画していたのは仕方がなかったと思います。しかし、冷戦後、アジアの国々が、次々と、誇りを持って民主化しています。

今日おいでのアロヨ大統領のフィリピンは、1986年、東アジアの民主化の魁（さきがけ）となりました。東アジアの民主化は、フィリピン革命から始まったのです。韓国、台湾、タイ、インドネシア、マレーシア、ミャンマーへと民主化の波は、広がって行きました。

その多くの国々が産業化を遂げています。産業革命から2世紀を経て分かったことは、良いガバナンスと、勤勉さと、教育があれば、いかなる国も産業化するということです。

日本は、そして、多くの西側民主主義国は、これから益々繁栄するアジアの国々と、同じ価値観を分かち合うパートナーとして、尊敬しあい、信頼し合える関係を築くときが始まってい

ると思います。20 世紀に膨大な量の血を流した後に、私たちは、漸く、戦後の自由主義的な国際秩序を手に入れました。この法の支配に基く国際社会を、アジアの多くの国々と手を携えて、共に支えていく時代が、今、来ているのだと思います。

ご清聴ありがとうございました。

26. 安倍 晋三 内閣総理大臣

1.

皆さん、こんばんは。安倍晋三です。

「アジアの価値観と民主主義セミナー」の閉会にあたり、一言、ごあいさつ申し上げます。

本セミナーも、今年で4回目です。みなさんと共に、継続をお祝いしたいと思います。

極めてユニークな、議論の場です。世界的に、いや歴史的にも、本セミナーには類例が見当たりません。

インドのナレンドラ・モディ首相が、4年前の秋、訪日された際、私との共同提案で、始まったセミナーです。

モディ首相は、今回もメッセージを寄せてくださいました。

セミナーの継続を喜ぶ気持ちは、モディ首相も私も、同じであります。

2.

本セミナーを始めた動機を、振り返ってみます。

人類史上、最大規模の民主的選挙を定期的に実施する。結果を毎回、着実に、定着させる。

そうやって今日に及ぶ国、それが、インドです。

私はそのことに、常々畏敬の思いを抱いてまいりました。

それでいて、モディ首相は、民主主義とは、おいそれとは育たないことを、弁えておいでです。

その点の認識も、私は同じでした。

民主主義とは、成長するのに何十年、というより、何世代もかかるわけであります。

日本にとって本年は、「明治維新 150 周年」であります。

150 年前、新しい国をつくるに当たって、ときの天皇陛下がなされた五箇条にわたる誓いの第一項が、「廣ク會議ヲ興シ萬機公論ニ決スベシ」でありました。

以来今日まで、私どもは、私どもの民主主義を、作り、育て、さまざまな試練と直面しながら、思えば果てしのない、歩みを続けてまいりました。

民主主義とはまるで、成長するのに長い時間がかかる、樹木のようなものではありませんか。

伸びるには、地下深く、根を張らないといけません。

また、ファスト・ファッションの T シャツではありませんから、民主主義を、棚からもって
くることもできません。

サイズからデザインまで、誰が着ても、そこそこ似合うという民主主義は、この世で手に入
らないわけであります。

すべての民主主義は、国柄にあったテイラー・メイドでないと根づきません、

また根づくには、大変長い時間がかかります。

それでも、究極において、民主主義に替わる制度は存在しない。

それならば、アジアの各方面から少なくとも年に一度、それぞれが考え、あるいは悩む、民
主主義の育て方について、知見と経験を持ち寄る場があるといいのではないか。

本セミナーの着想は、そこから生まれました。

西洋渡来の、外来種でない民主主義。翻訳ではなく、土着の言葉と思想で語られる民主主義。

それはどんなものか。議論を続けていきたいと思いますというわけでした。

3.

自分たち自身の民主主義を、どう育てるか。

そのための課題は、国によって、時代によって、いろいろです。

ひとつ、いつ、いかなる場合にも確かなことは、民主主義の土台は、人の心に育つことです。

いま、民主化を進めるミャンマーで、小学校教科書の、全面改訂が進んでいます。

子どもたちの心に、早いうちから、自分で問いを立て、解決をさぐる力、つまり、考える力
を養いたいと、ミャンマー政府の方々はお考えになった。

これを私は、民主主義を育て、よいものにする努力をになう、未来の人材づくりに等しい事
業だと受けとめました。

そのように考えて、厳粛な思いになりました。

教科書全面改訂の仕事に、日本の JICA を通じて、日本の専門家が、何人もヤンゴンへ行っ
ているからです。

何年もかけて、ミャンマーの教育者たちと一緒に、働いているからであります。

明治 150 年、日本は、アジアの国づくり、民主主義の土台づくりの、お手伝いができている。

これを知ったなら、明治の世を開いた泉下の先人たちも、さぞ、報われる思いを抱くでしょう。

日本がこれからもそんな信頼を得られる国であるように、努力を続けていきたいと思います。

4.

本日ここには、前田専學教授はじめ、東方研究所から、専門家の方々が参加されています。

私は、故・中村元先生のお仕事が、先生自ら始められた東方研究所、東方学院を通じ、新たな世代に伝えられておりますことを、まことに心強く存じます。

なんでも中村教授は、サンスクリット語、パーリ語、チベット語、英語、ドイツ語、ギリシャ語、フランス語のすべてに、通暁しておられた。

お書きになった著書・論文の数は、日本語で1186点、英語など欧文では、300点ほどだと伺いました。判明した限りで、なのだと承知しております。

驚嘆すべき業績であります。私は、このように偉大な、巨星というべき碩学と、せめて同時代の空気を吸うことができましたことを、誇りに思います。

そのお仕事の中には、仏教や、インドの思想が説く「慈悲」について、深くお考えになったものがあります。

「慈悲」には、サンスクリット語の語源として、「カルナ」のほか、いくつかあるそうです。

「コンパッション」、などを、英語の訳として当てている。

先生の説かれるところ、「慈悲」を尊ぶ思想の根っこには、自分と他人は、違わない、同じなんだという考えがある。

上下の差、優劣などはもとよりない。絶対者がひとり突出し、その前にあつての平等というのでもない、もともと、みなが同一、平等である。

そういう人間観があつての「慈悲」なんだと、それが、私などの理解しますところ、中村先生のお考えのようであります。

明治維新を推し進めたのは、当時の若者です。ほとんどが、サムライでしたが、武士としては恵まれない、下層の出でした。

あなたも、わたしも、みな、同じ、という発想を、彼らなら、自然にもつことができたでしょう。

それが、一人一票を原則とする議会の開設へと、変革のうねりを向かわせていったと、そう思えるのです。

「貧しきを憂えず、等しからざるを憂う」という、近代の日本に脈々と流れてきた私どもの感情も、ここに、ひとつの源を見出すことができるのでありましょう。

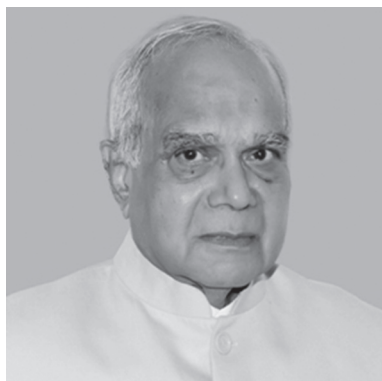
ことほどさよう、民主主義を育てる滋養も、ミネラルも、アジアの土地に、いろいろと含まれていそうに思います。

そこに光を当て、私たち自身の自覚を促していく本セミナーの、本年の成功にお祝いを申し上げ、次回以降、議論がさらに深まりますことを祈念して、私からの挨拶といたします。

ご清聴ありがとうございました。

3. List of Participants

◆ SPEAKERS



Banwarilal Purohit
Governor of Tamil Nadu, India

Mr. Banwarilal Purohit is a senior political personality having shaped public affairs in a big way for last four decades. Mr. Purohit has been threetime Lok Sabha member from Nagpur and Managing Editor of ‘The Hitavada’, Central India’s oldest and English daily for last one hundred years. He is an eminent educationist, a renowned social activist, institution builder, ace orator, nationalist thinker. Born on April 16, 1940, Mr. Purohit, did his schooling from Nagpur and from Rajasthan. He obtained his commerce degree from Nagpur University. He became active in politics in 1970s to fight against persistent neglect of Vidarbha, a backward region of Maharashtra. He has served as Governor of Assam from 22nd August 2016 till 5th October 2017 and was also holding additional charge of Meghalaya. He assumed office of Governor of Tamil Nadu on 06th October 2017.



Arvind Gupta
Director, Vivekananda International
Foundation, India

Arvind Gupta is the Director of Vivekananda International Foundation, a Delhi based independent, non-partisan think-tank focusing on research on foreign policy, defence, and security related issues from an Indian perspective. From 2014-17, he was the Deputy National Security Advisor and headed the national Security Council Secretariat in the Government of India. During 2012-14, he was Director General of the Institute for Defence Studies & Analyses, New Delhi. He is a former diplomat. He is also an Honorary Professor in the Department of Defence and National Security Studies, Punjab University, Chandigarh. His interests are in India’s foreign policy, security, history, culture and civilization.



Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo
Former President of Republic of the
Philippines, Philippines

Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo was President of the Philippines from 2001 to 2010. She is the daughter of the late former Philippine President Diosdado Macapagal.

She holds a Ph.D. in Economics from the University of the Philippines. She attended Georgetown University’s School of Foreign Service.

As Senator from 1992-1998, she authored or sponsored over 50 of the country’s most important economic and social laws.

In 1998, she won as Vice President by a landslide, and assumed the Presidency in 2001.

At the end of her presidency, nine million jobs had been created, and poverty incidence was reduced to 26% from 39% in 2001.

She is on her 3rd and last term as Representative of the 2nd Congressional District of Pampanga.



Swaminathan Gurumurthy

Vice Chairman, Vivekananda
International Foundation, India

Swaminathan Gurumurthy, academic and celebrated investigative journalist, is popularly known for his campaign against corruption at high places and the nexus between business and government. He risked arrest and persecution and emerged victorious in his ordeal. Hamish McDonald, well-known Australian journalist, ranked Gurumurthy's investigative work 'among the most powerful examples of investigative journalism anywhere in the world'. Gurumurthy is Visiting Faculty of Economics, Finance and Management at IIT Bombay and Distinguished Professor Legal Anthropology in Sastra University. Being a chartered accountant, he is a corporate adviser of high standing. The media has consistently rated him among 50 most powerful persons in India from 1990 till now. A founder of the Vivekananda International Foundation, Gurumurthy is also its vice-chairman.



Sengaku Mayeda

President, The Nakamura Hajime
Eastern Institute, Japan

Graduated from the University of Tokyo Faculty of Letters, Department of Indian Philosophy and Indian Literature. After completing a master's degree at the University of Tokyo's Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology, he completed a graduate program in Oriental Studies at the University of Pennsylvania. He holds a Ph.D. and D.Litt. His current positions include serving as executive director of the Nakamura Hajime Eastern Institute and director of the Eastern Academy. He is professor emeritus at the University of Tokyo, professor emeritus at Musashino University, and president of Ashikaga Gakko. He specializes in Indian philosophy and Buddhist studies. Awards he has received include the Japan Academy Prize; the Third Order of Merit with the Middle Cordon of the Rising Sun; the Buddhagunupakan Kancanakiartigun – Highest Decoration of Excellence, House of Representatives, Kingdom of Thailand; and the Padma Shri, Government of India. Among his writings are *A Thousand Teachings of Shankara*; *Vedanta Philosophy*; and *Buddha – His Life and Thought*.



**Siddheshwar Rameshwar
Bhatt**

Chairman, Indian Council of
Philosophical Research, India

Professor S.R.Bhatt is Chairman, Indian Council of Philosophical Research, Ministry of Human Resource development, Government of India. He is also Chairman of Indian Philosophy Congress and Asian Philosophy Conference. He retired as Professor and Head, Department of Philosophy, University of Delhi, Delhi. He is internationally known as an authority on Ancient Indian Culture, Buddhism, Jainism and Vedanta. His research areas include Indian Philosophy, Logic, Epistemology, Ethics, Value-theory, Philosophy of Education, Philosophy of Religion, Comparative Religion, Social and Political Thought etc. He has lectured in many universities and research institutes all over the world. He has organized more than 50 national and international conferences, seminars and workshops. He has authored and edited 21 books and he has more than 150 published research papers to his credit. He is on the Editorial Board of many international journals.



Yenny Wahid
Director, Wahid Institute, Indonesia

Yenny Zannuba Wahid is a social and political activist who works to promote peace and tolerance in the world. Her sphere of influence within the biggest Muslim organization, NU, with around 80 million members, has enabled her to work effectively on the grassroots level. Her work experiences include working as reporter for The Sydney Morning Herald and the Age Melbourne, working as special staff for President Susilo Yudhoyono, and working as secretary general for the biggest Moslem party in Indonesia, PKB. As a member of a prominent political dynasty in Indonesia--her great grandfather founded NU and remained loved to this day, her grandfather was a minister in President Soekarno's cabinet, and her father, President Wahid, was the 4th President of Indonesia. Yenny is expected to follow on the footsteps one day. At the moment, the Harvard graduate prefers to focus on her work on the grassroots, trying to empower many marginalized women through her foundation, The Wahid Institute.



Sun Jing
Professor, Chinese Academy of Social Science, China

After graduating from Sichuan University Department of Philosophy and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, he began doing research at the University of Tokyo Faculty of Letters, Indian Philosophy Research Department. In 1986 he became an associate professor at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Institute of Philosophy; he became an assistant professor there in 1993 and has been a professor there since 1997. He is serving concurrently as general director of International Association of I-Ching Studies and as director of the International Association of Confucian Studies.



Chongsuh Kim
Professor Emeritus, Seoul National University, Korea

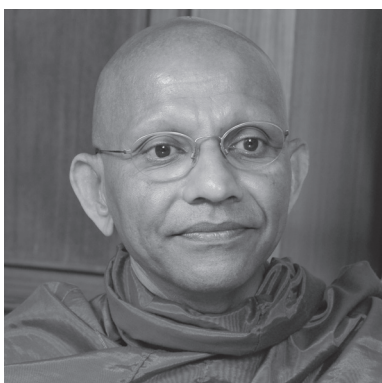
Chongsuh Kim is an emeritus professor at Seoul National University and Chair of Steering Committee, the 5th World Humanities Forum to be held in Korea this year. He was educated at Seoul National University and earned his Ph. D. in Religious Studies at University of California, Santa Barbara. He has gained extensive academic experience as a professor at The Academy of Korean Studies in Korea and as a visiting scholar at Harvard University, University of California at Berkeley and University of Tokyo. In addition to serving as Vice President and Dean of Graduate School, Seoul National University and President of The Korean Association for the Religious Studies, he has been Chair, Presidential Committee for Humanity and Cultural Enrichment in Korea.



Goshin Shaku

Director, The Nakamura Hajime
Eastern Institute, Japan

Graduated from Komazawa University, Department of Buddhism. He completed master's and Ph.D. degrees at Komazawa University, School of Humanities with a major in Buddhism. He holds a Ph.D. (Buddhist studies). He is a collaborating researcher at the University of Tokyo, Institute of Oriental Culture. Having taught as an instructor at the University of Tokyo, he currently serves as a director at the Nakamura Hajime Eastern Institute; associate director of Nakamura Hajime Memorial Hall Eastern Thought and Culture Institute; and visiting fellow at the University of Sri Lanka at Peradeniya. He specializes in Indian Buddhist studies and East Asian Buddhism. Among other awards, he has won honorable mention for the Nakamura Hajime Eastern Studies Academic Prize. His writings include *A Comprehensive Study of Symbiosis in Indian and Buddhist Thought : With reference to the Construction of Thought and Its Transformation* (2017). and *Investigation of religious pluralism and the concept of tolerance in India* (2010).



Alubomulle Sumanasara Thero

Chief Religious Adviser, Japan
Theravada Buddhist Association, Sri Lanka

Alubomulle Sumanasara Thero is a Buddhist monk schooled in the Theravada tradition. Born in Sri Lanka in April 1945, he became a monk at the age of 13. He taught Buddhist philosophy at the University of Kelaniya. In 1980, he came to Japan as a governmentsponsored study abroad student and graduate research at Komazawa University. Currently, he preaches Buddhism and instructs on meditation at the Japan Theravada Buddhist Association. In addition, he has appeared on the NHK educational show “Kokoro no Jidai (Age of Spirituality)” and teaches at the Asahi Culture Center. He has also written numerous books, including “Buddha no Koufukuron (Buddha’ s Theory of Happiness)”, “Mujyo no Mikata (Understanding Impermanence)”, and “Okoranaikoto (Freedom from Anger)” (each in Japanese), and “Freedom from Anger” (in English).



Ambeth R. Ocampo

Associate Professor, Ateneo de
Manila University, Philippines

AMBETH R. OCAMPO is a public historian whose research covers the late 19th century Philippines: its art, culture, and the people who figure in the birth of the nation.

Dr. Ocampo is Associate Professor and former Chairman of the Department of History, Ateneo de Manila University. He served as Chairman, National Commission for Culture and the Arts (2005-2007) and Chairman, National Historical Commission of the Philippines (2002-2011). His popularization of Philippine history and culture has been recognized through numerous awards including State decorations from France, Spain and the Philippines. He is Advisory Board Member, the Japan Foundation Asia Center.

Dr. Ocampo has published 39 books, writes a widely read Editorial Page column for the Philippines Daily Inquirer, and moderates a growing Facebook Fan Page.



Kitti Prasirtsuk
Vice President, Thammasat
University, Thailand

Kitti is Vice Rector for International Affairs at Thammasat University in Thailand, after serving as the Director at the Institute of East Studies there for five years. He is a member of strategic committee at the Thai Ministry of Defence and advisory committee for the Asia Center under the Japan Foundation.

His current research is on soft power in East Asia, U.S.-Thailand alliance, and Japan-Thailand relations at the local level. He taught “International Relations in Southeast Asia” as a visiting professor at UC Berkeley, and gave lectures at Peking, Munich, Waseda, Yonsei University, and ANU. Kitti is regularly invited to speak at international symposia, including at Columbia University, Nikkei Forum, Beijing Forum, and Jeju Forum.



Nobukatsu Kanehara
Assistant Chief Cabinet Secretary,
Japan

After graduating from the University of Tokyo law department in 1981, Kanehara entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Kanehara has served as the International Legal Affairs Division Director, Policy Planning Division Director, Japan-U.S. Security Treaty Division Director, Minister of the Japanese Embassy in the United States of America, Foreign Policy Coordination Division Director, European Affairs Bureau Deputy Director-General, Foreign Policy Bureau Deputy Director-General, Minister of the Japanese Embassy in the Republic of Korea, Deputy Director of the Cabinet Intelligence and Research Office, and the International Legal Affairs Bureau Director-General. Kanehara has held his current post since 2012. Since 2014 he has served as Deputy Director of the National Security Secretariat. He has had two books published, *A grand strategy of Japan for the 21st century* (Nikkei Publishing, 2011) and *Essay collection: The Diplomacy of Japan and Comprehensive Security* (co-authored, Wedge, 2011).



**Tunku Zain Al-'Abidin ibni
Tuanku Muhriz**
President and Co-Founder, Institute
for Democracy and Economic Affairs,
Malaysia

Tunku Zain is Founding President of the Institute for Democracy and Economic Affairs, a trustee of several foundations, a director of two public listed companies, a patron to educational organisations, a columnist in three newspapers and a Royal Fellow of the National University of Malaysia. After graduating from the London School of Economics he worked in the UK Houses of Parliament, the World Bank, United Nations Development Programme and the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. An Eisenhower Fellow, Tunku Zain has participated in leadership programmes in Australia, France and the EU, and has received awards for integrity and impact among youth. He is often invited to speak on nation building, public policy, history, culture, law and business ethics.



Pema Khandu
Chief Minister of Arunachal Pradesh,
India

Mr. Pema Khandu was born in 1979 at Gyangkhar village Lemberdung, Arunachal Pradesh. He did his schooling from Tawang and Itanagar. He graduated from Hindu College, Delhi University in 2000. Since June 2011, he served on various ministers' level such as Minister of Tourism, Urban Development and Water Resources in the state government. He is the Chief Minister of Arunachal Pradesh since 17th July 2016 to till date. He has keen interest in Buddhist philosophy and is Chairman of Bodhi Language and literature promotional society. He organized several times plantation drives, periodical medical camps, educational promotional programmes in various blocks of Tawang district. He is keen for developing a peaceful and socio-economically vibrant Arunachal Pradesh with cordial relation among tribes of the state. He is focused on governance related systemic reforms to build a solid bedrock of administration.



Ketty Wan-I Chen
Vice President, Taiwan Foundation
for Democracy, Taiwan

Dr. Ketty W. Chen is the Vice President of the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy (TFD). She is responsible for overseeing international affairs and general administration at the TFD. Dr. Chen is a political scientist by training and received her doctoral degree in political science from the University of Oklahoma, specializing in comparative politics, democratization, international relations and political philosophy. Dr. Chen also holds two Master's degrees in political science and international relations from the University of Oklahoma and dual Bachelor of Arts degrees in political science and psychology from the Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas. Dr. Chen has been referenced in a number of publications and international media outlets, including the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Associated Press*, *Al Jazeera*, *LA Times*, *New York Times*, *Financial Times*, *Voice of America*, *BBC-World*, *Libération* and *Le Monde*. Her book chapters on Taiwan's social movement in "Taiwan's Social Movements Under Ma Ying-jeou" and "Cities Unsilenced" were published in 2017. Dr. Chen is currently authoring a book on the political resilience of the Kuomintang.



Sujit Dutta
Senior Fellow, Vivekananda
International Foundation, India

Prof. Sujit Dutta is Senior Fellow and head of the China Programme at the Vivekananda International Foundation, a leading think tank based in New Delhi. He is also the Editor of the VIF's forthcoming publication National Security. Dutta is a specialist on Conflict Analysis, Contemporary China, Indian Foreign Policy and Strategic Thought, and India-China relations. Till recently he was Professor in Conflict Analysis and Peace Building and held the M.K. Gandhi Chair in the Nelson Mandela Centre for Peace and Conflict resolution at the Jamia Millia Islamia, Central University, New Delhi. He was formerly, Senior Fellow and head of the East Asian Studies Programme at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi.

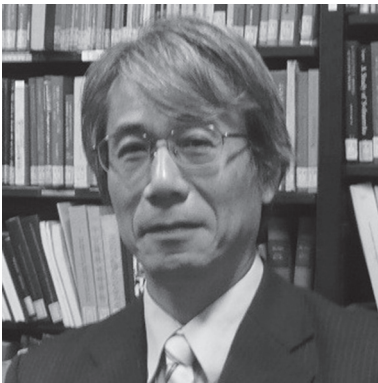


Jorge Villamor Tigno

Professor, University of the
Philippines, Philippines

Jorge Villamor TIGNO is professor at the Department of Political Science at the University of the Philippines–Diliman. He has a doctorate in public administration from the same university and is a member of the Philippine Political Science Association and a Fellow at the Social Weather Stations. He is currently based on a Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) Taiwan Fellowship at Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages in Kaohsiung City until the end of July 2018. His research interests are in the areas of Asian labor migration and comparative immigration policies; democratic consolidation and transitions in Southeast Asia; political philosophy; non-governmental organizations and state-civil society relations in the Philippines; and electoral and political reforms in developing states.

◆ MODERATORS



Hiroshi Marui

Secretary General, The Nakamura
Hajime Eastern Institute, Japan

Graduated from Department of Indian Philosophy and Indian Literature, Faculty of Letters, the University of Tokyo - He completed a master's program of Indian Philosophy and Buddhist Studies, Graduate School of Humanities, the University of Tokyo and earned credits in the Ph.D. program at the same Graduate School. He studied at University of Pune in India as a casual student financed by Japan's Ministry of Education. He holds a Ph.D. (Literature) and was a Council Member of the Science Council of Japan, terms 20-22. He is currently the chief director of the Nakamura Hajime Eastern Institute and specially appointed professor at Musashino University. He specializes in Indian philosophy. He was awarded the Nakamura Hajime Eastern Studies Prize 2013 (Academic Achievement Prize), as well as the ICCR Distinguished Indologist Award 2017 from the government of India.

His writings include *A Study of Jayanta: The Nyāya Philosophy as Described by a Medieval Kashmirian Poet* (2014) and *Learning from "The Last Journey of the Buddha"* (2016).



Tsuneo Watanabe

Senior Researcher, The Sasakawa
Peace Foundation, Japan

In October 2016, Watanabe joined the Sasakawa Peace Foundation after serving a senior fellow and a director of foreign & security policy research at the Tokyo Foundation since 2009. He served a senior fellow at the Mitsui Global Strategic Studies Institute in Tokyo from 2005 to 2009. In 1995, Watanabe joined Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS) in Washington, D.C. He served a visiting research scholar, research associate, fellow and senior fellow until 2005. He is currently adjunct fellow of the CSIS. His publications include "Powers out of Control: Why the US, China & Russia are Threats to the World?" [co-authored. in Japanese] (Kodansha, 2017), "Are the US and China Trading Places in 2025: History Tells the Truth of the US-China Relations" [in Japanese] (PHP Research Institute, 2011). Watanabe received his D.D.S. from Tohoku University in Japan and his M.A. in political science from the New School for Social Research in New York.

