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# Mozi's Doctrines of "Opposing Military Aggression" and "Impartial Love" and Kant's "Perpetual Peace"

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# Abstract

Mozi and Immanuel Kant are two of the best-known philosophers in history to have meditated on the topics of war and peace. Their philosophical outlooks on the origins of conflict and on ways to prevent war and preserve peace for all humankind are similar. But conceptual differences reveal the distinct cultures from which they emerged. Governed by a clear-cut opposition to war, Mozi's thought remains unique. The propositions of "impartial love" and "opposing military aggression" are grounded in this belief, and so are Mozi's effective defense theories and his practice of pacifism, as well as his rational and reflective approach to overcoming warfare - that is, how to go from a state of passive peace to active peace. Kant's program of "perpetual peace" is similar in many regards to Mozi's thinking, but it is also more revealing of the modernity of its own logic, especially because it refers to notions such as democracy, government, and institutions, which are in turn rooted in the more systematic theories advanced in Kant's Three Critiques. The ideas of both philosophers profoundly influenced human history, and their value and brilliance are still celebrated today. However, many regions of the world remain afflicted by unceasing conflict between religious or ethnic groups. This is precisely why it can still prove valuable for us to carefully consider the intellectual legacy of two of the greatest thinkers in history. The limitations of their philosophies, especially when it comes to the new challenges now faced by humanity, offer an opportunity for pondering historical issues and modern solutions.

#### Keywords

community of common destiny – impartial love – Kant – Mozi – opposing military aggression – philosophy of law

#### 1 Introduction: The Grim Picture of International Conflicts Today

Since its very beginning, the historical development of human civilization has invariably been accompanied by incessant competition and conflicts as well as unrelenting warfare. Two world wars caused tremendous losses and destruction. Although no conflicts of a similar magnitude have occurred for more than half a century, local hostilities have been ongoing. They include tragic events such as the Rwandan genocide; the two-thousand-year Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which shows no signs of resolution - on the contrary, because of the inextricability of the situation, it is making all the peacemakers in the world exceedingly anxious; the unceasing hostilities in which the Korean Peninsula has been mired since World War II and in which the competing interests of the world's great powers are at stake. In the Americas and in Africa, confrontations between countries or ethnic groups occur frequently, and terrorist attacks are regularly reported as the leading news in the media. An even bigger cause for concern is the miniaturization of nuclear warheads for which most nuclear powers have already opted, making it the new sword of Damocles hanging over the heads of all humanity.

Yet forces fighting for peace are far from absent. At the international level, the peacekeeping work performed by the United Nations (UN) might at times seem unsatisfactory, but it remains monumental. The UN created peacekeeping forces, and every time conflict erupts between countries or at a regional level, they make Herculean efforts to de-escalate tensions. Their efforts have also been productive in many instances. Moreover, around the world, nongovernmental organizations and famous pacifists have contributed immensely to the eradication of conflict. Theoretical research on "peace studies," beyond the work by the world-renowned Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, for example, by Johan Galtung, has also had a noticeable influence on international relations. Since the end of World War II, the improbable and miraculous feat of ending the violent conflicts due to apartheid in South Africa was accomplished by the movement for reconciliation led by Nelson Mandela [1918–2013]. All of humanity has been greatly inspired and encouraged to move forward by this unique example.

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The UN was created based on the knowledge that human conflict and warfare spring from ideology. It is true that this belief does not directly address the deep-seated confrontations and disagreements between ethnic groups, social classes, and religious groups or the divergent interests that underlie war (though, it could also be said that ideology reflects precisely this confrontation of different interests). Nevertheless, this simple belief can lead us to reconsider the "Crusades," historically launched by Christian fanatics; jihads, waged by Islamist extremists, which plague the world today; or Hitler's goal of exterminating Jewish people - in short, to rethink all these slogans that lead to atrocities and that are heard repeatedly in various armed conflicts (the Cambodian genocide, to name another one out of many). From minor and short-term disputes to large-scale massacres, the people who launch war can always find a justice-related or religious pretext for doing so. Thousands upon thousands of people continue to meet their end fighting one another on battlefields because of these kinds of slogans. From the Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta to the recent US invasion of Iraq war has always unfolded in a similar fashion.

Yet there have been great supporters of peace, such as Mozi  $\mathbb{B}$ ? [ca. 468–376 BCE], Kant [1724–1804], and Albert Einstein [1879–1955], who, in advocating for the end of war and in calling for peace, have all had a tremendous influence. In times such as ours, when tragic conflicts coexist with efforts to promote peace, it is even more necessary to consider the wisdom of those who have reflected on the topic of peace through the ages and to offer a fresh overview thereof, so as to investigate innovative strategies for maintaining peace in the new era. As the most representative thinkers on the topic of peace that the East and the West have produced, Mozi and Kant have been the subject of countless academic theoretical discussions. However, to fully explore their contribution, we need to connect these thinkers with a variety of practical issues.

### 2 The Eras of Mozi and Kant and the Thinkers Who Influenced Them

Even though two thousand years elapsed between the time Mozi lived and Kant's lifetime, the two periods were particular in many similar and fundamental ways. The societies in which they lived had in common that they were experiencing dramatic changes, which also caused violent upheavals. In Mozi's lifetime, the Spring and Autumn period [770–476 BCE] was followed by the Warring States period [475–221 BCE], and although traditional ways of life were increasingly threatened, the Zhou emperors' authority waned a bit more every day. The feudal lords, by contrast, competed incessantly in asserting their power. The Han [403–230 BCE], the Wei [403–225 BCE], and the Zhao [403–222 BCE] states continually built up their forces so as to carve up the territory of the Jin state [1033–376 BCE]. As hostilities intensified, the destruction and death they caused increased tremendously. In his lifetime, Confucius [ca. 551–479 BCE] criticized the conduct of powerful ministers in the Lu state [1043–255 BCE] who overstepped their authority and defied the imperial court.

The issue became critical in Mozi's time. The political upper class was becoming more disorganized and corrupt by the day, as the living conditions of the lower classes kept worsening. As a member of the working class, Mozi genuinely felt for the "hungry who cannot find sustenance, for the shivering who cannot be offered clothing and for the laborers who cannot get rest."<sup>1</sup> The Qi state [1046–221 BCE] invaded the state of Lu three times, as the Lu continued to infringe the sovereignty of its less powerful neighbors. After having deeply pondered the limitations of Confucian philosophy, Mozi advocated for propositions that favored the common people. This is the context in which the Mohist school of philosophy emerged and a series of doctrines, such as "opposing military aggression" [*feigong* 非攻] and "impartial love" [*jian'ai* 兼 愛], formed in a desire to "deviate from the path taken by the Zhou by applying the policies of the Xia dynasty."<sup>2</sup>

Kant lived in similarly turbulent times: due to Napoléon Bonaparte's [1769– 1821] growing strength, Austria was ultimately defeated and sued for peace in 1806 (two years after Kant's death in 1804), and the Holy Roman Emperor, Francis II [1792–1806], became the emperor of Austria. This was preceded by the War of the Austrian Succession [1740–1748] and then the Seven Years' War [1756–1763], in which the Hapsburgs and Prussia vied for supremacy. On a continent afflicted by these rapid and dramatic changes, society was in constant upheaval, and these conditions stimulated the proliferation of brilliant and revolutionary ideas. Hence, humanity entered a new stage, called the Enlightenment. In other words, the societies in which Mozi and Kant lived not only had in common that they experienced sudden changes and upheaval but also that an intense surge of new ideas emerged out of this unrest that would have a far-reaching impact on society in the future.

When confronted by the suffering caused by warfare, Mozi would constantly meditate on a way to put an end to armed conflict and achieve peace, so as to

<sup>1</sup> Sun Yirang 孫詒讓, Mozi jiangu 墨子閒詁 [Annotations on Mozi], ed. Sun Qizhi 孫啟治 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001), 251.

<sup>2</sup> Liu Wendian 劉文典, Huainan honglie ji jie 淮南鴻烈集解 [The Collected Annotations of Great Brightness on the Huainanzi], coll. Feng Yi 馮逸 and Qiao Hua 喬華 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2013), 709.

"work for the benefit of the people under Heaven and eliminate the scourge of calamities."<sup>3</sup> As a member of the "peasants, artisans, and stall owners,"<sup>4</sup> Mozi pondered "Confucius's art"<sup>5</sup> deeply, and that led him to firmly advocate its replacement with the "Mohist Way," which would represent the aspirations of the common people, who, after all, constitute the absolute majority of society. Disciples spread and developed his thought, and the Mohist order, which until then had been nonexistent, was established to train leaders of Mohism.

When European societies experienced similar periods of intense warfare and dramatic changes, old ways of thinking were supplanted by new ideological trends. Great intellectual figures then made their mark and gained influence – not only Kant but also generations of thinkers after him. First came Francis Bacon [1561–1626] and René Descartes [1596–1650] and later Denis Diderot [1713–1784] and Jean-Jacques Rousseau [1712–1778]. The ideas that they advanced converged and gave birth to the very modern and typically Western concept of "freedom." Eventually, a consensus formed in Western society regarding the inalienability of human freedom as well as freedom of worship; in modern times, this belief has had a profound impact on the governance of societies.

Explicit concepts of peace were already in place before the time of Mozi and Kant and their theories on peace. Before Mozi, states would meet, conclude armistices, and form alliances. Even theoretically, two visions shaped ideology at that time: the first was the Military School's [*Bingjia* 兵家] cautious philosophy of war [*shenzhan* 慎戰], and the second consisted of philosophies on peace advocated by thinkers who preceded Mozi. Among them, the preeminent figure was certainly Laozi 老子 [571–471 BCE], who regarded "weapons as tools of bad omens" and thought that one should "not dare to be the one launching a war, but rather prefer to be the one on the defensive," and that there was "nothing glorious about conquering."<sup>6</sup> There was also Confucius who reinforced the notion of good governance by which "the order to go on a punitive expedition came from the emperor" and no other authority, held that it was "learning and art [that] were enlightening," and argued that "the most beautiful and the best" thing to do was to obtain power rightfully, not by attacking other states.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Sun Yirang, Mozi jiangu, 249.

<sup>4</sup> Sun Yirang, Mozi jiangu, 46.

<sup>5</sup> Liu Wendian, Huainan honglie ji jie, 709.

<sup>6</sup> Wang Bi 王弼, annot., Laozi Dao De Jing zhu jiaoshi 老子道德經注校釋 [Laozi's Collated and Annotated Dao De Jing], coll. Lou Yulie 樓宇烈 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), 80, 173.

<sup>7</sup> Zhu Xi 朱熹, Si shu zhangju jizhu 四書章句集注 [Collected Annotations on the Four Books] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 171, 170, 164.

Obviously, these philosophies on peace greatly influenced Mozi and sparked his interest, leading him to ponder issues of war and peace even more.

Similarly, two thousand years later, in the West, Kant was clearly influenced by modern notions of "contracts," "legal institutions," and "freedom," which had been redefined by, for instance, David Hume's [1711–1776] theory of human nature and Rousseau's contract theory. It can be said that before Kant and his theory of peace in particular, discussions on the topics of war and peace had coalesced in an ideology of peace rooted in the notion of divine will, human nature, and natural law. Such was the case with the ideas in Hugo Grotius's [1583–1645] De jure belli ac pacis [On the Law of War and Peace] and the principle of peaceful coexistence advanced by Emer de Vattel [1714–1767]. The two thinkers articulated propositions that had a major impact on subsequent generations – for instance, that countries were bound by natural law, which in turn was grounded in human nature and not in power. Their perspectives regarding international relations had an even greater impact on the theories of peace by Kant and subsequent generations of Western thinkers. First, they proposed the principle of an "international community." They believed that, because of the world's anarchical state, the replication at an international level of the social order within countries would help to build an international community and regulate behavior among them. Second, they emphasized the importance of international law as a tool for regulating international interactions. Finally, they believed that, even when wars were fought, states should be bound by principles of justice and law in their conduct of war. In forging his theory on peace, Kant found inspiration in the work of these previous thinkers.

#### 3 The Theoretical Foundations of Mozi's Philosophy on Peace

In the West, it is often assumed that no theories on peace emerged in antiquity.<sup>8</sup> People who hold this belief have come to this conclusion based on a historical perspective that is strictly Western.

There are two types of pacifists: the first is an absolute pacifist whose opposition to all wars is unconditional; the second, by contrast, practices peace based on some conditions and only in some situations. Only someone whose opposition to war is uncompromising should be labelled a "pacifist." Yet, Mozi's

<sup>8 &</sup>quot;Heping yu feibaoli 和平與非暴力 [Peace and Nonviolence]," in *Jianming Buliedian baike quanshu* 簡明不列顛百科全書 [*Encyclopaedia Britannica's Micropaedia*] (Beijing: Zhongguo dabaike quanshu chubanshe, 1985), 3:710. The Chinese edition is based on the edited translation of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica's Micropaedia*.

doctrines of impartial love and opposing military aggression advanced some remarkable elements in the notion of peace. These elements transcend the knowledge of Western thinkers. Mozi not only elaborated theories on the conduct of war but also reflected on effective and concrete social efforts that could be made to oppose war. The defensive military science that he devised, based on the premise that weaker and smaller countries should be defended as they resist foreign enemies, as well as the ultimate ideal of peace that he promoted, demonstrate that, in antiquity, Mozi not only advocated for but also practiced pacifism.

As two of the world's most remarkable philosophers, Mozi and Kant both supported their theories of peace with the sophisticated systems of thinking that they conceived. For this reason, we first have to grasp their theories of life in society in order to truly apprehend how they philosophize about peace. At the same time, their discourses on peace invariably reflect the social context in which they lived as well as concepts and cultural characteristics in their civilizations. This perspective allows us not only to analyze the ideological concepts that they advance but also to draw on wisdom in Eastern and Western cultural ideas that can help us maintain peace and find ways to address the conflicts afflicting humanity today.

If we want to comprehend Mozi's philosophy on peace, we have to clarify the relation between notions such as the "will of Heaven" [*tianzhi* 天志] and "impartial love." Most studies on the pacifist and nonbelligerent dimension of Mohist thought focus their attention only on the sections of the *Mozi* 墨子 titled "Impartial Love [*Jian'ai* 兼愛]" and "Opposing Military Aggression [*Feigong* 非 攻]." Yet, if we do not connect these doctrines to the "Will of Heaven" section, as well as to the other "ten credos" [*shi lun* 十論] that make up the *Mozi*, we will fail to fully grasp these two important concepts.

Because the "Opposing Military Aggression" section of the *Mozi* derives its notion that war is a crime from his apprehension of universal human values and legal principles, it simultaneously sheds light on and refutes the attacker's "coveting of the fame of victory" and the invader's psychology.<sup>9</sup> The reasoning behind the "opposing military aggression" doctrine is to demonstrate the negative aspects and vicious circle of war by contending, for instance, that "if we are to calculate what they gain, it by far does not amount to what they lose" and that "if today you pull people to stop them, they will also pull you and stop you."<sup>10</sup> The doctrine of the will of Heaven argues, by contrast, and out of an ultimate spiritual concern, the irrationality of any wars of aggression. Relying on the doctrine of impartial love, the will of Heaven analyzes the irrationality

<sup>9</sup> Sun Yirang, Mozi jiangu, 131.

<sup>10</sup> Sun Yirang, Mozi jiangu, 131, 480.

of war from the utilitarian perspective of "benefits under Heaven" [*tianxia zhi* li 天下之利] and based on the premise that, according to the will of Heaven, by nature all humans are equal. Mohist thought achieves greater profundity precisely because of this type of ultimate concern for humanity. This philosophy transcended the just war theory proposed by Confucians when they affirmed that "the order to go on a punitive expedition came from the emperor" and no other authority. It also avoided the view, popular at the time, that states should pursue only their own benefits. To restate the view of a South Korean scholar, this perspective, which went beyond national interests, prefigured contemporary notions of "international ethics," and therefore even today it could become a foundation for peaceful and friendly coexistence by all peoples.<sup>11</sup>

More importantly, after discussing the prevention of warfare, Mozi identifies the root causes of war and meditates, ultimately, on how to eliminate war. In other words, he expands his philosophy from the *passive peace* of his theory of opposing aggression to consideration of *active peace*, promoted by impartial love. Mozi thought that people have two different kinds of instincts: the benevolent instinct to seek mutual love and mutual support, and the malevolent instinct to harm one another. He also thought that the root cause of war was humanity's base instincts. In addressing, as an example of this malevolence in human nature, the mass destruction caused by war, the Mozi's section on impartial love offers a diametrically opposite proposition: indeed, it contemplates the possibility that "the strong will not control the weak, the majority will not coerce the minority, the wealthy will not humiliate the poor, and the elite nobles will not show disdain for the lowly."<sup>12</sup> On the international stage, China's president Xi Jinping 習近平 once received positive reactions when he cited the following from the Mozi: "For people to mutually care for one another will bring order to the world under Heaven, while hate will only bring chaos."13 This clearly shows that Mohist thought still has great practical significance today.

Mozi's discourse on impartial love is founded on the notion of the will of Heaven: "The ways of Heaven are great and disinterested, its kindness is profound and unconcerned with itself."<sup>14</sup> This theory of Heaven bestowing favors on all living things in an impartial manner certainly implies that a similar logic should guide human relations, requiring people to care about and benefit one another. Indeed, Mozi extends the idea to interpersonal ethics: "Others will

<sup>11</sup> Chung In-cha [Zheng Renzai 鄭仁在], "Mozi de heping sixiang 墨子的和平思想 [Mozi's Philosophy of Peace]," in *Mozi yanjiu luncong* 墨子研究論叢 [*Collected Essays on Mozi*] (Jinan: Shandong daxue chubanshe, 1993).

<sup>12</sup> Sun Yirang, *Mozi jiangu*, 102.

<sup>13</sup> Sun Yirang, Mozi jiangu, 100.

<sup>14</sup> Sun Yirang, Mozi jiangu, 22.

love instantly one who loves, and one who benefits others will be benefited by them, too.<sup>\*15</sup> However, Mozi also holds that, although people certainly hope that when they find themselves in a difficult situation, someone who believes in "impartial love and mutual aid" will be there to help them, and the same people would not often agree with the proposition that impartial love is practicable. People are thus trapped in a dilemma between what they want to believe for themselves and how they wish that others would act.

To solve this problem, Mozi attempts to explain his arguments in detail, from both a historical and political perspective. When one looks at history, the fact is that those who have been considered supreme beings have all been considered as such because they promoted impartial love, and that is why Mozi refers to them as "impartial rulers" [ *jian jun* 兼君], and that is why, generation after generation, people have praised them. This historical tradition had a profound influence on generations of people. Politically, Mozi though that those in power could issue decrees and use coercive measures to address deep-rooted weaknesses by the people – because the ruler of Chu [1115-223 BCE] liked slender waists, Mozi reminds us, many a minister would agree to go hungry in order to get thin, and because the ruler of Yue [2032–222 BCE] loved those who were brave, the army and the people would vie with each other in raging fury. Hence, Mozi set out a new, tridimensional discourse on war; in other words, rather than simply opposing war, he engages in a deeper philosophical reflection and ends up proposing three specific paths for ending war. First, he thinks that social contradictions and interpersonal conflicts would disappear, by addressing social inequality between the rich and the poor and by eliminating the abuse caused by it. Second, by increasing people's spiritual awareness, it would be possible to continuously keep in check the malignant aspects of human nature and to encourage benevolence in human nature. Finally, through the implementation of specific policies, the rulers' guidance would inspire people to take the right path. We have to say, again, that, practically speaking, Mozi's tridimensional project is still tremendously inspiring and significant, even today.

Mozi's theory on opposing military aggression is about differentiating between the nature of war and how to end to wars involving invasion. Mozi then meditates on how to progress from passive peace to a future in which people will forever coexist in a state of active peace defined by impartial love. In addition to these theoretical discussions, Mozi also led his disciples, so that they could devote their efforts to the realization of the principles of peace that he advocated. Through a series of actions aimed at stopping the Chu from attacking the Song [1114–286 BCE], Mozi successfully prevented the Chu's invasion

<sup>15</sup> Sun Yirang, Mozi jiangu, 103.

attempt, when all the plans had already been devised, and the Chu were on the verge of launching a war. This is how Mozi earned the name "Mozi the Defender" [*Mo shou* 墨守].<sup>16</sup>

If we approach Mozi's ten main doctrines – which include "moderating expenditure" [*jieyong* 節用], "opposing fatalism" [*feiming* 非命], and "the exaltation of those with merit" [shangxian 尚賢] - as a whole, it becomes obvious that, by addressing fundamental social issues, Mozi aimed to carve a path that humanity could take to achieve peace. Indeed, what was most crucial for humanity was not to seek satisfaction by accumulating material wealth but, rather, to seek spiritual growth. Only by relentlessly pursuing the eradication of material desires and the cultivation of moral excellence through benevolence and mutual benefit could humanity progressively elevate its consciousness and morality. Thus motivated psychologically by selfishness and greediness to abuse and waste, people should never cease striving for elevation and for avoidance of war. After individuals, families, and countries can peacefully coexist, an ideal world will finally be possible in which "people are tranquil and unworried"17 and in which people trust one another and build strong relationships. In this sense as well, Mozi's thinking remains crucially edifying even today.

Practical thinking and philosophical investigation both characterize Mozi's ideas on war and peace. Ultimately, they helped shape a system of thought that, from practice to theory and then to practice again, expects society to progress toward peace: first, ideologically, by discussing how to oppose war and to achieve peace; second, by reflecting on how to vigilantly guard one country's interests even in times of peace (sections of the *Mozi*, such as "The Seven Causes of Anxiety [*Qihuan* 七忠]," are mainly dedicated to this topic); and, third, by describing how, when in the position of the smaller nation facing a powerful foreign invasion, one should address the enemy in a well-planned, concerted manner and with all the capabilities one has carefully built to strive for peace without surrendering.<sup>18</sup> However, war remains a perverse

<sup>16</sup> See Sun Yirang, *Mozi jiangu*, 482–88.

<sup>17</sup> Sun Yirang, *Mozi jiangu*, 198.

<sup>18</sup> These ideas and their practice are reflected in the "Gong Shu 公輸" section of the *Mozi*. The "Fortification of the City Gate [*Bei chengmen* 備城門]" section of the *Mozi* explores and summarizes the actual operations by which states that fear invasion, when facing real threats, can employ military strategies and tactics to defend the state and its population's interests. The section addresses comprehensively the art of orchestrating defense: from mobilization before war and the preparation of a concerted plan, to building and strengthening city defenses and clearing the fields so as not to leave anything for the invader, from weaponry to commanding the army, from air defense to other aspects. Regarding Mozi's philosophy on peace in relation to defense in times of war, see my indepth explorations of the topic: Qin Yanshi 秦彦士, "*Mozi* chengfang wuqi kao 《墨子》城

phenomenon that goes against both morality and human nature, and, to prevent it, we need to strike at the roots of conflict and eradicate them. Many of the major theoretical views presented in the Mozi are actually directly connected to this crucial idea. Indeed, Mozi's theories on opposing aggression and impartial love, far from being focused only on the temperament of individuals, also aim to build the foundations for a society in which violence and its consequences would be eradicated - in other words, to end the various instances of unfair treatment and to spare no effort to build an equitable society (most distinctly, through propositions such as "the exaltation of those with merit," which were particularly relevant for society back then). The fundamental idea at the heart of this line of reasoning is that, by building an equitable society and elevating people's spiritual outlook - again, by addressing injustice and reducing humanity's selfish and aggressive mentality - it would be possible to achieve mutual benefit, mutual accommodation, mutual respect, and mutual love among people. The idea is also that, through the revision of people's moral patterns and the harmonization of human relations, it would be possible to reduce the intensity of the contradictions and conflicts that exist in societies as well as in international relations. If we look at the principle of "upward conformity" [shangtong 尚同] together with "the will of Heaven" (Mozi's ten credos all relate to the fundamental purpose that the will of Heaven represents), the path toward equity, which forms an essential part of Mozi's philosophy on peace, unfolds and goes as follows: to elevate the people's spiritual outlook by addressing social contradictions so as to bring about peaceful coexistence between individuals, families, and countries and ultimately create a trusting and ideal environment in which "people are tranquil and unworried." This is how, according to Mozi, hostilities can be completely uprooted, and the Great Harmony [datong 大同] can be achieved.

Kant's principles present some major contrasts with Mozi's philosophy on peace, and yet, in many fundamental ways, their systems of thought are very similar.

防武器考 [An Examination of City Defenses and Weaponry in the Mozi]," in Mozi kaolun 墨子考論 [An Examination of Mozi] (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2002), as well as "Mozi 'Bei chengmen' zhupian zonghe yanjiu 《墨子·備城門》諸篇綜合研究 [A Comprehensive Study of the Fortification of the City Gate' section of the Mozi]" (PhD. diss., University of Sichuan, 2006), and the sixth lecture in Mozi gongkai ke 墨子公開課 [Public Lectures on Mozi], ed. Li Shouxin 李守信 and Shao Changjie 邵長婕 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2018).

# 4 The Theoretical Foundations of Kant's Philosophy of Peace and Its Profound Significance

# 4.1 The Three Critiques and Kant's Concept of "Perpetual Peace"

Kant's theory of peace is supported by an elaborate system of philosophical concepts. Therefore, to examine his theory, we need to approach the topic from the perspective of his three major *Critiques*, had been published earlier – the *Critique of Pure Reason* in 1781, the *Critique of Practical Reason* in 1788, and the *Critique of the Power of Judgment* in 1790. *Perpetual Peace* was published in 1795, thus, by this point, Kant had been reflecting on his philosophical theory of reason in increasing depth for about twenty years. The solid foundations on which his theory of peace rests originated precisely in the theoretical systems that he had long elaborated on. Hence, in order for us to comprehend Kant's ideas regarding peace correctly, we need to connect them to the rest of his philosophical work – his *Three Critiques*, constituting, of course, his most fundamental and major contribution.

In the *Critique of Pure Reason*, Kant believes that the forms (or categories) of human knowledge only fit the phenomenal world and do not apply to the transcendental noumenal world - in other words, things-in-itself cannot possibly be obtained through people's limited capability for understanding. What results from this is that theoretical reason is inferior to practical reason. Human cognitive faculties, which enable theoretical reason, are confined to morality. As for seeking the truth, the realm of freedom to which practical reason can give access is beyond the limit of humanity's intellectual capability. Therefore, when it comes to peace, Kant is not as strikingly confident as Mozi was regarding his own doctrines of universal love and opposition to military aggression. Yet Kant's rational thinking remains profoundly original, and his philosophical theories have made his ideas on peace more influential, in both theory and practice for generations after him. Throughout Perpetual Peace, Kant uses an assertive language that is directly and closely related to the fundamental philosophical speculations at the center of his work as well as to his philosophy of religion and his theory of human nature.

In *Kant's Ethical Thought*, the treatise Allen W. Wood devotes to the topic, we can see more clearly the relationship between Kant's thinking on ethics and his philosophy on peace. Summarizing his treatise, Wood concludes that Kant's ethical notions can be encapsulated by referring to three main principles: autonomy, equality, and an international ethical community.<sup>19</sup> If

<sup>19</sup> Allen W. Wood 艾倫·伍德, Kangde de lixing shenxue 康德的理性神學 [Kant's Rational Theology] (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2014), 108.

we compare them to Mohist thought, they correspond precisely to the selfcultivation, the will of Heaven, and the international ethics advocated by Mozi.

This is the way, through Kant, to better comprehend Mohist thought. Kant believed that absolute moral perfection could not be achieved solely through individual and independent efforts at moral self-improvement. Rather, he held that individuals need to become part of a community by joining with others in a particular purpose. Only through this association with others can human morality achieve perfection. Mozi's thinking regarding the will of Heaven may have received censure, yet it is in exact agreement with Kantian thought: what Mozi originally implied when he spoke of "the will of Heaven" as "unifying all views under Heaven" was not at all that we should act in the service of tyrants – if there were scholars who lean toward such an interpretation. In fact, Mozi thought that "unifying all views under Heaven" would address the kind of conflict in which "individuals fight for their own purpose,"<sup>20</sup> conflicts that ultimately wreak havoc under Heaven. The "impartial ruler" who would rally all humanity under the same banner, or the same purpose [yi 義], in fact should be like Yu the Great 大禹, who was both an industrious and a fearless advocate of justice. Only the kind of leader who, as Mencius described Mozi, is ready to "wear himself out from head to foot"<sup>21</sup> – that is, the "impartial ruler" to which Mozi referred - can guide humanity into carrying out the will of "Heaven" and achieve the purpose of "working for the benefit of the people under Heaven." A fundamental continuity can be found between this conception and Kant's notions of "autonomy" and "equality." The ideas of both thinkers are shared by wise individuals in both the East and the West, who demonstrate a similar longing for peace among humankind and participate in similar discussions on the topic. Kant also believed that human reason was limited and that only God could provide guidance on obtaining scientific knowledge. But humanity could not reach perfection through individuals' independently trying to improve their own morality, and, for this reason, rational individuals should become allied with one another. This is consistent with the meaning and purpose of Mozi's philosophy on upward conformity. Hence, Kant's concepts of autonomy, equality, and an international ethical community can be compared to Mozi's corresponding notions of self-cultivation, impartial love, and a community of international ethics.

Let us reconsider Kant's "international ethics": first, the principle at the basis of an association of states should be moral conduct; second, common

<sup>20</sup> Sun Yirang, Mozi jiangu, 77–78.

<sup>21</sup> Jiao Xun 焦循, *Mengzi Zhengyi* 孟子正義 [*The Correct Meaning of the Mengzi*], annot. Shen Wenzhuo 沈文倬 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 916.

moral principles should be put into practice under conditions that are free and lack coercion; third, common moral principles accept both distinctions among members and a union of them.<sup>22</sup> This vision of interpersonal relationships has an ideal of shared redemption to which this type of union relates; thus, it would become impossible for people in such a union to be divided into particular communities with different interests. This point in particular sheds light on how different Kant's political and religious context was from Mozi's. In this resepct, Kant's context not only is in contrast to the Eastern cultural background of Mohist thought but also is revealing of the Christian aspects of this major figure of Western philosophy. The sentiment of compassion found in it and its modern limits are both crucially connected to this aspect of his personality. Therefore, before we examine this issue, it is necessary to keep unravelling the philosophical, ethical, political, and religious conceptual ramifications of the unifying peace proposed by Kant. Only then can we correctly and entirely comprehend his theory on peace.

# 4.2 Comparing the Ethical and Religious Perspectives of Mozi and Kant as Well as Their Philosophies on Peace

Kant dedicated treatises such as the *Lectures on the Philosophical Doctrine of Religion* and *Religion within the Bounds of Bare Reason* to the investigation of the specific topic of religion. The views that he expressed are of great help in improving our understanding of his conception of perpetual peace. Kant believed that human reason has limits and that people only had the ability to conceive of things. Beyond this limited capacity, it is the divine in which we believe (i.e., an ideal) that provides us with the guidance we need to obtain scientific knowledge. In practice, the moral rules of conduct to which the so-called divine commandments correspond serve both a binding function and as objective standards for "rational beings" (here we see the influence of the Christian faith and traditions since Moses supposedly received the Ten Commandments).<sup>23</sup>

Thus, Kant's religious preoccupations are intrinsically related to the notion of perpetual peace: the limits of rationality require that humanity find ways to extricate itself from the system of rationality. In that sense, religion is not a set of outward procedural dogmas, by which "theology merely serves as a system of morals, namely that it serves a notion of goodness, a way to behave

<sup>22</sup> Immanuel Kant 康德, Yongjiu heping lun 永久和平論 [Perpetual Peace], trans. He Zhaowu 何兆武 (Shanghai: Shanghai shiji chuban jituan, 2005), 42.

<sup>23</sup> Cited in Hong Tao 洪濤, "Lun Kangde de yongjiu heping linian 論康德的永久和平理念 [On Kant's Concept of Perpetual Peace]," *Fudan xuebao* 復旦學報, no. 3 (2014).

that brings joy to the Supreme Being." Kant believed that there was only one true religion, and Christianity was the one that corresponded to his definition thereof. Yet he was not at all familiar with ancient philosophical traditions in China, whether the Confucian, Mohist, or Daoist school of thought. He was even less familiar with the existence of a Chinese school of Buddhism that also made room for Confucian and Daoist traditions. Hence, for Kant, the "perfect religion" was one that aimed the highest at "breaking away from bare ways of worshipping" and provided the best "path toward a good life."<sup>24</sup> The content of Kant's concept of "perpetual peace" and the procedural style of its language are both intrinsically related to this vision of religion.

Mozi's pacifist philosophy of opposing military aggression might not stem from the West's religious and philosophical cultural background, but the philosophy of peace toward which the "will of Heaven" guides us fundamentally presents the same utmost concern for humanity. However, it is precisely in this regard that the limitations of the philosophy of the two thinkers become evident. More than two thousand years separates us from Mozi and more than two centuries from Kant, and practice has long confirmed that, in the face of the actual challenges of war, their theories need to be upgraded.

From the perspective of social practice, it seems that Kant mainly conducted his philosophical investigations between the walls of his study. By contrast, Mozi, aside from his theoretical thinking, also acted fearlessly and led his disciples into sacrificing their own safety for the sake of practicing the principles of impartial love and opposing aggression that he advocated. In the chapter "Fortification of the City Gate [*Bei chengmen* 備城門]" in the *Mozi*, Mohist disciples also outlined the different strategies and tactics that were part of the long practice by the master and his students of opposing the invasion of smaller states by powerful states. This dimension in particular is in stark contrast to Kant's work. It also shows how distinct the philosophies of peace by Mozi and Kant remain from each other.

Regarding Mozi's thought, actions, and lasting influence, the Taiwanese scholar Wei Zhengtong 韋政通 [1927–2018] once famously offered the following critique:

The reason that Mozi was conferred high status in Chinese culture is his opposition to aggression and warfare, his zeal for the salvation of

<sup>24</sup> This is translated from the Chinese version and interpretation of Kant's *Religion within the Bounds of Bare Reason*: Immanuel Kant 康德, *Danchun lixing xiandu de zongjiao* 單純 理性限度的宗教 [*Religion within the Bounds of Bare Reason*], trans. Li Qiuling 李秋零 (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2003), 208. Several different translations of this passage are available in English.

humankind, and the sustained earnestness of his spirit of sacrifice. His thinking has been valued because it was supported precisely by this spirit. His character not only inspired his generation but has reverberated throughout the ages. This is Mozi's truest and greatest quality.<sup>25</sup>

And according to the majority of people, it is precisely this spirit of sacrifice that our world may be lacking the most today.

# 4.3 Mozi's Philosophy of Peace Gains International Recognition

Because Mozi's theory on peace transcends both time and geography, it has garnered universal praise, including from many contemporary intellectuals. For instance, Joseph Needham [1900–1995], a well-known historian of science and technology who once shouldered the immense task of writing Science and Civilization in China, drew a conclusion of profound significance regarding the peaceful temperament of the Chinese people, shaped by pacifist thinkers from the pre-Qin period [before 221 BCE], such as Mozi and other competing schools. Needham wrote that "while there were many wars in the history of China, there was never the establishment of a military state."26 In a published conversation, the British historian Arnold Toynbee [1889-1975] and a well-known Japanese philosopher of religion Daisaku Ikeda express a common and critical understanding of Mozi's philosophy on peace, as exemplified by his doctrines on impartial love and opposing military aggression. Toynbee and Ikeda both believe that, when it comes to the issue of international peace today, Mozi's impartial love is more apt to meet humanity's needs than Confucius's benevolence [ren'ai 仁愛].27

<sup>25</sup> Wei Zhengtong 韋正通, Xianqin qi da zhexuejia 先秦七大哲學家 [Seven Great Philosophers of the Pre-Qin Era] (Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2006), 107.

<sup>26</sup> Joseph Needham 李約瑟 and Robin D. S. Yates 葉山, Zhongguo kexue jishu shi 中國科學 技術史 [Science and Civilization in China], vol. 5: Huaxue ji xiangguan jishu: Junshi jishu: Paoshe wuqi he gongshou cheng jishu 化學及相關技術: 軍事技術: 抛射武器和攻 守城技術 [Chemistry and Chemical Technology: Military Technology: Missiles and Sieges] (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2002), 6:38.

<sup>27</sup> Arnold Toynbee and Daisaku Ikeda, *Choose Life: A Dialogue*, ed. Richard L. Gage (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 365. In his conversation with Toynbee, Daisaku Ikeda also praised Mozi's philosophy of impartial love and reaffirmed the immense value for today's humanity of this great spirit of love: "In my view, all people must come to think of peace – the time when no human beings fear any others, when all trust and love each other – as the natural and ordinary way of life. Only when this belief is our guiding principle can a truly human society be created. I regard the propagation of such belief and the consequent building of a human society as the prime duty of political leaders, philosophers, and intellectuals" (p. 219).

To cite another example, the "father of peace studies," Johan Galtung, believes that it has been historically demonstrated not only that, since antiquity, the topic of peace has been a preoccupation widely shared by the Chinese population but also that no Chinese tradition of territorial expansion has existed in the country, especially among the Han rulers, since the longstanding Confucian tradition of harmonious relationships [hehe 和合] was established.<sup>28</sup> Hence, at both the domestic and international level, the philosophy of peace that characterizes China's outstanding cultural tradition - through the work of the Mohists, the Confucians, and the Daoists, among many different philosophies - not only profoundly influenced the Chinese people's historical development but also left a mark on every country along the Silk Road with which the Chinese have maintained peaceful relations. There is no doubt that this firmly rooted historical foundation can now form a solid bedrock for a future of continuous and friendly relations between the Chinese and peoples in other countries. Yet the ultimate force against war lies with the people; they remain those who can provide the greatest support for the maintenance of peace.

In their conversation, Toynbee and Ikeda share a similar transnational view, which is also found in Mozi's work. After having addressed the fact that the results of war are always contrary to the expectations of those who launched it, Toynbee discusses the possibility of eliminating all recourse to arms:

War can be abolished, even if it were to prove impossible to cure all human beings of committing nonmilitary crimes of violence.... The assumption underlying the institution of war was that one of the belligerents would win, that the other would lose, and that the advantage of victory for the winner would be greater than the cost. This calculation often proved wrong. Wars were often disastrous for the victors, too.<sup>29</sup>

This precise point is emphasized in the section "Opposing Military Aggression" in the *Mozi*.

In previous international symposia on Mohism convened by China, Mozi's conception of peace was largely endorsed by national and regional experts from Japan and South Korea. A South Korean scholar, Chung Inchai 鄭仁在, highly praised Mozi's theory on peace. In his paper titled "Mozi's Philosophy of Peace," he remarked that Mozi was not only the first person in history to

<sup>28</sup> Johan Galtung 約翰·加爾通, Heping lun 和平論 [Peace by Peaceful Means], trans. Chen Zuzhou 陳祖洲 (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2006), 189.

<sup>29</sup> Toynbee and Ikeda, *Choose Life: A Dialogue*, 219.

present a theory of peace but also the first to put his theory into practice in an attempt to achieve peace. As humanity still lives under the threat of war, and, even more so because of the terrifying menace of nuclear war, it was highly important, according to Chung In-cha, that we reacquaint ourselves with Mozi's invaluable philosophy on peace.<sup>30</sup> Other scholars from South Korea also believe that when it comes to international ethics, Mozi's theories of impartial love and opposing military aggression have a very contemporary quality and therefore Mozi's philosophy could become a foundation for peaceful and friendly relations among countries and people today.<sup>31</sup>

Not only has Mozi's philosophy on peace gained international and unanimous recognition, but its theoretical significance has also been demonstrated by the victory of the South African reconciliation movement that followed the end of apartheid. When Mandela was released from prison, some of his fellow citizens loudly demanded sending white people back where to they came from. However, at a critical moment, when racial clashes were about to descend into massacres, Mandela opted to take a nonviolent stand and broke the impasse by dissuading people from resorting to violence. He guided his fellow citizens to exemplifying the ancient *ubuntu* spirit (which is fundamentally similar to Mozi's philosophy on peace), together with people who held similar convictions, such as the Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Albie Sachs [Albert Louis Sachs, a lawyer, writer, and former judge, appointed by Nelson Mandela to serve on the first Constitutional Court of South Africa]. Mandela's struggle may have been extremely arduous, but he accomplished the nearly impossible feat of turning the tide of conflict and leading South Africans on the long road to reconciliation. Ultimately, he ensured the country's peaceful transition and avoided any major catastrophe as well as the several million deaths that could have occurred in racial conflicts. Mandela's achievements stand in stark contrast to the Rwandan genocide that shocked the entire world at the end of the twentieth century. Although these events make us appreciate the immense and almost miraculous significance of the South African reconciliation movement even more, they also allow us to realize even more fully the contemporary value of Mozi and Kant's pacifist thinking. In addition, as I personally learned from meeting figures who have advocated friendship among African nations, Africa needs Mohism's guidance even more today, especially after having gone through the Rwandan massacre.<sup>32</sup> This is the sort of event that proves once

<sup>30</sup> Chung In-cha, "Mozi de heping sixiang," 186.

<sup>31</sup> Chung In-cha, "Mozi de heping sixiang," 189.

<sup>32</sup> As a researcher of Mohist thought, I came to know this by meeting twice with the Rwandan consul general stationed in Chongqing, who then invited me to teach Mohist thought in

again the universal value of Mohist thought. It also demonstrates that, as the cultural traditions of ancient China continue to circulate and influence the world, the pacifist thought and wisdom of its ancient sages in particular can play an increasingly important role in building a community with a shared future for mankind [*renlei mingyun gongtongti* 人類命運共同體].

# 5 Kantian and Mohist Thought in Contemporary "Peace Studies"

Mozi's philosophy on peace crucially reinforced the peaceful character of the Chinese people, and it also gained international recognition largely through the works of visionaries. As with Kant's theory on perpetual peace, its influence was even greater, after the two world wars. One of its core concepts, in particular, that is, a structured international authority established by means of a federation of free countries, even became a theoretical pillar for the establishment of the United Nations.<sup>33</sup> Yet since then history has demonstrated that the organization's role is often restricted or faces interference. Moreover, the extremely complex world conditions post-pandemic might pose new challenges in terms of the maintenance of peace.

For this reason, as we carry forward the heritage of ancient thinkers, such as Mozi and Kant, and reinforce belief in the necessity of achieving a permanent peace, we also need to upgrade the work of the wise people who preceded us. For instance, when it comes to defining the morality of peace, Kant's Christian notion of a "perfect religion" has recently lost some of its authority, especially considering the increasing apathy about religion we are witnessing today. This is why many philosophers, thinkers, and scientists have begun to explore the topic of peace anew. Among them, Galtung, the "father of peace studies," has sought to provide a new roadmap to peace. The most important aspect of his work is certainly the inclusion of a wider variety of perspectives from which to investigate the issue of peace – whether through the lens of sociology, cultural studies, or even medicine. Galtung articulated the theory of the opposition between "negative and positive peace," which is highly reminiscent of Mozi's theories on impartial love and opposing military aggression, and, practically speaking, he also intervened in the resolution of regional conflicts in more

Rwanda. After a meeting at the Rwandan embassy in Beijing, I was supposed to receive a formal letter of invitation, but because of the pandemic, the offer was postponed. However, this demonstrates the power and particular role of academia with regard to the contemporary task of ensuring the maintenance of peace. It also demonstrates how we, as intellectuals, are duty bound to undertake this task.

<sup>33</sup> Kant, Yongjiu heping lun, 45.

than a hundred instances (and because of how he succeeded in mediating the conflicts between Ecuador and Peru, he was also nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize). At the same time, Galtung also integrated new features of the world today into his work and expressed the concept of "cultural violence"; by broadening considerably our perspective on how humanity can achieve peace, he drew a new roadmap. Furthermore, to resolve current and seemingly intractable issues, he set out six practical ways in which to achieve peace: global governance, the abolition of war methods, conflict transformation, nonviolence, peacebuilding and development, and peace culture. These new propositions deepened our understanding of peace, but they also inspired us in a different way: for instance, regarding peace and development, Galtung stated that countering the commercial malpractice that affects the current international economy is necessary for decentralizing the factors of production, a measure that would allow everyone to participate in production activities that lead to global economic integration. This offers us a new way in which to reflect the issue of conflict resolution when the roots of hostilities are found in the unfair distribution of wealth between the poor and the already wealthy. In addition, Galtung contrasted the cultures of the East and the West, comparing Western culture's inclination toward violence and its history of colonialism to China's tradition of interconnected schools of thoughts and long pacifist tradition. By doing so, he also emphasized that dialogue between the East and the West is crucial in addressing future conflicts.

In comparison with the West's competitive ideology of the "survival of the fittest," which Galtung believes is intrinsically linked to its tradition of colonialism, the East's Buddhist tradition seems to him much more conducive to the maintenance of peace. He reminds us that the Buddhist doctrine of "dependent arising" [*yuanqi* 緣起] is, indeed, rooted in the belief that all living things are connected and that this notion remains fundamental for all humanity. According to Galtung, Buddhism is the only ideology that does not lead directly to violence or to structural violence. This also provides a discourse on peace that is practically significant.<sup>34</sup> The new philosophies on peace by Galtung and others overcomes the limitations of Kant's Christian-oriented theories, thus, they contribute to addressing the task of peace maintenance, with all the contemporary challenges it poses.

The general psychological and ethical trends in academic research on Mozi's philosophy on peace derive from the inspiration provided by the works of every prominent thinker in world history since Mozi and all the philosophical knowledge that we have accumulated since then. In the modern era,

<sup>34</sup> Galtung, Heping lun, 186.

innovative academic research, especially in sociology and cultural anthropology as well as philosophy, biology, psychology, and ethics, have enlightened and revolutionized our contemporary understanding of peace.<sup>35</sup> For instance, Freud's [1856–1939] theory on the id, the ego, and the superego and Jean Piaget's [1896–1980] child psychology have contributed deeply to our grasp of humanity's mental constructions about peace. Through a series of reforms in education, which involved all the prenatal, preschool, primary, and adult stages of development, and through continuous and determined efforts to change one generation at a time, academic research and teaching continue to play a crucial role in shaping the future. This is a major issue and, in this regard, there are two different tendencies that we should keep an eye on. The first is conservative support of militarism – to which some important figures in the academic world subscribe - as well as its advocates' continuing propaganda (which includes research on historical redress that seeks, in reality, to reverse the verdict on the history of World War II in favor of those who launched it). Another trend is the use of accurate results from scientific research in a potentially harmful way. When it comes to this eventuality, we, as intellectuals, can never be too careful.36

Past research has paid too much attention to the actions of governments or figures in power and not enough to the people that constitute our societies. Current and future research on the topic of peace need to correct this. For instance, the significance of Mozi's philosophy of upward conformity is limited by the excessive consideration it grants to subjectivity and its lack of concern for power dynamics (in other words, Mozi dreamed that the "impartial ruler" who would "unify all views under Heaven" would reign with a determination to achieve "impartial love" and would hence be able to eradicate the chaos of

<sup>35</sup> Einstein once said that, in comparison to [Jean] Piaget's child psychology, the theory of relativity was practically child's play. Robert G. L. Waite's famous book, *The Psychopathic God: Adolf Hitler* (Boston: Da Capo Press, 1993), reveals the conditions of the upbringing of the dictator who launched the most devastating war in world history as well as the social factors behind his ascension from a wanderer to a Nazi head of state commanding the support of crowds.

<sup>36</sup> In this regard, what followed the publication of the internationally acclaimed book Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) is especially enlightening: indeed, after the book was published, readers wrote to Dawkins, accusing him of destroying children's hopes for a better future. In response to this criticism, Dawkins later published another book, *Unweaving the Rainbow: Science, Delusion and the Appetite for Wonder* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), in which he points out that, even though our genes may be selfish, we are still bound to cooperate as a species (our genes may push us to make choices in our own interests, but it is still in our interest to cooperate; in other words, we are "selfish cooperators"). This new conclusion was meant to offer bright hopes for the future.

war).<sup>37</sup> Kant's philosophy on peace also presents some problems that deserve our attention: one of them is that there does not exist a unique model of a republican system. Some republican countries have never intended to launch armed conflicts, while other similar systems of governance have always easily resorted to military force in order to resolve their problems. The relentless resort to war not only brings death and destruction to the afflicted countries but also incurs exorbitant military expenses and seriously damages the belligerent country's image and relations with allied countries, which then often brings about self-isolation or other harmful strategies. In addition, in Kant's work, the role of the countries' population seems to be completely overlooked, and it would be quite improbable to find in Kant any allusion to nongovernmental organizations. Indeed, in sharp contrast to Mozi's high respect for the common people's strengths in the defense of a country, in the eyes of Western military scientists, the masses are merely "rabble" that need to be disciplined (in fact, this is precisely how Carl von Clausewitz depicts the militias and the common people in On War). Nevertheless, in opposition to the recent unbridled belligerence of some leaders at the head of the most powerful countries in the world (whether George W. Bush's launching of the Iraq War or the resort to a threat of military force by Trump and those like him), pacifist citizens around the world have determinedly fought against war and have striven to maintain peace by every action available to them. From [Mohandas K.] Gandhi's [1869-1948] nonviolent activism to the courageous Malala Yousafzai, who as a girl fought the Taliban's atrocities and earned the Nobel Peace Prize, to pacifist international NGOS such as Greenpeace – all these people contributed to the immense task of striving for peace for all humanity. There are also intellectuals who call for peace and who are dedicated to the just cause of spreading and defending public opinion at an international level. These collective forces have become a major obstacle to those who govern and hold the power to launch wars. Moreover, since the Nuremberg trials and the Tokyo war crimes trials, both the United Nations and international tribunals have constituted a psychological and a legal obstacle to those who would want to resort to war. These doctrines and practices, which did not exist in Kant's lifetime, have become both an effective force and a philosophy in the maintenance of peace, and, even now, they represent our best hope of ending war. The theoretical and practical efforts described above provide the main elements that we need to refine humanity's ideology and the culture of pacifism at a theoretical level.

<sup>37</sup> There has been some confusion in this regard, which has led the Mohist school and community to misinterpret their late teacher's notion of "righteousness" [*dayi* 大義] as well as to blindly obey their leaders. This is one of the main internal reasons behind the decline of the Mohist school. For further details on this topic, see the author's *Mozi kaolun*.

In a future when war and peace may well continue to be influenced by the proponents of game theory, many different forces still exist that can play an increasing role and have an impact. As we investigate the human history of war and peace, we should reconcile the thought of philosophers in both the East and the West, including Kant, Bertrand Russell [1872–1970], [Albert] Einstein, Gandhi, and Mandela, and we should also make room for thinkers in the Arab world, the African continent, and other advocates of peace all over the world. For our contemporary fellow humans, but also for the generations who will come after us, we need to gather these valuable resources. This is a moral responsibility that we cannot reject. In deepening our understanding of the current philosophies on peace, we can also ponder various questions that still deserve careful investigation, whether the need to facilitate the role of NGOS or to keep strengthening friendly contacts and exchanges among the people in different countries or, again, the need, for instance, to reduce spending on weapons in order to invest more in improving human well-being, or, finally, the need to restrict the power to launch wars and to enhance the ability of the United Nations to respond both in time and effectively when maintaining peace becomes an issue.

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