

TOWARDS A NONKILLING FILIPINO SOCIETY:

Developing an Agenda for Research, Policy and Action

**TOWARDS A NONKILLING
FILIPINO SOCIETY:**
*Developing an Agenda for
Research, Policy and Action*

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FOREWORD

Jose V. Abueva

At the risk of sounding immodest, I wish to share a personal perspective on peace and development as historical context of the university lecture series that produced the material for this book: *Towards a Nonkilling Filipino Society: Developing an Agenda for Research, Policy and Action*. On my initiative, the lecture series held in February 2004 was sponsored and organized jointly by the Aurora Aragon Quezon Peace Foundation (AAQPF) and Kalayaan College at Riverbanks Center, Marikina (KC), the co-publishers of this book.

Four institutions generously hosted the lectures: the University of the Philippines, Ateneo de Manila University, Ateneo de Davao University, and Kalayaan College. We invited scholars and leaders known for their concern for peace to address, from their individual perspective, the common theme of the lecture series: "Is a nonkilling society possible in the Philippines?" We also asked them: "If Yes, why and under what conditions? If No, why not?"

The basis and inspiration of our lecture series is the seminal work of Dr. Glenn D. Paige, his book: *Nonkilling Global Political Science*, published in 2002. This influential book has been translated so far into 16 languages, including Chinese, Arabic, Hindi, French, Spanish, and Japanese. The AAQPF and KC published a Philippine edition of the book in 2003.

As Dr. Paige defines it, "A nonkilling society...is a human community, smallest to largest, local to global, characterized by no killing of humans and no threats to kill; no weapons designed to kill humans and no justifications for using them; and no conditions of society dependent upon threat or use of killing force for maintenance or change."

For his early and sustained scholarly work and passionate interest in the scientific study of political leadership and global nonviolence Dr. Paige has gained international recognition and respect among scholars and leaders alike. In September 2004, the American Political Science Association conferred on him the *Distinguished Career Award* for "demonstrated excellence in teaching and scholarship in the service of transformational politics." He is probably the first modern thinker to advocate "a nonkilling global society"

as a realizable vision and goal, although the world's great religions and various traditions have preached peace and forbidden killing.

Like Dr. Glenn D. Paige, I have spent most of my now long life in the study of politics and government. Since the 1950s I have focused on the study of public administration, political leadership, development and democracy in the Philippines, often in relation to other countries. Since the mid-1960s I have been enlightened and inspired by the creative, challenging and pioneering-scholarship of Dr. Paige in the scientific study of political leadership, and then in the study and advocacy of peace and nonviolent social transformation—lately aimed at building a "nonkilling global society."

Dr. Paige's critical reflection on his experience as a soldier in the Korean War was his epiphany as a scholar for peace. His review of his book based on his doctoral dissertation on the decision of the United States to go to war in Korea revealed to him the unexamined assumption that lethal force is acceptable and nearly inevitable.

My life-changing experience in World War II that culminated in the martyrdom of my parents in the hands of the Japanese occupying army started my own deep concern for peace. At the United Nations University (UNU) where I worked for 10 years until 1987, networks of scholars in different disciplines and countries collaborated in dealing with specific pressing global problems of human survival, development and welfare. I eagerly learned from our studies on peace and human and social development.

Beyond the academe, I have been engaged in public life—with occasional stints in the government service. As a young scholar at the UP Institute of Public Administration in the mid-1950s, I served in the reorganization of the executive branch under President Ramon Magsaysay. My interest in him as an extraordinary leader for democracy and peace would lead me to write a political biography of him with a research grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

Believing in local autonomy to empower citizens, my doctoral dissertation at the University of Michigan focused on the self-help community development program of the Magsaysay administration. In the late 1960s I became executive director of the legislative-executive local government reform commission chaired by Senator Emmanuel Pelaez. Then I was elected Secretary of the 1971 Constitutional Convention that culminated in the 1973 Constitution at the outset of the over 13 years of the Marcos dictatorship and militarization of the country.

The demise of democracy under Marcos caused incalculable violent repression and conflict, routine torture, summary executions, destruction and waste, massive corruption and plunder. The dictatorship provoked greater armed resistance by the Communist New People's Army that spread from Luzon to the rest of the country, and the rebellion of the Moro National Liberation Front in Mindanao. Increasingly, the dictatorship also evoked nonviolent forms of resistance by various sectors of society which would culminate in February 1986 in the "people power" revolution at EDSA that peacefully overthrew the Marcos dictatorship and restored democracy under President Corazon Aquino. This extraordinary feat gained the world's admiration.

Earlier on, soon after the brutal assassination of Benigno "Ninoy" Aquino in 1983, I came home from the UN University in Tokyo to deliver a lecture before the Philippine Social Science Council at U.P. where I analyzed the multiple crises engulfing the nation and condemned the Marcos regime for the assassination. Coincidentally, when the EDSA revolution started on February 22, 1986 I was with some 200 Filipinos from New York and New Jersey who demonstrated near the White House to protest President Reagan's biased observation that the opposition under Corazon Aquino had also cheated in the presidential election that Marcos had stolen. Flawed by unprecedented fraud and violence, the election triggered the military mutiny that ignited the "people power" revolution.

In 1987, while still working with the United Nations University, I came home and served as consultant to Ambassador Emmanuel Pelaez who headed the government panel in the peace talks with the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) under Nur Misuari and the Cordillera People's Liberation Army (CPLA) under Conrado Balweg. The negotiations ended in a prolonged truce with the rebel groups. Direct contact with our military and rebel leaders was my initiation into the conditions and motivations behind the two rebellions and the government's responses to them as the negotiators searched for a peaceful resolution to the deep-seated conflicts.

While serving as president of the University of the Philippines (1987-1993), President Corazon Aquino appointed me to chair the 13-member Legislative-Executive Bases Council that prepared the comprehensive plan for the conversion to alternative peaceful and productive uses of the military bases at Subic, Clark, Fort Bonifacio, and other sites. In presenting our studies and conversion plan to the President and legislative leaders in Malacanang, I argued strongly for the

departure of the U.S. military from the country and the immediate conversion of the military bases.

Fortunately, the Senate rejected the treaty extending the stay of U.S. forces at Subic Naval Base. An act of nature, the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo nearby, had already driven the U.S. military out of Clark Air Base in Pampanga. Undoubtedly, the conversion has proved our vision right and our plan beneficial. We were consistent with the commitment to international peace and against nuclear weapons and the presence of foreign military forces in the country as mandated in the 1987 Constitution.

I have also served in two civil society organizations dedicated to peace, freedom and human rights and taken part in several peace conferences. One of the NGOs is the *Bantayog ng mga Bayani* (Monument to Heroes) that recognizes and memorializes the martyrs and heroes in the struggle for peace, freedom, and justice against the Marcos dictatorship. Thus far the names of 160 martyrs and heroes are inscribed on its Wall of Remembrance.

The other NGO is the Aurora Aragon Quezon Peace Foundation. Established in 1989 in honor of President Manuel L. Quezon's distinguished widow and head of the Philippine Red Cross who was killed by Communist rebels in 1949, the Foundation recognizes individuals and institutions for their outstanding contributions to peace in the country. To date the Foundation has honored 42 individuals and 20 institutions. By publishing and disseminating the book of Dr. Paige and by organizing the lecture series and publishing this pioneering book, the Foundation is contributing significantly to peace research. It has created the opportunity to pursue this initiative in addition to its annual peace awards.

Since 2001 I have worked closely with the Citizens' Movement for a Federal Philippines (CMFP), led by Rey Magno Teves, in evolving a draft constitution for a Federal Republic with a parliamentary government. CMFP has been building constituencies for Charter change among civil society and government leaders and scholars. Our study and nationwide advocacy of constitutional and political reform is CMFP's structural response to the country's chronic poverty, slow economic growth, injustice, widening social inequality, ineffective leadership and governance, dysfunctional political parties, corruption and lack of public accountability, violent crimes, protracted armed conflict with Communist and Moro rebels, a politicized military, and continuing political instability. These worsening problems are making Filipinos increasingly dissatisfied with the way

democracy works in the country. My work to reform our political system is a public service of Kalayaan College which also hosts the CMFP national center.

I hope that by highlighting the nation's interlocking problems and tumultuous political history, my autobiographical genesis of our university lectures and the publication of this book could be excused. By their context I am suggesting why building a nonkilling society in the Philippines has to overcome deeply rooted, complex and interrelated problems. However, the same context gives us hope that some factors augur well for overcoming them if we resolve to do so as a nation.

For Filipinos to succeed, it appears that the quest for peace and development and the building of an authentic democracy towards our emerging Filipino vision of "the Good Society" must go hand in hand. Therefore, it is my thesis that all aspects of the Filipino vision of "the Good Society" largely embodied in the 1987 Constitution, plus the ideal and goal of nonkilling, should be developed and pursued as an interactive and interdependent whole. Only in this way can a nonkilling Filipino society be approximated and made sustainable. A developing, nonkilling society in the Philippines and an increasingly nonkilling global society would be mutually reinforcing.

In his lecture, Howard Q. Dee makes this qualification: "A society, to qualify as a nonkilling society for us to emulate and aspire to attain, must be a benevolent life-sustaining society in all aspects of life, in all human activity and in all human relationships, internally amongst its own people and externally in dealing with the peoples of the world."

On the whole, our authors believe and hope that a nonkilling Filipino society is attainable if it is consciously sought as part of the national vision and goal; and if certain basic problems and obstacles are met head on continually to clear the way and make progress.

For her part, as well as for the rest of us authors, Miriam C. Ferrer raises these questions: "But can our history and norms as a people provide us with some foundations for a nonkilling society? Can our institutions be transformed? Are we capable of creating new ones? Are our political and economic elites capable of becoming law-abiding citizens? Is the ordinary Filipino citizen likewise able to rise above self-interest, and think of the good of the whole?" And she adds, hopefully: "Like Dr. Paige, I believe there are many precedents to say yes, it is possible. We can all get nearer that goal of a nonkilling society."

In Howard Q. Dee's wisdom: "At the end of the day, the question is not whether a nonkilling society is possible for us or not. The question is: do we have the desire and the will to make it happen and how long shall we wait to muster the courage to begin the task, even if all odds appear to be against us and when all evil forces are conspiring against us."

We have no illusions how difficult and how long it will take us, Filipinos, to achieve these goals to an appreciable degree. We have studied and worked long for development with very modest success. But now we have begun to define the specific challenge of building a nonkilling society and this gives us hope. For we are inspired by two great Indian leaders who said, as quoted by Dr. Paige:

The questions that a country puts are a measure of that country's political development. Often the failure of that country is due to the fact that it has not put the right question to itself.

Jawaharlal Nehru

We are daily witnessing the phenomenon of the impossible of yesterday becoming the possible of today.

Mohandas K. Gandhi

We believe a "nonkilling society" as a defining aspect of the emerging Filipino vision and goal of "the Good Society" is possible. Problematic, yes, but not unthinkable. So is a nonkilling global society in the long perspective. Sooner, if the vision and goal can inform and propel the determined efforts around the world of more and more people and political leaders.

As the Center for Global Nonviolence asserts: "Everyone can be a center for nonviolence." Likewise, everyone can help make a nonkilling society possible, from the smallest communities to the global level.

Towards shaping a nonkilling global society, Dr. Paige urges us to engage the human and physical sciences, technology, culture and the arts, and all religions. As well we need the good sense and political will of citizens and leaders in all the nations. Conscious of our human limitations, we cannot overemphasize the need for faith and spirituality even in our mundane endeavors as a nation. How much more in trying to achieve our noblest human aspirations. Beyond human reason, will and labor we believe in God's will and power; for to him nothing is impossible.

The Aurora Aragon Quezon Peace Foundation and Kalayaan College join our authors and collaborators in humbly dedicating this work to people everywhere who love peace and, starting in their own country, help in consciously building a nonkilling global society. No matter the obstacles along the way and however long it takes.

October 24, 2004

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Let me express how deeply grateful I am that my collegiality and friendship of many years with Dr. Paige have begun to join more Filipino scholars in a serious and visionary collaborative effort to discover the foundations of a nonkilling Filipino society. On these foundations, hopefully, our people can patiently build the peace and development they seek in an evolving Filipino vision of "the Good Society."

We sincerely thank our esteemed authors—our lecturers and reactors—for making possible this pioneering research project. We are grateful to the institutions that generously hosted our lecture series: the University of the Philippines, Ateneo de Manila University, Ateneo de Davao University, and Kalayaan College—my home institution. We also thank all the academics, students, and guests who came to the lectures. We regret that the scheduled lectures at De LaSalle University had to be moved to Kalayaan College because the chosen day was suddenly declared an official holiday in Manila. We thank De LaSalle University for kindly agreeing to be our host.

We are thankful to Dr. Paige and Mrs. Glenda Paige who came to the Philippines from Honolulu, at their own expense, to help us in our learning experience. We are profoundly indebted to Dr. Paige specifically for providing us the scientific basis and spiritual inspiration to our research and advocacy toward establishing a humane law and order and a just and enduring peace in our country rooted on the foundations of a nonkilling society. In time we may be able make our modest contribution to the international quest for peace along the vision and goal of "a nonkilling global society" which he has initiated.

Dr. Max Paul, Dean of the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences at the Université Jean Price Mars, in Haiti, for participating in our discussions. We thank him for coming all the way to the Philippines on his own despite the political turbulence in Haiti at the time.

We say thank you, as well, to our colleagues in the Aurora Aragon Quezon Peace Foundation, the Concerned Women of the Philippines, the Center for Leadership, Citizenship, and Democracy at the U.P. National College of Public Administration and Governance, and Kalayaan College; to Dr. Oscar M. Alfonso, our editorial consultant; to Mr. Garie G. Briones, our book designer; to Ms. Pearl Patacsil, our indexer; and to Ms. Tes Marfil, our project secretary, and Ms. Ma. Elena G. Tirado, our secretary at the AAQP Foundation.

The Editor

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TOWARDS A NONKILLING FILIPINO SOCIETY:
Developing an Agenda for Research, Policy and Action

CHAPTER 1

**IS A NONKILLING SOCIETY POSSIBLE?
IF NO, WHY NOT? IF YES, WHY?**

Glenn D. Paige

Philosophy begins when someone asks a general question, and so does science.

—Bertrand Russell

The questions that a country puts are a measure of that country's political development. Often the failure of that country is due to the fact that it has not put the right question to itself.

—Jawaharlal Nehru

Is a nonkilling society possible? If no, why not? If yes, why?

But what is meant by a "nonkilling society"? The word "nonkilling" is not in everyday use and cannot be found in the Oxford English Dictionary. By a "nonkilling society" is meant a society, local to global, in which there is no killing of humans, and no threats to kill; no weapons designed to kill humans and no justifications for using them; and no conditions of society that depend for maintenance or change upon the threat or use of lethal force.

There is neither killing of humans nor threats to kill. This may extend to animals and other forms of life, but nonkilling of humans is a minimum characteristic. There are no threats to kill; the nonkilling condition is not produced by terror.

There are no weapons for killing (outside museums that record the history of human bloodshed) and no legitimizations for taking life. Of course, no weapons are needed to kill—fists or feet suffice—but there is no intent to employ this capability nor technologically to extend it. Religions do not sanctify lethality; there are no commandments to kill. Governments do not legitimize it; patriotism does not require it;

revolutionaries do not prescribe it. Intellectuals do not apologize for it; common sense does not commend it. In computer terms of this age, society provides neither the "hardware" nor the "software" for killing.

The structure of society does not depend upon lethality. There are no social relationships that require actual or threatened killing to maintain; or change them. No relations of dominance or exclusion—boundaries, forms of government, property, gender, race, ethnicity, class, or systems of spiritual or secular belief—require killing to support or challenge them. This does not imply that such a society is unbounded, undifferentiated, or conflict-free, but only that its structure and processes do not depend upon killing. There are no vocations, legitimate or illegitimate, whose purpose is to kill.

Thus life in a nonkilling society is characterized by no killing of humans and no threats to kill; neither technologies nor justifications for killing; and no social conditions that rely upon the threat or use of lethal force.

Is a nonkilling society possible?

One answer to this question is presented in the book *Nonkilling Global Political Science* (Manila: Kalayaan College, 2003). Hereafter cited as *NKGPS*.

Is a Nonkilling Society Possible?

Chapter One raises the question, "Is a nonkilling society possible?" and reports responses received over twenty years from political scientists and groups in the United States, Sweden, Russia, Jordan, Japan, Korea, Lithuania, Canada, and Colombia. The responses range from "It's absolutely unthinkable!" (American political scientists) to "It's completely possible" (a Korean political philosopher).

The customary American negative response is based upon three beliefs. First, *human nature*; human beings have always killed and will continue to do so. Second, *economic scarcity*; scarce resources will always lead to competition, conflict, and killing—forever. Third, *sexual assault* males must always be prepared to kill to defend their female relations against rape. (American females do not cite need to kill to defend males against rape, but rather to protect their children.)

On the other hand, a completely positive response was received in Pyongyang in a 1987 interview with the president of the Korean Association of Social Scientists, Professor Hwang, Jang Yop, a leading political philosopher and party leader. First, human beings are not animals. They are endowed with "consciousness, reason, and creativity" and therefore are able to liberate themselves from killing. Second, scarcity of natural resources can be overcome by "productivity, creativity, and, most importantly, equitable distribution." Third, rape can be overcome by "education and provision of a proper social atmosphere." Asked to define "politics," Professor Hwang replied: "Politics means the harmonization of the interests of all members of society on the basis of love and equality."

Various responses can be expected whenever the question is raised. For example: "I've never thought about the question before. I need some time to think it over" (Swedish futurist). "It's not possible, but it's possible to become possible" (Japanese educational philosopher). "We know that humans are not violent by nature, but we have to fight in self defense" (Jordanian political scientists). "There are no jobs. I have to kill to take care of my two daughters" (young Colombian killer). "When the gap between the rich and the poor closes, we won't have to kill anymore" (another young Colombian killer).

Such responses, of course, are not only a product of detached personal opinion but are conditioned by contextual, political, economic, social, cultural, and historical factors. For example, political science education in the United States tends to produce nonkilling pessimism in a society that celebrates violent victories from the American Revolution to emergence as the greatest military superpower in history. Furthermore, it is a society that is subjected to daily news of killing, at home and abroad, and that seeks entertainment in fictionalized lethality from murder mysteries to "blockbuster" action films.

Capabilities for a Nonkilling Society

Despite such pessimism, Chapter Two, "Capabilities for Nonkilling Society, presents evidence in favor of creating nonkilling societies throughout the world. First, *nonkilling human nature*. Most humans who ever lived have never directly killed anyone. If human beings were

innately killers the human family could not exist. Fathers would kill mothers; parents, children; children, parents; and the human population long ago would have spiraled into extinction. For evidence of nonkilling human capability note the homicide statistics of any society; a tiny percentage of the population. In the Philippines, for example, WHO reports that in 1993 there were 7,726 homicides, or 14.2 per 100,000 persons in a population of 75.6 million. Reported suicides were 851 or 1.5 per 100,000 people. (Compare in 1998 the United States, 6.9 homicides and 10.4 suicides; and The Russian Federation, 21.6 homicides and 32.1 suicides.)

Second, *nonkilling spiritual and humanist teachings*. Although religions have been employed to justify wars and unspeakable atrocities, it is important to note that the principal message from God the Creator, however conceived, has been to respect life, not to kill. For example, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam share the Sixth Commandment, "Thou shalt not kill" (Exodus 20:13). In modern humanist socialism, workers have been exhorted not to kill fellow workers in wars that only favor exploiters. Such religious and secular teachings have inspired martyrs and movements for centuries. Nonkilling believers in every faith provide examples for others to follow. What a few can do, others can do also. The Gandhian, Kingian, and EDSA People Power movements provide examples of nonkilling faith in action.

Third, *nonkilling science*. Science, defined as all forms of verifiable knowledge, provides evidence and offers promise for nonkilling social change. As the great nonviolent Jain spiritual leader, Acharya Mahapragya, has observed: "We'll never get to nonviolence by religion alone." Roots for nonkilling human capabilities can be found in animal studies, brain science, psychiatry, anthropology, public policies, social institutions, history, and in the lives of men and women famous and little known who have courageously contributed to the advancement of nonviolent world civilization.

Fourth, *nonkilling public policies*. Despite the violent origins of contemporary nation-states, in 2000 seventy-three countries and territories had completely abolished the death penalty. In 1998 forty-seven countries had recognized conscientious objection to killing in

military service. In 2001 twenty-seven countries had no armies at all, although eight had defense treaties with other states (*NKGPS*, pp. 43-7). Viewed comprehensively, there is ample evidence that human beings, individually and socially, are capable of liberating themselves from lethality. As the interdisciplinary group of twenty biological, psychological, and social scientists declared in the historic UNESCO-sponsored "Seville Statement on Violence" (1986), "IT IS SCIENTIFICALLY INCORRECT to say that war or any other violent behaviour is genetically programmed into our human nature." "Humanity can be freed from the bondage of biological pessimism....Just as wars begin in the minds of men, peace also begins in our minds. The same species who invented war is capable of inventing peace" (*NKGPS*, p. 40).

Implications for Political Science

Chapter Three, "Implications for Political Science," is addressed primarily to political science professors and students throughout the world. "The suggestions it makes, however, are applicable to any academic discipline, vocation, or organization whose influence upon society is based upon the assumption that human lethality is inescapable.

According to the International Political Science Association, in 1999 there were approximately 35,689 political scientists in the world reported to be members of fifty-two national political science associations. The largest membership, 13,300, was that of the American Political Science Association, the oldest association founded in 1903. (No data were provided for the Philippines.) If political scientists who devote their lives to study, teaching, and public service on questions related to political violence do not challenge the assumption of inescapable killing, then why should political leaders and citizens of the world be expected to do so? It is as if biomedical researchers and physicians in the medical profession based lives and work on the assumption that diseases are incurable.

The thesis of the attainability of a nonkilling society requires creative pursuit of four-part logic of nonkilling political analysis. We must thoroughly understand the *causes of killing* in all its forms from homicide to terrorism and war; the *causes of nonkilling* from daily life and mass nonviolent movements, as in the Philippines, to heroes and heroines who

have resisted killing throughout history; the *causes of transition from killing to nonkilling* and the reverse, both individually and socially; and the most creative task of all, to combine knowledge of the causes of killing, nonkilling, and transitions with the utmost spiritual, scientific, artistic, and humanist creativity to identify the *characteristics of desirable, attainable, and variable killing-free societies*.

As anthropologist Dr. Max Paul of Haiti, president of the newly founded Centre Caraibéen pour la Non-Violence Globale et le Développement Durable (Caribbean Center for Global Nonviolence and Sustainable Development), has observed, the virtue of the nonkilling thesis is that it is "open-ended" and does not prescribe every feature of society in a totalitarian fashion. On the other hand, Sri C. Veera Raghavan, director of India's National Learning Center, has called attention to another important feature of the nonkilling thesis, "It's measurable." That is, the killed can be counted and progress in terminating lethality can be measured.

To realize nonkilling societies implies need for at least six "revolutions" in conventional violence-accepting political science. A *normative revolution* to reject the acceptance of killing whether governmental, revolutionary, criminal, or social. A *factual revolution* to discover nonkilling human capabilities that are ignored or suppressed by conventional cultures of violence. A *theoretical revolution* to create and test hypothesis-based theories to guide practical transitions to nonkilling societies. An *educational, and training revolution* to prepare political scientists and citizens to make contributions to nonkilling social transformation. An *applied revolution* to create ways in which nonkilling knowledge can be used in problem-solving practice—analogue to how medical discoveries are applied in patient care and public health, or to how advances in agricultural research are applied to assist food production upon which social life depends. An *institutional revolution* must make changes in existing organizations or create new ones that can better serve needs for nonkilling research, education-training, and action for the survival and well-being of all.

Philosophically political science must liberate itself from violent dogmas. One example is that of German political economist and sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920), who argued in his influential lecture

"Politics as a Vocation" (1918) that "the decisive means for politics is violence." "He who seeks the salvation of the soul, of his own and that of others should not seek it along the avenue of politics, for the quite different tasks of politics can only be solved by violence" (*NKGPS*, p. 6). In 2004, I however, there are abundant resources of theory and practice that can help create nonviolent alternatives to violent politics. Among them are Gene Sharp's classic, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (1973), Robert Burrowes, *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense: A Gandhian Approach* (1996), Johan Galtung, *Peace By Peaceful Means* (1996), Mohandas K. Gandhi, A.T. Hingorani, ed., *The Science of Satyagraha* (1970), and Robert L. Helvey, *On Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: Thinking About the Fundamentals* (2004).

Furthermore the thesis of *Nonkilling Global Political Science* (2002) is that the spirit, science, skills, institutions, and arts of nonviolence can be purposefully combined in actions to transform violent politics, to change systems of socioeconomic structural violence, and to provide conditions of local and international security.

Problem-Solving Implications

Chapter Four, "Problem-Solving Implications," calls upon political scientists to commit themselves to the goal of ending lethality in global life. To accept a problem-solving role for nonkilling political science does not imply omniscience, omnicompetence, or omnipotence. But it does imply commitment to well-being in all areas of social life—spiritual, physical, material, and cultural. It recognizes that what political leaders, institutions, governments and people who support them do (or fail to do so) have far-reaching consequences from physical survival through economic well-being to the highest reaches of human creativity.

It is not reasonable to expect nonkilling political science to demonstrate instant solutions to problems that violence-accepting politics and political science have not been able to solve. Furthermore to end the human lethality, of course, is not a task for political science alone. It is shared by all sciences, humanities, professions, and by everyone. But political science can commit itself to finding nonkilling solutions to such basic problems as violent dictatorships, armed revolutions, and increasingly

dysfunctional attempts to provide security by escalating capabilities to kill.

Nonkilling and Dictatorships

To stop the emergence of killing-prone leaders supported by killing-prone followers, at some point in history humans must simply refuse to kill and refuse to cooperate with systems that kill.

Some practical actions are even now identifiable. To stop the rise of potential hitlers, stalins, maos, amins, pol pots, or even atomic-bombing trumans, redefine the concept of political leadership from lethal commander to facilitator of nonkilling problem-solving in response to human needs. Seek early identification of and withdraw support from leader aspirants with aggressive, violence-prone personalities. Remove expectations of willingness to kill and authority to order others to kill from leadership role responsibilities. Do not provide leaders with professional killer organizations pledged to obedience and armed with increasingly lethal technologies. Withdraw religious, business, labor, scientific, and artistic support for killing-prone organizations and commit them to nonkilling alternatives. Elevate need-responsive nonviolent conflict resolution to be a primary task expectation of political leaders and citizens. Affirm commitment to the value of nonkilling as a core component of national pride and identity. Refuse to define any group as subhuman or so evil as to justify extermination. Seek common dialogue among groups for mutual well-being. Change socioeconomic and other structural conditions that predispose individuals and groups, directly or vicariously, to seek need satisfactions by violence. Shift the economy of killing to serve life-affirming human needs. Support creation of nonkilling cultures through arts and sciences.

Nonkilling and Revolution

Political science must seek nonkilling alternatives to violent revolution and violent counterrevolution. These include military coups, countercoups, terrorism, counterterrorism, guerrilla war, and large-scale civil war.

During the Cold War (1948-1991), American, Russian, and Chinese political theorists—independently and apparently unknown to each other argued that nonviolent revolutions are possible. In the United States, Gene Sharp argued in 1973 that mass withdrawal of support accompanied by creative strategies and tactics of "nonviolent struggle" can bring an end to oppressive regimes through processes of "conversion," "accommodation," "coercion," and "disintegration" (*NKGPS*, p. 105). In the Soviet Union, Russian writers E.G. Plimak and Y.F. Karyakin argued in 1979 on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and post-WWII decolonization experiences that peaceful socialist revolutions are possible. They defined a peaceful socialist revolution as a shift in state power from one class to another that produces—"a sharp change in the life of the vast mass of the people"—without armed struggle, without civil war, and without armed counterrevolutionary intervention" (*NKGPS*, pp. 105-6). In China, Zhang Yi-Ping, writing in the journal *World History*, argued in 1981 on the basis of Marxist theory and successful national independence struggles in Asia, Africa, and Latin America: "The view that one-sidedly advocates violent revolution without regard to time, place, and situation, and deprecates nonviolent revolution is *wrong in theory and harmful in practice*" (*NKGPS*, p. 106, emphasis added). Significantly the American, Soviet, and Chinese theorists all found partial support for their conclusions in the mass nonviolent Gandhian movement for the independence of India.

Nonkilling and Security

Nonkilling political science must solve the problem of providing credible security alternatives against lethal aggression at the individual, community, national, and international levels. Conventional security theory and practice ultimately derive from the threat of lethality: "I/we want to make it absolutely credible that I/we will kill you." Nonkilling security, however, departs from the contrary principle: "I/we want to make it absolutely credible to you that I/we will not kill you. And you must make it absolutely credible that you will not kill me/us." In short, "We must make it absolutely credible to each other that we will not kill."

No one is safe as long as someone is determined to kill him. Lethal ingenuity overcomes every defense from shields, armor, moats, walls, and

castles to atomic bomb shelters. Offensive lethality overcomes every form of lethal defense: arrows over spears, machine guns over muskets, artillery over infantry, tanks over cavalry, rockets over tanks, submarines over battleships, air and missile forces over nearly everything—nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons over all. To live in an armored house filled with guns does not ensure security: the intruder may have armor-piercing missiles, heavier artillery, and greater combat skill, or simply ability to poison air, food, or the water supply.

The only certain security is absence of the will to kill. Note the terror inflicted upon the world's greatest military superpower by nineteen suicidal killers on September 11, 2001.

To solve problems of nonkilling security will require utmost creativity. Already there are significant beginnings. The governments of several countries (Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Netherlands, France, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Austria, and Switzerland) already have undertaken studies of nonviolent civilian defense, albeit as a complement to military means. Among examples are civilian resistance to Nazi genocide, nonviolent resistance to the Mafia in Sicily, nonviolent peacekeeping interpositions, provision of unarmed bodyguards for human rights workers, development of nonlethal weapons for police and military use, and exploration of nonlethal uses of conventional military forces (*NKGPS*, pp. 198-9).

All political scientists and others who seek to understand human potentials for nonkilling security and nonviolent cultural change should study the courageous experience of the nonviolent Muslim liberation army, the Khudai Khitmatgar (Servants of God), that struggled for independence in the Northwest Frontier Province of British India during 1930-47. Their origins, leadership, ideology, organization, and experience have been brilliantly researched by the social anthropologist Mukulika Banerjee in *The Pathan Unarmed* (2000). The Khudai Khitmatgar, estimated at some 80,000 disciplined members, grew out of the same violent ethnic traditions as today's Pashtun/Taliban in the Afghanistan-Pakistan region. But under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who was inspired by the nonviolent spirit of God in *Al-Qur'an* and secondarily influenced by the nonviolent Gandhian movement, the martial heritage of the Pathan

(Pashtun) tribes became the source of courageous nonviolent action, expressed in "myriad acts of small-scale heroism" (p. 123). Members took the following pledge:

*In the name of God who is Present and Evident,
I am a Khudai Khidmatgar.
I will serve the nation without self-interest.
I will not take revenge (badla) and will not be a burden for anyone.
My actions will be non-violent.
I will make every sacrifice required of me to stay on this path.
I will serve people without regard to their religion or faith.
I shall use nation-made goods.
I shall not be tempted by any office, (p. 74)*

There was both a military and civilian wing of the Servants of God movement. Abdul Ghaffar Khan insisted that the Pathans could not gain independence from the British unless they reformed their own culture. A basic principle was equality between men and women. Badshah Khan taught: "Men and women are two companions necessary for the development of life and they are like two wheels of the human cart. If one of these wheels is strong and the other weak then the cart cannot move forward smoothly. The cart can move forward successfully only if the two wheels are identical, similar" (p. 100).

Nonkilling and Global Problems

Nonkilling political science is challenged to help solve problems that threaten the survival and well-being of humanity. Five are salient in the early 21st century: *disarmament* demanded by the threat of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons not only in the hands of terrorists but of governments; *economic deprivation*, the "holocaust" of millions of preventable deaths; *human rights*, massive violations of dignity affecting fellow humans of every age, faith, and condition; *environment*, despoliation of the life-carrying capacity of the biosphere; and *global cooperation*, hindered by competitive compartmentalization of humanity for problem solving.

These five problems are common to the individual, family, community, nation, and to humankind as a whole. We all need freedom from being killed, from economic deprivation, from denial of dignity, from a poisoned environment, and from failures to cooperate justly in solving these and other problems. These problems are interrelated and are exacerbated by continuing reliance upon lethality as the ultimate problem-solver. We seek security by killing and arming to kill, creating counter-killing threats arming to kill contributes to economic deprivation and reinforces structural inequity; killing in assertion and denial of human right; contributes to long-festered retaliatory resentments; weapons-testing lethal combat, and military industrialization ravage the environment; and fearful division in antagonistic enclaves impedes problem-solving cooperation to benefit all.

These problems are not academic inventions but are thrust upon us by global conditions. The development of global consciousness and international institutions since WWII provides nonkilling political scientists and others with the broad outlines of agendas for action. These include the *Final Report* of the first U.N. General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament (1978); documentation by the World Bank and institutions of the growing economic gaps within and between nations; the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948); *Agenda 21* of the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development (1993), and the Millennium Report of the UN Secretary General, "*We the Peoples*" (2000).

Every global conference on these and other problems invariably concludes that while the problems and their solutions are clear what is lacking is the "political will" to act. Nonkilling political science accepts the challenge to contribute to that "will" and to the knowledge, education-training, and action to carry it out.

Institutional Implications

Chapter Five, "Institutional Implications," explores the need to create new institutions and to adapt existing ones for nonkilling global transformation. The history of civilization is in large part the history of institutional innovations that arise in response to human needs and aspirations. From faiths come communities associated in temples,

synagogues, churches, and mosques. From needs for political participation come parties, elections, and parliaments. From needs for social control come police, courts, and prisons. From war-fighting objectives arise technological forces for combat on land, sea, and air. From needs for tax extraction to support armies and purposes of the state come bureaucracies. To create an atomic bomb, national resources are mobilized in a Manhattan Project. To explore realms unknown come the mobilizations of spirit, science, skills, technologies, and resources to produce the 15th century voyages of Prince Henry the Navigator and the 20th century Apollo project to reach the Moon.

Existing Components for Nonkilling Societies

While there is a clear need for new nonkilling institutions, it is important to recognize and mobilize the experience and resources of organizations already dedicated to nonviolent service. If any society decided purposively to combine and adapt them to serve local needs, many institutions needed for a nonkilling society are already available. For example, there are *nonviolent religions* (Quakers, Mennonites, Brethren, Doukhobors, Jewish Peace Fellowship), *nonviolent political parties* (Plaid Cymru of Wales, Fellowship Party of England, Sarvodaya Party of India), a *nonviolent community development movement* (Sarvodaya Shramadana Sangamaya of Sri Lanka), a *nonviolent labor union* (United Farm Workers of America), *nonviolent mutual funds* (Pax World Funds), *nonviolent universities* (Gandhigram Rural University and Jain Vishva Bharati of India), *nonviolent education-training institutions* (G. Ramachandran Institute for Nonviolence and Shanti Sena, Thirivananthapuram, India; Center for Nonviolence and Peace Studies, University of Rhode Island; Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, Atlanta, Georgia), a *nonviolent political struggle research institute* (The Albert Einstein Institution, USA), *nonviolent scholarly associations* (Nonviolence of the International Peace Research Association), *nonviolent scholarly associations* (Nonviolence Commission of the International Peace Research Association), *nonviolent media* (*Fellowship* magazine, USA, and *Peace News*, England), *nonviolent arts* (Centre for Nonviolence through the Arts, Ahmedabad, India), *nonviolent human rights organizations* (Amnesty International, Unrepresented Nations and People's Organization—UNPO), *nonviolent*

environmental defense organizations (Greenpeace), *nonviolent security institutions* (police without firearms, England; prisons without armed guards, Finland; a prisoner-led nonviolent prison culture, Bella Vista Prison, Medellín, Colombia), *nonviolent government agencies* (Nonviolence Commission, Thai National Security Council, Bangkok, Thailand; Adviser on Nonviolence, Office of the Governor, Antioquia, Colombia), and many more. If organizations devoted to many peace, social justice, and ecological issues are added, there are clearly abundant institutional experiences upon which transitions to nonkilling societies can draw.

A sharper focus on implementing nonkilling as a pervasive societal value calls for further institutional innovations such as the following.

Nonkilling Education

University departments of nonkilling political science. The department departs from a sense of common purpose: to eliminate killing, threats to kill, and their social correlates from local and global life. Entering students are vividly introduced to the lethal legacy of human bloodshed and are challenged to develop character and skills to assist removal of killing from the human condition. They are introduced to countervailing nonkilling human capabilities and to the creative legacy of men and women who have championed nonviolent social change throughout history. The curriculum is based on the logic of nonviolent political analysis: causes of killing, causes of nonkilling, causes of transition between killing and nonkilling, and the characteristics of killing-free societies. At each level, undergraduate, post-graduate, and doctoral, they are encouraged to develop individual and group excellence in chosen fields of nonkilling research, education-training, communications, and problem-solving service. The department develops a culture of nonkilling collegiality that includes co-gender leadership and processes of nonviolent conflict resolution that respect the dignity and well-being of all. It seeks in microcosm to exemplify the qualities of a nonkilling society.

Nonkilling Leadership Training Corps (Shanti Sena)

Instead of military training—often required or offered in world colleges, universities, high schools, and even middle schools—nonkilling

training alternatives for security and community service are needed. The university Shanti Sena ("Peace Army") pioneered in Gandhi's India by Dr. N. Radhakrishnan and others, is a disciplined, distinctively identifiable force whose members are trained for conflict resolution and reconciliation, community security and civilian defense, paramedical life-saving, disaster relief and constructive service in response to community needs. They celebrate life through mutual respect for cultural diversity, the arts, and sports (Radhakrishnan, 1997).

Nonkilling universities. Nonkilling societies imply need for the capabilities of entire universities: arts and sciences, humanities, and professional schools, such as law, medicine, business, education, public administration, social work, architecture, and engineering. Just as the research and training capabilities of entire universities have been mobilized for war, they can be devoted to creation and use of knowledge needed to advance the quality of life in nonkilling societies. In addition, nonkilling values, knowledge, and skills need to be incorporated into every pre- and post-university educational institution.

Nonkilling Politics and Administration

Nonkilling political parties. Nonkilling societies require the contributions of political parties that participate in need-responsive processes of societal problem-solving for the well-being of all. A generic term for such parties might be an *ahimsa sarvodaya* party (*ahimsa*, nonviolence; *sarvodaya*, well-being of all). Such parties to emerge creatively in concept, name, organization, and activities out of specific sociocultural traditions. Their goal is to seek continuous improvement of nonkilling societies, locally and globally. They are not class-based but seek to aggregate and express the interests of all—for everyone benefits from absence of lethality and from the presence of nonkilling conditions conducive to security, freedom, justice, material well-being, and happiness. The presence of several parties, competing on nonkilling principles, can be expected.

Nonkilling Departments of Public Administration

All levels of governance need nonkilling service departments with cabinet responsibilities. Their tasks are to monitor community conditions related to the logic of nonkilling political analysis, to support professional training for prevention and post-lethal rehabilitation, and to advise on public policies to improve nonkilling quality of life. Since conditions of violence pervasively affect the quality of community life, public service attention to them is no less important than garbage disposal or provision of a clean water supply.

Among areas needful of comprehensive oversight, analysis, and ameliorative policy recommendations are: homicide and suicide; family violence (children, women, spousal, elderly); school violence; workplace violence; criminal and gang violence; police violence; prison violence; media violence; sports violence; economic violence; ethnic violence; religious violence; and military-paramilitary-guerrilla violence.

Nonkilling Common Security Institutions

Transition to nonkilling societies requires a variety of nonkilling security institutions, including *nonkilling police* and *nonlethal forces* for ground, sea, and air operations. *Nonkilling common security councils* are needed at global, regional, national, and local levels to create and coordinate security policies. *Nonkilling intelligence services* are needed to reveal and publicize threats from all sources of lethality. *Nonkilling cultural attachés* are needed in all embassies (no less than present military attachés and economic officers) to strengthen mutual learning and cooperation between nonviolent resources in host and home countries. Computer-linked *nonkilling global citizen security networks* are needed to facilitate early warning, nonviolent resistance, and post-violent recovery and reconciliation across all levels of society.

Nonkilling security training institutions are required for both public and private service. They can begin as subcomponents and later emerge as functionally equivalent alternatives to war colleges, national defense universities, military service academies, police academies, and schools of

public administration, as well as to other violence-accepting training schools in civil society.

Nonkilling Civil Society Institutions

Civil society opportunities for contributing to the emergence, maintenance, and creativity of nonkilling societies are potentially infinite. As briefly noted previously, many institutions oriented toward nonkilling service already have been created.

Others of special importance can be considered. Among them are *nonkilling spiritual councils* at every level, representing all faiths and philosophies, to affirm unambiguous respect for life from birth to death; *nonkilling research and policy analysis institutes*, independent sources of information and analysis to assist problem-solving by other nonkilling institutions and by individual citizens.; *nonkilling consulting groups with spirit-science-skill competence* whose task is to help prevent, stop, and overcome consequences of lethality; *nonkilling problem-solving consortia*, flexibly coordinated organizations — however diverse they may be in other respects — that focus efforts to solve problems in ways to strengthen the nonkilling fabric of society; *nonkilling training institutions*, to provide skills for conflict resolution and nonviolent change in every sector of society — already pioneered by trainers in the Gandhian, Kingian, Buddhist, Christian, and secular nonviolent traditions; *nonkilling leadership study and revitalization centers* to enable courageous leaders engaged in nonkilling social change to reflect upon and share experiences with other leaders under supportive spiritual and material conditions; *centers for nonkilling creativity in the arts*, where creators in the seven arts can reside for short periods to create and share; *nonkilling media*, to provide information, news, commentary, and entertainment that recognize the realities of lethality but do not neglect increasingly powerful nonkilling transformational capabilities; *nonkilling economic enterprises* to provide nonkilling alternatives to economies of violence; and *nonkilling memorials* to recover and celebrate nonkilling heritage of humankind, with no less vigor than those that record the history of lethality.

Vitally needed in every society are small, creative, and catalytic *centers for global nonviolence*. Such centers are based on the principles of "No

more killing!" and "Everyone can be a center for global nonviolence." They seek to discover and share advances in knowledge, education-training, and problem-solving in their own and other societies to assist transitions to nonkilling global life.

Nonkilling Global Political Science

Chapter Six, "Nonkilling Global Political Science," emphasizes the imperative need for political science to liberate itself from lethality, reviews-nonkilling human capabilities, cites military leaders who call for radical rethinking of acceptance of killing, and concludes with an answer to the question with which the book began.

Nonkilling Liberation from the Pathology of Lethality

The time has come to set forth human killing as a problem to be solved rather than to accept enslavement by it forever. The deliberate killing of human beings, one by one, mass by mass, and many by machines has reached a stage of pathological self-destruction. Killing that has been expected to liberate, protect, and enrich has become instead a source of insecurity, impoverishment, and threat to human and planetary survival.

Humanity is suffering what Craig Comstock has called the "pathology of defense" when that which is intended to defend becomes itself the source of self-destruction. Defensive guns in the home kill family members, bodyguards kill their own heads of state, armies violate and impoverish their own people, nuclear weapons proliferate to threaten their inventors and possessors. The security crisis after September 11, 2001 of the greatest military power the world has ever known, the United States of America, provides a spectacular example. We see a country terrified by the possibility of attack by nuclear weapons it created for victory over Japan in the hands of "terrorists" it armed for victory over its Soviet enemy (Johnson, 2004).

Universal Declaration of Independence from Killing

We need a *Universal Declaration of Independence from Killing* within ourselves as individuals and within our societies. Grounds for confidence that liberation from lethality is possible include the following: *nonkilling*

human nature, most humans do not kill and have not killed; *the power of nonkilling faiths and philosophies*—inextinguishable throughout history, more vital than ever for human survival today; *the unprecedented capabilities of science*—to reveal nonkilling capabilities for liberation from biological, structural, cultural, socialized, and alternative-blind causes of killing; the examples of *existing nonkilling institutions and policies*—if creatively combined and adapted to the needs of any society they already offer a basis for realizing nonkilling conditions of life.

Challenge to Political Science

The challenge to political science is to shift from its traditions of virtuous versus venal violence to undertake research, education-training, and community service to assist nonkilling social transformation from the local community to global society. This necessitates a shift from celebrating good wars and condemning bad ones, from celebrating good revolutions and condemning bad ones, and from celebrating good "freedom fighters" and condemning bad "terrorists." It involves thoroughgoing commitment by the academic social science discipline of political science to eliminate killing and its correlates from global life. It means explicit engagement in facilitating nonkilling processes of social decision-making to solve pressing problems that are most salient in each era. At present these include demilitarization and nuclear disarmament, liberation from poverty, universal respect for human dignity, ensuring planetary life-support, and creating processes and institutions for global problem-solving.

Challenge of the Generals

Three eminent generals, professionals in the conduct of war, call upon political scientist, political leaders, and the people of the planet radically to challenge continued acceptance of the pathology of lethality. General Douglas MacArthur, speaking to the American Legion in 1955, declared that with the advent of nuclear weapons the "abolition of war" was no longer a "spiritual or moral question" but had become a matter of "scientific realism." He declared: "We are in a new era. The old methods and solutions no longer suffice. We must have new thoughts, new ideas,

new concepts....We must break out of the straitjacket of the past” (NKGPS, p. 156).

General Dwight D. Eisenhower, speaking as President of the United States to the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 16, 1953, summarized the economic consequences of the pathology of lethality in terms unsurpassed by any pacifist. “Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children....This is not a way of life at all, in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, *it is humanity banging on a cross of iron*” (NKGPS, p. 117) (Emphasis added).

On December 4, 1996, General George Lee Butler (Retired), former commander of all United States nuclear war-fighting forces, speaking at the National Press Club in Washington called for the complete abolition of nuclear weapons and for the United States to lead in their abolition. Otherwise the United States would have no moral authority to seek abolition by others. The reasons he gave for abolishing nuclear weapons ring with powerful truth: “Nuclear weapons are inherently dangerous, hugely expensive, militarily inefficient, and morally indefensible” (NKGPS, p. 157).

If these generals, experts in the profession of killing, can raise such profound questions about the continued assumptions and social consequences of their lethal profession, is it not possible that violence-accepting political scientists can follow their example?

Nonkilling Global Imperative

Nonkilling political science must be global. Global in discovery, creativity, diversity, and effectiveness. Global in spirit, science, skills, song, institutional expressions, and resource commitments. Global in nurturance of creative leadership and empowerment of all to take and support initiatives that celebrate life. Global in compassionate engagement to solve problems in response to human needs. Global in determination to end killing everywhere or no one will be safe anywhere. Global in

participation for no discipline, vocation, or society has all the wisdom, skills, and resources required. Global in commitment to local well-being, for in particulars lie the liberating seeds of universals. Global in respect for diversity and in multiple loyalties to the nonkilling well-being of people in one's own and other societies. Global in mutual supportiveness among all who study, teach, and act to end the era of lethality that impedes full realization of liberty, equality, prosperity, and peace. Global as in viewing our planetary home from the moon, conscious of each of us as momentary sparks of life among billions, yet not one insignificant as potential contributors to a nonkilling world.

The goal of ending lethality in global life implies a shift from violence- accepting political science to the science of nonkilling responsiveness to human needs for love, well-being, and free expression of creative potential. The journey to a nonkilling world can begin in any country, community, institution, or individual.

Is a nonkilling society possible?

Is a nonkilling global political science possible?

Yes!

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CHAPTER 2

**A NONKILLING FILIPINO SOCIETY IS POSSIBLE:
PROBLEMATIC BUT NOT UNTHINKABLE***Jose V. Abueva*

In our unjust and violent society nothing could be more practical and useful to leaders and concerned citizens than sound theories of good governance, political change and social transformation to guide action. One of these is Glenn D. Paige's theory of a nonkilling society.

Vision, Realism and Vision

Scholars who persevere in studying how societal problems may be better understood and solved through deliberate change and transformation become more deeply concerned and realistic. At the same time they are idealistic and hopeful. New visions of a better future, new paradigms, and success in solving problems at home and abroad encourage and inspire them. For they are connected to other scholars and leaders who share common concerns and ideals. Information and communication technology now make the sharing easier and faster.

In his seminal book, *Nonkilling Global Political Science*, Dr. Paige shows how people in different countries and at various times have idealized a nonkilling community. Beyond envisioning it, he shows how they have tried and are continually trying to build nonkilling capabilities and apply them to their communities, with cumulative success. He offers theories and marshals impressive practical and scientific evidence supporting his theory of the possibility of "a nonkilling global society." He also illustrates how the discipline of political science, and other disciplines and professions as well, can contribute to the learning and practice of nonviolence and nonkilling. For those interested in following his lead, he offers a doable

agenda for research and action for transformation towards "a nonkilling global society."

Dr. Paige is persuasive when he asserts with vision, courage and passion arising from deep and wide knowledge and understanding that a global nonkilling society is possible and attainable, rather than unthinkable, as most people might assume. His leadership in global nonviolence opens up new dimensions in our challenging quest for peace, human security and development in the Philippines.

Inspired and challenged by Dr. Paige's vision and theory, we have organized for the Aurora Aragon Quezon Peace Foundation the lectures that resulted in this book. We asked thoughtful and esteemed scholars and leaders to share with us their knowledge and understanding on the possibility and problems of bringing about a nonkilling society in the Philippines, as defined by Dr. Paige. Collectively, the lectures and commentaries are our contribution to the continuing quest for peaceful, nonviolent and nonkilling alternatives in our nation's endeavor to bring about law and order and a just and humane democratic society.

I. What is a nonkilling society and how is it related to the Filipino vision of "the Good Society?"

First of all, because of its novelty and precise and complex meaning, let us be guided by Dr. Paige's concept and vision of "a nonkilling society."

It is a human community, smallest to largest, local to global, characterized by no killing of humans and no threats to kill; no weapons designed to kill humans and no justifications for using them; and no conditions of society dependent upon threat or use of killing force for maintenance or change (Paige: 1)

A nonkilling society in the Philippines

My own understanding of the possibility of a nonkilling society in the Philippines is its attainability by Filipino citizens, leaders and institutions—not in perfection, but in achieving a much higher degree of peacefulness, nonviolence, and nonkilling than the turbulence, killing and

violence and threats of them that have marked our past and define our present.

In other words, we can imagine a continuum of societal conditions and capabilities of absolute killing on one extreme and of absolute nonkilling on the other. This continuum may be represented by a line with points marked by zero on the left pole and 10 on the right pole.

Absolute Killing			Mid-point				Absolute Nonkilling			
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
High killing potential and experience						High nonkilling potential and experience				

To reiterate, Dr. Paige's concept of "society" "is a human community, smallest to largest, local to global." So we can think of many different villages, *barangays*, municipalities, cities, provinces, regions, and the country as a whole in visualizing and analyzing societies or communities in the Philippines and assessing their degrees of "killing potential and experience" and of "non-killing potential and nonkilling experience."

Analytically, one could say that Point 0 and Point 10 are merely analytical and imaginary and do not correspond to the real world. Hypothetically, subject to verification by gathering the evidence, Filipino communities (I prefer "communities" to "societies" in this regard) that correspond to Point 1 and Point 2 are probably very rare, if they exist at all. Some communities corresponding to Points 8 and 9 may actually exist, and more so those at Points 6 and 7.

It is in this sense that I hypothesize that nonkilling communities are possible or attainable in the Philippines. Moreover, nonkilling communities would become more possible and attainable when we know of their existence in certain places and we deliberately aim to promote their kind elsewhere. We can help other communities to become like them by enhancing their potential and capabilities for nonkilling peacefulness. We can help them to discourage and prevent killing for whatever purpose, and remove conditions that lead to killing. Unlike the concept of "peace" which is more complex, "killing" and "nonkilling" are phenomena that

are relatively easier to define and quantify. They may then be used as measures of degrees of peacefulness.

The Constitutional Vision of "the Good Society"

Most Filipinos humbly admitted in a national survey by Social Weather Stations (SWS) that they know very little or nothing about the 1987 Constitution. In the SWS survey in 1995 only 6 percent would cite the Constitution as the law that contains all the basic rights of the citizens. Even among those who know something about the Constitution, very few would probably be aware that the document presents a set of national values and goals that add up to a contemporary national vision of the ideal democratic nation-state or "the Good Society." As the fundamental law of the land, the Constitution and its vision of "the Good Society" are authoritative and supposed to be binding on all citizens, a large majority of whom ratified it in a plebiscite in February 1987 (Abueva, 1998:14-18).

Having studied and written about our "constitutional vision of the Good Society" and talked about it on many occasions, I can assert that the Filipino people through their Constitution have a national vision and goal of national social transformation that is no less demanding of them in its entirety than the vision and goal of transforming the present Filipino society into a nonkilling society. In fact, the pursuit of a nonkilling society may be subsumed in the principles of Christianity and Islam, the two leading religions in the country.

The Constitution commands and exhorts all Filipinos, as good citizens to help fulfill the national vision of "the Good Society" that it embodies. But, I should also qualify that the Constitution and the political system it has established assume that the State has a legitimate monopoly of violence or lethal force in its defense of the national territory and in pursuance of national security and law and order in society. Thus maintenance and change of the Nation-State are ultimately based on the use or threat of lethal force. Indeed, commentators have regretted the constitutional provision that says: "The Armed Forces of the Philippines is the protector of the people and the State." This may have encouraged and justified continuing military intervention in politics after the Marcos dictatorship.

Actually, the constitutional vision of "the Good Society" is not readily visible as such; it is not labeled so. It is contained in many scattered visions of the lengthy text of the 1987 Constitution. I had to extract the pertinent provisions and synthesize them. Unaided, the ordinary citizen would not easily discover it. As far as I know, no major political leader has talked about the constitutional vision of "the Good Society" and used it to rally the people behind it. Thus the widespread ignorance about it and the common misconception that Filipinos have no common goals or purpose that bind them as a nation. Thus the weakness and fragility of our people's sense of nationhood despite their avowed pride in being Filipino (Abueva, 1999:811-816).

Accordingly, based on a careful analysis of the constitutional vision of "the Good Society" and reflecting on it, I have tried to sum it up in the following verses I originally composed in April 2001 and revised several times since then. As the last lines show, the composition now benefits from Dr. Paige's vision and theory of the "nonkilling global society."

Ang Pagbuo ng Mabuting Lipunan at Mundo

Building the Good Society and World

United under God

We shall develop citizens and leaders
Who are informed, responsible and committed
To the survival, development and well-being
Of all our people—and humankind.

In pursuit of our vision as a nation
We shall all work with and
Build effective institutions at all levels—
From the family to the local, national,
regional and global communities.

Together we shall seek the Good Life
And build the Good Society we aspire to
Through good citizenship and governance
In dynamic and inclusive democracies.

A Filipino society united in its diversities
 Peaceful, free, egalitarian, and prosperous
 Progressive, nationalistic and global too.

A just and humane and civil community
 In an agreeable, sustainable environment.
 A nation contributing its share as well
 In building a peaceful, just and humane world.

Above all, a Filipino nation and global community
 That is God-centered—infused with His Love
 Whose people care for one another near and far.

Heeding God's will: "*Thou shall not kill!*"
 And its corollary: "*Respect and nurture life...*
 temporal and eternal"

II. Why is a nonkilling society possible and attainable in the Philippines?

In his book, Dr. Paige explains in rich detail the capabilities for a nonkilling global society and then sums them up on pages 68 and 69 with this introductory statement: **"The possibility of a nonkilling society is rooted in human experience and creative capabilities."** (Emphasis added.)

I shall quote Dr. Paige on these capabilities and then comment on their relevance and applicability to the Philippines.

Paige: "The vast majority of human beings have not killed and do not kill. Although we are capable of killing, we are not by nature compelled to kill."

Comment: With confidence borne of our own observation and experience, we can say that the generalization applies to Filipinos. Moreover, most Filipinos do not own deadly weapons although quite a few in certain places feel insecure if they are armed. If it were otherwise, if a majority of Filipinos killed and were prone to kill, our population would not have grown so rapidly in the last half century as to be the 14th most populous country in the world today.

Paige: "However imperfectly followed, the main teaching of the great spiritual traditions is: respect life, do not kill. To this teaching, humans, under the most violent circumstances, have shown themselves capable of responding in brain and being with complete devotion."

Comment: Christianity, the predominant religion in the country, and Islam the faith of a sizable minority, exemplify to a considerable degree what Dr. Paige says above. For over a century Christians and Muslims have lived together mostly in peace and mutual tolerance. This was of course interrupted by the Moro secessionist rebellion that began in the early 1970s during the oppressive Marcos dictatorship and the government's even more violent response. To date a just and lasting peace in Mindanao is far from achieved.

Despite their imperfections and frailties, most Filipinos are aware of the basic beliefs and lofty ideals of their religions. They believe in the possibility and attainability of the life and behavior taught by their religion and try to live by them in differing degrees. Prominent among the religious teachings and commands is the one that says: "Thou shall not kill." Most Filipinos heed it. Many Filipinos also believe in God's power, mercy and forgiveness and in eternal life. Few Filipinos give up on their faith because they fall short of its ideals and teachings.

In their own view or self-rating in national surveys conducted by the Social Weather Stations in 1991 and 1998, a great majority of adult Filipinos (over four-fifths) regard themselves as religious (Abad:5). In the 1998 survey, high proportions of adult Filipinos indicated their religiosity by saying they "strongly agree" or "agree" with specific statements, among the indicators used:

"There is a God who concerns Himself with every human being personally." 88%;

"To me life is meaningful only because God exists." 74%;

"I know God really exists and I have no doubt about it." 78%;

"I believe in God now and I always have." 91% (Abad:8).

Also in 1998, large proportions of adult Filipinos said they “definitely believe” and “probably believe” in certain religious ideas (Abad:9)

	<u>"Definitely believe"</u>	<u>"Probably believe"</u>	<u>Total</u>
“Life after death”	64%	21%	85%
“Heaven”	76%	19%	95%
“Hell”	62%	23%	85%
“Religious miracles”	43%	31%	74%

In the same survey respondents registered widespread disapproval of abortion by pregnant women even in the face of some plausibly extenuating condition:

	<u>"Always wrong"</u>	<u>"Almost always wrong"</u>	<u>Total</u>
“...if there is a strong chance of a serious defect in the baby.”	64%	21%	85%
“...if the family has a very low income and cannot afford any more children.”	76%	19%	95%

The responses are highly consistent with the principle and exhortation of the Catholic Church that abortion is killing the unborn baby and a grave sin (Abad: 13).

In the context of intermittent bloody conflicts of the past 30 years in some parts of Mindanao between the government and its armed forces dominated by Christians and the Moro rebels who are Muslims, observers point to the contradiction and irony: “Christianity is a religion of love” and Islam is a religion of peace.” Still most Christians and Muslims maintain that the conflict is not religious; that it has other roots. Many Muslims continue to study in the best Christian schools. Countless peace-loving citizens and organizations, Christian

and Muslim and *Lumad* (indigenous people), are vigorously working together to promote peace and understanding and counter ethnic and religious prejudice.

Vitaliano G. Gorospe, SJ. has asked: "What would be a common national vision for both Christians and Muslims? What kind of ideal society should we create for the third millennium." His answer: "All Filipinos, Christian, Muslim, *Lumad*, must together build an inter-religious harmonious human society, a more just and equitable society based on justice and love where peace (*Shalom* or *Salaam*) reigns. In a secular pluralist society like the Philippines, public or civil ethics should respect freedom of conscience and religion (Gorospe:209). In recent years the Bishops-Ulama Council has maintained a dialog to strengthen interfaith understanding, unity and cooperation in the common search for a just and enduring peace in the country's second largest island.

In the monograph, *Muslim and Christian Cultures: In Search of Commonalities*, eight Muslim and Christian scholars examined those commonalities in family life, the role of women, religion, education, legal culture, political values, and sustainable development (Braid: xi-xii). They stressed a sharing or fusion of cultures, a search for universals, rather than the "clash of civilizations" depicted by Samuel Huntington.

It is neither "a clash between Islam and the West," one Muslim author explained: "it is a problem between the colonizer and the colonized, or between Islam and the forces of secularism" (Braid: xi-xii). As for the majority Christian Filipinos, the "liberal democracy" and capitalism they learned under American rule and from globalization later on may have emphasized selfish individualism at the expense of their more indigenous communitarian values and the ideal of Christian love. Could these different tendencies be harmonized?

The legal principle of separation of church and state imbibed by Catholics may have helped to insulate politics from their religion although in Catholicism, God's law is supreme. In contrast, Muslims profess to regard religion as encompassing all aspects of life. Perhaps the challenge to both Christians and Muslims is whether they can

bring a closer union of their religious and secular values and behavior. For example, in respecting life and forbidding the killing of humans.

Pope John Paul II has urged Filipinos to be evangelists to the world. Despite the shortage of priests and nuns to minister to the spiritual needs of some 75 million Catholics, Filipino priests and nuns and lay overseas workers are serving in many countries and churches around the world, including the United States and Europe. Filipinos abroad are known to be religious, peaceful and law-abiding.

Paige: "Where killing does occur, scientific creativity promises unprecedented ability to understand its causes, how to remove them, and how to assist liberation of self and society from lethality."

Comment: The scientific evidence presented is astounding and encouraging. We have to know what Filipino scientists have done or may do in the area. We need to know how violence-prone persons have changed their inclination in favor of avoiding harming or killing. How have some of our soldiers, police, and rebels and other citizens changed from killing to nonkilling and what made them change? We should know so we can foster nonkilling proclivities.

Paige: "Prototypical components of a nonkilling society already exist in past and present global experience. They are not the product of hypothetical imagination." Dr. Paige shows examples of these.

Comment: Research can be done to discover historical and contemporary prototypes and examples of nonkilling communities in the Philippines. Personal observations have been shared of customary peace and nonkilling in certain communities: "*Tabimik at mapayapa doon sa amin. Walang patayan.*" (Tagalog for: "It's quiet and peaceful where we are. No killing.") "*Malinawon man sa amo; wala'y pinatyanay.*" (The same thought in Cebuano.) On the other hand, there are disturbing data on murder, homicide, and disappearances as well as public opinion on lack of public safety in various communities.

Paige: "Spiritual, political, economic, social, and cultural institutions and practices based upon nonkilling principles can be found in human experience. There are army-free, execution-free, and virtually weapon-free societies. There are nonkilling organizations

and movements dedicated to solving problems that threaten the survival and well-being of humankind."

Comment: Dr. Paige presents abundant and convincing proof of these statements. Indeed, there are a number of counterpart nonkilling institutions and practices and movements in the Philippines. Documentation on them should be kept current and made available.

The 1987 Constitution underlines the nation's aspiration and commitment to peace. It "renounces war as an instrument of national policy...accepts...international law and adheres to the policy of peace, equality, justice, freedom, cooperation, and amity among nations" (Sec. 2, Art. II). And to "a policy of freedom from nuclear weapons" (Sec. 8, Art. II).

It declares: "The State values dignity of every human person and guarantees full respect for human rights" (Sec. 11, Art. II). It prohibits imposition of the death penalty except for heinous crimes as provided by law (Sec. 19 (1), Art. II). The latter has led to pressures by the Catholic Church and other religious and lay leaders and organizations to persuade the government to stop the executions allowed by law. President Arroyo has deferred the execution of some prisoners. The European Community has appealed to her to lift the imposition of the death penalty on convicted kidnapers and drug dealers.

After the restoration of democracy in 1986, the government released political prisoners and granted amnesty to Communist and Moro rebels, and later to military adventurers. The government has also patiently engaged the rebels in protracted peace talks. These have led to various cease-fire agreements and one major peaceful political settlement.

In response to the demand for autonomy of the Moro National Liberation Front and the Cordillera People's Liberation Army, the 1987 Constitution provided for the creation of the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) and the Cordillera Autonomous Region (CAR) to accommodate the indigenous rebels in northern-central Luzon. However, only ARMM came into being. CAR was reduced to the Cordillera Administrative Region of the National Government because Congress failed to pass an enabling act. The power and influence that Muslim Filipinos are able to wield

comes from their demonstrated determination and capability in resisting Spanish and American colonialism and the Philippine Government, and the support given the Moros by Islamic countries and their Organization of Islamic Conference.

In 1996, after over 20 years of armed conflict and ceasefires, peace talks under President Fidel V. Ramos and Chairman Nur Misuari of the MNLF led to a cessation of hostilities, a peace agreement integration of MNLF rebels into the military, the establishment the Southern Philippines Consultative Council for Peace and Development headed by Misuari, and to his election as Governor of the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao. The Indonesian Government under President Suharto brokered the peace settlement (Almonte: 178).

Meanwhile, on and off peace talks have brought together Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) between deadly confrontations that have resulted in heavy casualties, destruction and massive displacement of Muslim and Christian civilians in Central Mindanao. The Malaysian Government is facilitating the search for peace through a political settlement. A fundamental problem in forging a political solution to the conflict, however, is the accommodation of a Moro Islamic system in a proposed federal constitutional framework that maintains Philippines territorial integrity (Santos, Jr.: 162-164).

The intermittent peace talks that started in the late 1980s between the government and the Communist Party of the Philippines and its National Democratic Front are on again. Its leader, Jose Ma. Sison has lived in exile in the Netherlands for over 20 years. The peace negotiations are now being brokered by the Royal Government of Norway. The two parties have renewed their formal commitment to deal with the roots of the armed conflict by adopting social, economic and political reforms and thereby laying the ground for a just lasting peace agreement as the foundation and framework of their negotiations.

During peace talks in Oslo, the Government and the National Democratic Front (including the Communist Party of the Philippines

and the New People's Army) signed in 1998 the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (GRP-NDF CARHRIHL, September 2004).

Appalled by rampant killing partly because of the existence of so many guns in the hands of citizens, the Gunless Society under Nandy Pacheco has been campaigning for stricter policies and rules on the sale, ownership, and carrying of guns, and for severe penalties for offenders. Pacheco has also founded the Kapatiran party that promotes peace and nonviolence and good governance. His lecture included in this book provides more details on his nonviolent and nonkilling political party.

Dr. Paige: "Nonkilling historical experience provides knowledge to inform present and future transformative action. There is a great legacy of nonkilling lives, past and present, and individuals whose courage and works inspire and instruct."

Comment: Peace researchers in the country have relevant knowledge and information to show for their efforts. Moreover, scattered stories and records of peace-loving Filipinos and communities exist and can be systematically gathered and classified. Peace-and-freedom-loving heroes are honored: like Jose Rizal, Renigno S. Aquino, Jr., and a host of heroes on the pantheon of the *Bantayog ng mga Bayani Foundation*, and awardees of the Aurora Aragon Quezon Peace Foundation. Peace research scholars, institutions and non-governmental organizations and their valuable work can be cited.

In February 1986, Filipinos through the EDSA revolution that peacefully overthrew the Marcos dictatorship gave the world a magnificent example of nonkilling people power that some nations emulated. The National Citizens Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL) has shown how citizen volunteers have prevented or thwarted election-related violence and threats. The Catholic Church's Parish Pastoral Council for Responsible Voting functions as a lay campaign and election watchdog and conducts training on responsible voting as its name says.

Security officials and the armed forces have learned to apply tolerance and peaceful negotiation during a number of coup attempts and mutinies since 1986. Despite lapses from time to time, anti-riot

police have learned and applied non-violent methods of keeping the peace during protest demonstrations and marches. In general, likewise protesters have learned that officials and the public disapprove violence and disruptive behavior in negotiating with the authorities and business management. Thus their recourse to the media expressing their grievances. These are know-how and practices in the evolving culture of nonviolence and nonkilling.

Paige: "If any people decided to combine, adapt, and creatively add to the components that already exist in global human experience, a reasonable approximation of a nonkilling society is even now within reach. To assert positively, of course, is not to guarantee certainty but to make problematic the previously unthinkable and to strengthen confidence that we humans are capable of nonkilling transformation" (Paige: 69).

Comment: Drawing upon the world's and the country's of nonkilling capabilities, Filipinos can add to their cumulative potent to develop their nonkilling capabilities in the form of knowledge and experience and their culture and institutions for nonkilling transformation, and committed and competent leaders and citizens to effect the transformation. Building on Dr. Paige's insights evidence, we can add to our broad research agenda for peace an agenda specifically aimed at building a nonkilling society.

III. Why is the transformation of Filipino society into nonkilling one problematic?

At the same time as we observe salutary nonkilling situations and capabilities in the Philippines, recurring problems abound in maintaining peace and law and order and dealing with lethal crimes. Since regaining independence in 1946, the Philippine State has not enjoyed the monopoly of legitimate force that is supposed to be the mark of a sovereign nation. There have always been Communist and other rebel groups, lost commands, criminal gangs, and so-called private armies, most of these belonging to local warlord-politicians, and kidnap-for-ransom gangs. Since the restoration of democracy after the downfall of the Marcos

dictatorship, right-wing military rebels have used violence in several coup attempts to bring about the resurgence of authoritarian rule. It is said that Moros in the South bear arms because they feel insecure without them. The ubiquity of private security agencies and armed security guards in business establishments and urban residential communities and high walls around buildings and homes attest to the lack of public safety resulting from the inability of the government to maintain peace and order. Together, armed private security personnel and bodyguards far outnumber the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

Communist and Moro rebels hold sway in certain areas, reportedly sometimes with the tacit understanding of the military and the police. Now much weakened, the terrorist Abu Sayyaf kidnap-for-ransom mainly foreign terrorists, bombed a metro railway, and sank an inter-island ferry causing the death of 100 passengers. Elements of the Indonesian-based Jemaah Islamiyah and the international Al-Qaeda are known to operate in Mindanao. In its report, the Brussels-based International Crisis Group said: "The most significant threat of all for the Philippines and the wider region is the possibility of international terrorism and domestic insurgency becoming even more interwoven and mutually reinforcing" (Conde: IHT, October 12, 2004).

Although much reduced in strength, especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Communist New People's Army (NPA) continues to engage the military and the police in sneak attacks and open combat and to exterminate dissident comrades. For this the U.S. and the European Union have added the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and its army to the list of international terrorist organizations. In their strongholds the CPP/NPA impose a revolutionary tax and require politicians to pay for permits to campaign and hold rallies, or else expect trouble.

Soon after President Ferdinand Marcos imposed martial law in 1972 and began the nationwide confiscation of firearms in civilian hands, Nur Misuari led a secessionist rebellion of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) in Mindanao that resulted in the killing of hundreds of soldiers and rebels and even more civilians. Intercession by the Organization of Islamic Conference and Libya's Colonel Muamar Kadhafi resulted in some accommodation but did not fully stop the rebellion. After the peace

agreement between the Government and the MNLF in 1996, mediated by the Indonesian Government, MNLF's break-away faction, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front resumed the Moro rebellion. Since 2001 full-scale military confrontations—"all-out war"—between the Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front have erupted twice and intermittent skirmishes continue even as negotiations are taking with the help of the Malaysian Government.

Child soldiers, as young as 11 years old, have always been part of the Moro rebellions (Cagoco-Guiam: xiv). Thus the emergence of more radical young members of the MILF is complicating the search for an acceptable accommodation with the Government. They as well as some older members of the MNLF feel that the peace agreement included in 1996 turned out to be a betrayal of the Bangsa Moro dream of self determination. On the other hand, some members of the 18 *Lumads* or indigenous tribes in Mindanao feel that their interests have been neglected by the Government because of their peacefulness and lack of unity. In their view, "securing their rights to ancestral domain is as urgent as the Moros' quest for self-determination" (Muslim and Cagoco-Guiam: 14).

To quote Dr. Paige in regard to the United States, the development of a nonkilling society in the Philippines is easily deemed unthinkable by Filipinos, because, as daily amplified by the American media, "killing in everyday life confirms it." "*Ganon talaga*," (That's the reality.) Filipinos might say as they daily witness killing and mayhem on television, radio and in the print media.

An important context of the recurring political violence is the fact that the killers and torturers in the military under the Marcos dictatorship (1972-1986) have not been prosecuted and punished to this day. In fact a number of them have been elected as lawmakers and local officials, appointed to high government office, or continued to serve out their terms in the armed forces and the police. Colonel Gregorio "Gringo" Honasan who led several coup attempts during the Aquino administration, including the one in 1989 that resulted in 300 casualties, was elected senator 1998. The political and military elite tend to protect each other for mutual advantage. Many voters have short memories and are dazzled by attractive personalities regardless of their character and record.

The only case against the State-sanctioned killing and torture perpetrated during the Marcos dictatorship, involving nearly 10,000 victims, was initiated and concluded in a district court in Hawaii. This is virtually an indictment against the entire Filipino political system and judiciary. It seems to say that unconscionable killing and abuse of power pay, or can be done with impunity, although the Filipino people eventually rose against the dictator and peacefully overthrew him after over 13 years of tyranny and corruption. In 1999 a Conference on the Legacies of the Marcos Dictatorship: Memory, Truth-telling, and the Pursuit of Justice gathered peace and human rights activists, scholars, and journalists who remembered, analyzed, and pushed toward a just closure the rampant abuses of human rights and on indigenous peoples and the economic plunder in the dark chapter of the nation's history (Ateneo Conference Report, 2002).

Many citizens' lack of political discernment due to poverty, lack of education, parochialism, and money politics accounts for the election of leaders associated with the betrayal of the public trust. Honasan is just one of several examples. Many Marcos loyalists and partisans survived the end of the dictatorship and prospered. Mrs. Imelda Marcos, who shared the conjugal dictatorship, ran for president in 1992. While she lost, she obtained more votes than the distinguished senator and statesman, Jovito R. Salonga. Mrs. Marcos was subsequently elected representative in her home province, Leyte. Ferdinand Marcos, Jr. and his sister, Imee, have been reelected as governor and representative, respectively, in the Marcos home province, Ilocos Norte. However, that Marcos, Jr. also lost when he ran for national office, the Senate, is to the credit of the national electorate.

Elections since 1987 have been regarded as generally free and fair, but in a number of cases reported they have also been marred by cheating, killing and threats of violence involving armed partisans. While the election of President Arroyo in May 2004 to a full term was generally accepted, the opposition managed to cast doubt on it by repeated charges of fraud and resources in the campaign. Killings related to the general elections in May 2004 reached 141 (*Philippine Daily Inquirer*: May 14, 2004). The trial for the murder of Antique Governor

Evelio Javier during the electoral campaign in 1986 has just ended with the exoneration of the principal suspect. Many such political killings over a long period remain unsolved. In some elections the real winners who are cheated are able to take their seats only towards the end of their terms.

While no Filipino president has been assassinated, several lower level leaders and underlings and some prominent ones have been victims including the famous martyr, Senator "Ninoy" Aquino, who was assassinated in 1983 upon his arrival from the United States while surrounded by military escorts of the Marcos regime. Although the soldier involved in the assassination have been imprisoned for years after their trial, the ones who gave the orders to kill are either dead or still free. September 2004 the Center for Media Freedom and Responsibility counted 47 journalists who had been killed in the line of duty since 1986 (*CMFR Data Base*).

It took 16 years for the Presidential Commission on Good Government and the *Sandiganbayan* (anti-graft court) to finally recover a sizeable part of the stolen wealth of the Marcos family. The plunder cases initiated in mid-2001 against the ousted president, Joseph Estrada, and his son, Jinggoy, have been unduly delayed by the dilatory maneuverings of their lawyers and the excessive tolerance of the judiciary. After her husband's arrest, detention and arraignment, Mrs. Luisa Estrada was elected senator in 2001 and co-accused Jinggoy won as a senatorial candidate of the opposition coalition in the 2004 election.

Political cynicism and disrespect for such government institutions as the presidency, the Senate and the House of Representatives, the military and police, the judiciary, the bureaucracy, and the Commission on Elections—whose legitimacy has been seriously eroded—are formidable obstacles to building a culture of peace, law and order, and honesty in the public service that can counter the culture of violence and killing, the rule of men, the privilege of the powerful, and endemic corruption.

Many murders remain unsolved for years. Justice delayed is justice denied. This has motivated some of the victims' relatives and partisans to take the law into their hands to exact vengeance and retribution, if not justice. Summary executions of crime suspects are said to be prompted by the delays and uncertainties of prosecuting and convicting the culprits for their alleged crimes. Killings, summary executions, and brutality by

the military and police, and the Communist and Moro rebels have been reported over the years. Communist rebels are known to purge and exterminate their dissident members.

Among the civilian population, extreme poverty and desperation have been given as extenuating circumstances by some apprehended killers. Certainly, social workers cite the poverty, congestion and squalor in urban squatter communities as sustaining a culture of lawlessness among those who feel no stake in the society at large. Conventional wisdom says that the poor offenders are the ones who get arrested, convicted, imprisoned, and executed. Well-to-do offenders can hire better lawyers to get them exonerated or a reduced penalty. Criminal justice that uses a foreign language puts poor and English-illiterate suspects at a distinct disadvantage.

Along with the deteriorating quality of life of many citizens, the quality of politics, elections, national leaders, and governmental institutions has also appreciably gone down: Seventeen years after the EDSA revolution that ended the Marcos dictatorship and initiated the restoration of democracy, especially with the ratification of the 1987 Constitution, the consolidation of Filipino democracy is still problematic.

Although the presidential elections of 1992 and 1998 were generally peaceful and free, the period leading to the 2004 presidential elections and President Macapagal Arroyo's campaign to succeed herself, has been marked by unrelenting challenges to her legitimacy through court action, coup plots, rebellion, and other acts of destabilization, including the impeachment in July 2003 of the highly respected Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Hilario Davide, Jr., and a call for military rule in lieu of elections.

The continuing political crisis was triggered by the forced resignation of President Joseph Estrada in January 2001 in a reprise of the 1986 EDSA revolution, following his aborted impeachment trial by the Senate for plunder, corruption, and other crimes. This was exacerbated by his highly publicized arrest, prosecution and detention, and the failed attack on Malacañang by hundreds of his poor partisans in May 2001 that sounded the poor vs. rich theme in national politics. A few months later a national survey revealed a distinct poor-rich antagonism as a barrier to social trust and unity because two-thirds of the respondents agreed with the statement:

"In our society, the poor are oppressed and exploited by the rich and powerful people" (Abueva, 2003: 27).

Capitalizing on his charisma and popularity as a movie hero who champions the poor and oppressed, Estrada became mayor, then senator, vice-president, and finally president in 1998. But he turned out to be an inept and corrupt president. The high cost of presidential elections and his failed impeachment trial and subsequent removal by people power underlined the weaknesses of the presidential system that dates back to 1935. The system has also suffered from personalized conflict and gridlock between the two houses of Congress and between them and the President, and by political instability because of military adventurism.

With the mass media, especially cinema and television, projecting entertainers to public consciousness more than public officials, more entertainers use their popularity as celebrities to win public office. In May 2004, despite the fiasco of the Estrada presidency, his allies in the opposition coalition drafted Fernando Poe, Jr., another movie idol and popular hero for its presidential candidate. He is a school drop-out who has had no experience at all in the government. However, in him, too most poor and lower class voters put their trust and hope in improving their lives after decades of failure by elite leaders from the ruling class to develop the economy and reform the government.

In a developing country, competitive and expensive elections and limited terms—three years for representative and local leaders—impel most political leaders to be populist and short-term in their calculations. They are reluctant to impose taxes on voters many of whom are poor and insecure and uneducated. This has sustained the politics of personality, patronage, populism, and dependency. Consequently, Filipinos are the least taxed people in Asia.

The deepening fiscal crisis came into full view after the distractions of the 2004 presidential election, and when faculty from the U.P. School of Economics came out with their widely publicized report in September Unwilling to impose more taxes and unable to collect existing taxes more efficiently, the Government has perennially resorted to deficit spending and local and foreign borrowing. At the end of 2003 the public debt had risen to P3.36 trillion, as large as 78 percent of the GDP. According to the report this was due largely to falling revenue and tax efforts and

inefficiency and lack of accountability of government corporations (de Dios, et. al.: 1-3).

As the bulk of national government spending goes to servicing the public debt, much less becomes available for government programs and services, maintenance and operations. Thus the Government is less able to deal with poverty alleviation and social and economic development. In the face of the rising cost of living due to increases in the price of oil and commodities, the Government has to undertake drastic reforms to prevent the sharp loss in the people's living standards and the deepening of their discontent that could lead to social unrest (de Dios, et. al.: 13).

Investigations disclosed the full extent of the deficit and public debt, enormous losses of several government corporations caused by the mismanagement and populist policies, as well as the scandalously high salaries of their executives and directors. Meanwhile, lifestyle checks on senior administrators and generals add to the wide perception of rampant government corruption, abuse of discretion, and connivance in tax evasion, and smuggling. All the publicity tend to confirm the popular impression of a failure in governance, collective political leadership, public institutions, and the citizenry.

Meanwhile, a nation with over 80 million people grows at 2.34 percent a year, with no effective population policy. Each year some 1.8 million babies are added, to house, feed, clothe, educate, and keep healthy. From 1990 to 2000, population increased 25.8 percent. In only 29 years, by 2033 population will double (*Philippine Daily Inquirer*: October 12, 2004).

Consequently, unemployment and low wages continue to push out tens of thousands as overseas workers, at great social cost to their families, especially the children, who are left home. More than seven million Filipinos are overseas workers.

Together the conditions I have described make the development of a nonkilling society very problematic if the nation continues in its present course. National and local leaders in all sectors of society need to understand the true state of the nation. They must resolve to pursue a clear vision of the nation and the future they want, to discover the constitutional vision of "the Good Society," and to persevere in working hard and sacrificing for it. For this new awareness, resolve and action to

happen, we need to develop the following interrelated elements that make Good Governance possible:

1. A deeper sense of nationhood, a stronger commitment to the common good and the national interest, spirituality, moral values, and modern ethical behavior;
2. Effective and accountable political and social institutions, especially political parties, that mediate between the people and the government;
3. Competent, responsible and accountable leaders who have the political will to do what is necessary in terms of timely policies and decisions and basic reforms;
4. Responsible citizens who are empowered economically and politically; and
5. A productive, competitive, and responsible private sector and an equitable economy.

IV. A holistic approach to nonkilling and "the Good Society"

An indivisible peace

It is increasingly realized that peace cannot and should not be construed in the simplistic sense of the absence of physical violence in the community or society. Learning has led to my understanding of peace as indivisible, as inseparably and interactively linked to many variables and contingencies. In October 1992 I ventured to express my understanding of peace. I have since continually refined it and now it reflects Dr. Paige's concept of "a nonkilling society." Here it is.

The Indivisible Peace We Seek

In unity with our people and all humankind
 We seek a just and enduring peace
 Law and order and mutual tolerance
 At home and around the world.

We want an end to killing and maiming
 Because of greed or creed, class or tribe,
 'Cause the poor are weak and the strong aren't just,
 For whatever reason, or lack of it.

But the peace we seek is much more than
 The absence of lethal force and physical violence.
 It is "a nonkilling world" devoid of threats
 To kill, torture, destroy, impoverish, and humiliate.

It is the tranquil fruit of freedom,
 Social justice and human development
 "Under the rule of law, truth and love" for
 One another, says our Constitution.

It is a just and humane democratic society
 Marked by respect and reverence for
 The life and rights of every human being,
 And learning from all religions and cultures.

It is the positive feeling people have
 About their safety and security
 As individuals and as members
 Of their communities, "local to global."

It is the gratifying feeling of being
 In harmony with one's self,
 With fellow men and women and children,
 With nature, and with God.

And the empowering feeling of
 Solidarity and cooperation with family,
 Neighbor and nation, region
 And humankind.

With God's grace, this is the indivisible peace
 We seek in our time and in the future
 As the caring, sharing and democratic nation
 And world—we hope and want to become.

Nonkilling and "the Good Society"

In framing the 1987 Constitution upon instruction of President Corazon Aquino, the members of the Constitutional Commission firmly believed that the ideals and principles in the proposed Charter were and are attainable and its provisions enforceable. After its ratification by the people and promulgation, the 1987 Constitution continues to be in force although enforcement and implementation have been critically constrained and ineffective.

Despite considerable ignorance about it, and contrary to those who hopelessly deprecate the nation, however, Filipinos do have a vision of "the Good Society." This vision has clearly articulated goals and values and State principles and policies, expressed in the 1987 Constitution. The vision can be substantially approximated if the leaders and the citizens can muster the needed understanding, commitment, political will and skills, and consciously reshape and strengthen their institutions for its fulfillment.

For Filipinos to succeed, it appears that the quest for peace and development and the building of an authentic democracy towards our emerging Filipino vision of "the Good Society" must go hand in hand. Therefore, it is my thesis that all aspects of the Filipino vision of "the Good Society" largely embodied in the 1987 Constitution, plus the ideal and goal of nonkilling, should be developed and pursued as an interactive and interdependent whole. Only in this way can a nonkilling Filipino society be approximated and made sustainable. A developing, nonkilling society in the Philippines and an increasingly nonkilling global society would be mutually reinforcing.

As citizens, young and old Filipinos should be instructed and persuaded by teachers, writers and leaders to uphold and bring to life the constitutional provisions in pursuit of "the Good Society" and its democratic order as their patriotic duty. A crucial factor in influencing

and persuading the citizens is leadership that exemplifies the character of "the Good Society."

Democracy is in itself an end of "the Good Society," and also an important means for its progressive realization and continuing enjoyment. Elsewhere I have argued that Filipino democracy in practice is largely what is called an "electoral and procedural democracy" rather than a "substantive democracy." There are regular elections of national and local leaders. Arguably, political freedom and civil liberties are generally upheld by the State and enjoyed by citizens. But the reality is that social, economic, and cultural rights are not enjoyed by the majority and especially the marginalized sectors and indigenous people.

A "good electoral and procedural democracy" is necessary but not sufficient for a modern democracy to work well as a "substantive democracy." In our terms the latter is "a just and humane democratic society." Consistent with the 1987 Constitution, it is one that gives substance and meaning to the ideals of democracy because its leaders, its citizens and its institutions deliver on its promise of "human rights," "a just and humane society," "a better life for all," and "responsible and accountable leadership and governance." It is in this milieu that a nonkilling Filipino society will grow and sustain itself.

Cultural, Institutional and Behavioral Reforms

As the grim social, economic, political, and cultural scenario have unfolded, more and more leaders in civil society and government, and scholars have called for constitutional reforms to change the form of government, reform the electoral system and political parties, and strengthen other political and social institutions. Finally, there is growing realization of the need for basic changes in the structure, distribution and exercise of political power and authority, and the allocation of resources.

In 2003, the House of Representatives proposed constitutional change by Congress acting as a constituent assembly. However, political instability, the Senate's unwillingness to decide on the mode of Charter change, and the onset of the campaign for the general elections in May 2004 caused the suspension of efforts toward constitutional reform. In the campaign for Presidential election in May 2004, President Arroyo was the only

candidate who advocated a shift to federal-parliamentary democracy. However, after her election the fiscal crisis made her and congressional leaders agree to postponing consideration of Charter change to 2005.

Libok Pideral Mindanao and the Citizen's Movement for a Federal Philippines (CMFP) have been in the forefront of the national campaign for constitutional reforms towards a Federal Republic of the Philippines with a parliamentary government, with the growing support of various NGOs. Also prominent in the campaign are the Institute for Popular Democracy, and the Institute for Political and Electoral Reforms, and Save Our Languages/Federalism (SOL-FED). Senator Aquilino Q. Pimentel, former Senator John H. Osmena, Rey Magno Teves are among the leading advocates of federalism. Likewise, most provincial governors and city and municipal mayors are in favor of the federal alternative to the stifling, overcentralized unitary system that dates back to Spanish and American colonial rule.

Among political leaders mostly interested in shifting to a parliamentary system are Speaker Jose de Venecia, House Majority Leader Prospero Nograles, Representative Constantino Jaraula, Liberal Party president Florencio Abad, and former Representative Eduardo Nachura have been most active. From Mindanao, Senator Pimentel and most representatives and governors are supporting the move towards a federal-parliamentary system.

In proposing constitutional reforms, the CMFP is promoting basic goals of democratic political development and modernization by transforming our obsolete unitary-presidential system to a federal-parliamentary one:

1. Build a just and enduring framework for peace and development through unity in our ethnic, religious and cultural diversity, especially in relation to *Bangsa Moro*, the Muslim Moro nation in Mindanao;
2. Empower our citizens by enabling them to raise their standard of living and enhance their political education, participation and efficacy not only in regard to elections and political parties but also in making decisions at all levels of government, and in civil society and the community;

3. Improve governance and reduce corruption by redistributing political power, authority and resources between the Federal Government at the national level and the proposed regional States and their local governments, thereby bringing government much closer to the people;
4. Improve governance by fusing and coordinating executive and legislative powers in the Cabinet and the ruling Government that shall be directly responsible and accountable to the Parliament and—through the majority party or coalition of parties in the Parliament—to the citizenry;
5. Improve governance by promoting the development of cohesive and program-oriented political parties that are responsible and accountable to the people for their conduct and performance in and out of power;
6. Improve governance by the continuing improvement of the electoral system, the judiciary, and the bureaucracy as democratic institutions;
7. Hasten the economic, social, political and cultural modernization and development of the country by creating regional and local centers of power, authority, enterprise and development that will release the people's initiative and energy and improve their livelihood; and
8. Deepen and broaden democracy to make its institutions deliver on the constitutional promise of human rights, a better life for all, a just and humane society, and responsible and accountable leadership and governance (Abueva, 2003:).

Building capabilities for a nonkilling society

To reiterate, in his book Dr. Paige shows how various countries have developed specific capabilities for a nonkilling society and how this could lead to "a nonkilling global society." To this end, we in CMFP and Kalayaan College's Institute of Federal-Parliamentary Democracy will support the review of Filipino experience and learn how to enhance our capabilities for building a nonkilling Filipino society. We do believe that the constitutional and political reforms the CMFP is proposing are a move in this same direction. But its nonkilling principle should be made explicit

With the Aurora Aragon Quezon Peace Foundation, we offer this volume—*Towards a Nonkilling Filipino Society: Developing an Agenda Research, Policy and Action*—as our collective contribution to the continuing endeavor to find peaceful, nonkilling alternatives in the nation's quest for law and order and a just and humane democratic society. To sustain the common effort, we shall join kindred organizations in activities focus on peace research, peace-making, and peace-building, in cooperation with the Government and international institutions.

We also dedicate this work to people everywhere who love peace, and starting in their own country, help in consciously building a nonkilling global society in a civilization of love for God above all and for one another.

In due course, we shall suggest to the Citizens' Movement for a Federal Republic the inclusion of two more constitutional amendments in its draft constitution. One is the abolition of the death penalty without the present exceptions in the 1987 Constitution. The other is a new and radical State principle in the revised constitution, as follows: "The State and the citizen shall prevent and prohibit the killing of humans in any form and whatever purpose." By this proposed amendment we shall be asking our leaders and people to seriously consider the issue: "How can incorporate nonkilling ('Thou shall not kill.') into our evolving vision 'the Good Society?'" In effect, the CMFP will propose the principle and ideal of nonkilling as an indispensable component of the "the Good Society."

To help implement the vision, by law the proposed Federal Republic shall have a Ministry of Peace in tandem with the Ministry of National

Defense; and each of the component states shall have a Department of peace and Public Safety.

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CHAPTER 3

A NONKILLING SOCIETY IS POSSIBLE IN A FUTURE WE DESIRE

Randolf S. David

The Filipino people became a nation in the course of a bloody struggle for emancipation from colonial rule. Our national anthem, sung every day by school children, ends with these words: "Aming ligaya na pag may mang-aapi, ang mamatay nang dahil sa iyo." (Rough translation: *Our happiness would be to die for you in the fight against an oppressor.*)

In the 1970's, Filipino student activists thought this line to be too passive, and decided to replace the word "mamatay" (to die) with "pumatay" (to kill). As a people with a long history of resistance against foreign subjugation, our initiation into patriotic citizenship thus unequivocally incorporates a readiness to kill and die for our country. Is a nonkilling Filipino society then possible? If our past were to be our sole guide, the answer would probably be "No." But if our map included a future we desire, yes, I believe that a nonkilling Filipino society is possible.

I do not share the view that killing proceeds from a natural human instinct to destroy in the pursuit of survival. As a sociologist, I do not believe there is a "human nature" outside of the formative context of social relationships and institutional arrangements in which human beings become what they are. I therefore imagine a nonkilling society to be one that has successfully rid itself of the need for coercion and violence in the quest for freedom and order. I imagine it as a society that has managed to substitute rational negotiation and normative commitment for coercion as the basis for compliance and cooperation among its citizens.

I think of societies as a complex of structures that evolve from the sustained efforts of generations of human beings to live with one another under circumstances that are far from ideal. In early civilizations, these structures could be the closest equivalent to a comprehensive truce among

warring groups. Over time, the same social arrangements acquire a moral warrant and become normative for everyone. They become self-perpetuating, and people come to think of them as natural and universal and perhaps even eternal.

Yet, as Marx reminds us: "Men do not make history as they please; they do so under circumstances not chosen by themselves." We not only reproduce the blind impresses of the way of life left behind by our ancestors, but we also find ourselves adjusting continuously to the particular circumstances of the period we live in. Our institutions and assorted social practices carry all the effects of these various contingencies.

I think of the history of humankind as the gradual march toward cultures free from violence. Though killing may have attended the birth of almost every civilization, we also know that, increasingly, it has become morally frowned upon and the conditions in which it is deemed permissible have shrunk over time. I regard the complex moral acrobatics that communities go through to justify killing as symptoms of a growing moral aversion towards all forms of killing. The debate on capital punishment is a good example. The narrowing moral and legal justification for war is another. The argument against the manufacture and ownership weapons of increasing lethality is a further manifestation of the moral progress that underlines this aversion.

I think of moral progress as the value accorded not only to human but to human dignity as well. Perhaps more than life itself, respect for human dignity has become a core value in every decent society. This is important especially if we bear in mind that, throughout history, killing became more acceptable when the victims were seen as less than human.

The decimation of entire races in the colonial era had always been seen as the sacrifice of the lives of people that were not yet human simply because they had not been touched by the "civilizing" hand of Europe. Both Spain and the United States took the lives of the original inhabitants of the Philippine Islands on the premise that they were dealing with savages. That is why the quest for nationhood, that Rizal and our founding heroes began, was as much a struggle for the recognition of the Filipino as a human being as it was a struggle for national emancipation.

But we know that, in spite of the cruel wars of the 21st century, humanity has come a long way from those days of brutal colonial conquest. The growing richness of humankind's moral vocabulary has made it possible to see people, regardless of their race or status in life, as beings endowed with rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, for all its Western origins, testifies to this palpable progress in our moral perceptions.

Yet, as before, killing remains easy on the conscience whenever the deed is abstracted and the victim is objectified. So long as the pilot bomber sees in his crosshairs not living human communities but little dots of reflected light on his screen, and so long as the death of civilians is coldly dismissed as "collateral damage," killing is purged of its moral repugnance. So is the shocking lethality of American bombs similarly softened by calling them "patriot missiles." And again, by this same semantic sleight of hand is the cold and ugly economics of the whole American arms industry hidden behind the rhetoric of liberation, freedom, and national security.

My point is: if so much lethality in human history has been justified, accepted, and rationalized by stripping the victims of their humanity, one may presume that the first logical step towards de-legitimizing killing is to restore the humanity and dignity of its victims. This particularly speaks to me as a media person who has known and experienced the power of words and of re-descriptions in creating attitudes, and who has seen how target individuals and groups are made vulnerable to violence when they are first demonized in the mass media.

If the humanity of communities can be stripped by irresponsible media depictions, so too can it be restored by sharp descriptions of those very same details of their lives that make them human like all of us. I have in mind, as an example, the film done by Marilou Diaz-Abaya, "Bagong Buwan" (New Moon), which tells the story of a Muslim family caught in crossfire of the guerrilla war and the government military operations in Mindanao. In showing how a Muslim family goes through the same conflicts, celebrations and reminiscences like any other Filipino family caught in conflict situations, the film succeeds in laying the foundations for solidarity. Such narratives are often far more effective than political or historical treatises that intellectually argue for a peaceful settlement of the Mindanao problem. Films like "Bagong Buwan" enlarge the

membership of the community we treat as ours. They not only tear down the walls of prejudice and misunderstanding that set communities apart from one another. They also lay the foundation for enduring human solidarity.

The American philosopher Richard Rorty thinks of solidarity not in a metaphysical way, that is to say, *not* as something that proceeds from the "recognition of a core self, the human essence, in all human beings," but "as the ability to see more and more traditional differences (of tribe, religion, race, customs, and the like) as unimportant when compared with similarities with respect to pain and humiliation—the ability to think of people wildly different from ourselves as included in the range of us."

Here, I think, precisely lies the core of what has ailed Philippine society all these years. It has failed to realize itself as a fellowship of human beings who aspire to a common moral destiny. This failure, in my view has nothing to do with an inability to discover our common origins, the things that identify us with our nation. Rather it has everything to do with the persistence of the dehumanizing poverty that afflicts the masses of our people, and that is aggravated by a system that pits the wealthy few against the rest of the Filipino people.

I think of poverty then as the protracted killing and maiming of people sanctioned by a State that refuses to recognize its basic responsibilities to its citizens. Its product is a deep resentment that alienates the majority of Filipinos from their government and their leaders. It is this resentment that feeds the insurgencies and much of the criminality in the country today. Because the powers that be are capable of seeing only the deviance and the open defiance of established authority that these represent, the response of choice has been the heightened use of the means of violence. This we have seen in the return of the death penalty and the growing ease with which the military option is taken up to combat so-called "terrorism" and insurgency.

This is what is truly fascinating about the way the poor appear in the horizon of middle and upper class perception. Most of the time they are not visible precisely because when you don't have property in this country, you have no choice but to make your home in concealed public places no one has claimed yet—i.e., under bridges, along drainage canals, and beside the railroad tracks. That is why we generally don't see poverty, and even

when we recognize it at all, it usually enters our consciousness only as suggestive statistics rather than as narratives of lives of struggle and slow death.

I must confess that I read Professor Glenn Paige's *Nonkilling Global Political Science* with tremendous discomfort. The word "nonkilling" is obviously a take-off from "nonviolent" except that it is sharper and infinitely more unsettling. I think words like "nonkilling" can produce radical "gestalt switches." A "talent for speaking differently, rather than for arguing well," says Rorty, can be the chief instrument for social change.

We can only agree. By using words never used before, we may yet bring about "human beings of a sort that had never before existed."

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CHAPTER 4

A NONKILLING SOCIETY RESISTS EVIL AND INJUSTICE AND ASSERTS OUR HUMAN DIGNITY AND SOLIDARITY

Benjamin T. Tolosa

I am grateful to Dr. Jose V Abueva and the Aurora Aragon Quezon Peace Foundation for this opportunity to participate in this first of a series of lecture-fora that reflect on the conditions of possibility for imagining and realizing a non-killing society in the Philippines and the world, drawing upon the pioneering and inspiring work of Prof. Glenn D. Paige. And in particular, it is a distinct pleasure, privilege and challenge to be able to react to such a succinct yet incisive, critical yet hopeful paper as Prof. Randolph David's.

There are two insights from Professor David's paper which I wish to highlight and build upon in these brief remarks. The first is the point he makes that words have power: both to kill because they can make people vulnerable to violence and later legitimize or rationalize the killing by objectifying, dehumanizing and even demonizing victims; but conversely also to give life because they can help imagine wider communities and affirm deeper bases for human solidarity.

While Professor David draws one of his most vivid illustrations from the mass media, his argument presents a challenge to all of us who are cultural or symbolic producers in one form or another and thus have the power to perpetuate but at the same time also to question dominant social representations and practices that have often become taken for granted as natural, true and timeless. In his book, Professor Paige in fact hurls the challenge directly at the discipline of political science and the community of political scientists saying there is a "need for nonkilling disciplinary transformation" (2003: 88). Citing the International Political Science Association project, *A New Handbook of Political Science* (1996), he notes the absence of index entries for "violence" or "nonviolence," or for

"homicide," "genocide" or "capital punishment." He says there are sixty entries for "war" but only eight for "peace." The names of Gandhi, King, Sharp, Burton and Galtung are hardly if at all mentioned. Going over the organization and topic structures of both the IPSA and its oldest national component, the American Political Science Association (APSA), Professor Paige observes that "no institutional structures focus explicitly upon the knowledge and problem-solving requirements of the logic of nonkilling political analysis and action" (*Ibid.*).

But uncovering and problematizing what might very well be the taker for granted assumptions and implications of lethality in political discourse and practice, particularly the failure as Professor David emphasizes, to recognize the common dignity and deep bonds of fellowship that unite all humans despite our differences, is itself a significant first step political science and other disciplines and vocations. Such a move can lead us to take up the challenge, as Professor Paige says, to "recover nonviolent experiences of the past, recognize present nonviolent capabilities, project nonviolent potentials for the future, and cooperate in advancing this knowledge in research, teaching and public service for nonkilling social transformation" (*Ibid.*: 149).

A second key insight from Professor David's paper which I wish to reiterate is his argument that at the heart of the scourge of lethality and the lack of human solidarity in our society is the dehumanization brought about by poverty and inequality and which for him is a condition of "protracted killing and maiming of people, sanctioned by a State that refuses to recognize its basic responsibilities to its citizens." Moreover, it is ironic and tragic, that even as the problem is widespread and glaring, he says it is often invisible to or concealed from the eyes of many middle and upper class Filipinos. It is important to stress, therefore, as Professor Paige has also emphasized, that those who have been the most committed to the construction of a non-killing society like Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, have also believed that a non-violent system is an impossibility amidst immense poverty and inequality (*Ibid.*: 115). Thus their commitment to the spiritual principles of nonkilling also translated to a commitment to nonviolent structural change (*Ibid.*: 83).

Let me end these remarks by retelling and refraining a famous story and passage from the Bible which has troubled Christians like myself who have sought in our own small ways to work for social justice through non-violent means. I am referring to that passage where Jesus says, "...if anyone strikes you on the right cheek, turn the other also" (Matthew 5: 39). In their book titled, *Don't Forgive Too Soon*, Dennis, Sheila and Matthew Linn ask whether Jesus in fact wants the victims of injustice to be hit repeatedly (1997: 4-6). Does this call make the commitment to non-violence, to a non-killing society synonymous with passivity rather than an active struggle against evil? Citing the work of the scripture scholar Walter Wink, the Linns say Jesus probably means the opposite of what many have often thought. Dr. Wink says that during Jesus's time, in order for someone to be hit on the right cheek by someone facing you, that meant being hit with the back of the right hand, because the left hand which was used only for unclean tasks was never used. A backhanded slap, however, had a specific-meaning in the culture of the time. It was used by those with more power to humiliate those with less power: masters with slaves; Romans with Jews; husbands with wives; parents with children. Thus it was a gesture to communicate inequality- that you were beneath the aggressor, that you did not fully share his/her humanity. By turning the other cheek therefore, the aggressor can no longer backhand you. The aggressor is forced to hit you with the front of the hand or with a fist, which forces him/her to face the lie of his/her superiority and thus confront you as an equal, as a fellow human being.

This insight is consistent with what Professors Paige and David have underlined, that non-violence, and the work for a non-killing society rather than being "passive and self-abusive" actively resists evil and injustice by claiming and asserting our common human dignity and our underlying bonds of community and solidarity.

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CHAPTER 5

FIRST OVERCOME PROBLEMS, REFORM INSTITUTIONS, AND RECONFIGURE PERSONAL VALUE SYSTEMS

Jose C.J. Magadia, S.J.

The word "utopia" was coined by Sir Thomas More, who wrote a book of the same title. In his book, More describes a fictional island, Utopia, *ou-topos* or "no-place," where lives a nation of great material wealth and productivity, where all poverty and all class distinction and all private property have been eradicated. Banished as well are criminal and immoral behavior, religious intolerance, the inclination to war, and the inordinate longing for gold. And at its very heart is nothing more, and nothing less, than fundamental rationalism.

Utopian is the word that will certainly come to many a reader's mind while reading Dr. Glenn Paige's ideas on the building of a nonkilling world. In ordinary conversation, that word indicates something fanciful, unrealistic, quixotic. Dr. Paige begins his book with a strong dose of normativity and imperative. But in the end, he invites us to see the reality that the basic elements for a nonkilling society are already here; they need not be imagined; the seeds have already been planted and people do not have to begin from scratch. Thus, one is struck by the possibility that maybe, just maybe, utopia might not be as unreachable as it first seems, and that Dr. Paige really has his two feet still firmly rooted on the ground.

What cannot be denied is that such a nonkilling world needs working at, and calls for the acceptance, acknowledgment, and cooperation of all peoples. This would include our very own fun-loving and peace-loving Filipino people. Is a nonkilling Philippine society possible? The answer will have to be yes. But some very serious obstacles will first have to be overcome. In this presentation, I will concentrate on three.

Inequality

The most basic obstacle is inequality, as manifested in glaring socioeconomic and political realities. All the indicators are there—the poverty level, the sluggish GNP and GDP rates of growth, the hardly changing Gini ratio, Manila imperialism, patronage politics, oligarchy-led policy-making, corruption at all levels and in all sectors of both public and private spheres. What all this does is continue to skew the access to resources towards those sectors that already have greater access initially, and thus further reinforce social injustice. And the reality that then stares in the face is the blurring of the distinction between the *violencia blanca* of empty tables and the *violencia roja* of bloody upheaval and killing. In the end, the truth cannot be hidden that violence of whatever shade begets other violences. With intensification comes eventual rigidification into structures that kill, and that make killing not just tolerable, but also acceptable and even necessary.

There have been many signs of hope in the history of this country which would constitute dents on this seemingly unbreakable structure. Edsa Uno was a major watershed, and to a much lesser extent, Edsa Dos. But these are not everyday events that can sustain efforts at transformation. More important are experiences of grassroots organizing and cooperatives, peace zones, philanthropy, and yes, even some good politics with some progressive legislation, and some effective implementation, and some good governance practices, especially on the local level. Unfortunately, these seem like small initiatives thus far, which have not yet really snowballed. Moreover, there is still the question of how to bring all the good things together into an integrated non-self-contradictory whole. This will not just happen automatically. It calls for deliberateness and the leadership of a team of dedicated men and women who can coordinate the many activities, while at the same time provide the inspiration to be able to maintain high levels of energy, for greater perseverance and sustainability.

Certainly, the end of inequality in the Philippines is still far from sight. But the increasing sense of fatigue and feeling of desperation in the situation once again tempt many Filipinos to find short-cuts that turn to strategies that are tinged with subtle forms of violence, which in turn compromise and weaken the fabric of authentic transformation. It is

important to point out that the People Power uprising of eighteen years ago as painstakingly built for many years. It was done through many dialogues and reflection sessions; it was concretized with the identification of clear nonviolent strategies and tactics that were built on the most radical of ideas from Gandhi and Jesus Christ; it was championed by many men and women who sacrificed their time and energy, and even their lives. Sadly, the changes remained on the level of general macropolitical regime transition, and the logic of nonviolence was not pushed further into the

socio-economic structural realm. Thus, once the dictator was vanquished, it meant business-as-usual for the many, and an easy sliding back into the old crooked ways.

What is needed then is the recovery of a vision for the Philippines that will be pieced together by the different sectors of society, and then articulated, and cooperatively brought to life. This concern introduces us to a discussion of yet a second major obstacle.

Parochialism

It is ironic that while the Philippines boasts of one of the most vibrant civil societies in the world, with its vast networks of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and people's organizations (POs), its population continues to remain basically parochial in its concerns. Regardless of class, Filipinos tend to have a very limited personalistic view of well-being. A type of myopia has developed, where well-being makes no sense when it includes those beyond the family or the clan or the *barrio* or the language group. Thus, there is a pervasive weakness of social conscience, even among the poor, and of a lack of a sense of the common good, or of public welfare. This makes issues like environmental responsibility and the preservation of the rule of law more difficult to promote.

Doubtlessly, this is in part a consequence of the inequality problem. For most Filipinos, inequality translates into dependence, a lack of true autonomy. Thus, despite the many opportunities provided by many institutions-- like participation in electoral exercises, like accessing public education, like taking advantage of health programs—most Filipinos are unable to grow into being real stakeholders in the process of national development, as they give up on long-term gains to satisfy short-term,

yet truly basic, needs. On the other hand, many of the wealthy who have gotten used to the comfort of knowing that they have little to lose in these processes cannot be authentic stakeholders either, and in the end they participate based mainly on a calculus of personal or familial gain. There is then a deep commonality between the entrepreneur whose natural tendency is towards the creation of a business monopoly, and the politician who enjoys public office because it provides him the means to gaining more wealth and privilege, and the urban poor mother who cares little about who wins elections since she sees them as being no different from each other.

Clearly, the inability to look beyond parochial concerns renders even more difficult the quest for a nonkilling society. Necessity and pragmatism thus dictate behavior, and serve as blinders to a perspective of expanded horizons. All other values, including nonkilling, become secondary, and are easily sacrificed for the sake of a parochial personal good.

Apathy and Isolationism

The gaps between lowland Christians and Muslims, between indigenous peoples and the others, have bred and exacerbated situation of armed conflict. The deep distrust built over centuries of violence has been difficult to overcome. Likewise, prejudices based on socio-economic class and education have engendered new and subtler forms of violence in everyday life. Behind the acts of violence are cultures created out pockets of strong consensus, that have tended to push to the periphery those who look and act and think differently from the accepted norms. Thus, the third major obstacle is corollary to the second—the negative reaction to experiences of cultural difference, from apathy to isolationism. The parochial purview of many Filipinos has limited their experience, confined their movements, and rendered them unable to face the great plurality beyond very restricted zones of comfort.

"Ayaw natin ng gulo," it is said, "we don't want trouble." Thus, in the face of the challenges of ideas and values that are different, in circumstances of dissent, many turn to ridicule and hide behind the jokes. The call to listen, so as to understand and to adjust, is consequently sidestepped, and the chance to move beyond is easily and readily given up.

Fortunately, for many Filipinos who have been forced to go abroad, specially as overseas workers, this is changing. These countrymen who have been yanked out of their insular havens, have discovered that the old consensus built at home will not work in the bigger world of multiple cultures. They have had a taste of a more profound consensus built by accepting, not rejecting, differences, and by spurning all forms of smug, apathy or isolationism, and instead entering relationships of mutual respect and proactive positive engagement.

Alternative Politics

The three themes discussed thus far as obstacles to the building of a nonkilling Filipino society have been presented, not so much in their formal institutional manifestations, but as they are reflected in the daily lives of ordinary Filipinos. This is so because even if formal institutions are important in that they set the conditions for individual behavior, one realizes that at the heart of these institutions are flesh-and-blood people for whom deeply ingrained values are the major driving force. If, therefore, a nonkilling society is to be established and fortified, institutional reform and transformation must be accompanied by a track that works towards reconfiguring personal value systems.

The alternative to the dominant system that has accepted killing is one that goes back to the communitarian ideal that focuses on reciprocity and the common engagement of citizens with each other, as equals. Instead of just a rights-driven politics based on entitlement, the task is to cultivate mutuality and social responsibility, by working on the development of base organizations that go beyond just the family. Instead of conceiving politics as bargaining, another option would be to develop common ground, based on the more fundamental common ground of social obligation.

These ideas hark back to original Greek thought on what politics is at the core. It has to do with the conduct of dialogue, in the effort to craft a vision of social order and to discover the means of working together towards that vision. That vision is what Dr. Paige so fearlessly proposes—a nonkilling society.

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CHAPTER 6

**REFLECTIONS ON A NONKILLING
SOCIETY FROM A PEACE
MOVEMENT PERSPECTIVE**

Karen N. Tanada

Let me share some reflections on the question—Is a nonkilling society possible in the Philippines? —from the perspective of experience in the peace movement. This is the movement of individuals and organizations since 1987 to support and give impetus to peace process in the Philippines: the Coalition for Peace, and a later allied coalition the National Peace Conference, which focused on the peace agenda.

One thing that strikes me, which may be strange considering the peace-building experience in the country, is that the question is new. It has not been framed this way, implying that our goal then is a nonkilling society.

Instead, we usually speak of the possibility of peace, a just peace. And I not just the absence of violence(negative peace) but the presence of conditions that sustain human dignity and well-being (positive peace). So in this sense we have not imagined a fully nonkilling society, but worked on just ending the war, putting a stop to armed hostilities, as we also try to address the roots of the conflict.

We defined our way as "peace by means of peace." The declaration of the National Peace Conference founding assembly on October 21, 1990 read: "We are committed to create paths to peace in this difficult hour. We will work for peace by means of peace so as to build a society where we can freely share around the same table, where everyone is equal before the law, where one's worth is based on one's dignity as a child of the same Almighty God."

It ends: "That is our vision of peace—peace by means of peace, grounded on justice, imbued by truth and freedom, enlivened by love and

strengthened in solidarity. For that peace, we struggle, to such a peace we commit ourselves."

The focus was on a basic peace agenda consisting of the agenda of four of the basic sectors: farmers, small fisherfolk, workers, and urban poor. But the vision of peace by means of peace affirmed a choice, with the implication that other groups may opt for non-peaceful means to peace.

Much more explicit was the "Women Peacemakers' Manila Declaration"—the statement of the International Consultation of Women as Peacemakers (June 2, 1995) where we said:

"We believe there is no just reason for war. No ethnic, racial, class, religious, ideological or territorial dispute is a valid basis for killing the outside one's group. No political or economic cause can justify war.

"We are women against war.

"We believe in the right of peoples to territorial integrity, to self-determination, and to socio-economic development; but they need not have to sacrifice their sons and daughters to have these rights.

"We believe that 'warring for peace' can only serve the purposes of war and not the cause of peace...."

Questions were raised on this statement at the open forum of the public symposium of the consultation. Were not the anti-colonial revolutions like in this country justifiable? Would women not defend themselves with all means against violence? And the answers were simply: that this is what we believe given our experience. We will resist violence, but by all peaceful means.

As a participant in that consultation and in the drafting of the statement, I know that the source of the declaration was not any long discussion on theory of non-violence or other theory. The consultation was mainly a sharing of experiences, the telling of our stories as women facing war. Such a radical statement came from our experiences; drafting did not take long.

Looking back to those earlier days as a peace movement makes us realize how much we were more surefooted then, more confident and clear in our vision and ways. Where is the Philippine peace movement now?

We optimistically might say it is now at a phase of rebuilding. In assessing the peace process particularly with regard to the Communist insurgency during the "Waging Peace in the Philippines—Looking Back, Moving Forward" Conference in December 2002, Miriam Coronel Ferrer noted the crisis in leadership—in the Communist Party of the Philippines, in the government, and in civil society as well. Though peace initiatives seemed flourishing in Mindanao, the Citizens' Council for Peace had failed to take off and the church—which had previously taken a stronger role—was preoccupied with defending its concept of family. She cited the need to forge unities on peace across ideological and political barriers, drawing in the broadest sectors and linking with other advocacies.

Somehow at the "Waging Peace in the Philippines and Asia: Facilitating Processes, Consolidating Participation" Conference held a year later in December 2003, the strategies of a revitalizing peace movement were more clearly laid out, in terms of accompanying the peace processes between GRP-NDF and GRP-MILF, in supporting a national peace policy, and in building a peace constituency. It will still be a process of rebuilding, especially in nurturing a constituency that will be heard on issues of peace and conflict, that will march in as large numbers on concern against war in Mindanao as on war on Iraq. But gradually there is awakening and hopefully there will be flexing in the months to come.

A special sign of hope for the Philippine peace movement is in the persistence of "peace zones." Over the past few years variations of peace zones have slowly spread to about fifty communities in Mindanao—called "sanctuaries of peace," others called "spaces for peace." Basically they are areas that have been negotiated by the community with the armed conflict groups—the government military and the MILF (Moro Islamic Liberation Front) or NDF (National Democratic Front), as places to be spared from the actions of armed conflict. But as well as these more recent form, the peace zone of sagada, self-declared in the late 1980s, inspired six other municipalities (out of ten) in Mountain Province last November 2003 to also declare themselves as peace zones. Just this February 10, 2004, four *sitios* in Tulan, North Cotabato held a formal *re-inauguration* as peace zones, in the face of conflicts beginning to affect their areas, and despite problems and failures they had undergone as peace zones over the years. The continued assertion of communities' right to

peace, the patient efforts to try again, give the strongest hope for the Philippine peace movement, and for the possibility of a nonkilling society we speak of today.

To me the question "Is a nonkilling society possible in the Philippines?," is therefore valuable in itself to the peace movement. It gives a different perspective, a sharper focus that helps us think of the situation and our goals in a different way. It helps broaden our imagination and our efforts. Reading the book written by Dr. Glenn D. Paige and particularly about political science that supports nonkilling has also been comforting and affirming.

I recalled the introduction cum ice-breaker used by Professor Ed Garcia at the most recent Waging Peace Conference, when he asked the participants to answer in the manner of the television show "Debate": Is third party facilitation a science or an art? Those who say science, state your case; those who say art, why is it art? And yes the answer was that it is both. The book helped me to realize again how some science as well as some art would be helpful to our peacebuilding work.

One aspect of course is the global perspective and global and local implications. We have experienced some of the cross-inspiration from an early batch of "Lederachers" trained by John Paul Lederach to the trainees at the Mindanao Peace-building Institute (MPI). Now the MPI participants learn from Palestinian Mohammed Abu Nimr of the American University as well, including on Islamic perspectives on peace. Another group was exposed to the remarkable Johann Galtung's Transcend workshop, a group he would have remembered when he heard about EDSA2 people power.

Reading a section of the book on nonkilling common security institutions, I recalled the group of peacebuilders in Pikit, Cotabato led by Fr. Bert Layson, OMI. The group has been our partner in various training programs that have been coordinated by the Gaston Z. Ortigas Peace Institute, such as on conflict resolution framework and the development of community peace action teams, (Compax), a workshop on reconciliation, training on stress and crisis management for peace workers, and training on conflict analysis and monitoring. The Pikit group has been partner to many other groups as well, such as the Balay

Rehabilitation Center's program, the Balik Kalipay work on trauma healing for children, the Mindanao People's Caucus' Bantay ceasefire.

Fr. Bert told me how the sessions on the history of Mindanao had made a great impact on their seminars on culture of peace; how that basic undistorted understanding of the histories of the peoples of Mindanao had helped to remove so many of the longheld biases among the community. More recently he told me about very effective dialogue-reconciliation sessions that groups in the community had undergone, that helped clarify their victim-offender situation. The sessions were so deepfelt that at the end everyone was weeping. The Cagfus (civilian armed forces) no longer wanted to fight the MILF, and the MILF sympathizers also no longer wanted to take up arms, he said. Fr. Bert even wondered how it would have been if they had had these sessions before the outbreak of the conflict once more in February 2003. Perhaps with combatants refusing to fight, the conflict would have been much less. I recalled Fr. Bert's stories as I read about the Shanti Sena in Dr. Paige's book and thought about the options for those Cagfus who no longer wanted to fight.

At the same time I also admired the openness and willingness of the communities, particularly the peace advocates of Pikit to train and learn with various groups; to take opportunities to help heal themselves from wounds of constant conflict and evacuation and to rebuild and sustain their peace. It is such a community that can be a nonkilling society.

It is affirming to think that the peace movement is part of the answer—Yes—to the question "Is a nonkilling society possible?"

Yet there are several serious challenges and needs in fulfilling this Possibility.

One is the depth and persistence of injustice. Reflecting recently on the dilemmas of transitional justice and impunity in the Philippines, I could not help wonder how unrepentant the torturers and offenders from the martial law era continue to be, and how the nation seems to forget and how these cycles of injustice then seem to repeat. Even the atrocities of World War II seem forgotten while the Japanese veterans come here to their war memorials to glorify only their dead, not thinking of their victims. A young Japanese writer interviewing relatives of victims of

massacres in Laguna by these Japanese soldiers, found many just ready to forgive and forget, "as Christians." On the other hand the courage of the comfort women, the "lolas" who bravely broke the silence should teach us the way. To make a nonkilling society possible, the difficult work of memory, truth-telling and pursuit of justice cannot be skipped. Only then will healing and reconciliation be possible.

Another challenge is that fear and insecurity among some groups seem to be growing, especially as the specter of terrorism is raised. Fear of the other is cultivated, consciously or unconsciously, and it is fear more than courage that leads to killing.

There are other types of needs and challenges also for the peace movement in the immediate term: How do we really build a constituency and remain relevant including to those not directly affected by the armed conflicts? How do we sustain our efforts? How do we inspire and build leadership among a new generation of young Filipinos?

The goals of a nonkilling society and of a just peace will help us work through these challenges. We hope to move forward on many paths as a nonkilling political science develops and the problem-solving and institutional applications are further imagined, evolved and tested.

CHAPTER 7

**A NONKILLING SOCIETY IS DEFINITELY
POSSIBLE IN THE PHILIPPINES**

Natalia M.L.M. Morales

While I was preoccupied with other concerns, I got a copy of Dr. Glenn Paige's book *NonKilling Global Political Science*. Local news at that time was heavy with items on the planned execution of two convicts. But the book clearly went beyond the issue of capital punishment into a more humane and intellectually stimulating treatise on the preservation of human life and the human spirit, and the values of love, concern, and respect for human efforts and dignity in the most creative and positive way.

I listened intently to Ms. Karen N. Tañada's presentation and appreciate her sharing of experiences and efforts in the peacemaking and peacebuilding process in the country, including her participation in the peace talks between the National Democratic Front and the Philippine Government held in Oslo, Norway.

I'd like to expand the domain and add another perspective to the discussion along the excellent framework suggested by Dr. Paige. With political science as my mother discipline and training ground, I sense a pointed reference to what we (my other colleagues in this panel) in the field have been doing (for three decades already)—teaching, researching, writing, networking and processing the nitty gritty of politics, a good part of which highlights the unmitigated pursuit of power at all cost.

Natural Goodness of Man

It is therefore reassuring to be refreshed by the author that the nonkilling tendency is a natural instinct in men and women, and even some animals, despite the heavy dose of lethality in human and political relations. I truly believe that man has a divine spark in him, and is pre-

ordained to be good and considerate towards his fellow being even at the cost of his own life. Perhaps the high incidence of suicide bombing these days in parts of the world and cultures that accept the method helps explain this natural altruism. One would rather suffer and be pained, even die rather than hurt another being. This altruistic strain has even led to the phrase "friendly fire" to refer to injuries sustained or death from the crossfire when an ally's ammunition hits one at random. Situations such as these instruct us that while lethality in human and political relations cannot be totally eradicated, it can be minimized by focusing on the creation and activation of peace-minded and non violent leaders and institutions that can spawn like-minded followers and practices.

Nonviolence is a key concept in the nonkilling philosophy and constantly challenged theme in political science. Nonviolence must be understood not only in a physical sense but in its social, cultural, intellectual, psychological, spiritual nuances. To deprive a fellow being of his/her rights, honor, dignity, respectability, beliefs and joy is equally, if not a greater, infliction as physical assault. In fact, the curtailing of the human spirit can often lead to a spirit of vengeance that can only up the ante, as Dr. Paige has sensibly put it. Nonkilling political science has a problem-solving role—"the recognition that the policies and acts of political figures, institutions, governments and people have far-reaching social consequences from physical survival through economic well-being to the highest reaches of human aspiration" (Paige: 100). Paige makes a useful exhortation for a preventive political science—identify and help to reconcile vengeance before they erupt in atrocities. To stop the rise of leaders and followers who celebrate vengeful extermination of enemies, political science must clearly commit itself to prevent killing, to reconcile the vengeful, and create conditions of nonkilling life.

Management and Re-direction of the Violence Impulse

The steering of political violence, whether its core or side effects, into nonviolence has been, empirically observed. Nonviolence can take many forms and routes. Essential is the fostering of harmony, peace, understanding among peoples despite differences. Cultural exchange and interaction especially at the formative stages of development have been

very instructive. Education and the nurturing and socialization of the youth are basic to a nonkilling disposition. A case I'd like to bring out (since I did my Master's thesis on it: *Political Socialization and Cross-Cultural Education of Select Filipino Exchange Students [University of the Philippines, 1975]*), is the American Field Service, once a wartime ambulance group that undertook humanitarian and ancillary efforts to deal with the consequences of war in the battlegrounds of Europe (particularly France) and eventually established scholarship programs at the university (tertiary) and secondary levels after the two world wars. It has shifted its orientation effectively from a wartime-service calling to a peacetime cultivation of harmony, understanding and concern in the minds of young people who have become main instruments of its non-violent vision and programs. Based on voluntary, community cooperation and networking, countless individuals, families, schools, communities, sectors, governments, and countries have forged areas of cooperation, official and otherwise, public and private in over fifty years of efforts towards international peace and understanding.

The Philippines, a participant in the program for over thirty years, dropped out in the 80s due to administrative and logistic problems. But the efforts of Philippine AFS returnees and alumni in the program managed to keep the spirit afloat and continue to involve more young people in a truly inter-cultural and cross-cultural settings. Now the Philippines is back in the AFS to involve more Filipino youth including a special program for younger Muslim Filipinos. One of the country's neglected, as well as militant, cultural minority groups, more often than not young Muslims become the critical mass in peace-building efforts in the country today. It is a tall order to provide such opportunity to all the deserving, but with a lot of support, it is doable and achievable. Before we can remove hatred and prejudice in the global stage, we must clean our act first as a people.

As many who had joined the program before are now in the center of national and global stage, where they can influence and socialize others into the ways and values of peace and enlightened behavior—their roles as corporate leaders, public ministers and officials, envoys and literati, media pundits and stalwarts, community organizers and cause-oriented advocates, provide various role models where the paths of peace can be

pursued according to one's needs, interest and capability. These multilateral and multi-sectoral efforts can effectively douse the fire war and dispel the blood-thirsting and blood-letting impulses that obstruct our way to peace. Ignorance of other's state of affairs and mindlessness in dealing with them often erupt in misunderstanding and misperceptions that are often costly to human and societal relations. There is no substitute for continuous learning and appreciation of history not only as it affects our lives but others too.

Ms. Tañada mentioned Sagada as having declared itself as a zone (sanctuary) of peace way back in the early 80s. That is a good reminder of how communities can shape themselves without outside interference and be a pioneer, pilot community in the process. I was amazed at how my foreign colleagues with a taste for indigenous culture easily appreciate Sagada, opting to spend more time there than in the citified Baguio. Together we were first-timers in experiencing the pristine, unaffected beauty of the place, its serenity, its strong communal spirit, and pride in its natural, God-given bounty. Guided by observation and skillful interpretation and translation of local conditions and the national psyche by one of its own residents, much of the ideological and prejudicial clutter associated with life in the rugged mountains have managed to be seen in a clearer and more realistic perspective. Ironically, the headhunting expedition of yore contradicts the nonkilling philosophy, but tribal revenge has been curtailed with the onset of the values of nonviolence and loving one's enemies that Christian proselytization has fostered through decades.

Is a nonkilling society possible in the Philippines? Definitely. We have proven many times in recent events (EDSA I and II) that we can effect change without genocide and mass atrocities. A lethal policy is a curse on the strong and the proud who will succumb to the same sword it unsheathes and bullet it fires. It requires great determination and courage not succumb to the pull of violence and war. But the will to live and love is greater than the will to destroy and hate, for in the end man is triumphant in his spirit than in his body. Nonviolence is first and foremost an individual commitment, before it becomes a social covenant.

The signs for this are already clear. Both science and faith point to us the options. In the year 2000, the Nobel Peace Laureates and the United Nations declared the *Decade for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence for the*

Children of the World. What an apt goal of the human population, for the young carries the shape of the future in them. UNESCO has sponsored the ongoing *Manifesto 2000* signed by 75 million people already. The options for a brighter and more peaceful future are embodied in six points of unity awaiting individual and collective pledges. These are, in brief:

1. Respect the life and dignity of each human being without discrimination or prejudice.
2. Practice active nonviolence, rejecting all its forms.
3. Share my time and material resources in a spirit of generosity to put an end to exclusion, injustice, political and economic oppression.
2. Defend freedom of expression and cultural diversity, giving preferences to dialogue without fanaticism, defamation and rejection of others.
3. Promote consumer behavior that is responsible and respects all forms of life and preserves the balance of nature on the planet.
4. Contribute to the development of my community, with full participation of women and respect for democratic principles to create new forms of solidarity.

The ways of peace and nonviolence are wide, reasonable and attainable enough. But the choice is still ours and the society to make. That can make a difference for human progress and whether we continue as a human race.

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CHAPTER 8

IS A NONKILLING, LIFE-SUSTAINING SOCIETY POSSIBLE IN THE PHILIPPINES? SEVEN PROPOSITIONS AND A CONCLUSION

Howard Q. Dee

Is a nonkilling society possible in the Philippines? Under the guidelines of this lecture series, each lecturer is asked to answer this question with a definitive yes or a no and to defend his position. My presentation will be in reverse. I will provide seven propositions defining the attributes needed for a nonkilling society and at the conclusion of my presentation, I will then give my answer to the question posed.

I. Defining and Expanding the Concept

To help me arrive at an intelligent formulation of my answer, I need to ask myself some questions and I wish to share with you the process I went through to clarify my thoughts.

First, what is the motivation of Dr. Jose V. Abueva in organizing this lecture series? I believe he was moved by the inspired writings of Dr. Glenn Paige on nonkilling global political science, and he would like us to aspire to be such a nonkilling society. But why is the topic presented as a question? I think Dr. Abueva realizes that not a few persons may consider this proposition of a nonkilling society as unattainable for our country, given our history of bloodshed. Not wanting to pursue his quest by imposing it on us, he presents it as a challenge in the form of a question, inviting us to consider this possibility, leaving us with the freedom to accept this proposition or not.

It is in this spirit of freedom that I begin my task by asking more questions. Does such a venture make sense in our national context? What are the prospects for success? Is this an impossible dream? Is there such a

nonkilling society that could serve as a testament and a model for us to emulate?

We know from Dr. Paige's treatise that a nonkilling society is "not the product of hypothetical imagination" but is based on principles found in human experience." We also have his informed assurance that this possibility of a nonkilling society is not only "rooted in human experience and creative capabilities" but "prototypical components of a nonkilling society already exist in past and present global experience." Although such a benign society has not yet been identified, we are told that reasonable "a approximation of a nonkilling society is even now within reach."

What constitutes a nonkilling society? Dr. Paige defines a nonkilling society as "a human community characterized by no killing of humans and no threats to kill; no weapons designed to kill humans and no justifications for using them; and no conditions of society dependent up threat or use of killing force."

After reflection, I find this definition inadequate for our application in the Philippines, as it represents only one face of human lethal behavior. Let me explain. There are indeed scores of countries without the penalty, and societies which ban guns and assault weapons, and nation states that forego the protection of armies. While these countries have succeeded in abolishing certain institutions and instruments associated with killing, these benevolent acts of exclusion, by themselves alone, do not constitute nor completely define a nonkilling society, as killing of fellowman in today's global village comes in various forms and disguises, as the specter of death wears many masks.

There are countries that forbid the death penalty but yet permit abortion and euthanasia, two versions of killing that are gaining acceptance and adherence among societies. I see countries listed which do not impose the death penalty but among them are those who would send their armies to conduct warfare in other nations. Other advanced societies promote democracy and liberty and yet have no qualms about being merchants of death, selling deadly weapons and heavy armaments to third world tyrants who use these weapons to oppress their own people. These countries, matter how benign their own societies may be, in my reckoning, cannot qualify as nonkilling societies.

Still other societies do not kill nor threaten to use killing force, do not have armies nor sell deadly weapons, but may adopt social policies and employ trade practices that foster unfair competition and bring hardship and misery to marginal farmers and unprotected laborers in other countries, literally destroying their livelihood and their meager means of survival. These nations may pass the textbook definition of a nonkilling society but in my reasoning, should not be considered to be a lifesaving and life-giving society, in other words, a life-sustaining society.

Some societies foster unjust social, economic, political and even cultural structures that place certain sectors of their people at great disadvantage, exposing them to high risk situations hostile to their survival. In some parts of our own country, mortality of children is twice that of the national average and life expectancy is reduced by twenty years. Not only guns, but unjust policies and practices, even prejudice can kill. Such a society certainly cannot be classified as a nonkilling and life-sustaining society. Our country, the Philippines, sad to say, is such a country.

A society, to qualify as a nonkilling society for us to emulate and aspire to attain, must be a benevolent life-sustaining society in all aspects of life, in all human activity and in all its human relationships, internally amongst its own people and externally in dealing with the peoples of the world. We see societies today that would go to extremes to protect their own people against violence but would not hesitate to inflict terror on their neighbors, whether this is in self-defense or in vengeance or in pursuit of an ideology. For a society, therefore, to qualify as a nonkilling society, this life-sustaining principle must not be limited to its own society but must extend to all societies it deals with.

My first proposition:

"In the context of our aspirations for Philippine society, I propose that we expand the concept of a nonkilling society to include the attributes of a life-sustaining society, a society that does not kill but saves, gives and sustains life.

I shall proceed on the basis of this proposition. Killing should not be limited to killing by weapons but include killing by regressive policies, practices and prejudices that cause aggression, oppression and bring death. The non-use of threat of killing force should no be limited to the threat of assault weapons but include the killing force of unethical, illegal,

immoral and inhumane behavior that could cause serious harm to human life and human civilization. The pursuit of a nonkilling society is a serious endeavor as it is an aspiration worthy of man but to be considered seriously, its concept of nonkilling should encompass the whole of life and human relationships.

Much of the premature deaths in our country are not due to lethal weapons but are killings nevertheless, not caused by bullets though there is a lot of that too, but caused by inhumane relationships, miscarriage of law and justice, malgovernance, maldevelopment resulting in inequity injustice, sectoral discrimination and ethnic prejudice.

So, without the expressed permission of Dr. Abueva, and with apologies to Dr. Paige, I will expand the term "nonkilling" to include the conjunctive "life-sustaining" for my presentation. With your indulgence, I shall proceed to justify this.

II. Thou Shalt Not Kill

At the beginning of the world, after their fall from the grace of God, Adam and Eve were expelled from Paradise. They begot two sons, Cain and then Abel. Cain was resentful of Abel as the Lord looked with favor on Abel's offering but not on Cain's. The Lord read Cain's heart and warned him of his evil intent to kill Abel: "Why are you so resentful and crestfallen? If you do well, you can hold up your head; but if not, sin is a demon lurking at the door; his urge is toward you, yet you can be his master." Cain did not heed the Lord's advice and proceeded to kill Abel, causing the Lord to pronounce a curse on him. That was the first death recorded in human history and it was a brother killing his younger brother.

The lesson of this first recorded killing is that the Lord told Cain that the urge to kill is a sin lurking as a demon at the door but "yet, you can be his master." So, the urge to kill, to use killing as a means to an end, is evil temptation that is within the power of man to master. Even in our fallen human nature, we are given the power to master the temptation to kill. A nonkilling society is therefore, in the mind of God, possible but it does not necessarily follow that it is possible in the Philippines.

After eons in time, God asked Moses to lead His chosen people: from captivity in Egypt to claim their promised land. He gave Moses His Ten

Commandments to serve as the supreme law of His people of Israel and it included the command: "Thou shalt not kill." Again, God does not command the impossible.

Killing is the extreme opposite of loving. God is love and he created man for love—that God may love man and man may love God. Killing is devoid of love and therefore godless. Man diminishes his humanity when he kills. Killing is a rejection of God, of his law and of his love.

God gave the Israelites a Law that was to serve as the moral, spiritual and political framework of the Jewish nation where a God-fearing, nonkilling society was to be the bedrock, the foundation of the nation of God's chosen people.

Thousands of years later, God sent His Son to redeem the whole of mankind. He bridged the eternal with the temporal and reaffirmed the Ten Commandments with one commandment—to love God and to love our neighbor as ourselves. He brought a new set of Beatitudes—not to replace the old law of Moses—but to build upon the old law and broaden it.

With the advent of Christ, it is no longer enough not to kill but to show mercy, even to a stranger. Blessed are the merciful—mercy shall be shown them. Not only should we not conduct war, but we are told to promote peace. Blessed are the peacemakers—they shall be called children of God.

It is not enough not to covet our neighbor's goods but to be poor in spirit. Blessed are the poor—they shall inherit the earth. It is not enough not to bear false witness but one must be pure in heart. Blessed are the Pure in heart—they shall see God.

It is not enough just to love the Lord our God but to love Him with all our heart, all our strength, all our mind and all our soul and to love our neighbor as ourselves.

Following this new paradigm requires a new way of living. It is no longer enough not to kill your neighbor but to care for him and love him as you would love yourself. The ideal of a nonkilling society must be realized in a larger context of a loving, caring, life-sustaining society, a just society.

And so my second proposition is this:

The precept not to kill is a command of God. This ideal must be realized in, a larger context of a loving, caring, life-giving society. Such a society cannot be formed by a people whose faith is without deeds, whose poor have no hope and whose leaders govern without love. A nonkilling, life-sustaining society must be founded on the bedrock of moral and traditional values because man cannot live by bread alone.

The goal of a nonkilling society is no less than to build a just society—to transform this nation into God's dominion, where people are free, where justice prevails, where there is peace and sharing, caring and loving.

The Philippines is a paradoxical society. We are by nature a loving people. But we are not a loving society. We are a caring people, known for our caring ways. But we are not a caring society. We are a peace-loving, nonkilling people. But we are not a peaceful, nonkilling society. We are a people who love life and value life. But we are not a life-giving, life-sustaining society.

What are these values and virtues that could serve us in our quest for a nonkilling and life-sustaining society? One such value is development with justice which Pope Paul VI called the new name for peace.

III. Development is the New Name for Peace

Exploring this topic of an ideal society reminds me of my experience in 1988 when together with Fr. Francisco Araneta, former President of Ateneo de Manila who became development officer of our Embassy the Holy See. We studied the history of social teachings of the Church Magisterium to identify a nation that has successfully used Christian social principles to form a truly Christian society that the Philippines could emulate.

This initiative was inspired by the Holy Father, Pope John Paul II, whose encyclical, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, on the Social Concerns of the Church, had warned nations of the extreme ideologies of the left and the right. In 1986 when I presented my credentials to His Holiness, he gave me an advance preview of this encyclical. He told me: "You are rebuilding a new nation—beware of two evils." Gesturing with his left hand, he emphasized: "Communism." And with his right hand, he said "Capitalism." Communism I could understand, it being a godless ideology,

but with capitalism, the engine of economic growth in democratic countries, I couldn't quite comprehend why it was an equivalent evil and I looked askance at the Holy Father and he elaborated: "Materialism, consumerism, secularism," the three handmaidens of capitalism. Today, after almost two decades, I can see how it was both a prophetic message and a warning of what we were to become: a materialist, consumerist and secular society, the non-caring, killing society that we are today.

Going back to 1988, Fr. Araneta and I made the rounds of the Roman Curia to speak to Cardinals and heads of congregations who are the depository of the wisdom of the Church through the centuries—to see if we could discover what constitutes authentic human development. Yet when we asked the prelate of the Pontifical Commission on Justice and Peace if there was a nation that we could emulate in true Christian development, he was of no help. After pausing to think, he replied: "I cannot identify such a nation for you. Perhaps, God wants the Philippines to be the model of a Christian society." I thought at that time that the Bishop's response was an inspiration of the Holy Spirit—an aspiration that we should pursue as a people of faith.

This aspiration was articulated by President Cory Aquino when she made an official state visit to the Holy See. Addressing Pope John Paul II, she enunciated the principles that would define her government's development policies to bring about a life-sustaining society. She said:

"Development must enhance the well being and dignity of Filipinos from every walk of life, so that the nation's material progress must be "matched by the Filipino's spiritual development.

"Second, development must promote the unity of the nation and solidarity among our people. We will not follow a development path that accepts exploitation and class hatred as a necessary price. It must be fair to all, yet lean in favor of the poor who need to be helped.

"Third, development must restore and preserve the values that distinguish the Filipino nation: faith in God, love of country, and respect for the unity of the family.

"Fourth, development must increase our capability to stand on our own, to be self-reliant, so that we can be useful and helpful members of the community of nations.

"Fifth, development must promote private enterprise and initiative, consistent with the common good and our democratic institutions. Government will play a complementary and supportive role to ensure that our development goals are met in accordance with these development principles. I believe that peace will come only through authentic development that fosters justice and solidarity. Development by any other path will lead only to violence and tyranny, of the left and of the right."

President Aquino provided a road map of human development which is still valid today in defining a life-sustaining society. Obviously, after fifteen years, we have not progressed towards the building of such a society but have in fact retrogressed to become a society of which the Holy Father had warned; a materialist, consumerist and secularist society where the poor are victims of social exclusion, unable to enjoy their human rights and freedoms.

If a life-sustaining society is not attainable, can a nonkilling society be possible? If society cannot provide life-sustaining measures to its people for it to live in peace, can it prevent the people from pursuing a path of violence and conflict? Thus, we can begin to see that the attributes of a nonkilling society must be rooted in a life-sustaining society that bring about a just and equitable development of that society.

This therefore is my third proposition:

A nonkilling, life-sustaining society, to be able to endure, must respect but rights, protect human freedoms and promote an authentic total development of the human person, a development that is just and equitable, caring and healing

IV. A Reality of Injustice

In today's reality, is it possible to create such a nonkilling life-sustaining society in the Philippines that is just and equitable?

Again, I will draw on my personal experience. After retiring from Vatican post, I was drafted by the Ramos Government to conduct peace talks with our Communist brothers whose armed rebellion had spanned three decades of killing. For seven years, my responsibility was to help the government unravel the communist rebellion through negotiations: and by pursuing a social reform agenda to attack the root causes of armed conflict.

I came face to face with the stark realities of a killing society and all the issues that breed rebellion. The negotiations agenda cover the entire spectrum of our national life, from human rights and international humanitarian law, to agrarian reform, national industrialization and globalization, unjust development, mass destitution, inequitable distribution of resources, injustice in governance including the courts of justice, and oppressive political structures. The goal was to attain social, economic, political and constitutional reforms that would address these root causes that were the seed beds from which sprout discontent, social exclusion, and rebellion, the attributes of our unjust killing society.

This may not be the forum for an in-depth discussion of the myriad ills of our society that cause unpeace and armed conflict and the prescriptions for their cure. Suffice it for us now to just identify these causes of armed conflict which are the attributes of a society in conflict — a killing society — so that we can better appreciate the hurdles that we have to overcome to become a nonkilling, life-sustaining society. A killing society does not just happen; it is born of these malignant ills in our body politic to which you and I may have contributed.

In those seven years of negotiations, I lived and worked in the milieu of a killing environment, a society at war — with a gaping social divide. I have seen army generals and NPA commanders, adult men, crying in captivity, not from the fear of death but from being face to face with the evil that men do to one another. Filipinos killing Filipinos, even rebels killing their own. I talked to wounded rebel child combatants barely in their teens with gaping wounds inflicted in combat, wondering how they survived in body and in spirit. I have dealt with atrocities committed by both sides: rebels executing lumads, assassinating government officials, abducting policemen, soldiers torturing suspect rebels, even summarily executing them. I know what a killing society is like.

There were good times too in our work for peace. Like when 1,000 NPAs came down from the mountains to enroll in our amnesty program and begun life anew; the social reform agenda which brought about the Fisheries Code, the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act, the anti-demolition law, the anti-rape act; and when we disbanded thousands of CAFGUs and reduced armed encounters by half. But without political will, both

sides were unwilling to reform anachronistic ways; no breakthrough possible and the fratricidal carnage of an ancient war, on its 36th year continues today against all human logic. And we ask ourselves: is a nonkilling, life-sustaining society possible in the Philippines?

I left the peace talks four years ago, a disillusioned peacemaker, only to be embroiled in another situation of unpeace. This time, it was the armed conflict with our Muslim brothers of Mindanao. In 2000, when President Estrada, ill-advised mounted an all-out war against the MILF causing the displacement of 750,000 civilian evacuees spread in over 600 make-shift evacuation centers. The Military Command admitted that the displacement of multitudes of civilian evacuees was not factored into their war planning. The civilian agencies were not prepared to deal with humanitarian disaster of such great proportions. In a meeting with President, the Secretary of Defense and the Chief of Staff, I couldn't control my emotions and said that we were waging a war as if we were fighting in a foreign land against a foreign enemy, bombarding and shelling civilian villages.

The lethal impact on the civilian evacuees was immediate and devastating: death, hunger and disease. The by-products were anger and fear, fear of the Muslim farmers of being apprehended and arrested, fear of the women for their men folk and their families, fear written in faces of sick and hungry children. Fear is a terrible by-product of a kill society. I felt the fear of a young Muslim girl as she lay dying, looking straight into my eyes, silently pleading for the life which I could not give. She lost her mother when their village was attacked. Her two brothers died of disease in the evacuation camp, one after another. Now is her turn. Her father stood silently by her side, resigned to see the last member of his family being taken from him. Four deaths, four burials in four weeks. How much killing can a man stand? How would this Muslim farmer answer if I ask him now: Is a nonkilling, life-sustaining society possible in Philippines?

I have seen death lurking in the evacuation centers with thousands of suffering children, their bodies wasting away for lack of food and provisions.

I have seen death face to face in the struggle of the indigenous peoples protecting their ancestral lands, a datu and his companions killed in cold blood while surveying their ancestral lands in Bukidnon to qualify for domain titling under the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act. Their entire village in San Luis was razed to the ground by armed goons hired by a powerful landgrabber. The mayor, the governor, the police and the military would not come to their assistance.

I visited another datu, with his brother, his son and son-in-law, four lumads imprisoned for defending their land against mining interests. With tears they told me that they were contemplating committing suicide in prison to protest the injustice society had inflicted on them. With the help of the Department of Justice, they were finally freed on Valentine's Day after four years in prison.

I have heard the testimony of policemen who witnessed the summary execution of innocent Muslims by police officers in Cotabato who staged a fake armed encounter with the "Pentagon gang." To this day, no punishment has been meted out, no compensation made to their widows. How would they answer if we ask them: Is a nonkilling, life-sustaining society possible in the Philippines?

The Communist Party of the Philippines wants to implement an agreement we signed with them on Human Rights. In it are provisions protecting the indigenous peoples. Yet, I read their press release the other day that the New Peoples Army has executed three lumads by firing squad for the "crime" of providing intelligence to the military on their movements. What hypocrisy! The human rights agreement we signed with them prohibits the use of land mines but just last week, a land mine planted by the NPA killed nine policemen.

I have lived and worked in this milieu of a killing society for the last 15 years and now I am confronted with this question that I do not know how to answer. Given my personal encounters with violent deaths, you would expect me to answer NO, the society that Dr. Abueva dreams of is not possible. But I would not say that. So is my answer YES then? No, it is not. My answer will be in my last proposition.

But if you ask me for the most important value, one virtue that could perhaps make it possible for us to attain a nonkilling, life-sustaining society, I would say without a second thought, that this value is Justice. Theologians

tell us that justice is the highest form of love. And we might add, love is the highest manifestation of justice; a justice that is redeeming with love that is healing.

This is my fourth proposition:

A nonkilling, life-giving society can be possible only under a reign of justice governing all aspects of national life: cultural, social, economic and political life. Without a regime of just structures with just laws, justly and equally enforced on one and all, a nonkilling, life-sustaining society is not possible.

I will now share a personal pilgrimage over four decades that has a bearing on why our nation remains a killing-society.

V. The Fatima Proposition

My story begins in 1960 when Pope John 23 opened the envelop containing the much anticipated third secret of Fatima given by the Blessed Mary, Mother of Jesus to three shepherd children in 1917. After reading it, the Pope was visibly shaken and ordered it resealed and locked away. At the time the message was given, the first world war was still raging. The Blessed Mother said it would end soon but spoke of a second world war if man does not reform his sinful ways. And then she warned that sinful man will cause Russia to spread its errors throughout the world causing the suffering of many and the persecution of the Church.

After the second world war, Communism spread like wildfire, causing the death of an estimated one hundred million people, more than first two world wars combined. In the Philippines, President Marcos used the communist insurgency as the rationale for imposing martial rule during which time the communist armed cadres reached a strength of 25,000. Since then, the government has adopted a paradigm of state security focused on counter-insurgency action with military forces guarding the security of the State. This State action oftentimes impinges on the freedoms and rights of the people, thus fueling rather than quelling rebellion. Fratricidal killing among Filipinos became an irreversible process.

In 1981, the present Pope, John Paul II, was shot on May 13, the Feast Day of Fatima. He went to Fatima the following year to thank Blessed Lady for saving his life. In 1984, he consecrated the world to the

Immaculate Heart of Mary, together with the Bishops of the world, entrusting it to the protection of the Blessed Mother, to fulfill heaven's requirement for the conversion of communist Russia.

In 1986, when I presented my credentials to the Holy Father, he told me how an invisible hand guided the bullet that struck him through a zigzag path that avoided his vital organs. This bullet is now imbedded in the crown of Our Lady of Fatima in Portugal. I informed the Holy Father that the Lady of Fatima featured prominently in our EDSA bloodless revolution which occurred at the end of a Marian Year on February 25th, the Feast day of Our Lady of Victory.

Inspired by the Marian Year of the Philippines, the Holy Father then declared a Marian Year for the Universal Church, from 1987 to 1988. Then, the Berlin wall collapsed starting a chain of events that led to the conversion of Russia, as promised by Our Lady, resulting in the dissolution of the Soviet Union of Communist States.

In 1992, I was called by President Fidel V. Ramos to head a peace panel to negotiate peace with our Communist leaders in the Netherlands. I was confident that the same grace of conversion would be granted to our people to make peace and begin the process of rebuilding our nation. But after seven years, from 1993 to 2000, my efforts were futile. Disillusioned, I wrote Sister Lucia asking her to intercede with Our Lady for our people. She did not reply to me as she had in the past. But her reply came with the disclosure of the third secret in the Jubilee Year 2000. The third secret, kept secret for 83 years, contains two visions of the end times. The first is a vision of an angel flashing a flaming sword as though it would set the world on fire, but the flames died out when Our Lady appeared in her splendor. And the angel then pointed to the earth, lying out, "Penance, penance, penance." This image of an angel with a flaming sword can be seen in the Scriptures in Genesis, guarding the tree of life in Paradise, after the expulsion of Adam and Eve.

In his accompanying commentary, Cardinal Josef Ratzinger, President of the Congregation of the Doctrine of Faith, said that the angel with the flaming sword "represents the threat of divine judgment which looms over world. Today the prospect that the world might be reduced to

ashes by a sea of fire no longer seems pure fantasy: man himself, with his inventions has forged the flaming sword."

At the request of the Holy Father, Sister Lucia clarified in a letter that it is not God who is punishing us in this manner but man bringing this chastisement upon himself with his transgressions of God's laws. She said: "And if we have not yet seen the complete fulfillment of the final part of the prophecy (the scorching of the earth), we are going towards it little by little with great strides. If we do not reject the path of sin, hatred, revenge, injustice, violations of the rights of the human person, immorality and violence"

With these words, Lucia essentially answered my question on we cannot make peace with our communist Filipinos and stop the killing carnage in our country. It is simply because, as Lucia explains, we continue in this path of sin: injustice, immorality, violation of the rights of poor.

Cardinal Ratzinger stressed that the angel, in summoning men to penance, demonstrates "the importance of human freedom. The future is not in fact unchangeably set,—rather, it is meant to mobilize forces of change in the right direction to save us from the dangers portrayed in the vision. He said: "Indeed, the whole point of the vision is to bring freedom onto the scene and to steer freedom in a positive direction."

Isn't this what this meeting is all about?. That we need to steer our freedom, as citizens of this land, towards a positive direction for establishment of a life-sustaining society that will end all killing? This cannot happen by itself, God has given us the grace to do it, but we need to use this grace to strive to attain the kind of society we aspire for.

Once God's law is transgressed, society loses its moral moorings, then man's laws are easier violated, and no law becomes absolute and every law is subject to question and a killing society becomes inevitable.

This is my fifth proposition therefore:

We are living in prophetic and perilous times when a culture of death prevails over life-sustaining forces. To save our nation from this death trap and attain the society we aspire for, we need to make a moral about-face and redirect our freedoms from our sinful ways toward a new vision of life, so that we could survive the onslaught of evil.

The crucial question is this: Are we, as a people, capable of this redirection? To answer this, let us now proceed to find out what this effort entails in real life.

VI. A History of Bloodshed

The question posed at this point focuses on the realities of our country, whether we can use our freedoms and the grace of God to reverse the sad realities we live in today to attain the common good and make possible a nonkilling, life-sustaining society in the Philippines.

The history of the Philippines is written in blood. The Spaniards came in the 16th century when the Indigenous Peoples ruled the archipelago in relative peace, each Datu or Sultan ruling in his own area of influence. The Spaniards came with a cross in one hand and a sword in the other. Eventually, as the Spanish sword was unsheathed, the indigenous peoples, those who fought colonization, had to flee the lowlands to the mountain forests which were their hunting grounds and to the uplands which became their natural habitat.

The Filipino nation was born in blood shed by our founding fathers who fought the Spanish conquerors. The American invaders brought more bloodshed, defeating the revolutionary forces of the First Philippine Republic. More blood was shed in the Second World War during the Japanese military occupation. The end of the war led to the establishment of the independent Third Philippine Republic. But again, blood flowed with the Communist rebellion of peasant farmers led by Maoist ideologues and the Muslim rebellion of the Bangsamoro who never had recognized the authority of the national government. Martial rule was then imposed by a dictatorship causing even more bloodshed. Each time our freedom was threatened, the blood of patriots had to be shed in the cause of liberty.

EDSA gave birth to people power that brought the Filipino to the forefront of revolutionary change without bloodshed. But the change was superficial; there was no change of national purpose, no conversion of hearts, as old habits die hard.

The killing rebellions continued and at this moment, peace talks are ongoing on both rebel fronts, seeking the silencing of the guns of never-ending war. Whether a nonkilling society in the Philippines is possible or

not would essentially depend on the outcome of these peace talks. Does peace have a chance?

I have more hopes for a peace settlement with the MILF than the NDF which tend to be mired in anachronistic ideologies and legalistic polemics. So to comply with the lecture requirements, allow me to focus on what I think is required to establish a nonkilling and life-sustaining society in Mindanao and you can decide, on these premises, whether this aspiration is possible or not.

Killing in Mindanao

For this section, I will read parts of a paper I presented to the American Peace Mission at the US Embassy last year.

The war in Mindanao is deeply rooted in injustice. This injustice is inflicted on two minority groups, the Muslim Moros and the Indigenous tribal communities.

Let us begin with the Bangsamoro people: A comprehensive peace plan with the MILF must necessarily include parallel thrusts working in synergism to rectify the three injustices inflicted on the Bangsamoro people over the decades.

First, the peace talks must produce a political peace settlement that addresses the injustice inflicted on the Bangsamoro religious, cultural and political identity as a people. They had this political identity even before there was a Filipino nation but this historical fact was never given its just due and the wounds remain to this day.

Second is to accelerate the human development of the Bangsamoro people and restore their human rights and freedoms to reverse the injustice of development aggression imposed on the Moro people, particularly their disenfranchisement of their ancestral lands and in their social marginalization. Their human poverty level is presently twice that our national average.

The third is a process of cultural and spiritual healing and peace education to remove the deep-seated religious and cultural prejudices that continue to divide the tri-peoples of Mindanao: the Muslims, the Christians and the Indigenous Peoples. Without this healing process, the

peace that will be negotiated would be but a passive peace that cannot unify the nation.

For the political settlement, two critical issues are land and political reform particularly the reform of government institutions. First in their agenda of peace talks is their ancestral lands. Much of these lands have been literally taken from them by powerful political and business groups. The political elite of Mindanao controls vast tracts of ancestral lands of the Moro and indigenous peoples. There has to be some form of restitution or reparation as land is life to them. This is possible only with the reform of political institutions to restore their rights to their ancestral domain or what is left of it.

On the second thrust of human development, the injustice of marginalization and development neglect has taken its toll over the years. If you are born in Basilan, Sulu or Tawi-Tawi, you have twice the risk of dying at childbirth. If you reach adulthood, your lifespan is 50 years, 19 years shorter than the average Filipino. Only one of ten elementary students will finish high school. One of four families has potable water. Seventy percent of the people live in subhuman poverty conditions, twice that of the national average of 36 percent. This ranks them with Niger and Sierra Leone, the poorest nations at the bottom of the UNDP income and human poverty index.

To bring life to this forsaken place, bypassed by development, we need to provide opportunities for education and upgrade their capability to govern themselves. We need to provide jobs, farm technology for food sufficiency, farmers cooperatives to maximize income and productivity, microfinance for self-employment in micro-enterprises, skills training for livelihood opportunities for the women and youth.

We need to mount a national effort that includes the commitment of business, financial and civil society organizations towards a total development approach in a holistic master plan. We need a concerted of all sectors of society if we want to take pride in our multi-ethnicity, not just to portray smiling faces on tourism posters.

For the third thrust, to rectify the injustices on the Moro religious and cultural rights and identity, we need to heal the national spirit of our old prejudices against the Moro people to remove their distrust. The healing process must be led by our moral and spiritual leaders who must

mount a national process of spiritual and cultural healing. There are gaping wounds in the body politic that need to be healed for the seeds of peace to take root in our hearts. This healing process must include the transformation of political institutions for good, humane and just governance in Mindanao. Government must restore the people's trust and its institutions.

A political peace settlement will only buy time during which the (a) institutional reform, (b) human development and (c) spiritual and cultural healing must take place to bind the wounds and reconstruct a new Mindanao that could prosper and flourish in peace.

For this holistic approach, a new framework of human security is needed that will attack these root causes of rebellion and focus on the wellbeing of people. When people live in the bondage of extreme deprivation, and at the same time, suffer from oppression, repression and humiliation, these conditions of unpeace congeal to form a social volcano that explodes in various forms of communal violence against society including rebellion or even terrorism.

The Plight of the Indigenous Peoples

Comprising the other oppressed sector whose survival is at risk from a killing society are the Indigenous Peoples, peaceful tribal communities living their traditional customs of centuries ago.

Since the Spanish times, when they were driven to the forests and uplands, they have not known peace. With ninety percent of our forest denuded, destroyed too were their natural hunting grounds, their habitat, their places of learning, their sources of medicines. They were driven further into their ancestral lands where mining companies, farm ranches corporate plantations, even subdivisions operate, resulting often in landgrabbing accompanied by forcible eviction, imprisonment and scorching of their villages, even summary execution. Add to these recruitment of their youth into armed conflict by the military and rebel groups, not to mention the constant threat of natural calamities such as droughts, rat infestations from deforestation, and the resulting bouts with disease and famine. This is today's situation with ten million Indigenous

Filipinos, struggling for survival in an inhospitable environment, in a non-caring, killing society.

The rights of our Indigenous Peoples can be classified into five categories. Allow me to share with you my views on these five rights in the light of Philippine realities. Our Indigenous Peoples, historically, were self-governing, self-nourishing and self-sustaining. The injustices over the centuries have not only destroyed this self-sufficiency but have aggravated their full human development.

1 . The right to self-determination, to live cultural traditions and customs in peace, free from political and ideological warfare, to be self-governing.

Such a right is violated when we consciously expose the vulnerable Indigenous Peoples to ideological warfare of the left and right forces, placing them in harm's way, compelling them to take sides, compounded by recruiting them as armed combatants, either as rebel insurgents or as military Cagfus, resulting in their killing one another, IPs against IPs. Thus, we violate their cultural and political integrity and their right to self-determination and self-governance.

On this score, in a workshop seminar case of Mindanao Regional Judges conducted by the Supreme Court on IPRA, the Judges unanimously upheld the indigenous traditional law over the rights of the military to recruit them into combat service.

The right to self-determination was preserved when we reconstituted the NCIP three years ago by using credible NGOs and POs to help conduct regional consultations where the commissioners were nominated by the indigenous communities themselves, thereby bypassing political interventions. It is our hope that this process will set the norm for future appointments to the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP).

2. The second right is the right to development, a development that is just, equitable and totally human, to be self-nourishing and self-sustaining.

This right is violated through neglect, the absence of basic services and the lack of access to development and the injustice is compounded when maldevelopment takes place resulting in the destruction of their natural habitat and with it their inherent capability to be self-nourishing and self-sustaining. It is a continuing injustice against their right to development of their full human potential.

3. Third is the right to education and empowerment, to enable them to be self-reliant.

Forefront in the advancement of this right is the private sector led by the ECIP-Southern Luzon in pursuing an Indigenous People's Educational System. The neglect of the public sector is almost a total abdication in providing, in accordance with IPRA, "a complete, adequate and integrated system of education, relevant to the needs of young people of ICCs/IPs." The large recruitment by the NPAs of IP children as child soldiers especially in Mindanao is a testament to this shameful public neglect.

4. The fourth right is the right to ancestral domain and its protection which is the right of IP communities to survival.

This perhaps is the most violated right of all, given the constant intrusion on IP lands. This is an injustice to the indigenous political and economic sovereignty by the wanton destruction of their natural habitat the disenfranchisement of their ancestral lands oftentimes accompanied by violent death, or arrest and imprisonment. It is a violation of the right to live in peace and security; an injustice against their right to life and property and their freedoms.

5. This brings us to the fifth right, the right to enjoy human freedoms, including freedom from fear, from hunger, from prejudice and discrimination, from oppression and armed conflict and freedom to live in peace.

Here again, I find both the left and the right forces equally guilty. Both the Military and NPAs are culpable in recruitment of IPs into armed conflict, in the case of NPAs, even the very young.

I find it abhorrent that the NPAs would execute two lumads by firing squad for the "crime" of being recruited as military agents when they would even recruit very young IPs for similar work. Both the military establishment's and the Communist party's explanation that these are volunteers not forcibly recruited should be rejected by the simple fact that such recruitment, as upheld by the Commission on Human Rights (CHR) is contrary to the IPRA. Since I have access to government, I have taken this cause to the highest levels. I wish those of you with access to the CPP-NDF-NPA would do likewise so that we can be of one mind and one heart in the protection of IP rights and not be influenced by ideological persuasions.

I find it equally abhorrent that in this day and age of enlightened democracy, our church partners in Mindanao who work for IP rights are being labeled by government forces as Communist sympathizers which puts them at risk considering the ongoing armed confrontation. This is the subject of a letter of Bishop Romulo Valles to President GMA and Secretary Ermita of DND. The IP Apostolate of the Diocese has documented accounts of torture of innocent IPs who were forced to admit their participation in the Communist rebellion.

I feel even more sad because it was I who led our Government Peace Panel in signing the first and only substantive agreement with the CPP-NDF-NPA on Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law to see that both sides are violating provisions specifically protecting indigenous peoples and on the part of the NPA, even the provision Protecting children from combat.

Still on this right to freedoms, I felt not only sad but ashamed when our Government threw out the Stavenhagen Report on the basis that it reflected the view only of the left. In my response to a DFA request for my opinion, I said it may be colored but by and large it correctly reflected the sad plight of the indigenous Filipinos, even after the historic enactment IPRA and its implementation, albeit tortuously slow.

As a matter of record, it was the unjust imprisonment of Datu Mantimo and three other members of his family in Kidapawan that led Assisi and the Ateneo Human Rights Center to launch the Free the IPs Program. To date, we have collated over a thousand cases of IPs who are still in prison for various charges. We suspect many of these cases are a

miscarriage of justice. Our partners in this program are the Supreme Court Administrator, the Department of Justice and the Bureau of Prisons.

Eventually, the greatest human right that the IPs would have to defend may be the right to survive.

With this situational reality of unpeace in the Muslim and Indigenous Peoples sectors in Mindanao, I come to my sixth proposition:

The root causes of our death-dealing society are so deep-rooted in our history of unjust structures that their eradication would require the whole of Filipino society to rise up from the present quagmire in a resurgence of patriotism and nationalism and love of fellowman, to cleanse and reform itself and thus, bring about the total transformation of our society.

How can this be accomplished? This brings me to the last segment my presentation.

VII. A Human Security Framework for Nations Transformation

This is my seventh and last proposition:

The process of national transformation begins with a shift from State security to a Human Security paradigm: (a) to govern and define human relationships with a new vision of life; (b) to embody principles of commonweal, nationhood and good governance, rooted in moral and traditional values; and (c) to adopt a common platform of peace and human freedoms, human rights and human development to advance the cause of a life-giving, life-sustaining society.

This new paradigm is the Human Security approach where justice and equity are the driving forces, and people are at the center of governance. The replacement of unjust structures that foment conflict and division with just structures that promote solidarity becomes the main thrust of governance.

"Human Security complements State security, enhances human rights and strengthens human development." This interlocking synergism is the most effective formula against insurgencies and rebellions, particularly when they are rooted in injustice and gross inequity as in Mindanao.

In a Human Security framework, people empowered to take charge of their own lives will protect the peace. This is the basic principle of

Tabang Mindanaw's Sanctuaries of Peace. The people who value their freedoms will find no place for need for rebellion.

The establishment of good, humane and just governance, the Deliverance of our people from crippling impoverishment, empowering them with freedoms and rights to take charge of their own lives, the eradication of the root causes of killing, these are the goals of human security.

As the shift from State Security to Human Security requires a radical redirection of governance, not easy without an inspired leadership, obviously the torch of this advocacy will have to be borne by the peace advocates.

To prove its viability, *Tabang Mindanaw* has developed with the Bishops of Mindanao, a Human Security Framework for IPs which the Mindanao Episcopal Commission for IPs is beginning to operationalize.

This Human Security Framework for IPs has three thrusts: (a) Community empowerment to strengthen IP organizations and IP leaders for self-determination and self-governance; (b) Development rights for the protection of ancestral domain and for integral human development for them to become self-nourishing; and (c) Peace and security for the attainment of the freedoms that come with human security for them to be self-sustaining.

Tabang Mindanaw is in the process of assisting the BangsaMoro Development Agency in designing a similar Human Security framework for the rehabilitation of the conflict-affected barangays of Mindanao which is its mandated work.

Conclusion

So, what is my answer to the conference question: Is a nonkilling society possible in the Philippines? If I answer NO, I will be calling God a liar because the command not to kill is from God and a nonkilling society is His intended destiny for us. On the other hand, if I answer YES, in the context of today's grave realities, I will be lying to myself because I know in my heart that our society is moving away from the pathways of God, and without a moral about-face, this aspiration for our society is not possible to attain.

I believe the day will come when God's commandment shall be fulfilled and all killing will stop as promised in Scripture; the lion will lay with the lamb, the child shall play with the viper. But when will that day be for us?

My conclusion therefore is that we are asking the wrong question, at the end of the day, the question is not whether a nonkilling society possible for us or not. The question is: do we have the desire and the will to make it happen, and how long shall we wait to muster the courage to begin this task, even if all odds appear to be against us and when all evil forces are conspiring against us.

We have spoken a lot about a killing society, a society that kills and devours its people. Have you ever heard of a nation dying, being killed by its own people? Two weeks ago I was with the venerable Justice Florentino Feliciano, a retired Justice of the Supreme Court who continues to serve our country in so many ways, a model Filipino and a true patriot. "We spoke of corruption in high places, in public life and in the private sector, even in corporate offices, and he remarked, almost casually, "They do not realize that they can cause this nation to disintegrate and die."

Fellow Filipinos, let us not waste little precious time debating whether our nation can renew its life-giving forces or will it succumb to the culture of corruption of body and spirit, a corruption that would bring death our nation. We have no other option but to act resolutely, with courage and a sense of purpose, determined that our society will survive and its ideals endure. Let us take our cue from St. Paul in Ephesians 6:

Put on the armor of God. Take the helmet of salvation and the sword of the spirit. Stand fast, with truth as your belt, justice as your breastplate, faith as your shield and the zeal for peace as your footgear.

The theologians tell us that justice is the highest form of love. We might add that love of fellowman is the highest manifestation of justice. There is no greater love than this, to act justly and if need be, to lay down your life for your friends.

On that note, I return to the original question: Is a nonkilling possible in the Philippines? The answer, my fellow citizens, is for you to decide.

CHAPTER 9

AMBASSADOR DEE'S CONCEPT OF A NONKILLING SOCIETY: SOME LIGHT AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL

Ma. Oliva Z. Domingo

When Dr. Jose V. Abueva gifted me with a copy of Dr. Paige's book late last year I was intrigued by the term "nonkilling society." I had never encountered it before. He informed me that the concept was gaining currency and assured me I would find the book very interesting. I started reading it but competing responsibilities forced me to lay it aside. When Dr. Abueva sent an e-mail about this lecture series, I picked up the book again and was then able to grasp the imperative for a wider discussion on the compelling issue of a nonkilling society.

I therefore wish to thank Dr. Abueva for the privilege of participating in this lecture series. I am particularly honored to give my reactions to the lecture of Ambassador Howard Q. Dee, 25 pages of which I was able to read last night, with the conclusion held in suspense and delivered as promised this afternoon.

I had the privilege of meeting Ambassador Dee in 2003 when he graciously consented to have the Assisi Development Foundation, where he is President, included in a study we are doing at the National College of Public Administration and Governance in U.P. The day I met ambassador Dee was special to me because it was also my husband's birthday. The Ambassador gave generously of his time and shared information we sought.

Today, Ambassador Dee tackles the question posed by this lecture series— *Is a nonkilling society possible in the Philippines?* — and frankly admits he is faced with a serious dilemma in answering the question. He proceeds by asking more questions. He sifts through historical, religious, social, and political realities to help him, and us as well, arrive at a reasonable conclusion. His long years of experience during times and in areas of

peace and conflict allow us to vicariously share his vivid pictures of stark Philippine realities, thus providing us insights on the nuances and complexities of the theme of this lecture series.

His process informs us that the "textbook definition" of a nonkilling society is insufficient for the Philippines, a country with a history "written in blood," a nation "born in blood." The absence of intention and means for lethality, he says, addresses but one face of the many forms that killing assumes. From a broader perspective, killing occurs when:

- unjust social, economic, political and even cultural structures expose certain disadvantaged sectors to high-risk situations hostile to their survival;
- regressive policies, practices, and prejudices cause aggression and bring death;
- inhumane relationships, miscarriages of law and justice, bad governance, inequity, injustice, discrimination, social exclusion, ethnic prejudice, hatred, revenge, and violation of human rights result in premature deaths; and
- materialism, consumerism, and secularism consume our society.

He notes the internal dissonance and lack of consistency among countries that espouse forms of nonkilling. While they forbid the death penalty they permit other forms of killing—abortion, euthanasia, or warfare. They do not kill or threaten to use force but engage in unfair competition or employ trade practices that bring hardship and misery to others and destroy their means of survival.

Ambassador Dee states that with the coming of Jesus Christ, it is no longer sufficient not to kill. One is called upon to show mercy. He notes that killing is a rejection of God and His command to love one another. He believes the aspiration for a nonkilling society is not possible when people and societies move away from God's ways. It is only through a

moral about-face, by turning away from sin, that a nonkilling society is possible.

More than just the absence of intention, means, and threats of killing, therefore, Ambassador Dee unfolds a clear vision of the nonkilling society we should aspire for. He does this by putting forward various propositions that transform the negative formulation into an urgent call for affirmative action. More than just a society that does not kill, a nonkilling society is a society that cares. It is a society:

- that saves, gives, and sustains life in all aspects, in all human activity and in all human relationships, internally among its own people and externally in dealing with the peoples of the world;
- of compassion and mercy;
- founded on the bedrock of moral values and spiritual virtues;
- that respects human rights, protects human freedoms, and promotes authentic total development of the human person, a development that is just, equitable, caring, and healing; and
- where the reign of justice governs all aspects of national life— social, cultural, economic, and political.

He lays out a desirable alternative to the pursuit of this kind of society, which he calls the Human Security paradigm. His approach focuses on the concerted effort of government, business, and civil society towards a total development agenda.

He concludes by refocusing the issue of the lecture series. The question should not be whether a nonkilling society is possible, he says. Rather, the question should be whether "we have the desire, the will, and the courage to make it happen, even if all the odds are against us and when all evil forces are conspiring against us."

Indeed, because our killing society is deeply rooted, we must work together to make a nonkilling society possible, for I believe that this society is not only desirable but also attainable. There is light at the end of the tunnel. The sources of this light are the following:

1. Despite our poor regard for government efforts, it is a fact that national and local governments have adopted people-centered development programs. The Minimum Basic Needs Approach or MBN is now a major component of the Integrated Local Development Management Approach popularized by the Department of Interior and Local Government. The Department of Social Welfare and Development has implemented the Comprehensive and Integrated Delivery of Social Services (CIDSS) since 1998. There are new programs and structures that address particular problem areas and sectors—the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW), National Anti-Poverty Commission (NAPC), National Commission on the Urban Poor (NCUP), National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP), and a Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process, to name a few. Government agencies are trying to be more responsive, relevant and responsible in addressing problems of poverty and related issues. These are just example of efforts that can contribute towards making a nonkilling society possible, although perhaps still a distant reality.

2. Business sector involvement in social issues is likewise expanding. More and more private companies are adopting a code of ethics and are extending more humane treatment and benefits to their workers. Exercising social responsibility and corporate citizenship, many of these companies provide services to marginalized communities. *Tabang Mindanao* is a multisectoral effort made possible by the dynamism of corporate philanthropy.

3. Adopting a "critical collaboration" stance, more and more Third Sector organizations are partnering with government to bring basic services to communities. They play a key role as they engage in programs and deliver services in areas where government is absent or where the private sector is not interested. They help victims of conflict, domestic abuse and violence, and natural or man-made tragedies to overcome trauma and regain their human dignity and place in society.

Environment

groups protect the environment to ensure its sustainability for generations to come. Microfinance and livelihood initiatives allow families and communities to enable entrepreneurship to flourish. Through capacity building programs and services, Third Sector organizations help empower individuals and communities to enable them to take a more active role in

issues affecting their lives. The spirit of volunteerism engages individuals and communities and channels their efforts towards building a better world and the foundations for a nonkilling and caring society.

The gospel today is a message for reflection for it says: *Everything is possible for those who believe* (Mark 9:24). The challenge then is for us to believe that a nonkilling society is possible so that the light at the end of the tunnel may not be too distant and may continue to grow brighter.

Ambassador Dee has issued the marching orders. Let us go and spread the gospel of love.

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CHAPTER 10

FOUNDATIONS FOR BUILDING A NONKILLING SOCIETY

Miriam C. Ferrer

While many of us are just beginning to imagine the makings of a violence-free world, Dr. Glenn D. Paige has already gone deep into the ramifications of how to get us to this ideal of a nonkilling world. He has already brought together the different elements (spiritual, scientific, theoretical, methodological) that are expectedly part of the discourse that will be set off when the question "Is a nonkilling world possible?" is posed.

He moreover has laid down the elements with which we can start making that future possible—the institutions needed, the reorientation and reevaluation that would be necessary, even the specifics of transforming a Department of Political Science into a nonkilling institute. Since I belong to one, I have been provided with very concrete steps to move forward.

To begin with, Dr. Paige's book will definitely be on my reading list to be assigned to my students when I teach Political Science 157 (Special Topic course on Peace Processes in the Philippines). It is one of the small steps I would like to make to get us nearer to a Nonkilling Political Science Department, nonkilling politics and political science, and eventually, a nonkilling Philippine and global society.

I was excited by the book. I was struck by what I think is the most powerful argument to say "yes" to the question being posed: "Most humans do not kill."

Let us test this proposition. How many in this room have physically killed another human being?

(There you are.)

We may argue that this small population of people gathered today here at the Ateneo is not exactly representative of human, or Filipino society. But it in any case constitutes a segment that can reinforce the

proposition. We may want to do a similar calculation, as Dr. Paige has done, as to what percent of the Filipino population has actually been responsible for the death of another person? (Fortunately, as we are neither a superpower nor colonizer, we as a nation or State have not been responsible for subjugation and deaths of another nation resulting from our State's aggression.)

And yet who knows but that some of you may end up a murderer-through fraternity violence, domestic violence, political violence. Indeed our jails are clogged with so many people accused precisely of one or another such infraction. Worse, many who have actually committed such crimes are out there, scot-free, safe from the reaches of the arm of the law, which in our country is dismally short.

Such situations constitute the other reality: that while most human beings—Filipinos included—do not kill, others do, and that most institutions of global society are incapable of preventing it, if not actually oriented toward enhancing capacities for violence.

Take it from a soldier who once told me: "It is better to kill than to be killed." He was a former MNLF combatant, recently integrated into the Philippine military. He gave this response when asked if he would not hesitate to kill a Muslim brother in the battlefield.

Understand the case of Fr. Nacorda, parish priest in Basilan, kidnapped by the Abu Sayyaf, witness to the hostage taking, beheading and rape many of his parishioners. A priest, he now carries a gun and has defended his right to do so.

These two cases reflect self-defense as the justification to kill or at least be ready to kill. Self-defense is a human right. Self-defense (along with insanity) is one of the few reasons by which one can be acquitted of the charge of murder. Self-defense is considered compatible with the basic right to life.

Unfortunately, there is a thin line between self-defense (in the case of the individual) or defense of sovereignty (in the case of States), and aggression. The Philippine State has traditionally used the defense of the sovereignty and of national interest to suspend our rights and freedoms, and wage wars against us. Individuals, meanwhile, have justified arming themselves because of high crime rates and other insecurities. But cases

of "road rage" and shooting sprees in bars indicate that gun ownership has been used too often for aggression.

There is also a thin line dividing revolutionary violence and plain and simple criminal violence. Some revolutionary groups for instance have not hesitated to kill policemen just to steal their arms in the course of their "agaw armas" operations. A gun for a life "in the service of the revolution" — the act is imbued with a higher purpose. Is it really different from killing a young student who refuses to give his/her cell phone? It would still involve sticking a knife or pulling a trigger. Truly, murder, to paraphrase a line in a movie, is a most intimate act. In the Communist left, there appears to be a dogmatic understanding of violence as a necessity to resolve class antagonism. Such a dogma has needlessly overridden basic respect for human life.

Philippine elections are notorious for the high number of election-related acts of violence that accompany the electoral exercise. In the last *barangay* (village) election in 2002, almost 200 people were killed. Last Saturday, the newspapers reported that in the first 10 days of the election campaign period that started February 9, 2004, 18 people had already died in poll-related violence.

The Philippines is obviously not a nonkilling society (yet).

But can we be one?

Granted, our worse side has led to tragedies such as burning of communities, pillage, torture and rape. Our institutions are weak and such weaknesses have made for lawlessness in the ranks of both the ruler and the ruled. But can our history and norms as a people provide us with some foundation for a nonkilling society? Can our institutions be transformed? Are we capable of creating new ones? Are our political and economic elites capable of becoming law-abiding citizens? Is the ordinary Filipino citizen likewise able to rise above self-interest and think of the good of the whole?

Like Dr Paige, I believe there are many precedents to say yes, it is possible. We can all get nearer that goal of a nonkilling society.

Before, in many societies including ours, women were not supposed to do certain things—wear pants, speak up, and take on roles in the community other than their child-rearing functions. Today, many of us women—men, too—are fully convinced of how wrong it was to limit

women's role. Not that there are no longer problems here nor in other parts of the world where the oppression of and violence against women remain extremely high. But increasingly we have transformed values and expectations and created support institutions that would allow women to achieve their human potential beyond the dictates of tradition and the dominant institutions.

Over time, there have been efforts to promote and codify rules of engagement that will enhance the environment for a nonviolent world. We see these in:

- human rights and international humanitarian law movements and conventions
- efforts at disarmament such as the nuclear-free and ban landmines campaign.
- our own Constitution which is committed to social justice and renounces war as an instrument of State policy, and our membership in international human rights movements.

Other than codification and signing of conventions, there are other stronger foundations on which to build a nonkilling Filipino society. Filipinos, we can say, already have a strong sense of human rights, civic values and democracy, important conditions to achieve a nonkilling civilization. Although democracy per se will not bring about a nonviolent world (among the most lethal States are democracies), it still provides a better condition for putting peaceful processes and new or transformed institutions in place.

Human rights, love of freedom and faith in collective action founded the resistance to Spanish colonialism. These values are articulated in the documents, newspapers and novels of the anti-colonial struggles. They are reflected in the founding papers and constitutions (1897 Constitution of Biak-na-Bato, 1899 Malolos Constitution) of the first Philippine Republic. The 1900 report of the Schurman Commission tasked by the US government to study the conditions in the Philippines noted that

“...what the people want, above everything is a guarantee of ...fundamental human rights ...”(Agpalo, 1996).

Pioneering political scientist Remigio E. Agpalo argued that human rights norms provide the basis for a Filipino liberal democracy, even though he (questionably) argued that such a regime can function best under a very strong and powerful presidency of the *pangulo*. Agpalo, however, makes the questionable conclusion that the Marcos martial law regime was a liberal democracy.

Indigenous communities are also potent sources of democratic norms and civic values. A study of grassroots leaders in Santiago, Isabela found that folk notions like *umili* ("being co-natural with one's surroundings, a sense of responsibility and participation") and *wayawaya* (rightness of mind and discipline, ability to make decisions and to have good thoughts) informed their understanding of democracy (Guanzon-Lapeña & Javier, 1997). Folk values and contemporary discourses on leadership introduced to them by the NGO, further enabled them to elaborate a more complex understanding of democracy. Conditions they associated with the presence of democracy were: when the relationship among members of a social structure is built on respect for individual's rights and freedom, and the recognition of the common good; when there is discussion, inquiry and tolerance; and when there is participation (*pakikilabok*). All these features are supportive of a peaceful/nonkilling way of life.

The struggle against dictatorship and the success of nonviolent people power to correct anomalous conditions have further reinforced these values and made their mark in our collective memory and socialization. Democratic conditions have further enabled civil society groups to flourish. These groups have kept watch over the State and have been important actors in development efforts and advocacy of alternative policies and institutions.

A foreign scholar of comparative politics wrote: "Inter-elite and elite-relations, set in the context of distinctive colonial legacies and socio-economic structures have produced in the Philippines greater experience with democratic procedures than in any other Southeast Asian country." (Case, 2002) He maintains, however, that while stable, the quality of democracy is low.

The quality of democracy and level of peace remain low not because of the people and their norms but more because of the corruption of our institutions by our political leaders, and correspondingly, the failure to fully reform these institutions so that they can perform their function well. It is very difficult, for example, to ensure that the military establishment is cleansed of corruption when those who are tasked with cleaning it up come with dirty hands. Moreover, one cannot expect the civilian section of government to whip the military in line when the former is dependent on the latter to stabilize its rule.

There are other problems to consider other than our weak institutions that easily become tools for furthering the vested interests of those in power. Our elites today are factionalized and some of them have also not ruled out the use of violence to secure their positions—thus the recent spate of coup attempts, NOEL (no election) and other destabilization scenarios. They fight their political wars using the respective institution under their control—the senate, the lower house, the judiciary and the executive.

Civil society groups also are divided on the best way to achieve social change, with a section espousing armed violence as a necessary strategy. In the meantime, poor governance and bad politics continue to leave unaddressed the major problems of poverty, including the difficult task of asset reform and redistribution.

Our society thus remains mired in divisive politics, armed conflict, crime, and all sorts of other violence.

To overcome these difficulties we need to:

- Strengthen and reorient State institutions through constitutional, legislative and administrative reform
- Continue to put pressure on political and economic elites to reform through specific interventions like electoral reform and anti-corruption measures.
- Continue to strengthen civic culture, and human rights and democratic norms through civil society organizing, capacity building and education.

- Achieve consensus on a comprehensive peace framework that links the different reform initiatives and addresses the roots, manifestations and impact of armed conflict and other forms of violence.

These difficulties notwithstanding, at the national and global level, we can discern forward movements.

The development of the peace movement in the post-1986 Philippines is an example. We have today a peace flank in civil society as well as in government. They endeavor to find ways and means to find a peaceful resolution to the armed conflicts, institute lasting peace, and inculcate the values of peace through peace education. Civil society peace-builders also play third party mediation roles to help advance the process of dialogue, and to guarantee representation and participation of civil society in the process. They link up with other reform advocates and civil society groups in the attempt to bring about comprehensive societal change.

Other signs give us hope, locally and globally. They may be symbolic up to a point, but they manifest an emerging trend in favor of the ways and goals of peace.

- from war museums, the creation of peace museums
- from war studies as degree programs, to peace studies
- from war zones, to promotion of the concept and possibilities of peace zones
- from the logic of arms race (MAD) to global disarmament, nuclear-free zones, and states without armies
- "warmongering" competing with "peacemongering" and the heightened currency of peace processes
- Dr. Paige's many examples of restructuring and reconfiguring going on, including his specific advocacy for a nonkilling global Political science away from the political science that may have only reinforced notions of the inevitability of violence.

Even though powerful forces or challengers continue to slow down or negate these initiatives, people persist. Such persistence is a testimony to how a conscience bloc will always emerge against all odds from among the populace.

But we must get our act together. Connect all the initiatives (institutional reform, community organizing, education and development programs) into one broad frame of peace. Bring together and address all the elements of peacelessness. The beauty of the peace/nonkilling framework is that it is able to weave together the perspectives and aspirations of other social movements (women/gender, sustainable development, agrarian reform, etc). Truly revolutionary, it equips us with the critical faculty to question and transform violence-accepting norms, practices, processes and institutions to violence-rejecting ones.

Before this largely academic community, I would now like us to think of all the exciting research topics or problems that the new nonkilling perspective of Dr. Paige have opened to us.

- Philippine history from a nonkilling perspective—What were the forms of non-violent resistance to colonialism (akin to politics of everyday resistance)? So far mainstream Philippine history writing has focused on the 1896 Philippine Revolution or war against Spanish colonialism. The Philippine Revolution has been glorified to the point of distortion such that its symbols are now being utilized for all sorts of political objectives. We have also parodied the last line in "Bayang Magilw" of our national anthem, changing it from "*ang mamatay nang dahil sa iyo*" to "*ang pumatay nang dahil sa iyo*". Similarly Bangsamoro resistance history has emphasized violent resistance to Spanish rule. But were there other forms of resistance? What was the cost of the various wars in our history from the perspective of both the colonized and the colonizer, the state and the armed revolutionary groups, and the affected communities? Filipino psychology and Philippine cultures—From the traditional concentration of studies on so-called Filipino values of *utang na loob* and *pakikisama*, let us have more studies on manifestations of values of peace, justice, and non-violence.

- Philippine society—How do Filipino families and other social institutions (religious, educational, recreational) socialize the youth toward a nonkilling society?
- Philippine folklore and literature, local histories—what do they tell us of prevalent ethics, norms and practices from the nonkilling perspective? How can these serve as seeds for education and action?

A brief scan of Damiana E. Eugenio's collection of Philippine proverbs (Eugenio, 1992) rendered samples like these to give us working insights:

Huwag gawing patayo ang magagawang paupo. (*Don't do standing up what you can do sitting down.*)

Ang galit mo ngayon ay bukas mo ipatuloy. (*Let your anger today pass the next day.*)

Kimatayan sa sala, Hohium sa naca sala. (*Kill the sin but save the sinner.*
Bukidnon)

Ania ti gn-awa no natayca metten.? (*Of what good is success when you are dead?*
Ilocano)

Here's a Tausug counterpart of end not justifying the means:

Ayau mo in kabuipila a ba kawa'an mo bunga. (Do not cut the tree to get the fruit.) On the other hand: *Bunub kaw bangpub, ayau kang mamunu' ba hambu'uk.* (Kill ten. Don't kill one.)

Warat matalumnga indi maloso.

Kag warat matilimis nga indi masulpo.

(*There is no violence that cannot be stopped.* Kinaray-a)

"*He who kills with a weapon, will also die by a weapon*" has counterparts in Bicol, Iloco, and Pangasinan languages.

Eugenio found that prudence (along with thrift, perseverance, respect, gratitude and hospitality) is a desired value in many of Philippine proverbs—prudence in behavior through avoidance of evil and by doing things slowly and thoughtfully. Such value is not to be equated with

cowardice as other proverbs show the need to have courage and daring when appropriate.

- Public policy—What appropriate policy approaches should be taken on matters such as capital punishment, security sector reform, the peace processes?
- Comparative study of transitions—In political science, currently focused on democratic transitions. Why not broaden transition studies to encompass transition from violent to non-violent/killing polities/societies?

The outcome of these studies can help us appraise what ethical, institutional, historical and cultural resources we already have, and what we need or have to overcome to get nearer our goal.

Let me now close with an English idiom that succinctly captures message of the nonkilling way of life: Live and let live!

In Filipino, *mabubay tayong labat!*

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CHAPTER 11

PEACEFUL POLITICS IN A NONKILLING SOCIETY

Risa Hontiveros-Baraquel

The use of the term "non-killing society" reminds me of the ongoing discussions on re-imagining or redesigning the nation-state because of the way the term focuses on people to people interactions and engagements and common work for this ideal. It focuses on the role that each individual plays within different spheres in our society, whether they be the State, or the private sector, or civil society, roles in peace-building and institutional and cultural reform.

In her paper, Iye (Miriam Ferrer) noted that the Constitution renounces war as an instrument of State policy. This has served as the inspiration for various initiatives in the past perhaps half decade of trying to forge a national peace policy. On this the long-time peace advocate, Ed Garcia, delivered a lecture to some senators a couple of years ago, and at least one bill was introduced in the House of Representatives through Congressman James Jacob of Camarines Sur with the help of another of our comrades in the peace movement. Soliman Santos sought to define a peace policy to guide the government's peace initiatives whichever administration is in power. Iye referred to this in her lecture when she talked about a comprehensive peace framework.

As a member of the Government Peace Panel, I joined Ging Deles (Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process) and other colleagues in our most recent talks in Oslo with the National Democratic Front, including the Communist Party of the Philippines and its New People's Army. Coming home, I read in the in-flight magazine about an Amish community in Pennsylvania which always consults its members before admitting any new technology into their economy. Their main question is, will this new technology bring us closer together, or will it push us further apart? I loved the story, and hearing about the "science and skills" in Dr. Paige's

"science, skills and songs," I am reminded about this very ancient and at the same time very timely criterion- in this modern world—for deciding what sciences and technologies to adopt, in engaging in and resolving conflicts, that are most helpful in moving towards a non-killing society.

I was excited by Iye's point about writing and reading Philippine history from a non-killing perspective. She pointed out that there are forms of non-violent resistance to colonialism and everyday forms of resistance which in turn remind us about the strategies and tactics of active nonviolence, withdrawal of support from oppressive situations and structures, and non-participation. It's another way of writing and reading history from the underside, under all the stories about Spanish, American, or Japanese colonial armies, and our own revolutionary armies for national liberation.

I was also excited by the attention she gave to Philippine folklore and literature and local histories. That's the "songs" part of Dr. Paige's "science, skills and songs," the powerful role that our cultures and forms play in reinforcing our being embedded in a killing society but which can also open our minds and lead our feet towards a non-killing society. It was affirming to hear about proverbs of the Tagalog people, who are the people of my mother, and from the Kinaray-a language, which is the upland language of my father's people, proverbs that reflect indigenous values of peace-making and peace-building which we can also reflect on in generating resources for building a non-killing society.

The point about the media is very relevant to me as a practitioner for fifteen years who is still involved in alternative and independent media, especially given the broadcast media's preoccupation with war and crime and paying too little attention to peace-making and peace-building efforts along the six paths to peace that Ging Deles shared with us earlier, especially at the grassroots level.

When Iye spoke about strengthening and reorienting the military and police institutions, I was reminded how important and timely discussions today about security sector reforms and peace processes. Also questions about military modernization, police professionalization and alternative models of defense which Gandhi, Galtung, and now, Dr. Paige, are challenging us to reflect upon, models of defense that rely not solely

or even primarily on military preparedness and mobilization, but on the mobilization of the consciousness and actions of we, the citizens in each country. And not just in our individual countries but people-to-people contacts across national borders in the international community of peace advocates.

Iye pointed out the dilemma in killing in self-defense in the realm of human rights, a legal defense being made as being compatible with the right to life, the thin line between self-defense and aggression. This is a very real and painful dilemma. I fell in love with Gandhi and active nonviolence in high school and have tried to learn more about that way of life through the years. But I still don't have the answer to a situation in which one of my children would be threatened with physical attack, and I'm too far away to place myself between my child and that person, but somehow there was a gun or another weapon close by. What would be my alternative there? I've never fired a gun, and signed up for the Gunless Society signature campaign, but I'm not yet there and still don't know how I would react in that situation. An illustration that violence and peace begin in the hearts and minds of men and women and radiate outwards so that we can recreate our society.

Iye spoke about the thin line between revolutionary violence and criminal violence and the very timely problem of election-related violence. There was a campaign called the Compact for Peaceful Elections in May 2004. This was convened by the Consortium on Electoral Reform and Akbayan, with the Kapisanan ng mga Brodkaster sa Pilipinas, the Caucus of Development NGO Networks and the Philippine Business for Social Progress as national monitors, the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines as observer, and peace and electoral reform advocates in countries like Sweden, Switzerland, Germany and the Scandinavian countries willing to act as international election observers if the Commission on Elections would authorize it. The Compact, which the five leading presidential candidates personally committed to called on all armed groups from the far right to the extreme left to comply with the demands emanating especially from local networks of advocates. These are commands against the use of violence, harassment, collection of money

for permits to campaign, or similar fees, and coup threats during the campaign and election.

Are the elites capable of becoming law-abiding citizens? That question of Iye's reminded me of one of Randy David's many inspirational columns, entitled "The middle class and the poor." He said that it is the support of middle class people who want to participate in the process of change, in partnership with the long-standing organizing and educational efforts of the poor and disempowered among their own ranks, and the solidarity between these two great forces in our society that has enabled, and can do so again, many peaceful changes whether in resistance against colonization or oppression or enabling progressive options to emerge even in the election.

When Iye used the term "non-killing civilization," I felt this question is infinitely more helpful and useful than talking about "the clash of civilizations." It helps us to understand the roots of conflict within and between ourselves, prevents us from simplifying issues and demonizing each other, and tells us that building a non-killing society is not mechanistic process. It involves the rebuilding of our own consciousness and communities.

She spoke about the links between democracy or democratization and the building of non-killing societies. I just came from Miriam College this morning, where four of us were asked to speak on deepening democratization process. One of the points that the students and we came to a consensus on was the need to continue working on the process of completing political democratization, and to fully extend this promise of the Edsa Revolution (Edsa Uno) and Edsa Dos—we need to inquire about this more even within Edsa Tres—we need to extend this people power and democracy more fully into the realm of the economy and society. In this way, progressively, we can come up with more effective responses in rooting out structural violence and presenting effective alternatives to revolutionary violence.

In a forum in transforming strategic studies into peace studies, a Thai professor spoke about strategic non-violence in her university as now being included in the national security framework. She welcomed this development. I affirmed her, but also said that perhaps we need to watch

out for cooptation. In the non-violence framework there should be more challenge, critique, and search for alternatives to the national security framework.

Finally, let us uphold, rather than those worldviews in which we have done so much violence to each other and wasted so many opportunities for peacebuilding, those worldviews that may animate us towards building non-killing societies all around our world.

Mabuhay! Live and let live!

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CHAPTER 12

THE POSSIBILITY OF A NONKILLING SOCIETY IS THOROUGHLY CONVINCING AND EXTREMELY PRACTICAL

TERESTA QUINTOS-DELES

Dr. Paige's thesis is a thoroughly convincing one, and extremely practical especially for those like us who are charged with the shepherding of nonkilling institutions. Dr. Paige has provided many useful lenses for both academe and activists, and it is these lenses that I use in examining the potential of Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP) for bringing about a nonkilling transformation.

This presentation will dwell on three theses: One, that OPAPP is premised on the possibilities of nonkilling; two, that OPAPP operates with social realities steeped with lethal legacies, therefore there is need to transform these legacies using our people's demonstrated capacities for nonkilling; and three, that these shifts will require institutional expressions (in what Dr. Paige has termed "science, skills, and songs"), the broad outlines of which are in a document which I have asked the conference organizers to distribute.

For thesis one: OPAPP's creation resulted from lessons on peace-making and peace-building drawn from the experiences of a cross-section Philippine society: church, business sector, civil society, government, and communities. We find in OPAPP a template for ways of doing and thinking peace that were very much a result of the early struggles of peace advocates in the country. In short, OPAPP was influenced by sectors in our society whose orientations has been to stop killing.

Two main documents on the history of OPAPP serve as a reference to complement this presentation: one by former OPAPP Secretary Ermita, and the other by former OPAPP Executive Director, Ms. Binky Dalupan.

For my presentation, I draw highlights mainly from the history as seen by civil society. This is the perspective most familiar to me, having taken

a part in it; but the main rationale I see for doing this is to complete the telling of history, and to illustrate the range of influences that shape OPAPP as an institution.

Briefly, I show here the early influences, or the precursors of peace-making and peace-building that arose in the early days of struggles in the peace front. My paper provides a more detailed story, but, since my main objective is to show influences, I sum up in the various strains of thoughts and actions that would later find their way into the formal mechanisms of government, mainly in OPAPP. We see here the very first experiments with the idea of mediation by a "third party" (civil society would later nuance that communities are actually first, not third, party), the need for a more comprehensive framework to peace that would address the roots of conflict, the first community-based experiments with unilateral ceasefires, the first stirrings of peace zones, the possibilities of partnering with sectors in strategic thinking for peace.

The birthing of OPAPP arose from a participatory process facilitated by what was then the National Unification Commission. This was President Ramos' response to the clamor of civil society then to properly situate amnesty within a larger and participatory process. The results of these consultations were used as input into Executive Order Number 125 which created OPAPP.

OPAPP's mandate situates it squarely in the business of nonkilling with the six paths to peace and the principles fully articulated as well. Briefly, the six paths to peace involve: (1) social reforms; (2) consensus building and empowerment; (3) peace talks; (4) reconciliation, (5) protection of civilians and (6) building a positive climate for peace. The principles are equally affirming, as follows (1) the peace process must be community-based and exclusive, embracing not only the contending groups but all Filipinos as one community; (2) the peace process must strive to forge a just, equitable, humane and pluralistic society; and (3) the peace process must aim for a principled and peaceful resolution armed conflicts, with neither blame nor surrender, but with dignity all concerned.

This is OPAPP in a nutshell. What brought this about? Dr. Paige referred to the "causes of the transition to nonkilling," and this brings me to the next two sections.

The paths to peace came about as a reaction to the legacies of our past. These legacies have moved peace advocates to create what Dr. Paige called "a widening fan of non-violent alternatives." These legacies remain to affect us today. We do not often get this chance to examine them closely. But as a response to Dr. Paige's question about what helps the transitions to nonkilling, a review of these legacies has helped me find new insights in examining the institutional potential of OPAPP for a nonkilling transformation. More importantly, it has helped me discover our real gifts as a nation, our unique capacities for pursuing peace and a nonkilling society.

Let me just briefly define "lethal legacies" as those elements that we have acquired through time and history which tended to reinforce the potential to kill, or, from the perspective of the peace process, our society's potential for armed conflict. Briefly, I see three: (1) a legacy that upholds power as having no strength of its own if not enforced through violent or coercive force; (2) a legacy of contested identities; and (3) a legacy of collective trauma and amnesia.

The lethal relationship between power and force, I would like to believe, is not innate in our culture. It was brought to us by outsiders who, in an attempt to rule over our nation (and our nation's cohesive societies), resorted to borrowing strength from violent or coercive force. Thus, even after peaceful overthrow of a dictator, and even deeper into our past after liberation from our colonizers, we have had to confront, time and again, the persisting tendency of sections in our society to exercise power in a lethal way. Due to limitations in time I cannot dwell on the details of our history, but I know that all of us know what this is. This is the exercise of power that is predominantly antagonistic, violent, repressive, coercive; that has little regard for life; intolerant of differences and disagreements; and that has a penchant for macho gestures and quick fix.

These have had serious implications on the peace process. The capacity to kill massively, the capacity for lethality, remains to be regarded as necessary to enable one to bargain from a position of strength. The real

source of power does not emerge. Peoples and communities lose voice and space amid the more expressive violent forms of power. The peace process becomes complicated, as layers and layers of power are created superficially.

In finding a way to transition, we look at a different approximation of power, one that is closer to our nature. In this I find that our tendency as a people has been to enforce our power through our lifeways and cultures, to operate it outside the realm of institutional politics. We operate a distinct kind of "force field," I would say, one that is less overt, but more pervasive. It is the kind of power that has launched us to peaceful People Power revolutions instead of riotous upheavals, that brought about peace zone that supplanted forces of coercion and violence, and that has sustained our subtle rebellions against the formal authorities of our colonizers, as if to say, no one can ever really conquer our soul as a nation.

This kind of power has a force that can sustain itself in a non-violent way. For OPAPP, as an institution, this is a lot to think about. The institutional requirements of OPAPP must be made to draw closely from the power that sustains communities. Which is why, there should stronger institutional directions toward community-based programs for peace, leadership programs in conflict-affected areas, and reviving constituencies for peace.

The second legacy is the legacy of contested identities. Every time I sit at the negotiation table in behalf of government, I bear this in mind. That parties put at stake not only their interests in terms of gains and losses, but mainly, and more importantly, their identity and their sense of security about their identity. That we recognize not only interests, but identities. This has been the proverbial thorn on our side as negotiations get stalled by assertions of autonomy and belligerency. Operationally, this has become very difficult to address. But, in terms of the paths to peace and the principles to peace that guide us, the bottom lines remain unchanged. It is the mechanics that are giving us difficulties, not bottom lines. And I would like to believe, too, that the misunderstanding concerning identities are more circumstantial than intentional. Our history, replete with colonization, bears a legacy of contested identities. This is the wound that we are trying to heal through the peace process.

The shift will therefore require the same, old spirit that I have asserted time and again: that the kind of peace that will sustain us is one that is owned and sustained by the broadest numbers, one which respects and reflects the richness of our differences. We are a nation of enormous diversity, and we cannot insist on a peace that shows only a monochrome of shades. The kind of peace that will sustain us is a rainbow kind of peace.

How does this bear on OPAPP as an institution? OPAPP will have to enlarge the voices of contested identities—the Moro groups, the lumads, the marginalized sectors, and the women. OPAPP will have to build a constituency of peace within government and without that has a true recognition and appreciation of our reality as a nation of enormous diversity.

The third legacy is the legacy of collective trauma and amnesia. The Filipino nation and every community, social group and sector suffering from the harsh experience of oppression—from authoritarian rule, from colonizers, from mainstream societies—have had to live with a traumatized collective memory that also tends to lead to collective amnesia.

Because of this tendency toward collective amnesia, "habits" of conflict are never laid to rest. Power relations are not critically analyzed and consciously revised, and the legitimacy of stakeholders is never fully acknowledged and recognized. If the predominant approach to a conflict-ridden past is to ignore, avoid, and repress, conflict resolution skills will not develop, neither our capacity to build a gentler world.

The shift will require genuine healing and reconciliation—dealing guilt, with questions of truth and the justice it demands, naming and the punishment of excesses and abuses committed by all sides of the armed conflict.

For OPAPP, institutionally, this will require a stronger complementation between development projects in conflict areas, and intervention for genuine healing and reconciliation. Communities must be enabled to creatively deal with their collective trauma. For this, there will be a lot to think about, institutionally. I would say that in this area, I find a lot of homework for OPAPP, in terms of reviewing, integrating and strengthening government's approaches to healing and reconciliation. Some initial thinking is being done about transitional justice, which may

benefit from the wisdom of the group gathered here this morning. This I will be willing to discuss with some of you maybe on a separate occasion.

Finally, to close this presentation, I would like to just say that the way to transition to a nonkilling society, to one of genuine peace and reconciliation, will require the mediation of women.

We know that peace efforts on the ground have grown mainly from the steadfast attention and tending of many women. Women understand the requirements of peace.

Women, together with their children, suffer more from war. They suffer as direct victims who are sometimes raped and sexually-abused before they are killed, or as survivors whose communities are disturbed or dispersed and must find ways to feed and clothe their children in often dangerous conditions.

Women are culture bearers, as culture and tradition have given to women the almost exclusive responsibility for the care of the children in society. As mothers—even those who do not bear children are often asked to help mother children not their own—and constituting the majority of teachers in our schools, women transmit values, attitudes, lifeways and skills to our children from their birth and early childhood. Women thus have a key role in establishing a culture of peace.

Women have been allowed to be emotional, they have been allowed to think that emotions are important. Thus, more than men, they have been led to value not only what is material. They have had more cause to realize that pain and joy and other emotions that people feel because of what is happening in their family, community, and society are important and must be paid attention to. This experience provides women with a potential source of connection with inner life and because of this, with other people, particularly other women—even on the other side of the conflict.

Women have a different experience of conflict and conflict resolution. This comes from the traditional role women have been given to play in the home. In trying to handle conflict at home, women try to see how two sides can end up happy because they are both members of the family. There are skills and experiences that women have developed at home

that need to be brought out to the public arena, to the policy table and to the hallways of public leadership.

While women have all of these important perspectives to bring to the task of peacemaking, the reality is that women have been excluded from the peace negotiating table and from discussion and decisions on matters of war and peace. But now, women have begun to come in, in steady streams and at various levels, influencing and leading the paths that lead to peace.

Women have lived at the margins and so it is possible that women may know a way of transforming the mainstream away from violence and war to a world of peace that this generation can bequeath of all its children, to all its daughters and sons who will inherit the future.

Women's gifts, women's truth, women's courage show us the way to transformation. I would like to believe that the implications of this assertion will be borne not only by OPAPP but by all of our institutions that have the potential for nonkilling transformation.

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CHAPTER 13

REVERSING OUR CONDITIONING THAT KILLING AND VIOLENCE ARE INEVITABLE

Loreta N. Castro

I particularly like the comprehensiveness of Secretary Ging Deles' lecture. I also find it very insightful; it is insight that comes from her very rich and long experience as a leading peace advocate in our country. Her being at the helm of the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP) is truly a positive development because I consider her as someone very much prepared for the work. She does not only think peace but lives it, and actively advocates it.

Her analysis of the national context within which OPAPP operates informs us of the lethal legacies in our country, but it reminds us, too, of our legacy of nonviolence. As she delves into those legacies, she acknowledges the roots of the problems in a forthright manner and proposes what can be done, particularly through the leadership of OPAPP that she now heads.

Secretary Deles indicates her clear and comprehensive vision as to what OPAPP, in particular, can and must accomplish to make it a more effective "nonkilling institution." I say it is a comprehensive vision because her thoughts on nonkilling assert a wide spectrum of positive and non-violent alternatives that need to be worked on, and these alternatives include the political, economic and socio-cultural spheres, as well as the personal and institutional levels of acting, and the mediating role of women.

Coming from the peace education field, I wish to offer the comment that one pathway towards the vision of a comprehensive peace is through education. Secretary Deles referred to building a peace constituency and I believe that through peace education, both in the formal and nonformal contexts, we can steadily make this peace constituency grow. The hope

is, of course, to build a critical mass of people, young and old, who *delegitimize* killing, armed conflict and war as a mode of conflict resolution. But this is only half of the task, as the other half is to enable this same critical mass to be convinced about the need to work for justice and to build institutions that are equitable and participatory.

So, is a non-killing society possible? Secretary Deles has implied a Yes response. My own response is Yes. And this is why I have now dedicated my energies to peace education and peace advocacy. We need to help people understand that killing is not in our human nature, and violence is the result of our social and cultural conditioning. Hence, it is a conditioning that we need to reverse, and peace education is one way by which we can work for this reversal. We may not see this reversal or transformation within our lifetime but peace educators are steadfast in their conviction and hope that killing, armed conflict and even war will eventually go, the way slavery went, if a critical mass in our society begins working for the conditions and structures that support nonkilling and the abolition of war as the more legitimate, ethical and practical alternative.

Finally, I wish to state that in this task of building peace and a peace constituency, it is good for groups to work together, in the spirit of solidarity, government and non-government, to make the results more fruitful. The Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP), the Department of Education and non-governmental groups such as our Center have tried this collaboration route and we are encouraged by the results of such cooperation. Indeed, it can be said that meaningful gains can be made, if we join our minds and hearts, our spirit and will towards action.

CHAPTER 14

YES, A NONKILLING SOCIETY IS POSSIBLE

Reynaldo D. Pacbeco

At the outset, let me first thank the Aurora Aragon Quezon Peace Foundation, the Concerned Women of the Philippines, the Ateneo de Manila University, for making this important event possible. In particular I would like to thank Dr. Jose V. Abueva, President of Kalayaan College, for inviting me to take part in the AAQPF University Lectures. Special thanks to Dr. Glenn D. Paige for his inspiring book, *Nonkilling Global Political Science*. If it were not for this book we would not be here today.

What is a nonkilling society?

According to its proponent Dr. Glenn D. Paige, "A nonkilling society is a human community, smallest to largest, local to global, characterized by no killing of humans and no threat to kill; *no weapons* designed to kill humans and no justification for using them; and no conditions of society dependent upon threat or use of killing force for maintenance or change...." (Paige: 1) (Emphasis supplied).

Is a nonkilling society possible?

My answer is yes.

The starting point for a nonkilling society is the belief it is possible. Civilization begins in the imagination. The wild dream is the first step to reality. It is a direction-finder by which people locate higher goals and discern their highest selves.

The only safe assumption for human beings is that the world will be what we make it.

Says Norman Cousins, a renowned American author and editor, "Within broad margins, the movement of history will continue to be

connected to human desires. Our dreams and not our predictions are the great energizers. Those dreams may at times be murky and beyond realization. Dreams put human beings in motion. If the dreams are good enough, they can overcome happenstance and paradox; and the end product will be far more solid than the practical designs of men with no poetry in their souls" (Cousins: 49).

I fully agree with Dr Paige's statement: "The possibility of a nonkilling society is rooted in human experience and creative possibilities. The vast majority of human beings have not killed and do not kill. Although we are capable of killing, we are not by nature compelled to kill. However imperfectly followed, the main teaching of the great spiritual traditions is: *respect life, do not kill*" (Paige: 68).

The human species is unique because it alone can create, recognize, and exercise options. This means it can do things for the first time. We can reasonably argue, therefore, that human beings are equal to their needs, that a problem can be resolved if it can be perceived, that progress is what is left over after the seemingly impossible has been retired, and that the crisis today in human affairs is represented not by the absence of human capacity, but by the failure to recognize that the capacity exists.

Indeed, creating a nonkilling society is possible, because killing or nonkilling is a human act. But every human activity that flows from the normal processes of intellect and will has a moral dimension, since it may hurt or benefit people, it may lead to grace or to sin.

Archbishop Fulton J. Sheen has made a very clear description of a human being. He said: "A human being is very complex, made up of body and soul; flesh and spirit; sensate in his love of pleasure, but rational in thoughts and ideals. The character each of us creates depends on whether we give primacy to the body or to the soul. 'No man can serve two masters.' It is easy to let the body, or the senses, or carnal pleasure dominate. All we have to do is to 'let go.' But it is very hard to have the spirit and the soul and ideals dominate. This requires a harnessing of the sensate and a disciplining of our lower appetites" (Sheen: 98).

Is it possible to be an optimist in a world which has turned most of its organized brain power and energy into the systematic means for debasing life or mutilating it or scorching it or obliterating it?

Yes, it is possible to be an optimist in today's world. It is necessary only to attach oneself confidently to a plan for accomplishing an essential purpose and then help bring that plan to life with advocacy and work.

Optimism supplies the basic energy of civilization. Optimism doesn't wait on facts. It deals with prospects. Pessimism is a waste of time. Nothing is easier than to turn cynical; nothing is more essential than to avoid it. For the ultimate penalty of cynicism is not that the individual will come to distrust others but that he will come to distrust himself. It is not necessary, in order to avoid cynicism, to believe blindly that human beings are always good. It is necessary only to scrutinize history.

Cynicism is intellectual treason. If we fail or fall back, it will be because too many men turned sour and because they scorned their own possibilities. The job before us today is not to scoff but to prod. Those of our intellectuals who moan the most about the disappearance of high ideals are providing us with a confession of their own critical shortages. A person with a real ideal has no time for despair (Cousins: 48).

What is the Philippine situation today?

We are "free." But we are far from safe. From the time of President Corazon Aquino up to the present administration of President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo, the principal concern of the Filipino people and the foreigners residing in our country continues to be the absence of peace and order, fear for their personal safety caused by the proliferation of arms—whether licensed or unlicensed—and drugs. They know they are not safe anywhere, anytime. Anybody can be shot. With guns everywhere, no one is safe. We are all in a lottery where the likelihood of anyone being shot grows every day. A society where political or personal differences are settled by blazing guns, where ideologies are advanced through the use of violence, where lawless elements are free to strike terror whenever they choose, where guns and violence are glorified as a desirable culture, and above all, a society which does nothing to counter the cult of violence cannot be a healthy one. And an unhealthy society cannot breed economic well-being for its people. Loose firearms are proliferating. A mere traffic altercation or a petty discussion can cost someone his/her life.

Not a day passes without a single gun-related incident being registered in the police blotter, or reported in the news media—print, radio and television.

Willy-nilly, the government (all past administrations) has been promoting the culture of death and violence, and gunocracy through existing laws and policies. Police departments in South Korea, Malaysia, Singapore, Japan, Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand, United Kingdom, to name a few, are strong advocates of gun control. In the Philippine our own PNP is perceived to be a supporter of the pro-gun lobby. Privately owned cars of police officers parked in Camp Crame carry pro-guns stickers. On TV and on radio, in the cinema, and print media, gun violence is glorified and worshipped as a desirable pursuit, and over our cities and towns, huge movie billboards seek to make folk heroes of gun-toting actors, adversely affecting the minds of our young. Gun shows are held at malls. No matter how the organizers sugar-coat the arms trade ("promotion of responsible gun ownership and support of government's campaign against loose firearms"), the naked objective of the show is to foster the gun culture that has strongly contributed to the rise of violence in our country. Gun stores proliferate in the cities. Still in many stores, toys of violence or sophisticated toy guns abound and parents willingly buy for their children, hardly realizing that they are transmitting to their young ones a false signal.

Having a gun or bodyguards is a status symbol. Sports whose main objective is to inflict physical harm and violence on the opponent is encouraged and the champion glorified by the government, the media and majority of the people. Imposition of the death penalty is in our statute books. Killing to show that killing is wrong is a piercing contradiction. Torture to extract confession is not uncommon. Sports, like boxing, whose main objective is to inflict physical harm or violence on the opponent is promoted and the champion hailed as hero. It seems strange that boxers are not allowed to hit below the belt, but can fatally pound their opponent's head. In sum, the country's total environment promotes the culture of death and violence.

What the Second Plenary Council of the Philippines said some 13 years ago is still valid today: "The context of our socio-economic and political situation today is partly one of violence and counter-violence,

institutionalized or otherwise. In such context it is easy to succumb to the temptation to use conflict as the means to liberation. But history teaches that there are sources of progress other than conflict, namely love and right. This priority of love in history draws other Christians to prefer the way of nonviolent action.... *Nonviolence is a quality of the love of Jesus Christ. So radically new was his love that he obliged his followers: "Love your enemies."*

"...A strategy of nonviolence requires solidarity of spirit as well as of action. For this reason, we reemphasize the lesson of our recent historic liberating moment. The active non-violence of 'people power' in 1986 begot freedom. The move towards a 'gunless society' advocated by many concerned Filipinos is illustrative of the strategy and of the spirit of active non-violence" (Second Plenary Council: 106-107).

What causes war, conflict, killing?

To put things in their perspective, let me quote again from Fulton Sheen:

"There are actually two causes of war, the external and the internal. The external causes of war, according to William Penn, are three: to keep, to add, and to recover."

"Of the internal causes of war, Saint James gives the best explanation.

What leads to war, what leads to quarrelling among you?

I will tell you what leads to them;

The appetites which infest your mortal bodies.

War comes from egotism and selfishness. Every world war has its origin in microcosmic wars going on inside millions and millions of individuals.

"The civil war on the inside (of man) is between what he thinks he is and what he actually is, between the way God made him and the way he made himself, between the moral law that *ought* to govern his life and the selfishness that actually determines his actions. When civil wars are waged in the minds of men and women in the world, they produce psychoses, neuroses, fears and anxieties. Multiply individual strife by millions, and there is a world war.

"What good does it do to abolish the external conditions of war if the internal conditions of selfishness, hatred of neighbor, bigotry and intolerance, and forgetfulness of God continue to exist? Wars are not caused solely by aggression or tyranny from without, for unless there had been the spirit of selfishness in some minds, there could never be aggression. Nothing ever happens in the world that does not happen first inside human hearts. *War is actually a projection of our own wickedness; our forgetfulness of God has more to do with war than is generally believed.*

"God has implanted certain laws in the universe by which things attain their proper perfection.... To the extent that we obey God's will, we are happy and at peace; to the extent that we freely disobey it, we hurt ourselves—and this consequence we call judgment....

"No one who overdrinks wills the headache, but he gets one; no man who sins wills frustration or loneliness of soul, but he feels it. In breaking a law we always suffer certain consequences which we never intended. *God so made the world that certain effects follow certain causes*" (Sheen: 22-24) (Emphasis supplied).

In a violent environment, is a nonkilling society possible in the Philippines?

My answer is Yes. As I said earlier, to kill or not to kill is a human act. All that one needs to do is to decide—decide whether to do good or to do evil. And implement that decision. It is the people who have to decide. It is you and I who have to decide.

One good thing is that we are not being asked to do the impossible. We are not being asked to rearrange the planets in the sky or change the composition of the sun. What is being asked of us is simply to rearrange our priorities in life. Shall we choose life, or shall we choose death?

A nonkilling society, however, presupposes the existence of certain conditions, the first of which is the presence of peace.

The condition of peace necessary for a nonkilling society raises the question: what kind of peace should we have?

Is it the peace that the world gives—the peace that is based on the principle of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," a peace-based on armaments and might.

Or, is it the peace that Christ gives?

Peace is known only as a word but not as a living personal reality. We all say we want peace, but we are not at peace. We are peacelovers but not necessarily peacemakers. Why is there no peace in our country; why is there no peace in the world?

The obvious answer is that we have opted for the peace that the world gives. Are we prepared to reconsider our answer?

Jesus Christ said to his disciples: *"Peace I bequeath to you, my peace I give to you, a peace the world cannot give, this is my gift to you"* (John 14:27). So in our search for peace we want to be sure that we are doing all in our power to be open to the peace that is our Lord's gift.

Jesus also said: *"Happy are the peacemakers: they shall be called children of God"* (Matthew 5:9).

From the Ten Commandments we have this injunction: *"You shall not kill"* (Exodus 20:13; Deuteronomy 5:17).

The New Law about Retaliation says: *"You have heard that it was said, 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.' But what I say to you, offer no resistance to one who is evil. When someone strikes you on your right cheek, turn the other to him as well"* (Matthew 5:38-39).

The Teaching about Anger is: *"You have heard that it was said to your ancestors, You shall not kill; and whoever kills will be liable to judgment. But I say to you, whoever is angry with his brother will be liable to judgment"* (Matthew 5:21-22).

"Keep far from the man who has power to kill, and you will not be filled with the dread of death" (Sirach 9:13).

"Beloved, do not look for revenge but leave room for the wrath; for it is written, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay,' says the Lord" (Roman 12:19)

"Do not be conquered by evil but conquer evil with good" (Roman 12:21).

Let me repeat Jesus's offer to all of us: *"Peace I bequeath to you, my peace I give you, a peace the world cannot give, this is my gift to you."* For those who go to Mass, isn't this what the priest says after consecration and before Holy Communion?

As people of faith, may I invite you to answer the following questions, in a loud, convincing voice, from the bottom of your heart and from the

depth of your conviction. Your answers will show whether we Christ's peace and whether we want a nonkilling society for our country.

Do you accept and embrace Christ's peace?

Do you accept the peace that is based on love, justice, reconciliation, active nonviolence and disarmament?

Do you reject violence as an instrument of peace?

Do you want to have a nonkilling society in the Philippines?

By accepting Christ's peace you and I have met the condition for the establishment of a nonkilling society. So peace is not only a *gift* from God but also a *task* we are to perform. We must now make Christ's peace a living reality. The peace Jesus offers us is unique because it is a peace in the midst of conflict. In fact it seems the opposite of peace. He told his followers, "*Do not suppose that I have come to bring peace to the earth: it is not peace that I have come to bring, but a sword. For I have come to set a man against his father, a daughter against her mother, a daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law*" (Matthew 10:34-35).

The *sword* that Christ brings is to be used against our evil thoughts, selfishness, egotism, hypocrisy, unchastity, theft, murder, adultery, envy, greed, malice, deceit, licentiousness, blasphemy, arrogance, bigotry and folly. These are the things that defile a person.

In the very first pages of the Bible, we read how God created all things and then entrusted them to the care of human beings created in His image. God said to Adam and Eve: "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth (Genesis 1:27-29). Having become the greatest influence on the environment, man himself has now become an endangered species in need of protection. What irony!

Basis of Action

Anchored therefore on the presupposition of reverence for life and that we are stewards of God's creation; based on the teachings of Jesus and of our Christian faith, and in the face of the violence in our midst, there is indeed an urgency for every Filipino *to start working for the realization of a nonkilling society in the Philippines.*

Of course, people will pooh-pooh the idea. Lest we forget, this world is full of naysayers—people who say it can't be done, it will never work, we're in the minority, or we are too small and insignificant, they're too powerful, and on and on. These are the people who let fear conquer them and dominate their sorry lives and who seem to want the same for others. But it doesn't have to be like this. There is a way out of darkness.

Because there is no such thing as a nation apart from its people, we can help our nation become nonviolent by being nonviolent ourselves; we can help create a nonkilling society in the Philippines by being nonkillers ourselves. Nonviolence, a gunless society, or a nonkilling society will not become national policy until it is first the personal policy of every Filipino.

Christ's peace, is too important to be left to the *politicians*. May the peace of Christ disturb them.

Where and how do we begin the journey towards a nonkilling society?

We must begin with ourselves.

Let us remember that peacemaking is not an optional requirement but a requirement of our faith. Peacemaking is therefore a lifelong effort. As I said earlier, God so made the world that certain effects follow certain causes. A nonkilling society shall be the effect of Christ's peace, of a gunless society, of active nonviolence, of justice, of reconciliation and of progressive disarmament.

At this point, I am happy to say that coincidentally, two significant national projects were started in 1991 towards a nonkilling society in the Philippines.

I refer to one of the decrees approved by the Second Plenary Council of the Philippines (PCP-II) in 1991, particularly Article 23:3 which states: "*All sectors of the Church must actively work for an end to the production and manufacture of the technology of death and the arms trade as part of its vision of peace*" (Acts and Decrees: 240) (Emphasis supplied). Oh, how I wish the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines, as well as the individual archbishops and bishops, will take an active role, like a conductor of an orchestra, in leading all sectors of society to implement this particular and thus establish a nonkilling society.

The other project has to do with the Gunless Society, a project NATURE (National Action for the Total Uplift and Restoration of the Environment), whose aims are to promote respect and reverence for and to promote a safe, clean and wholesome environment. Specifically, the Gunless Society's objective is to push a gun control law that will make it a criminal offense for anyone to carry a gun or other deadly weapon in public places, unless the bearer is authorized, in uniform and on duty. Writing about NATURE'S advocacy, the London-based international magazine *The Economist* said in its issue of September 23, 1989: "*It (NATURE) is seeking a million signatures for a petition to save endangered members of the species homo sapiens, maintaining that survival for the Philippine variety requires the banning of guns.*"

For the past 15 years, the Gunless Society has been pushing for gun control. We even had a signature-campaign and got over a million signatures to support this effort. We got a congressman and two senators to file the bills. President Corazon Aquino consolidated the two bills into one and certified it as urgent at the height of the two notorious murder cases of Maureen Hultman and Rolito Go. The bill was passed by the Senate but was gunned down in the House by the committee on public order and security chaired by no less than the President's brother, Jose "Peping" Cojuangco. The principal reason for the non-passage of a gun control bill is that *there is no political party in the Philippines that is committed to gun control.*

Another good news is that a national survey conducted in the second half of December 2000 showed that *83% of all adult Filipinos favor a more restrictive gun policy, allowing only law enforcers and licensed private security guards who are properly authorized, in uniform and actually on duty to carry firearms in public places.* This survey was commissioned by NATURE-Gunless Society.

Despite all these efforts, we have not experienced the peace that Christ gives because our political leaders are promoting the peace that the world gives. Of course, we cannot blame them completely. We, too, are partly to blame because we put them there. "We have allowed politics," if I may borrow the words of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines "to be debased and prostituted to the low level it is in now." Sad to note there is no political party in our country today whose candidates are all

committed to the peace that Christ gives based on love, justice, reconciliation, active nonviolence, and progressive disarmament.

We must demand not just from the individual candidates but from the whole party what we want. If they do not listen, never mind, 2004 is not the end of the world.

Jesus calls us to be peacemakers. There is a significant link between Christ's peace, on one hand, and corporal and spiritual works of mercy, on the other.

Corporal Works of Mercy

Feed the hungry
Give drink to the thirsty
Clothe the naked
Visit those in prison
Shelter the homeless
Visit the sick
Bury the dead

Spiritual Works of Mercy

Instruct the ignorant
Counsel the doubtful
Admonish the sinner
Comfort the sorrowful
Bear wrongs patiently
Forgive all injuries
Pray for the living and the dead

We must pray with fervor and put into practice daily the prayer of St. Francis. "*0 Lord, make me an instrument of your peace, where there is hatred, let me sow love, where there is injury, pardon, where there is doubt, faith, where there is despair, let me bring hope, where there is darkness, light, and where there is sadness, joy.*

O Divine Master, grant that I may not so much seek to be consoled as to console, to be understood as to understand, to be loved as to love. For it is in giving that we receive, it is in pardoning that we are pardoned, and it is in dying that we are born to eternal life" (Jegen: 90-93).

In our individual and collective effort to promote a nonkilling society, it would be well to use as our daily guide the Seven Principles of Survival contained in the peace message of Pope John Paul II issued on January 1, 1979, a few months after his election as Pope.

1. *Human affairs must be dealt with humanely, not with violence;*
2. *Tensions, rivalries and conflicts must be settled by reasonable negotiations and not by force;*
3. *Opposing ideologies must confront each other in a climate of dialogue and free discussion;*
4. *The legitimate interests of particular groups must also take into account the legitimate interests of the other groups involved and of the demands of the higher common good;*

5. *Recourse to arms cannot be considered the right means for settling conflicts;*
6. *The inalienable human rights must be safeguarded in every circumstance;*
7. *It is not permissible to kill in order to impulse a solution.*

Our painful in the non-passage of a gun control law shows the urgent need for the people to band together and organized a political party if they want their objective to be carried out. We need political action.

We have started moving toward this direction by organizing a political movement for the common good, and a political party with a political platform but with out candidates. The party's platform includes, among other things, *gun control, enforce the law against the use of heavy tinted windows in motor vehicles, destruction and melting down of confiscated guns for conversion into productive tools, ban gun exhibits in malls and other public places, ban export of guns, dismantle structures that glorify guns and culture of violence, abolish the death penalty, promote progressive disarmament in all countries though the united nations, ban torture to extract confession, end violence in school fraternities and institutions, as well as in sports whose main aim is to inflict physical harm or violence on the opponent, not to appoint former military officer as secretary of defense, and rename the Department of Defense to Department of Peace, no armed bodyguards for candidates for public office, and actively promote a "drug-free" Philippines.*

Here is a *peace package* based on love, sanctity of human life and dignity of the human person, a *peace package* aimed at promoting the common good.

To enable us to vote the right candidates in the May 10, 2004 elections, we may ask each presidential candidate and all the other candidates running with him, including the party to which they belong, the following questions:

Do you share our aspiration to have a nonkilling society in the Philippines?

If your answer is yes, do you, individually and collectively, commit yourselves to implement all the proposed measures contained in the peace package without any mental reservation?

If we are going to begin the campaign for a nonkilling society, we might as well begin *now and here*.

The government will play a major role in the establishment of a nonkilling society in our country. We will succeed or we will fail insofar as we begin or do not begin to act.

With your indulgence, may I close with a prayer. "Heavenly Father, you have sent your only son into this world, who said to us: rather regretfully: I have come to set fire to the earth, and oh, how I wish it were enkindled. In the face of that, we are like flickering candles, burnt-out torches, illumining ourselves but not passing the light and heat to others. Send forth your Spirit that we may be enkindled and go out of this room different persons than we came in. Amen."

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CHAPTER 15

A WIDER RANGE OF NON-LETHAL WEAPONS FOR A NONKILLING SOCIETY

Dennis M. Arroyo

I fully agree with Mr. Pacheco's conviction that civilians should not have access to firearms. The gunless stance is not gutless. It is a position that is sane, practical, and in my opinion, Christian.

When the people can easily acquire guns, they will end up in the hands of criminals. There is thus a need for strict controls in the Armed forces and the Philippine National Police. The fact that some kidnapper gangs include former military and police members is clear proof that they got their firearms from the security forces.

Tighter controls would also mean regulating the local firearms industry, like that in Danao, Cebu. Their only clients should be the military and the police. Measures must ensure that the State has the monopoly of legitimate force.

However, such force need not be confined to lethal force. As seen from simple Internet research, there are various weapons that fight crime without killing the criminals. They can be deployed in what Dr. Glenn Paige calls "the killing zone." They can defend without causing death or permanent injury.

I want to call attention to these options, creative weapons that stun, nauseate, and entangle.

The first is the class of *kinetic rounds*. Such guns fire rubber or plastic bullets, wooden projectiles, and bean bags filled with 100 grams of shot. They deliver a solid, powerful, but non-lethal blow to the attackers. These ballistics stun the attackers, who are then handcuffed by the police.

An example is the Thumper, which fires 19 millimeter projectiles of plastic rounds that stun but do not injure the attacker. The Fin Rocket

fires a 130 grain rubber projectile and causes blunt impact trauma. The Sticky Shocker fires a projectile that delivers an electric shock to the suspect.

The second is the class of *gas-based weapons*. The Projecto Spray delivers a fog of Oleoresin Capsicum gas up to 60 feet. This induces in the attackers severe coughing, but no tissue damage. Smoke grenade also lead to a burning sensation in exposed areas. Others knock the lawbreakers unconscious. And still others simply generate a lot of white smoke used for concealment.

The third is the class of *pyrotechnics*. One is the aerial Flash Bang, which yields an explosion and flash that stuns the enemy with a concussion blast. It was meant originally to clear birds from fields. Another safety diversion device creates a stunning flash of the magnitude of 1.5 million candela. It causes disorientation. Then the Door Breacher provides an alternative to shooting locks to break open doors.

The fourth is the class of *weapons that entangle the attackers*. For example, the WebShot, fired from a canister, spreads a 10-foot net. The WebShot can entangle targets as far as 30 feet away. The Portable Vehicle Arresting Barrier is an elastic net that can stop a pickup truck and trap its enemy occupants. These examples are not fiction, ala Spiderman; they are available in the US market.

The fifth is under development and not yet available for use: *directed energy weapons*. These instruments are hi-tech. They fire a broad beam of microwave radiation that does not burn the flesh, but the pain causes enemy troops to scatter.

These non-lethal weapons can be imported, or we can develop our own versions.

All told, there are weapons that enable the security forces to defend the people against attackers without taking their lives.

CHAPTER 16

IN A VIOLENT WORLD, HOPE FOR A NONVIOLENT, NONKILLING SOCIETY

Jovito R. Salonga

The book entitled *Nonkilling Global Political Science* by Professor Glenn Paige was written, as he stated in the preface, primarily for political science scholars throughout the world. But I am neither a political science professor nor a political science scholar, I am merely a student of the continuing tragedy of the human condition. I will make my points as simple as possible.

Unavoidable Killing

First, I believe the killing we are talking about should be limited to intentional killing, for there is no way killing can be avoided in at least two cases: (1) accidental killing, such as when a person driving his car within the prescribed speed limit runs over a child suddenly darting across a narrow road, which we have aplenty in such places as Pasay City, or San Juan in Metro Manila; (2) when an individual inevitably kills another in self-defense, which is a frequent occurrence in many places in the Philippines, particularly in the rural areas, *na halos walang elektrisidad* (where there is almost no electricity).

Under Article 11 of the Revised Penal Code and in the decided Philippine cases, three requisites must coexist to free a person from criminal liability when he kills another in self-defense: namely, unlawful aggression on the part of the other person; reasonable necessity of the means employed to prevent or repel it; and lack of sufficient provocation on the part of the person defending himself. If that is so for individuals, the same thing may be true in the case of a State.

The Death Penalty

Before World War II, the death penalty was imposed by the State as a measure of self-defense for offenses such as treason, murder, robbery with homicide, and rape with the use of deadly weapons. But in Section IX of the Bill of Rights, Article III of the 1987 Constitution, any death penalty already imposed shall be reduced to life imprisonment (so we do not kill our fellow human being). Nor shall the death penalty be imposed except for compelling reasons, involving heinous offenses, if and when Congress hereafter provides otherwise.

Now that is the very sad part of it. In 1995, when I was no longer in the Senate, Congress revived the death penalty and imposed the penalty for heinous offenses, such as parricide, killing your own parents, killing your own spouse, killing your own children, robbery with homicide, rape with homicide, and the new offense of plunder.

I happen to be the author of the Anti-Plunder Law. *At ang isa sa mga bumoto sa aking batas ay walang iba kundi si Erap Estrada, at ang kanyang abogado, na aking pamangkin, si Rene Saguisag, ay pinapirma ko pa doon sa aking bill as co-author. Kaya medyo nakakatutwa ang nangyari.* When I authored the Anti-Plunder Law in 1991, the maximum penalty we imposed was just life imprisonment. But after we left the Senate and because of the proliferation of serious criminal cases, Congress in 1995, under the leadership of a very old man now, Senator Arturo M. Tolentino, revived the death penalty for the said crimes and included plunder which involves the wholesale larceny of at least P50 million or over as a heinous offense now punishable by death.

Let me say I am against the death penalty in principle, however heinous the offense may be, (1) because to my mind, it is extremely cruel, unjust and irrevocable; and (2) because of our defective system of criminal justice in the Philippines. Almost all who get the death penalty here are the poor and the marginalized, i.e., those who have no lobbyists, those who have no connections with very important persons (VIPs), and those who cannot hire the services of well-known lawyers. *Dito sa atin ang mga tawag doon ay mga "abogado de kampanilya." Kung wala kang "abogado de kampanilya," pwedeng ma-death penalty ka.*

The Culture of Violence in the 20th Century

Now we must also consider the prevailing culture of violence and the gross violations of basic human rights throughout the world in the last century. It has been said that in World War I and World War II, approximately 60 million people were killed; six million Jews were exterminated in the holocaust of Hitler's concentration camps and gas chambers. Millions of dissidents—we call them subversives here—were also liquidated by Joseph Stalin in the Siberian labor camps. According to Solzhenitzyn, 65 million Russians have been killed by their own leaders since 1923.

Here in Asia the ruthless killings by the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia between 1975 and 1979 resulted in the execution, sickness or starvation, of three million Kampuchean, almost one half of the entire population of Cambodia. But the figure of 60 million killed during the two World Wars may not be entirely correct. Only last February 7, 2004 former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, he who ran the Vietnam war during the Kennedy and the Johnson administration, pointedly declared in his alma mater, the University of California at Berkeley: *"We human beings killed 160 million human beings in the 20th century. Is that what we want in this 21st century? I do not think so."*

Now, because of what Hitler did against the weak States of Europe, which I had the occasion to visit after the EDSA Revolution—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium and Holland—and because of the December 1941 attack of Japan against Pearl Harbor, the Philippines, Hongkong, Singapore, and other Asian countries, the United Nations Charter in Article 51 recognized the inherent right of collective and individual self-defense. To quote: "Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security." That is why, with due respect to Professor Paige's country, what the United States did in Vietnam and what George W. Bush has been doing in Iraq by bombing, invading, and occupying this ancient land without the weapons of mass destruction which he had imagined, are morally and legally indefensible. Equally indefensible, are the Islamic Al-Qaeda

extremists led by the likes of Osama Bin Laden, who is apparently hiding now in Pakistan or Afghanistan.

Contemporary Extremists in Killing Societies

But what I consider completely indefensible, are the hard-line extremists in Israel who want more Jewish settlements in Palestinian land. And I cannot agree with the agenda of some fundamentalist Christians in the United States who are promoting Jewish dominance of the Palestinian land in their belief that this is closer to the prophesied judgment day. What I see are actually the oil interests of American companies, George W. Bush, Dick Cheney and other leading American policy makers. The subservience of President Arroyo to the Bush Administration explains why I am interested in the platforms of our presidential candidates here. *Kung meron talagang tunay na plataporma si FPJ at kung naiintindihan niya ang platapormang ginagawa para sa kanya!*

It takes only a few to make war. But it takes many people to make peace. In pursuit of peace, not only should Al-Qaeda and their associates be marginalized. But the radical international agendas of some Neo-Conservative Christians and hard-line Zionists should be completely discredited. Doing away with one and not the others is not an option for our future. In short, these three threats from extremists who are in the minority in their respective countries interlock to make war in what we may call our increasingly killing society.

Who are these extremists? (1) President George W. Bush, Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, Deputy Secretary Paul Wolfowitz and their gang; (2) the extremist Al-Qaeda, Osama Bin Laden; and (3) the extremists in Israel who are destroying the rights of Palestinians to their own land. These are the three extremists who are making war now in our world. And killing a lot of people in the process.

It seems to me, with due respect to my American friends, that the gospel of a nonkilling society should be preached more effectively to the United States Government, especially to the administration of George W. Bush which has initiated and carried out the doctrine of preemptive killing unilaterally, in defiance of the United Nations and in violation of the principle of collective peace and security. So unlike the American

teachers and missionaries who were here at the turn of the century. But now, the United States is the biggest supplier and exporter of armaments, ammunitions, airplanes, and guns, and the latest technology for killing persons throughout the world on a massive scale.

Hope for a Nonviolent, Nonkilling Society

Is there hope for a nonviolent, nonkilling society? I agree with the propositions that human beings are capable of both killing and nonkilling; that the majority of the Filipino people are not inclined to kill; and that we have institutions, particularly the Christian churches including the Catholic church, and the Muslim mosques, that like the majority are disinclined to killing. We can rely on colleges like Kalayaan College and the universities that have participated here: the University of the Philippines, the Ateneo de Manila University, the Ateneo de Davao University. We have the school, the home, and the civil society that can serve as component contributions to nonkilling societies. Around 90 percent of our people are supposed to be Christians. Only five percent are Muslims. But both are agreed on nonkilling. May I say that from the Christian standpoint, human beings have both a unique dignity as creatures made in God's own image, and a unique depravity as sinners—which is a bewildering paradox.

We build churches and drop bombs. We build and develop hospitals and intensive care units for the critically ill. But at the same time we use the same technology to torture our enemies who disagree with us. Having read Professor Glenn Paige's book, I say we can no longer read the Sermon on the Mount of Jesus, particularly *The Beatitudes*, without realizing that Jesus was promoting, not only a nonviolent, but more than that, a nonkilling society.

And so let me end by saying, there are many Filipinos like me who believe in and practice nonviolence. We who have never handled a bomb or an ammunition in our lives may be just a tiny minority. We know we cannot change the world overnight. But as one writer said, there will always be heroes and villains. Let us just have some more heroes and let us try to be a hero a little more everyday of our lives.

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CHAPTER 17

TOWARDS A NONKILLING SOCIETY IN THE PHILIPPINES: THE NEED FOR MULTICULTURALIST GOVERNANCE

Macapado A. Muslim

I. Introduction

The Philippines has acquired the notoriety of being a violent country. Its wars with the Moro revolutionary organizations (MNL and MILF) and the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) are among the world's longest and ugliest internal armed conflicts. Compounding the above groups are new security threats, particularly terrorist groups like the Abu Sayyaf and Jemaah Islamiya, and the kidnap for ransom (KFR) groups like the Pentagon and Kuratong Baleleng. There are also many violent political and inter-family feuds in many localities and regions in the country.

This gory national security scenario presses the urgency of giving serious thought to the thematic question, "Is a Nonkilling Society Possible in the Philippines?" In Dr. Glenn D. Paige's excellent book, *Nonkilling Global Political Science*, he defines a nonkilling society as "a human community, smallest to largest, local to global, characterized by no killing of humans and no threats to kill; no weapons designed to kill humans and no justifications for using them; and no conditions of society dependent upon threat or use of killing force for maintenance or change" (Paige: 1).

As this study focuses not only on the possibility of a nonkilling society in the Philippines but also on the need to work for it. The task of making a relatively violent country like the Philippines fertile ground for a nonkilling society is a very difficult endeavor requiring a multisectoral and multi-dimensional approach. Certainly, there are several promising pathways towards a nonkilling society in the Philippines. Among others

is the need for the establishment of a multiculturalist governance in the Philippines. The protracted and still unsolved armed conflict in Mindanao is a classic illustration of a multicultural society that is not multiculturalist, i.e., it does not ensure that all of its constituent communities or cultural groups receive a just recognition and a just share of economic and political power.

This study is organized as follows. Part II discusses the possibility of a nonkilling society in the Philippines, particularly factors in the Philippine context (especially Mindanao) that may favor a nonkilling scenario or outcome. Part III provides a discussion of the various determinants of violent conflicts in multicultural societies. Part IV is a discussion of the need to transform governance in the Philippines to become multiculturalist and the features of a multiculturalist governance. Part V offers some concluding statements.

II. The Possibility of a Nonkilling Society in the Philippines

In the book by Paige, he provides an excellent and comprehensive argument for the possibility of a nonkilling society. As his former student in nonviolent political alternatives and a doctoral dissertation advisee at the University of Hawaii, I have no intention of adding to his profound discussion of the theoretical and practical bases for the possibility of a nonkilling society. Rather, I will explore the Philippine context, particularly the current situation in the Southern Philippines, to identify factors that may favor actually and potentially the possibility of a nonkilling society.

First is the protracted nature and brutal dimensions entailed by the Moro armed struggle. My research and practical life encounters with many leaders and followers of Moro revolutionary organizations (particularly the MNLF and MILF) and with some officials and members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and the Philippine National Police (PNP) suggest the view that Mindanao has already more than enough of its gory war. This feeling is shared by and reflected in the growing number of non-government organizations (NGOs) seriously working for peace in Mindanao.

Second is the long history of coexistence among the Christians, Muslims and Lumads (or highlanders). Despite the reported brutal

dimensions of the Mindanao conflict, especially during the martial law period and the few years preceding it, and the still unsolved armed conflict, a trip around Mindanao would show the readiness of the three major population groups of Mindanao to coexist. While there are some inequities in the existing political and economic order in Mindanao, it is obvious that because of the long period of intercultural coexistence and interdependence, Mindanaoans (Christians, Muslims and Lumads) are generally more inclined to find nonviolent or peaceful alternatives to conflict. This does not discount the fact that interethnic prejudices are still prevalent and widespread, but certainly some positive changes toward this problem have been achieved.

Third is the demonstrated acceptability of nonviolent and nonsecessionist options (e.g., autonomy or federalism) to the Moro revolutionary organizations and, I think, to the great majority of the Bangsa Moro. While originally advocating independence, the MNLF finally accepted the autonomy formula embodied in the GRP-MNLF Peace Agreement signed in September 1996. The new autonomy law (Republic Act No. 9054), which amended the old autonomy law (RA 6734), embodies most of the terms of the peace agreement. And the MNLF's decision to negotiate with the Philippine Government suggests its receptivity to a nonviolent or political settlement of the conflict, short of independence.

Fourth is the proliferation of groups and institutions seriously working for nonviolence and peace in Mindanao. Many of these non-profit civil society organizations deliberately recruit or include a relatively good mixture of Christians, Muslims and Lumads. Examples of these institutions are the Bishop-Ulama Conference and the Mindanao Commission on Women. Providing significant research and educational support services for nonviolence and peace building activities in Mindanao are the several centers for peace studies based in many of the universities in Mindanao, like the Mindanao State University, Notre Dame University, Ateneo de Davao, Ateneo de Zamboanga, Xavier University, and others.

Fifth is the growing Islamization process among the Bangsa Moro. Like their Christian brothers and sisters, the majority of Philippine Muslims are religious, i.e., they are concerned with the performance of their obligations as followers of Islam. It should be noted also that like

their co-religionists in Asia, Philippine Muslims are of the moderate mold, not of the extremist conservative version like that of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

It should be noted that nonviolence and the vision of a nonkilling society have strong foundations in Islam. One indication that Islam gives 'supreme importance to peace and peacemaking is its emphasis on the preservation of human life. In Islam, the life of one person is the equivalent of the whole mankind. Saving one human life is like saving the life of the whole of mankind. The Holy Qur'an says:

*And if anyone save a life;
It would be as if he saved
The life of all mankind.
(Chapter 5, Verse 32)*

In Islam, protection or preservation of every human life is an act of sublime goodness, hence an important duty of every Muslim. Related to this is the notion of life as belonging to God. This is the reason why suicide is forbidden in Islam. If for one to take his/her life is forbidden, how much more if you take the life of another person.

Equally important, and related to conflicts in multicultural societies like the Philippines, Islam prescribes respect for religious differences and peaceful coexistence. The Holy Qur'an says "there is no compulsion in religion" (Chapter 2, Verse 256) and adds "your religion for you, and mine for me" (Chapter 109, Verse 6). The Holy Qur'an also states:

*O mankind! We created
You from a single (pair)
Of a male and a female,
And made you into
Nations and tribes, that ye
May know each other
(Not that ye may despise
Each other, Verily
The most honored of you
In the sight of Allah
Is (he who is) the most
Righteous of you*

*And Allah has full knowledge
And is well acquainted
(With all things).
(Chapter 49, Verse 13)*

III. The Determinants of Ethnic Conflict

The multiculturalist character of a society per se does not automatically lead to some form of intercultural animosity or violent conflict. There are many countries in the world that are multicultural or multi-ethnic, but they do not have ethnicity-based political mobilization or ethnonationalist movements like the case of the Moros in the Philippines, the Tamils in Sri Lanka, the Chechens in Russia, the Basques in Spain, the Acehnese in Indonesia, and the Catholics in Northern Ireland. There are also countries that have experienced violent forms of ethnic mobilization in the past, but succeeded in resolving them after making appropriate adjustments in their policies and governance and other aspects of society.

Ethnic conflicts, like the Moro armed struggle in the Philippines, are attributable to several determinants. These are classified into political, socio-economic, cultural and security.

Political

One major political determinant of violent conflicts in multicultural societies is the nature and character of the State. The unitary State, with its assimilationist and monoculturalist features, is obviously unresponsive to the cultural diversity of said societies. In the words of Galtung, the State in societies with two or more component nations functions as a "prison" for the nations other than the dominant one (Galtung: 126-141). Another factor is the concept of "vertical ethnic differentiation" which is defined as "the near perfect ethnic stratification in which different ethnic groups occupy different social classes " (Luhman & Gilman: 323) In such a vertical system, members of a minority ethnic community are consigned to menial or lower level positions, while those from a dominant ethnic group monopolize the important political posts.

According to Reid Luhman and Stuart Gilman, "ethnic stratification is not an inevitable occurrence when two or more ethnic groups share the same society. It occurs only at the instigation of a particularly powerful ethnic group in that society" (*Ibid.*). Echoing the significant relationship of the ethnic-based differentiating role of the state and ethnic mobilization, Bhikhu Parekh argues:

When a majority community defines itself as a nation and seeks to monopolize the state, it provokes its minorities to define themselves as nations or ethnic groups. Minority ethnicity is often a defensive reaction against majority nationalism (Parekh: 235).

It should be noted that it is the dominance or monopoly of political power by one group (the dominant one) and the relative political inferiorization or peripheralization of a minority group (as perceived by its members) that leads to political organization and mobilization. As UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan pointed out, "unequal access to political power forecloses paths to peaceful change" (Strauss: 11).

The importance of the above points is indicated by ethnic minorities' political grievances, like lack of control over local affairs, lack of participation or representation in the central government, and discrimination in the access to political and administrative positions. These grievances are the bases of demands for secession or other self-determination formulas like federalism, regional autonomy, power-sharing, and proportional representation.

Socio-Economic

The problem of poverty or socio-economic marginalization is a central issue in most ethnic conflicts. The Center for War and Peace Research in Sweden reported that poverty was the major cause of about 80 percent of today's wars (Strauss: 11). Poorer countries tend to be three times at greater risk of war than richer countries. And a big number of violent ethnic conflicts occurs in highly backward or underdeveloped regions of multi-ethnic States.

Another economic driver of conflict is the perception of relative deprivation by members of an ethnic group. Poverty acquires an addition politicizing force when members of an ethnic group perceive themselves

or their communities to be relatively deprived vis-a-vis the dominant ethnic group. Moreover, their propensity to mobilize is heightened when they perceive their socio-economic marginalization as a by-product of government neglect and discrimination in access to basic services (e.g., health, education, credit assistance, and livelihood opportunities).

In many conflict areas, the issue is about the asymmetrical and exploitative relations between the rich/imperial center and the backward ethnic communities in the periphery. Many ethnic minorities resent the use of their areas as "milking cow" of the center and the whole country. Moreover, awareness by members of an ethnic group of the adequacy of their region's natural resources for their own (ethnic group or regional) survival and development is another known cause of ethnic advocacy for secession in some cases.

Another major economic driver of ethnic conflict is rivalry over control of certain strategic resources (like oil and natural gas). Many ethnic conflicts involve areas or regions with vast deposits of important minerals. The involvement of domestic and foreign capitalist interest in the efforts to exploit these important resources is certainly a major conflict factor.

Capitalist globalization is another major cause of ethnic conflict. Although it is undeniable that globalization "succeeded in producing unprecedented amounts of goods and services, it is also a fact that capitalist growth proceeded unevenly between countries and within regions, treating great disparities of wealth and income, and that it has always proceeded cyclically, through euphoric booms and painful busts in every country and region" (Wilber: 198) The positive/negative or boom/bust consequence of capitalist globalization was demonstrated in the spectacular economic growth in identified centers within capitalist countries, while those in the periphery are falling far behind. Given the weak political and economic power of ethnic minorities, it is likely they will be among the big losers, not among the winners, that globalization creates. This means ethnic minorities in general will be at the receiving end of the predatory or destructive aspects of capitalist globalization. Hence, the socio-economic disparities between ethnic minorities and dominant ethnic communities will most likely widen further.

According to Robertson, globalizing or universalizing pressures trigger particularistic responses that include "the current upsurge in various forms of religious fundamentalism and ethnonationalism which, to him, is part of what he calls globalization syndrome" (Randal & Theobald: 250). To Vicky Randall and Robin Theobald, "the upsurge in religious fundamentalism and ethnonationalism may highlight the state as the potential focus for resistance to globalizing trends" (*Ibid.*).

Another important socio-economic underpinning of ethnic conflict is the competitive relationship between militarization and development (Thorson: 568-574). The strong emphasis on the military-oriented national security paradigm by many poor Third World countries is certainly limiting their performance in development administration, particularly in the delivery of basic social services like health, education, etc. Many Third World governments, including those facing severe scarcity of resources with no external security threats, are preoccupied with military reputation building and modernization, instead of waging a serious war against poverty that continues to cripple many of their citizens and communities.

Cultural

By definition, a multicultural society "consists of several cultures or cultural communities with their own distinct systems of meaning and significance and views on man and the world" (Parekh: 13). This organizational character suggests that the principal dilemma of governance in multicultural societies is the need to reconcile the legitimate demands of unity and diversity. Effective governance in multicultural societies requires addressing the need for unity and giving due recognition to cultural diversity or differences. In other words, the demands of unity and diversity are not mutually exclusive.

If we look at the situation in multicultural societies, impressionistically the demands of cultural diversity are substantially neglected in many of them. This explains the upsurge or resurgence therein of agitational or revolutionary movements based on ethnicity, culture, religion or identity Parekh posits:

A multicultural society cannot ignore the demands of diversity. By definition, diversity is an inescapable fact of its collective life and can neither be wished out of existence nor suppressed without an acceptable degree of coercion and often not even then. Furthermore, since human beings are attached to and shaped by their culture, and their self-respect is closely bound up with respect for it, the basic respect we owe our fellow-humans extends to their culture and cultural community as well (Parekh: 196).

The importance of recognizing cultural differences in preventing, regulating and resolving inter-ethnic conflict is a major theme of numerous scholarly works in the social sciences, including the new discipline of peace studies. It is my view that the continuing neglect of the legitimate demands of diversity or the non-recognition of cultural differences in many multicultural societies is the major cause of the seeming intractability of conflicts therein which, according to one scholar, involve "non-negotiable" items like identity (Gianni: 127-142). According to Parekh, "minorities have a right to maintain and transmit their ways of life, and denying it to them is both indefensible and likely to provoke resistance" (Parekh : 197). Similarly, Taylor argued that multicultural societies "can break up, in large part because of lack of (perceived) recognition of the equal worth of one group by another" (Gianni: 127). And if we are looking for a legal basis of the demand for recognition of cultural differences, the following argument of Hurst Hannum is instructive:

A fundamental state obligation under international human rights norms is to eliminate discrimination, not to destroy all differences. Recognition of the right to personal autonomy and group identity is essential to ensure that the principles of self-determination, participation and tolerance are allowed to flourish (Hannum: 476).

Among the major cultural demands of ethnic or cultural communities are the use of their own local language, the grant of government support for local schools (including religious schools), the adoption of separate judicial/legal system (e.g., Islamic Law), the designation of a traditional homeland, the recognition of local practices and other cultural identity related items.

Security

For emphasis, the issue of security which is a subject under human rights is treated separately in this section. Security is a fundamental human need, like physiological, identity, control and participation needs. When members of an ethnic group perceive their individual and collective security to be threatened, or not assured by the government's military and police forces, which are usually headed and manned mostly by members of the dominant ethnic community, mobilization to address the resulting insecurities ensues.

Security acquires importance as a conflict factor in conflicts that went through violent or large-scale military confrontation. As demonstrated in some armed ethnic conflicts, the issue of security is of the second-order problem category. It emerges as a problem largely when a particular conflict graduates to the violent phase. When this happens in combination with some of the other conflict factors discussed under the other categories, like government failure to redress basic minority complaints about discrimination, then the formation or revival of minority security forces is likely (Hannum: 476). And as the State emphasizes the repression of ethnic insurgents ("freedom fighters" to the ethnic community, and "terrorists" to the government) then the State-ethnic group interface gets more and more militarized, often times brutally. As John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary observed, "repression sidelines moderates, bolsters extremists and obstructs prospects for future accommodation" (McGarry & O'Leary: 333-334).

It should be noted that the physical insecurities that stem from the militarization of the relations between the state and an ethnic group account for the importance given to the establishment of local/regional security forces and other related arrangements in many of the peace negotiations in the contemporary period.

IV. The Need for Multiculturalist Governance

The Philippines exhibits practically most of the above determinants or underpinnings of ethnic conflict. And to make the Philippines a fertile ground for a nonkilling society, there is a need to eliminate or address the said preconditions or determinants of lethality, and institutionalize the

preconditions or determinants of a nonkilling society. It should be noted that conflict underpinnings are mostly based on, or related to the country's governance. Hence, one good approach to address them is to strengthen governance in the concerned countries by reconceptualizing or reinventing it to become multiculturalist, i.e., one that reconciles the demands of national political unity and cultural diversity.

As pointed out earlier, the Philippines is a case of a multicultural society which is not multiculturalist. A multiculturalist society is one that cherishes its cultural diversity and makes appropriate adjustments thereto. In particular, it respects the cultural demands of its constituent communities. It was argued that "no multi-cultural society can be stable and vibrant unless it ensures that all its constituent communities receive both a just recognition and a just share of economic and political power. It requires a robust form of social, economic and political democracy to underpin its commitment to multiculturalism" (Parekh: 345). In relation to this, I think it is necessary to transform the governance in multicultural societies to become genuinely multiculturalist.

Hereunder are some of the features of multiculturalist governance:

1. Rejection of assimilation and cultural homogenization and recognition of cultural differences;
2. Inclusive or pluralized political system that ensures the equality and participation of all constituent communities, and decentralized/localized governance (federalism, consociational democracy, or balanced pluralism);
3. Management of the economy to ensure that all constituent communities or groups receive a just share of economic resources;
4. Constitutional and legal systems that recognize cultural and religious differences and provide for some collective rights (protection for cultural/legal autonomy);

5. Political decision-making that is consensual, i.e., based on negotiation, compromise and consensus, not based on majority rule; and
6. Affirmative action for minorities.

It is my view that the operationalization of the above features would help much in addressing the principal underpinnings of conflicts in multicultural societies, particularly government neglect and discrimination in the allocation of resources, lack of participation and control over local or community affairs, lack of or inadequate representation in the central government, and lack of respect for the right of minorities to be different. The latter includes demands for a separate legal system, separate educational system, and the power to come up with local policies warranted by the cultural groups' otherness or peculiarities.

Given the above features, and in the context of Mindanao, is the governance in the Philippines multiculturalist? Regrettably, the answer is no. Like many other modern States, the Philippine State remains preoccupied with ensuring national political and cultural homogeneity. Despite some initiatives in regional and local autonomy and decentralization, governance in the Philippines remains substantially assimilationist and continues to emphasize hegemonic control and the derivative technique of coercive domination. Parekh pointed out:

The modern state makes good sense in society that is culturally homogenous or willing to become so. In multi-ethnic and multi-cultural societies whose constituent communities entertain different views on its nature, powers and goals, have different histories and needs and cannot therefore be treated in an identical manner, the modern state can easily become an instrument of injustice and oppression and even precipitate the very instability and secession it seeks to prevent (Parekh: 345).

V. Concluding Statements

The Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) has been in existence since 1989. Territorially, the present ARMM based on the new autonomy law (RA 9054) is slightly bigger, with the addition of Basilan to

the original four provinces (Maguindanao, Lanao del Sur, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi), and Marawi City.

The ARMM has its legislative, executive and judicial branches. It has its own administrative system and some degree of fiscal autonomy. The present administration of President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo has started implementing the provisions of RA 9054 on Moro representation in the central government by appointing Muslim leaders and professionals to certain positions in some national agencies. Moreover, the Philippine Government has completed the integration of 7,500 qualified MNLF combatants into the AFP and PNP. Some socio-economic development programs were implemented in the region by foreign donors and the national government, while others are being implemented. There are many other gains made under the present regional autonomy experiment in Muslim Mindanao. However, the persistence of the contemporary Moro armed struggle can be taken to suggest that the existing governance system for the region (i.e., Muslim Mindanao) has not been responsive. Despite the reported grandiose socio-economic development programs for the Southern Philippines, the five predominantly Muslim provinces have remained the country's poorest. The region has the worst poverty index in 2000, i.e., four years after the signing of the GRP-MNLF Peace Agreement.

Reflective of the government's continuing assimilationist thrust and heavy slant towards hegemonic control technique are some cultural diversity or identity-related issues. One is the too limited jurisdiction of the Shari'ah courts, i.e., only persons and family relations. The establishment of the Shari'ah Appellate Court which was mandated by the old and new autonomy laws has remained unimplemented. Another one is that despite the completion of the integration of 7,500 qualified MNLF combatants into the AFP and PNP, the Special Regional Security Force of the PNP and regional command of the AFP for the ARMM which are expected to have substantial Moro elements mandated under the old and new autonomy laws have remained unimplemented. The taxing Powers of the region are hollow because aside from the widespread poverty in the region, no significant national taxing powers were transferred to the ARMM. The control-oriented governance of the region is indicated by the emphasis in the old and new autonomy laws (RA 6734 and RA

9054, respectively) on the limitations of the powers of the ARMM. Like RA 6734, many of the provisions of RA 9054 have to do with the ARMM cannot, instead of what it can do.

Given the gains and accomplishments made with the regional autonomy experiment in Muslim Mindanao, can we classify the Philippines as multiculturalists? Objectively, if we are talking of the substance of multiculturalist governance, the answer has to be in the negative. In other words, what we have achieved so far are largely in the nature of formalistic compliance, not substantive compliance with the requirements of multiculturalist governance. Moreover, a large portion of said gains are those with significant cooptation function (e.g., appointment of mujahideen leaders to some government positions, integration of MNLF combatants into the AFP and PNP). It should be noted that the core issue of autonomy as a policy response to ethnic conflict is the right of the minorities to be different.

But the gains and accomplishments discussed earlier, while largely formalistic, can be made to lead to the desired multiculturalization of the country's governance. I wish to stress that autonomy as a policy response to ethnic conflict is a significant phase or element of cultural diversity-friendly interventions continuum. This means that although governance in the Philippines is not substantially multiculturalist, our current situation can be best described as being "on the road towards multiculturalist governance." This means that the task at hand is how to make the current autonomy experiment in Southern Philippines succeed and lead to more responsive and nonviolent and nonsecessionist politico-administrative alternatives (with federalism as a more promising option). In other words, the present ARMM may be operated as an effective transitory structure towards that goal.

I am of the view that the autonomy option is a significant initial policy response. In other words, despite its inadequacies, the autonomy formula embodied in R.A. 9054 can be taken as a good beginning of a work-in-progress, i.e., evolving a more responsive and durable formula that ensures the territorial integrity of the country and addresses the principal Moro grievances underpinning the conflict. It is a must that we fully utilize what we now have like the new autonomy law (RA 9054), the new ARMM and other autonomy-related institutions and resources at all levels of

government. All doable and deliverable aspects of RA 9054 must be fully implemented. As to the items not addressed in RA 9054, like those matters associated with the cultural diversity of the country (such as the clamor for the broadening of the jurisdiction of Shari'ah courts, the provision of financial support for the madaris, etc.), I think, they should be part of the reform thrusts in the future, as we go on with our autonomy experience. Initiatives to enrich the existing autonomy law or evolve a more responsive politico-administrative set-up like federalism can be done simultaneously with efforts to fully implement the many doable and deliverable aspects of RA 9054.

I believe the nationwide advocacy for federalism, which has been gaining momentum over the years, is a significant step in the effort to make governance in the Philippines genuinely multiculturalist, with high potential to address the twin goals of peace and development in the Muslim areas of Mindanao. A genuinely multiculturalist governance will make secession and armed struggle baseless and unnecessary, and transform Mindanao into a fertile ground for a nonkilling society.

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CHAPTER 18

IS A NONKILLING SOCIETY IMAGINABLE? CELEBRATING THE QUESTION

Albert E. Alejo, S.J.

I am a "Father" without children, and a "doctor" without medicine. I am afraid you have invited somebody who is twice useless! But let me be a little useful now by locating myself vis-a-vis the question "Is a nonkilling society possible?"

Reading the book of Professor Glenn Paige, I sense there are generally two options people take in responding to this no nonsense question. One is to continue talking with the hope that at some point one can somehow stumble upon an answer, from "Yes, of course," or "Yes, but..." to a definite "No way!" The other option is to go on talking, precisely to avoid having to give a clear answer, something like, "I prefer to use 'nonviolence' than 'nonkilling.'" I come here for a third possibility. I speak in order to celebrate the question. I celebrate the fact, at least the question has been raised: "Is a nonkilling society possible?" Later, I shall also attempt an honest answer.

Before I continue, shall we first have a show of hands? Who among us here have killed another human being? Okay, two local policemen, and another one, maybe Dr. Glenn D. Paige himself, being a veteran of the Korean War.

Imagining the Question

"Is a nonkilling society possible?" This is a provocative question. It arrests us in our complacent acceptance of the presupposition that human beings, by nature, could only form a society that allows the killing of its members.

What I would like to do is to approach it within the bounds of the imagination. And hence, the question could be rephrased as: "Is a nonkilling society imaginable?"

Let me explore the bounds of our imagination. We can imagine, quite easily, a nonkilling person, who has lived all her life without killing another person.

We can imagine, also easily, a nonkilling family. Nobody in the family has killed another person. Even if you go back to the family tree, we can imagine a clan without having any member leaving a memory of having taken the life of a friend or foe.

We can imagine a neighborhood, or even a bigger community, which may have witnessed calamities or war, but can be proud to say that no blood was spilled under the hands of the members of the community.

But why is it difficult even to just imagine a nonkilling society? A nonkilling State? A nonkilling global society? I suggest the difficulty lies in the predominant empirical data both from our lived experience as well as from the input of history and current events.

Personal Note

My own reflection on killing goes back to the publication of my book of Tagalog poems entitled *Sanayan lang ang pagpatay*, (Alejo 1993), which literally means "Killing is simply a matter of practice." Killing is a matter of getting used to. Here I document, among other things, my confrontation with the "acceptedness" or "routinization" of killing, especially during the martial law years in the Philippines. (The cover, by the way, is full of lizards, representing the animals I killed during our brutal games in the place of my childhood.)

Going further back, however, I realize that my emotional memory of killing predates the publication of my book. I remember seeing, in my childhood, a man who, after a fight in the night, walked in front of our house, carrying his guts, his intestines. The man died before reaching the hospital.

I also remember the bullies in our village, who used to show off their lethal knives when they roamed our streets. One of them got what he probably was expecting anyway—a bullet in his head.

My best friend Mar was killed by my classmate in high school. It was during our town fiesta. My classmate, who was a son of a policeman, could not hit the bull's eye with his dart, and so he took out the gun given

him by his father as a gift for his birthday, and shot the target. The bullet went through the thin plywood, and hit Mar, who was then enjoying his ride on a ferris wheel. Mar died after asking the operator to stop the wheel.

They are still fresh in my memory, the many killings I witnessed and overheard during my two years of teaching in Mindanao during the transition from martial law to people power revolution. The details are not necessary to retell here.

Empirical Data

My personal experience, I admit, is just an inkblot compared to the innumerable bloody episodes splurged in the whole of this 20th century, notoriously known as the "most violent century in the history of humanity" (Sols:4). The twentieth century shall be remembered not only for the quantitative increase of violence, but also for the qualitative development in the sophistication of the technologies of violence including psychological torture and biological methods of mass destruction. Twentieth century media also were most gruesome. That includes the proliferation of video games that offer mostly the destruction of other beings as objective for winning.

"Do we have to review the thousands of examples of violence, that have occurred over the last century? Must we remember the expulsion and widespread murder of the Turks who lived in the Balkans, when the Ottoman Empire was breaking up (1912-1913)...the extermination of the Chinese at the hands of the Japanese army in 1937 using chemical and biological weapons, like anthrax and typhus...the widespread executions which took place in the Nazi concentration camps coupled with a slow process of degradation and humiliation; the bombardment of cities during World War II, causing huge human and cultural losses; the Cambodian massacre led by Pol Pot (2 million dead); the military repression, supported by North America, which took place in Latin America (200,000 dead in Guatemala, 75,000 in El Salvador; the murder of a third of the population of East Timor following the Indonesian invasion of 1975, with the full consent of Great Britain, the USA and Australia; the post-colonial killing among the Tutsis and Hutus in the

Great Lakes Region in 1994 that was settled with around a million deaths...?" (Sols :5-6).

Fortunately, there are people like Dr. Glenn D. Paige who also document for us enough empirical data to argue for the opposite view. Despite the reality of violence in the world and in history, there persists as well a convincing argument—taken from biology, chemistry, psychology, and indigenous cultures—that reveals what another peace advocate calls, the "hidden side of history," that is, the history of peace and nonviolence (Boulding). Dr. Paige is of course inspired by people like Mahatma Gandhi who did not simply rely on data on nonviolence, but also produced nonviolent moment through his "experiments with truth."

Despite some assertion, one resource for peace is religion. And I am privileged to be the facilitator of the recent first gathering of Christian bishops and Muslim ulamas. It was a heartwarming experience to meet and witness the religious leaders in Asia, acknowledging the conflicts in the region, but also asserting that their religions of peace have been misused to foment hatred. I would like to quote generously from their joint statement because the media have been very stingy in giving airspace and print space to peace efforts:

We, religious leaders participating in the First Asian Gathering of Muslim Ulama and Christian Bishops, meeting in Manila from August 18 to 21, 2003, in a spirit of inter-religious dialogue and profound solidarity and prayer, while invoking the help of Almighty God, acknowledge and affirm that:*

Situation. *We, in Asia, are in the midst of deep internal conflicts among the peoples of our countries, conflicts often ascribed to religion and that are prolonged, intense and violent armed struggles all too often affecting belligerents and innocents alike. The disharmonies and internecine conflicts manifested in this violence are rooted in misunderstanding of other religions, peoples' history, culture, identity, and ethnicity and in our social, political, or economic systems, the lack of harmony between "majorities" and "minorities," and between governments and people. This is also manifested in the prejudicial presentation of certain religions by the media.*

* One hundred twenty-one (121) delegates who are bishops and ulamas came from Bangladesh Hong Kong, Japan, India, Indonesia, Libya, Malaysia, Myanmar, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, Thailand, Uzbekistan, and the Philippines.

Our Responsibility. *We have sometimes conveniently and mistakenly associated this lack of harmony with our personal religious affiliations, with our religious beliefs, and our most profound religious convictions. We must acknowledge in humility our failure to recognize and rectify our own prejudices, which directly and indirectly contribute to the prolongation and amplification of social discord.*

We also recognize that our religions have been used and often abused by those whose motives are selfish and even immoral. For many centuries, religions and ideologies have been used to justify acts of discord. We must rectify this by a consistent expression of our Muslim and Christian religious values.

As peacemakers, our responsibility is to promote and develop a culture of peace, resolve and transform conflict so as to create conditions for positive social change.

Affirm Religions of Peace. *We therefore take this gathering of Muslim Ulama and Christian Bishops, being all children of Abraham, as an historic moment of grace to reaffirm our common conviction that our faiths, Islam and Christianity, are religions of peace which worship the One Merciful and Almighty God.*

The unity of belief in almighty and the common values of worship exemplified by the Prophets of God urge us to recognize the creative handiwork of Almighty God imprinted in us in our basic human dignity. We recognize that in our common dignity we also share and experience a common suffering. From the suffering of our peoples comes our call to Peace."

Call for a Disciplined Hope and Imaginative Passion

Where does this lead us? It leads to a test of disciplined hope and passionate patience. It tests, again, our will to imagine a better possible world than can be empirically ascertained. "Things *can* change." (Carrera I Carrera). Mentalities can change by rethinking and constantly reshaping them (Boulding).

Is a nonkilling society possible, then? A nonkilling society is empirically improbable. But it is imaginable. What I cannot imagine is a society that has totally refused to desire to imagine at least the desirability, if not the feasibility, of a nonkilling society.

One concrete way to assist the imagination is to go back to that moment of the lullaby. The mother or the father, in a delicate gentleness,

sings the baby to sleep. Let me play for you one of our more famous Philippine lullabies, the "*Sa Ugoy Ng Duyan*" by Lucio San Pedro and Levy Celerio. (Listen to lullaby music.)

I used the lullaby in my experiment in a Mindanao-wide psychology conference and workshop, with the wonderful support of a singer who did research on lullabies (Gutierrez). We employed the lullaby in journeying into the unconscious. One practitioner who works with battering husbands and violent men came up, in tears. He believed that this approach could be tapped to reach out to those who have started to convince themselves they are innately violent.

Let me now apply this genre to a gentle advocacy for peace in Mindanao. I changed the lyrics of a lullaby in order to appeal to that moment of nonkilling relationship between the baby and the parent.

MEME NA MINDANAW
(A lullaby for peace in Mindanao)

Meme na Mindanaw
Iduyan-duyan ko ikaw
Sa gubot di maminaw
Aron dili ka mapukaw.

Sleep now, my dear Mindanao,
I will cradle you to sleep,
Don't allow the fighting outside
Awaken you from slumber.

Damguhon mo ang kalinaw
Sa umaabot nga adlaw
Ugma pohon makalakaw
Ngadto saw ala na'y mingaw

Dream, dream of peace
In the coming days
Tomorrow, who knows, you can walk
To where there are no more tears.

(Humming)

*Sssbbb! Ayaw no pagsaba
Mapukaw ang bata!*

*Sssbbb! Ayaw na mo pag-away
Ang bata madamay!*

*Hussb! Don't be noisy
You might disturb the child asleep*

*Hussb! Stop all this fighting
You might also hit the child!*

Damguhon mo ang kalinaw
Sa umaabot nga adlaw
Ugma pohon makalakaw
Ngadto saw ala na'y mingaw

Dream, dream of peace
In the coming days
Tomorrow, who knows, you can walk
To where there are no more tears.

Pasadhi ang bata intawon Please let the child sleep
Magdamgo nga malinawon And let him dream in peace

Magmata na, O Mindanaw Wake up, my dear Mindanaw
 Ania na ang kalinaw. Peace is coming to us now.

At the end of this talk, I have an answer. Yes, a nonkilling society is possible because it is imaginable. It is imaginable because we have at least a chance and a capacity to go back to that nonkilling moment in nonkilling relationship, that moment of the lullaby. And our imagination brings us to a journey into that moment of our recent past, that in its fragility, brings home not just the past, but the promise that is contained in the past, the past possible future.

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CHAPTER 19

CONCLUDING NOTES

In our unjust and violent society nothing could be more practical and useful to leaders and concerned citizens than sound theories of good governance, political change and social transformation to guide action. One of these is Glenn D. Paige's theory of a nonkilling society.

In this book we have tried to elucidate and apply the theory to our conditions in the Philippines in hopes ultimately of developing a real nonkilling, life-sustaining society.

Our authors have offered many general and specific ideas for an agenda for research, policy and action towards a nonkilling and life sustaining Filipino society. By way of concluding, we present quotations from their lectures and comments and directly from *Nonkilling Global Political Science* by Dr. Paige. These suggest interesting challenges and opportunities to scholars, policymakers, and leaders in diverse walks of life who are concerned with various forms of violence and life-threatening conditions, physical and structural, that result in the killing of human beings and its consequences.



What is a nonkilling society? (Paige:!)

A society, local to global, in which there is no killing of humans, and no threats to kill; no weapons designed to kill humans and no justifications for using them; and no conditions of society that depend for maintenance or change upon the threat or use of lethal force.

Is a nonkilling society possible? (Paige, 2002: 22-23)

Amidst global killing and threats to kill at the violent end of the violent twentieth century, there are understandably ample grounds for political scientists and their students to conclude — **It's completely unthinkable!**

But there are also signs of willingness to give the question serious consideration—**It's thinkable and maybe it's possible.**

Moreover, despite unprecedented threats to human survival there are countervailing global resources of spirit, science, institutions, and experience to strengthen confidence that ultimately—**It's completely possible.**



A nonkilling society is..., in the mind of God, possible but it does not necessarily follow that it is possible in the Philippines. (Dee: 85-108)

After reflection, I find this definition [of a nonkilling society by Dr. Paige] inadequate for our application in the Philippines, as it represents only one face of human lethal behavior, xxx A society, to qualify as a nonkilling society for us to emulate and aspire to attain, must be a benevolent life-sustaining society in all aspects of life, in all human activity, and in all its human relationships, internally among its people and externally in dealing with the people's of the world, xxx

My first proposition: *In the context of our aspirations for Philippine society, I propose that we expand the concept of a nonkilling society to include the attributes of a life-sustaining society, a society that does not kill but saves, gives and sustains*

me. xxx

My second proposition: *The precept not to kill is a command of God. This ideal must be realized in a larger context of a loving, caring, life-giving society. Such a society cannot be formed by a people whose faith is without deeds, whose poor have no hope and whose leaders govern without love. A nonkilling, life-sustaining society must be founded on the bedrock of moral and traditional values because man cannot live by bread alone.*

The goal of a nonkilling society is no less than to build a just society—to transform this nation into God's dominion, where people are free, where justice prevails, where there is peace and sharing, caring and loving.

The Philippines is a paradoxical society. We are by nature a loving people. But we are not a loving society. We are a caring people, known for our caring ways. But we are not a caring society. We are a peace-loving, nonkilling people. But we are not a peaceful, nonkilling society.

We are a people who loves life and values life. But we are not a life-giving, life-sustaining society, xxx

My third proposition: *A nonkilling, life-sustaining society, to be able to endure, must respect human rights, protect human freedoms and promote an authentic total development of the human person, a development that is just and equitable, caring and healing, xxx*

My fourth proposition: *A nonkilling, life-giving society can be possible only under a reign of Justice governing all aspects of national life: cultural, social, economic and political life. Without a regime of just structures with just laws, justly and equally enforced on one and all, a nonkilling, life-sustaining society is not possible, xxx*

My fifth proposition: *We are living in prophetic and perilous times when a culture of death prevails over life-sustaining forces. To save our nation from this death trap and attain the society we aspire for, we need to make a moral about-face and redirect our freedoms from our sinful ways toward a new vision of life, so that we could survive the onslaught of evil, xxx*

My sixth proposition: *The root causes of our death-dealing society are so deep-rooted in our history of unjust structures that their eradication would require the whole of Philippine society to rise up from the present quagmire in a resurgence of patriotism and nationalism and love of fellowman, to cleanse and reform itself and thus, to bring about the total transformation of our society, xxx*

My seventh and last proposition: *The process of national transformation begins with a shift from state security to a Human Security paradigm (a) to govern and define human relationships with a new vision of life (b) to embody principles of commonweal, nationhood and good governance, rooted in moral and traditional values, and (c) to adopt a common platform of peace and human freedoms, human rights and human development to advance the cause of a life-giving, life-sustaining society. xxx.*

So, what is my answer to the conference question: "Is a nonkilling society possible in the Philippines?" If I answer NO, I will be calling God a liar because the command not to kill is from God and a nonkilling society is His intended destiny for us. On the other hand, if I answer YES, in the context of today's grave realities, I will be lying to myself because I know in my heart that our society is moving away from the pathways of God, and without a moral about-face, this aspiration for our society is not possible to attain. xxx

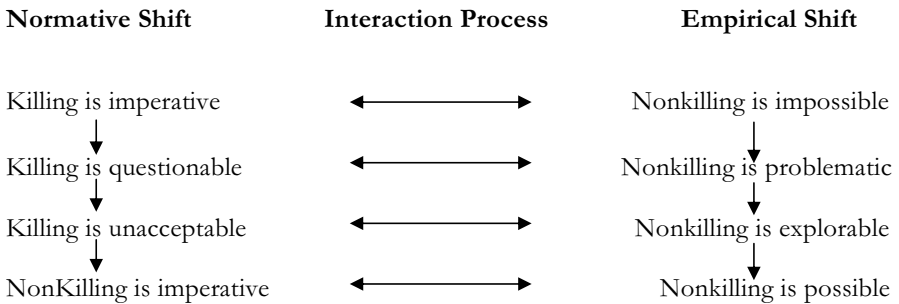
My conclusion, therefore, is that we are asking the wrong question. At the end of the day, the question is not whether a nonkilling society is possible for us or not. The question is: do we have the desire and the will to make it happen, and how long shall we wait to muster the courage to begin this task, even if all odds appear to be against us and when all evil forces are conspiring against us.

Howard Q. Dee

[Editor's Note. In their individual lectures or reaction papers in the chapters above, most of the authors state the implications of "a nonkilling society" as they understand the concept and under what conditions a nonkilling society would be possible in the Philippines. They affirm that a nonkilling Filipino society is desirable and possible under the stated conditions.]

Process of Normative -Empirical Nonkilling Paradigm Shift (Paige, 2000: 80)

Process of Normative-Empirical Nonkilling Paradigm Shift



Capabilities for a nonkilling society (Paige, 2000: 68-69)

The possibility of a nonkilling society is rooted in human experience and creative capabilities. The vast majority of human beings have not killed and do not kill. Although we are capable of killing, we are not by

nature compelled to kill. However, imperfectly followed, the main teaching of the great spiritual traditions is: respect life, do not kill. To this teaching, humans, under the most violent circumstances, have shown themselves capable of responding in brain and being with complete devotion. Where killing does occur, scientific creativity promises unprecedented ability to understand its causes, how to remove them, and how to assist liberation of self and society from lethality.

Prototypical components of a nonkilling society already exist in past and present global experience. They are not the product of hypothetical imagination. Spiritual, political, economic, social, and cultural institutions and practices based upon nonkilling principles can be found in human experience. There are army-free, execution-free, and virtually weapon-free societies. There are nonkilling organizations and movements dedicated to solving problems that threaten the survival and wellbeing of humankind. Nonkilling historical experience provides knowledge to inform present and future transformative action. There is a great legacy of nonkilling lives, past and present, individuals whose courage and works inspire and instruct.

If any people decided to combine, adapt, and creatively add to the components that already exist in global human experience, a reasonable approximation of a nonkilling society is even now within reach. To assert possibility, of course, is not to guarantee certainty but to make problematical the previously unthinkable and to strengthen confidence that we humans are capable of nonkilling global transformation.

Principal elements to be combined for nonkilling transformation (Paige, 2002: 149)

The principal elements that need to be combined for nonkilling transformation are clear.

Spirit (S₁), profound commitments not to kill derived from each and all faiths and philosophies.

Science (S₂), knowledge from all the arts, sciences, and professions that bear upon the causes of killing and nonkilling transformation.

Skills (S₃), individual and group methods for expressing spirit and science in transformative action.

Song (S₄), the inspiration of music and all the arts, making the science and practice of nonkilling politics neither dismal nor deadly but a powerful celebration of life.

To combine, develop and amplify these four elements in effective service, democratic Leadership (L), Citizen Competence (C), implementing Institutions (I) and supporting Resources (R) are necessary. (Emphasis added)

This combination of elements can be summarized as:

S⁴ x L C I R = Nonkilling Global Transformation

Spirit, science, skills, and song, creatively combined through need-responsive processes of democratic leadership and citizen empowerment, amplified by institutional expressions and resource commitments can contribute to realization of a nonkilling world.

~

I must confess that I read Professor Paige's Nonkilling Global Political Science with tremendous discomfort. The word "nonkilling" is obviously a take-off from "nonviolent" except that it is sharper and infinitely more unsettling. I think words like "nonkilling" can produce radical "gestalt switches." A "talent for speaking differently, rather for arguing well, says Rorty, "can be the chief instrument for social change." We can only agree. By using words never used before, we may yet bring about "human beings of a sort that never before existed." ***Randolf S. David***

It is important to stress,...as [Professor David and] Professor Paige [have] also emphasized, that those who have been the most committed to the construction of a nonkilling society like Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, have also believed that a nonviolent system is an impossibility amidst immense inequality and poverty. Thus their commitment to the spiritual principles of nonkilling also translated to a commitment to nonviolent structural change. ***Benjamin T. Tolosa***

What cannot be denied is that such a nonkilling world needs working at, and calls for the acceptance, acknowledgement, and cooperation of all peoples. This would include our very own fun-loving and peace-loving

Filipino people. xxx Is a nonkilling Philippine society possible? The answer will have to be yes. But some very serious obstacles will first have to be overcome. In this presentation, I will concentrate on three [inequality, parochialism, apathy and isolationism]. xxx If, therefore, a nonkilling society is to be established and fortified, institutional reform and transformation must be accompanied by a tract that works towards reconfiguring personal value systems. *Jose C.J. Magadia, S.J.*

[W]e usually speak of the possibility of peace, a just peace. And not just the absence of violence (negative peace) but the presence of conditions that sustain human dignity and well being (positive peace). So in this sense we have not imagined a fully nonkilling society, but worked on just ending the war, putting a stop to armed hostilities, as we also try to address the roots of the conflict. xxx It is affirming to think that the peace movement is part of the answer—Yes—to the question "Is a nonkilling society possible?" Yet there are several serious challenges and needs in fulfilling this possibility. *Karen N. Tañada*

Is a nonkilling society possible in the Philippines? Definitely. xxx A lethal policy is a curse on the strong and the proud who will succumb to the same sword it unsheathes or the bullet it fires. It requires great determination and courage not to succumb to the pull of violence and war. But the will to live and love is greater than the will to destroy and hate, for in the end man is more triumphant in his spirit than in his body. Nonviolence is first and foremost an individual commitment, before it becomes a social covenant. *Natalia M.L.M. Morales*

Indeed, because our killing society is deeply rooted, we must work together to make a nonkilling society possible, for I believe that society is not only possible but also attainable. *Ma. Oliva Z. Domingo*

But can our history and norms as a people provide us with some foundations for a nonkilling society? Can our institutions be transformed? Are we capable of creating new ones? Are our political and economic elites capable of becoming law-abiding citizens? Is the ordinary Filipino citizen likewise able to rise above self-interest and think of the good

of the whole? xxx Like Dr. Paige, I believe there are many precedents to say yes, it is possible. We can all get nearer that goal of a nonkilling society. ***Miriam C. Ferrer***

I fell in love with Gandhi and active nonviolence in high school and have tried to learn more about that way of life through the years. But I still don't have the answer to a situation in which one of my children would be threatened with physical attack, and I'm too far away to place myself between my child and that person, but somehow there was a gun or another weapon close by. What would be my alternative? xxx I still don't know how I would react in that situation. An illustration that violence and peace begin in the hearts of men and women and radiate outwards so that we can recreate our society. ***Risa Hontiveros-Baraquel***

Dr. Paige's thesis ["A nonkilling society is possible."] is a thoroughly convincing one, and extremely practical, especially for those like us who are charged with the shepherding of nonkilling institutions. xxx The Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process is premised on the possibilities of nonkilling; [it] operates within social realities steeped with lethal legacies, therefore there is need to transform these legacies using our people's demonstrated capacities for nonkilling; ...these shifts will require institutional expressions.... ***Teresita Quintos-Deles***

A nonkilling society is possible. xxx We need to help people understand that killing is not in our human nature and violence is the result of our social and cultural conditioning. Hence it is a conditioning that we need to reverse.... ***Loreta N. Castro***

Anchored therefore on the presupposition of reverence for life and that we are stewards of God's creation, based on the teachings of Jesus Christ and our Christian faith, and in the face of the violence in our midst, there is indeed an urgency for every Filipino to start working for the realization of a nonkilling society in the Philippines. xxx A nonkilling society shall be the effect of Christ's peace, of a gunless society, of active nonviolence, of justice, of reconciliation, and of progressive disarmament. ***Reynaldo D. Pacheco***

There are various weapons that fight crimes without killing the criminals. They can be deployed in what Dr. Paige calls “the killing zone.” They can defend without causing death or permanent injury. *Dennis M. Arroyo*

From the Christian standpoint, human beings have both a unique dignity as creatures made in God’s image, and a unique depravity as sinners—which is a bewildering paradox. xxx. Having read Professor Glenn D. Paige’s book, I say we can no longer read the Sermon on the Mount of Jesus, particularly The Beatitudes, without realizing that Jesus was promoting, not only a nonviolent, but more than that, a nonkilling society. *Jovito R. Salonga*

I believe the nation-wide advocacy of federalism...is a significant step...to make governance in the Philippines genuinely multiculturalist, with high potential to address the twin goals of peace and development in Mindanao. A genuinely multiculturalist governance will make secession and armed struggle baseless and unnecessary, and transform Mindanao into fertile ground for a nonkilling society. *Macapado A. Muslim*

A nonkilling society is empirically improbable. xxx Yes, a nonkilling society is possible because it is imaginable. It is imaginable because we have at least a chance and capacity to go back to that nonkilling moment in a nonkilling relationship, that moment of the lullaby. *Albert E. Alejo, S.J.*

For Filipinos to succeed, it appears that the quest for peace and development and the building of an authentic democracy towards our emerging Filipino vision of “the Good Society” must go hand in hand. Therefore, it is my thesis that all aspects of the Filipino vision of “the Good Society” largely embodied in the 1987 Constitution, plus the ideal and goal of nonkilling, should be developed and pursued as an interactive and independent whole. Only in this way can a nonkilling Filipino

society be approximated and made sustainable. A developing, nonkilling society in the Philippines and an increasingly nonkilling global society would be mutually reinforcing. *Jose V. Abueva*

Ang Pagbuo ng Mabuting Lipunan at Mundo

Building the Good Society and World We Want

United under God

We shall develop citizens and leaders
Who are informed, responsible and committed
To the survival, development and well-being
Of all our people—and humankind.

In pursuit of our vision as a nation

We shall all work with and
Build effective institutions at all levels—
From the family to the local, national,
Regional and global communities.

Together we shall seek the Good Life
And build the Good Society we aspire to
Through good citizenship and governance
In dynamic and inclusive democracies.

A Filipino society united in its diversities
Peaceful, free, egalitarian, and prosperous
Progressive, nationalistic, and global too.

A just and humane and civil community
In an agreeable, sustainable environment.
A nation contributing its share as well
In building a peaceful, just and humane world.

Above all, a Filipino nation and global community
That is God-centered—infused with His Love
Whose people care for one another near and far.

Heeding God's will: "*Thou shall not kill!*"
And its corollary: "*Respect and nurture life...*"
temporal and eternal"

The Indivisible Peace We Seek

In unity with our people and all humankind
 We seek a just and enduring peace
 Law and order and mutual tolerance
 At home and around the world.

We want an end to killing and maiming
 Because of greed or creed, class or tribe,
 'Cause the poor are weak and the strong aren't just,
 Or whatever reason, or lack of it.

But the peace we seek is much more than
 The absence of lethal force and physical violence.
 It is "a nonkilling world" devoid of threats
 To kill, torture, destroy, impoverish, and humiliate.

It is the tranquil fruit of freedom,
 Social justice and human development
 "Under the rule of law, truth and love" for
 One another, says our Constitution.

It is a just and humane democratic society
 Marked by respect and reverence for
 The life and rights of every human being,
 And learning from all religions and cultures.

It is the positive feeling people have
 About their safety and security
 As individuals and as members
 Of their communities, "local to global."

It is the gratifying feeling of being
 In harmony with one's self,
 With fellow men and women and children,
 With nature and with God.

And the empowering feeling of
Solidarity and cooperation with family,
Neighbor and nation, region
And humankind.

With God's grace, this is the indivisible peace
We seek in our time and in the future
As the caring, sharing and democratic nation
And world—we hope and want to become.

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