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Peacebuilding in a Globalized World 全球化世界的和平建设

An Illustrated Introduction
to Peace Studies

图解和平学

(汉英对照)



 人 民 出 版 社

This extraordinary book is global Peace Studies! The book itself builds peace in a globalizing world, written in two major world languages, and co-authored by authors also spanning the Orient-Occident gap. The book not only has a message. The book is a message, and the message is strong.

— *John Galtung*

(Spiritus Rector of Peace Studies)

这是一本非同寻常的全球和平学著作！本书本身就是在全球化世界里建立和平，它使用了世界上两种主要语言写作，合作作者也跨越了中西差距。本书不仅是传递一种信息，而且它本身就是一种信息，非常强烈的信息！

—— 约翰·加尔通

(和平学之父)

This excellent book gives all of us a set of tools, ideas, research materials and inspiration to make our own way through these complex, challenging issues.

— *Alan Hunt*

(Professor of Coventry University, UK)

这本优秀著作向我们所有人提供了一系列工具、思想、研究材料和灵感，并形成处理这些复杂而有挑战性问题的我们自己的方式。

—— 艾伦·亨特

(英国考文垂大学教授)

ISBN 978-7-01-014936-3



定价：188.00元

· 本书研究得到南京大学人文基金的支持 ·



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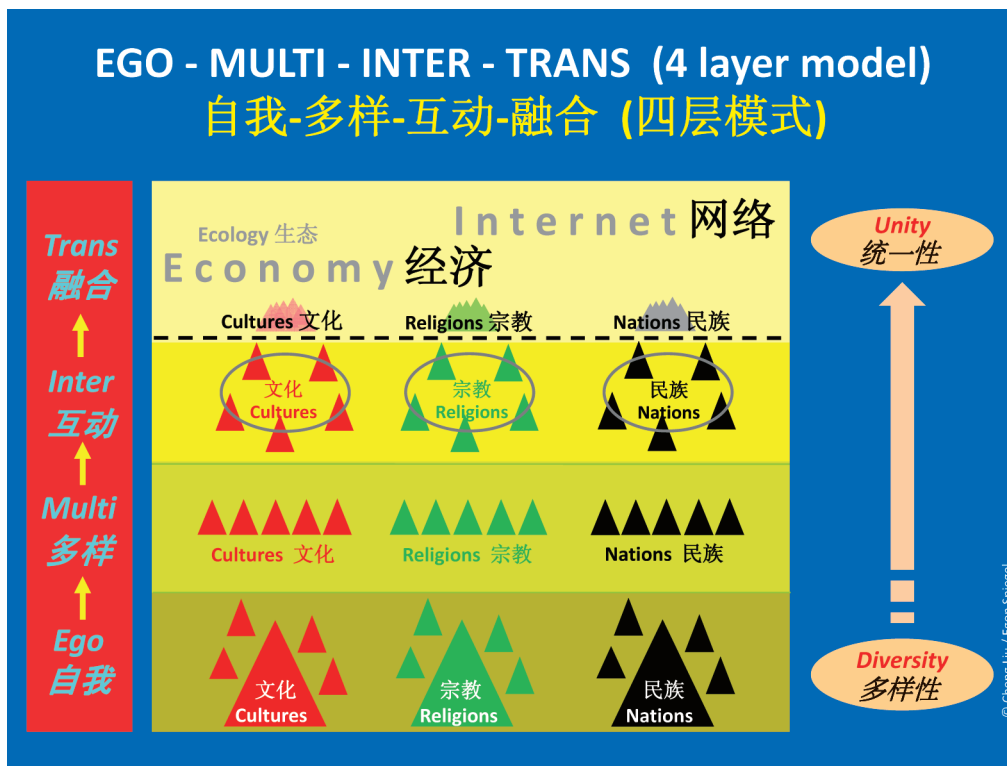
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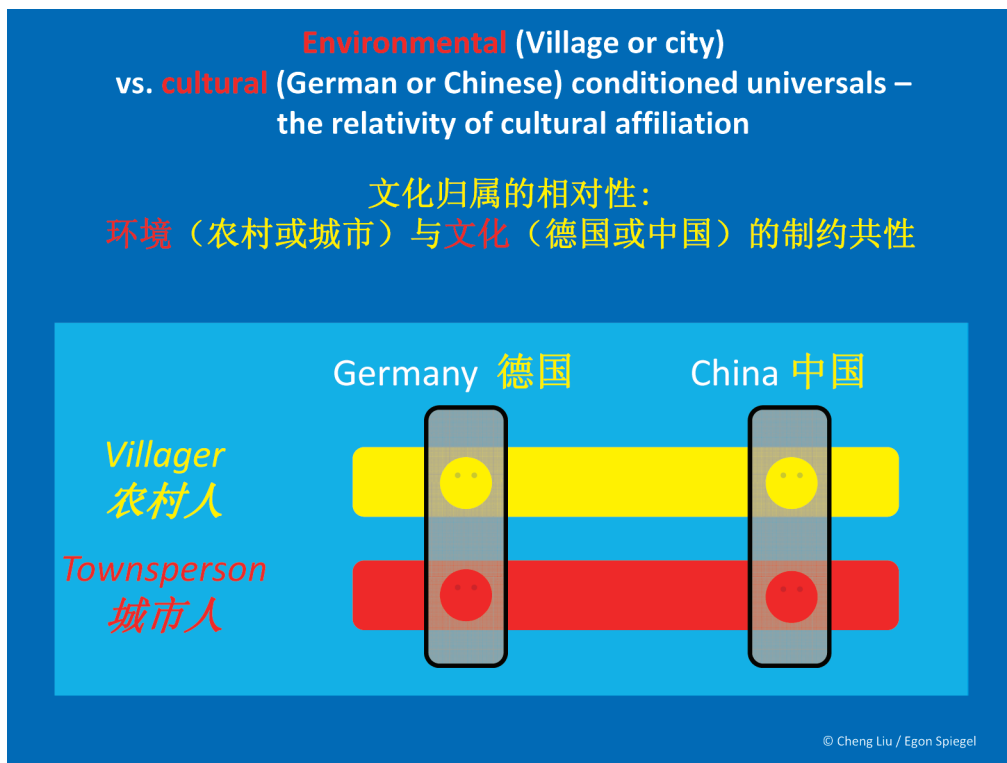
Diversity in unity

For at least the last twenty years, academic discussions have been characterized by a focus on diversity. This is good because it has been necessary. We need to have an awareness of people's different specialities as this can bring acceptance of these and the understanding necessary to value them. But now that the process has been started by this awareness, we need to focus much more on unity, on universals and on universality, or on transversality. Because, if our discussions remain permanently concerned with diversity, they will engender the wrong impression: that the reality of our differences that such discussions highlight is the main reality. However, although it is no less important, these differences are peripheral to our main reality. In particular, the dense network of digital communication and economic relations (including their shadow: the ecological problems that we're now discovering) signifies that we now exist and live interdependently in a world we are characterizing as transcultural, transreligious, and transnational. These interdependencies demonstrate a unique drawing

together of people that has not previously been experienced. Under these conditions, Peace Studies needs to discuss the possibilities of peace building in a new way, especially its potential within the framework of social networking. Please note: in a world unified by common lifestyles, close economic ties, and digital connectivity we can expect that the basic phenomena of culture, religion, and nationhood may continue to exist and function.

统一中的多样性

至少在过去的二十年里，人们在学术讨论中注重的是多样性。这很好，因为有必要这样做。每个人因为自己的喜好缘由与价值取向，他们具有与其他人不同的特质，我们需要有这种意识。但从这种意识出发的进程中，现在的讨论需要更多地关注统一性、普遍性和融合性，因为多样性的永久性讨论会形成某种错误观点，即认为差异性主要的现实存在。当然，差异性不是不重要，但这些差异性在我们的主要社会现实中只占次要的位置。特别是密集的经济网络（包括它造成的生态问题）和数字通信，它们标志着我们生活在一个相互依存的世界里，这个世界的特征是跨文化、跨宗教和跨民族。这些全球经济的相互依赖性以及社会网络活动展示了过去不曾有过的人与人的联合。和平学必须面对这样的情况，采取一种新的方式去探讨和平建设的可能性，特别是探究社会化网络框架内的和平潜力。请注意：在由共同的生活方式、密切的经济纽带和数字连接的统一的世界里，不同的文化、宗教和民族的基本现象将继续存在和发挥作用。



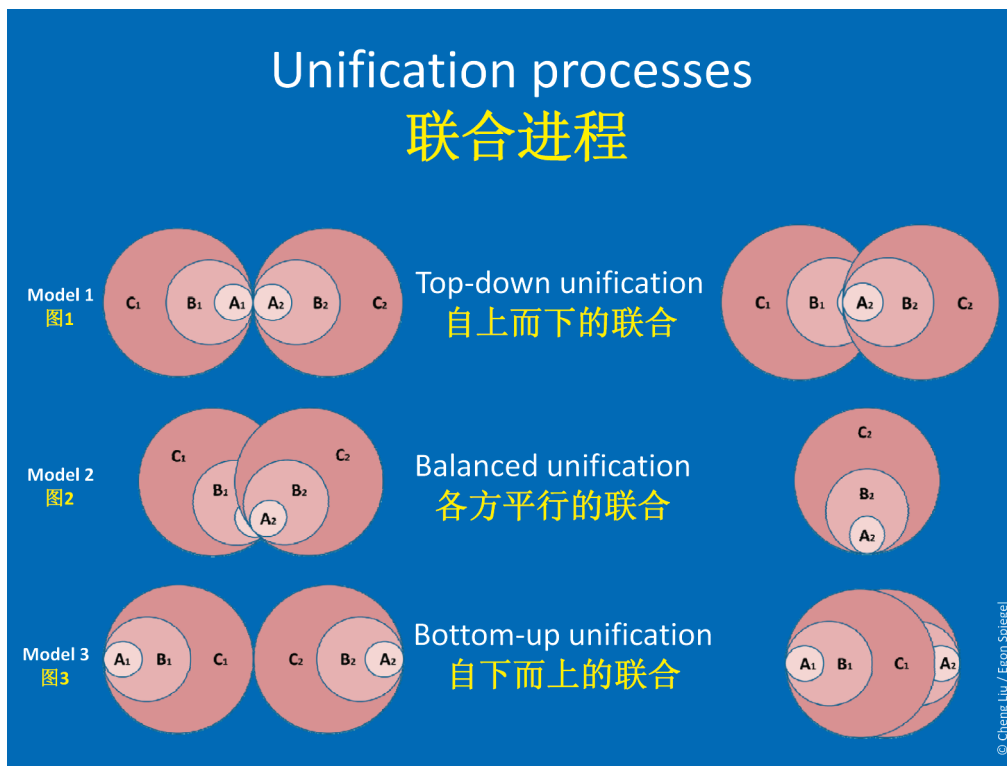
The problematic argument concerning cultural identity

Very often violence is culturally based. Many wars have been, and still are, fought for cultural reasons (not least religious ones). These are exacerbated because a lot of people are looking for an identity by having or finding a sense of cultural belonging. Clearly, they are afraid of the dissolution of culture through cultural unification and relativism. From a psychological perspective some people argue that the reason for this may lie in an ego weakness, expressed as: “I need some form of cultural affiliation to offset my own feeling of ego weakness”. But a further, important question could be: “Is the culture I’d like to belong to truly a culture and does it really provide a cultural reason for making war?” From one perspective similarities between the rural people of one culture, A, and the rural people of another culture, B, are much stronger than those between the rural people and urban people of the same culture. In the same vein, the commonalities of the urban people of culture A and the urban people of culture B are much stronger than between the urban people of culture A and

their rural counterparts, or between the urban and rural people of culture B. True culture is not a territorial, vertical phenomenon but a horizontal phenomenon relating to similar living places and their common typical conventions and structures. So, in reality, one cultural “layer” tends to be in opposition to the other, thus, the elites of each so called culture are fighting against the people in the common layer of that culture, but should not encourage people to fight against those sharing the common culture of the common layer.

质疑文化认同

暴力通常都有文化的基础。过去和现在的很多战争是由文化（特别是宗教）原因造成的。很多人根据自己的文化归属确定自己的身份，造成了这种情况的不断恶化。显然，他们害怕文化的统一性与相对性导致文化的消解。一些人从心理角度上认为，这样做的原因可能是一种自我虚弱感，即“我需要一个文化归属来抵消自我虚弱的这种自己的感觉”。但是，一个更进一步的重要问题是：“我想属于的这种文化是真正的文化吗？而且，战争的发生确实出于某种文化的原因吗？”从某种角度观察，甲文化中的农村人与乙文化的农村人之间的共性，比甲或乙文化中的城市人与农村人之间的共性要多得多。同样，甲文化中的城市人与乙文化的城市人的共性，比甲或乙文化中的城市人与农村人的共性多得多。真正的文化不是一种区域性的垂直现象，而是一种水平现象，即涉及类似的生活环境、共同结构与乡规民俗。所以，实际上是一个文化“层面”对抗另一个文化“层面”，是一个所谓文化中的精英对抗该文化中的普通群众，而不是共同文化层面中的不同人种之间的对抗。



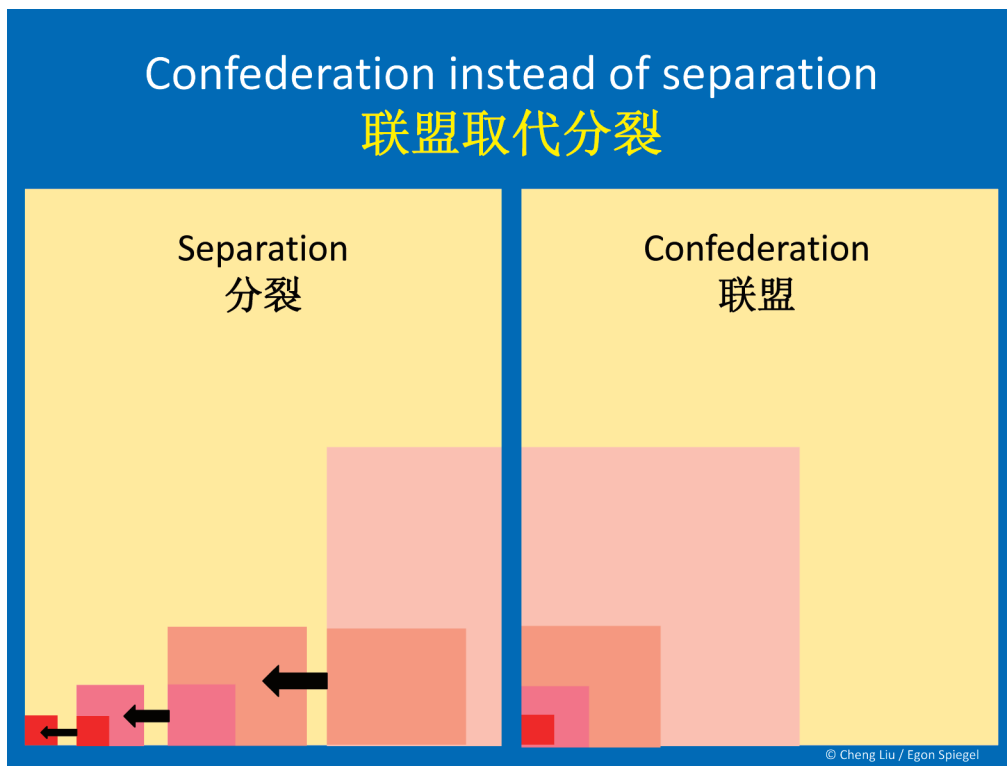
Interreligious unification (three models)

No other form of power in the world claims to be the best for all the world, and working in the interests of all, as much as the religious one; and equally so whatever their denomination. Each religion claims (by its participants and representatives) to know and represent the best or the only way to salvation. For some, this is more fundamental than for others (especially the monotheistic religions as compared to the Asian world religions). But in practice just the religions separate people incomparable sustainable. However, knowing the way to salvation should not actually cause confrontation between the religions because all religions represent similar ethics rooted in a similar spirituality. Therefore, as illustrated in model 1 above, it should not be impossible for the intellectual avant-garde and leaders of different religions to join with one another (A1 and A2), followed by the engaged members of their respective religions (B1 and B2) and, lastly, the informal participants (C1 and C2). However, it seems that in real life (see model 3) the masses of informal participants are much

more willing to join together in the factual life than the intellectual and administrative leaders. In the final stages of this process of bottom-up unification the religious rulers are relatively isolated and perhaps the only members who are not really unified. Alternatively, in the middle model, the unification process is balanced out. This does not start solely with the leaders (A), nor solely with the relatively unengaged masses (C) but with both these and also with the engaged supporters of each religion (B). Thus, the unification process is supported at all levels in a comprehensive concerted action.

宗教的联合（三种模式）

世界上没有哪种形式的力量，可以像宗教那样声称自己是全世界最好的，是为了所有人利益而工作的一种力量；同样，任何一种教派都是如此认为的。每种宗教（它的信徒和代表）声称自己洞悉并代表最佳的或唯一的拯救之道。部分宗教比其他宗教更是如此认为（特别是一神论宗教对比亚洲的宗教而言）。但在实践中，宗教却造成人类不可思议的持续分隔。然而，洞悉拯救之道就不应该造成宗教对抗，因为所有的宗教都在类似的灵性中有着类似的道德根基。因此，上图 1 的情况是不可能发生的：一种宗教的领袖（A1）与另一种宗教领袖（A2）的联合；随后是不同宗教的信徒（B1 和 B2）的联合；最后是宗教的非正式的信徒（C1 和 C2）的联合。然而，如图 3 所示，相比思想与行政领袖而言，广大的非正式信徒更愿意在实际生活里加入到另一种宗教中去。在自下向上的联合进程中，宗教领袖最终都是相对独立的，也许是唯一不能联合的群体。中间的联合模式是一种各方平行的进程，无论是领袖（A）、支持者（B）、一般群体（C）都参与进来，因此这是一种得到所有层面支持的广泛而协调一致的联合进程。



Forwards, not backwards

We actually have only two possible ways of managing how we live together politically: confederation or separation. We can find both in the context of contemporary globalization. On the one side, there is a tendency to join national structures together (an example of this is Europe). On the other, contrary to this, there are attempts at political secession backed by military activities (an example of this is the Russian minority in Ukraine). Unfortunately, in the case of the Russian people in Ukraine, there are two influences for integration: one is that of the Ukraine government, which wants to keep the minority as part of Ukraine (but has not done enough to support its existence in a federal sense), and the other is the Russian interest in integrating the minority into the Russian Federation. The nonviolent, sustainable solution would be for the Russian minority to develop its intra-Ukrainian federal existence with a link to a federally structured Russia (and, at the same time, to a federally structured Europe). On the border of Ukraine and Russia, the Russian minority could exist politically in a

form of bilateral confederation or a ‘double confederation’. This could also become a model for dealing with national political interests in the Baltic States. Moreover, confederation is the only sustainable solution for the Palestine area. Inevitably, the future of the world will be (con-)federal. Against this, separatist processes lead to eternal conflicts and to attempts to solve them using military violence. The policy of separation is not appropriate to globalization and its challenges; however, it does highlight the need for a federalism that is defined by respect for minorities.

向前而不要向后

在政治上如何和睦共处，我们实际上只有两种可能的管理方式：联盟或分裂。在当今全球化语境下，我们可以发现这两种方法都有事例。一方面，地区一体化的倾向，例如在欧洲。另一方面，与此相反，通过军事行动试图从政治上分裂国家，这方面的一个例子是乌克兰的俄罗斯少数民族。不幸的是，在乌克兰的俄罗斯人受到两个方面的整合影响：一是乌克兰政府的整合，即保持少数民族是乌克兰的一部分（但从联邦的意义上看，政府的努力还不够）；二是俄罗斯人希望将他们整合进俄罗斯联邦。一种非暴力的与可持续的解决方案可能是，俄罗斯少数民族以乌克兰内部的联邦形式存在，并与俄罗斯的联邦结构建立某种联系（并且同时与欧洲的联邦结构建立联系）。在乌克兰和俄罗斯的边界，俄罗斯少数民族在政治上以一种双边联盟或“双重联盟”的形式存在。这也可以成为处理波罗的海国家政治利益的一种模式。此外，联盟是巴勒斯坦地区唯一可持续的解决方案。未来的世界将是（共同）联邦，这是不可避免的发展趋势。与此相反，分裂过程导致永久的冲突和试图解决冲突的军事暴力。分裂的政策不适合全球化及其挑战；联邦制是全球化的需求，它是基于尊重少数民族立场上的考量。



Peace Studies: thinking out of the box

Nobody wants to become a victim of violence. Put more positively: all people prefer to exist in peaceful relationships. Therefore everywhere people are concerned with the conditions that affect are ability to make and live in peace. Suggestions and solutions to the varied dimensions of interactions as well as dimensions of structures are of course different. The spectrum ranges from extreme and violent strategies and methods to principle nonviolent ones, from terrorism over war to outspoken nonviolent actions. By profession, army authorities, time and time again, come to the conclusion that only the threat of violence and the willingness to initiate violent interventions can build and keep peace. However, because peace is a deeply serious issue, and we are all responsible for building it, we have to consider all possibilities for solving the associated problems, and must not exclude any ideas. Peace Studies represents a major one of these and society, and governments need to support their ideas especially as they involves scientific approaches that use thinking that goes beyond common,

classical approaches. Peace Studies works unconventionally, and the public expects just this. It is very likely that sustainable solutions will be found outside the box. So Peace Studies operates not as a system-immanent but as a system-transcendent (and therefore also system-critical). The unusual usual approach (that is one that is seldom recognised but proved to work every day) of strictly nonviolent means is an essential part of this. Naturally the system transcends the system of Peace Studies and allows criticism of itself.

和平学：跳出思维的框框

没有人想要成为暴力的受害者。更积极地说：所有人都喜欢生活在一个和平相处的环境中。因此人们都在考虑缔造和拥有和平的条件。当然，这些涉及人与人之间的互动维度以及结构维度的建议与对策是不同的，其策略和方法的范围从极端暴力到非暴力原则，从恐怖主义战争到坚定的非暴力行动。专业军事家们已经一次次得出结论，只有暴力威胁和愿意采取暴力干预行动才可能建立和保持和平。然而，和平是一个真正严肃问题，我们所有人都有建设和平的责任，我们必须考虑涉及问题解决的所有可能方案，不排除任何观点。和平学试图超越普通和传统的途径来考虑问题。和平学的工作是不同寻常的，也是社会期望所在，社会和政府应该支持他们的想法，特别是他们的思维超越了一般的经典方法。我们只能通过创新思维才能发现可持续的解决方案。所以和平学不是在系统内部而是超越系统的运作（因此其自身也是一个可批评的系统）。严格的非暴力途径是和平学的部分内容，非暴力是不寻常的寻常途径（因为它很少被认识到，但却被日常实践所证明）。毫无疑问，和平学作为一种超越系统的系统，也必须允许对它自身的批评。



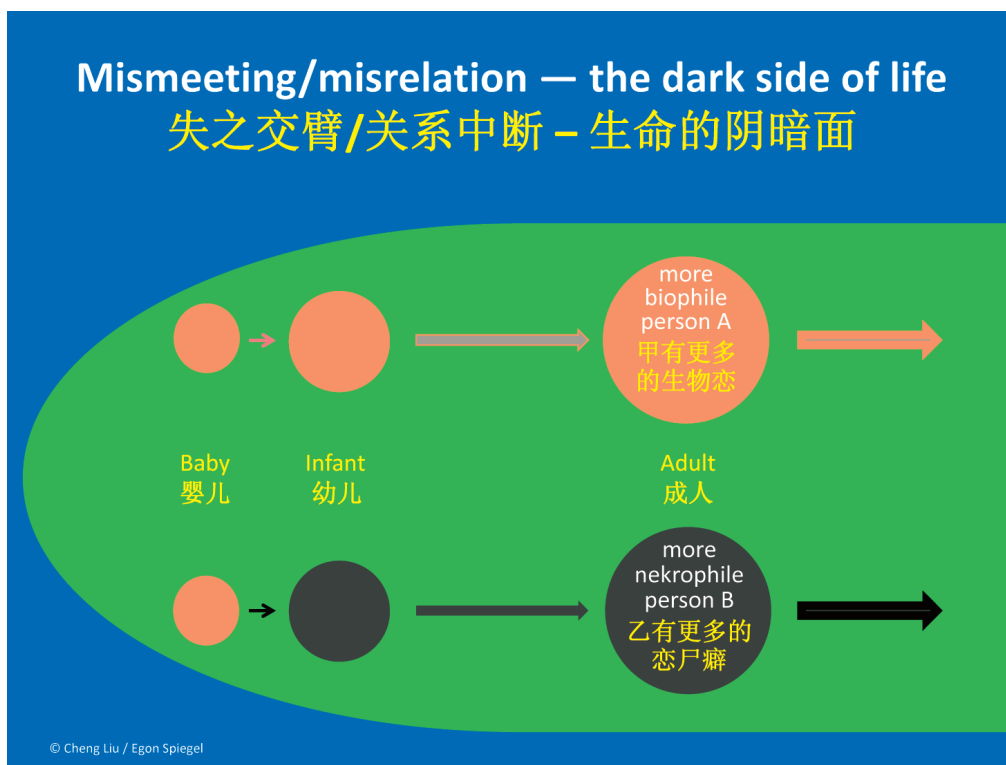
In the centre of life: Peace

Look around, right now! Describe what you are watching. We are sure that you're watching people around you engaged in organizing their lives, and communicating and cooperating with other people. No beating, no killing, no war. Sure, people are worrying about their families, about themselves, and about the future; perhaps about having enough to eat the next day. But, they are doing this by interacting with others who are trying to deal with life and its challenges. Many people are in discussions right now, looking for the truth in negotiations—politicians, religious leaders, businessmen, members of social movements, governmental leaders and representatives of NGOs. Others are in school learning for life or they are working hard in a company. Some are in fields with animals or involved with agriculture, some in hospitals saving lives, while others may be playing basketball or at an exhibition admiring art. Let's think about the romantic couples who are meeting right now, some very intimate; about parents playing with children, old people walking their dogs in

the street, young people celebrating parties. Not long ago, the keepers in a zoo had to separate a young baby monkey that had died in its mother's arms, she loved it so much that she had mourned for eight days refusing to let it fall. That's life, that's the centre of life; although the dark is also true, for some people a brutal truth, and we will not forget nor overlook this. Peace Studies needs to highlight this reality – the reality of our relative daily peace – as the basis of any peace activism. Our hope lies in what happens around us. This is what we need to encourage.

和平是生活的中心

看看周围，就现在！描述你看到了什么。我们确信，你看到你周围的人正在有条不紊地生活，正在与他人交流与合作。没有殴打，没有杀戮，没有战争。当然，人们也在为家人、自己和未来烦恼，也许还在担心明天是否有足够的食品。但是，他们在做这些事情的时候是与其他人合作，试图共同处理生活及其挑战。有些人正在进行讨论，试图通过谈判寻求真理，包括政治家、宗教领袖、企业家、社会活动家、政府官员和非政府组织的代表。有些人在学校学习或在公司努力工作，有些人在田间劳作，有些人在医院抢救生命，有些人在欣赏艺术展览或打篮球。让我们想象浪漫情侣的相会，父母与孩子间的玩耍，老人在街上遛着狗，青年们的派对活动。不久前，动物园里的猴妈妈一直怀抱死了八天的猴宝宝，猴妈妈深爱她的孩子，饲养员最后不得不将他们强行分开。这就是生活，这就是生活的中心，虽然阴暗面也是真实，对某些人而言是一种残酷的真实，我们对此不会忘记和忽视。和平学必须指出这种事实：和平是日常的事实，这是任何和平行动的现实基础。我们的希望寄托于那些发生在我们周围的事情之上。这是需要我们鼓励的事情。



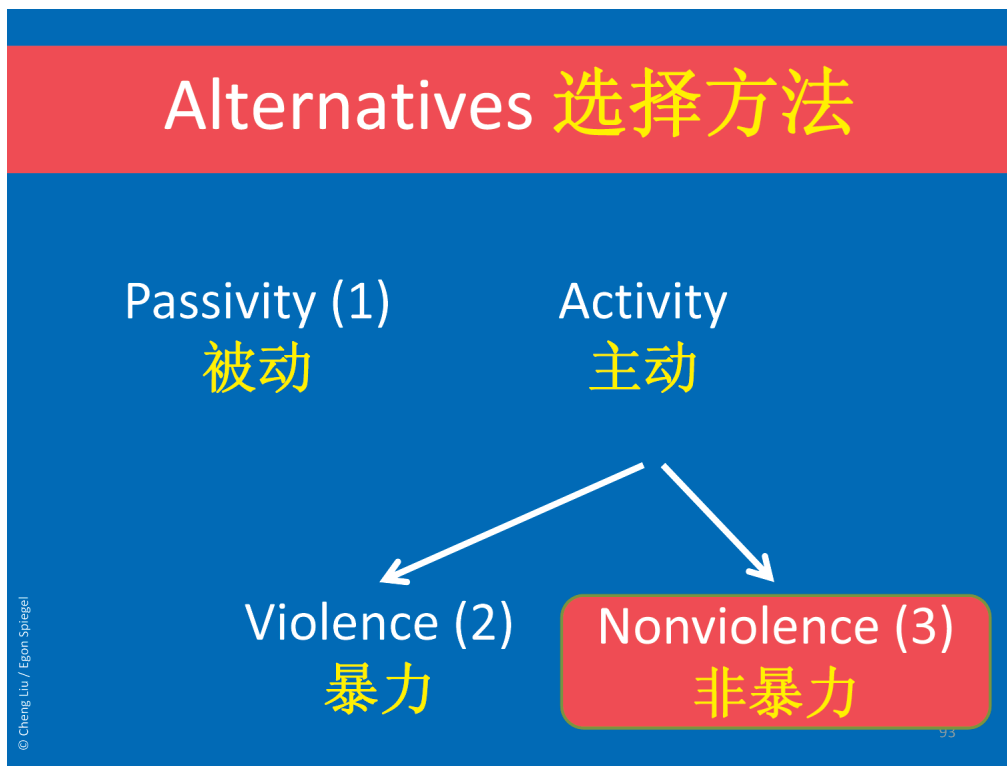
Evil as a kind of “mismeeting”

Antoine de Saint-Exupéry held the view that a human being who is not respected by others is liable to kill others. Indeed, a lot of injustice and brutal attacks can be connected to the perpetrator’s personal development, especially their experiences of childhood (deprivation). Erich Fromm, a famous humanistic psychologist, explains the destructivity of man by developing a difference between biophilia (bios=life, philia=love) on the one and necrophilia (nekros=death, philia=love) on the other. In his opinion, we are initially determined by our birth given gift of biophilia, which means loving life and its conditions. In fact, we love all that promotes life. However, through bad experiences, and especially through trauma and negligence during our early childhood, our biologically-based biophilia becomes weakened. As an alternative we compensate by developing necrophilia: We begin to love the dark, bad sides of life and to foster them. This necrophilia exists in individuals like Hitler in a very pronounced sense. The philosopher Martin Buber explained his terrible experience of

being given away by his mother when he was three years old as a “mismatching”. This means that his mother actually loved him and wanted to relate to him but unfortunately failed. Thus, behind her evil act, Buber discovered a basic goodness: the unrealized longing for a true meeting. In the context of this explanation, evil (also for example in the kind of sadism) is a form of unsuccessful good.

恶是一种“坏相遇”

安托万·德·圣·埃克絮佩里认为，一个人得不到他人的尊重，可能会杀人。确实，人所遭受的不公正与野蛮攻击可能影响到他们的个人成长，特别是他们的童年经历（被剥夺）。艾瑞克·弗洛姆解释说，人的被剥夺经历导致人处于两级之间：一方面是生物恋（Bios= 生命，philia = 爱），另一方面是恋尸癖。在他看来，我们是由我们出生时就具有的生物恋决定的，这意味着我们热爱生命及其生命赖以存在的条件。我们确实热爱所有的成长中的生命。但在坏经验的背景下，特别是由于我们幼年时期遭受的创伤性的疏忽，我们的生物恋本能出现逆差。作为一种替代方法，我们产生了恋尸癖（nekros= 死亡，philia= 爱）。我们开始喜爱生活中的阴暗面并发展它们。希特勒就是具有恋尸癖特点的个人案例。哲学家马丁·布贝尔解释了他自己的“坏相遇”的可怕经历，在他三岁时，父母离异，母亲离开了他。这意味着，他的母亲实际上是爱他的，双方是母子关系，但不幸关系中断了。所以他发现在母亲罪孽的背后是基本的善：未实现的真正在一起的渴望。在这种解释的语境中，恶（施虐狂也是如此）是一种没有成功的善。



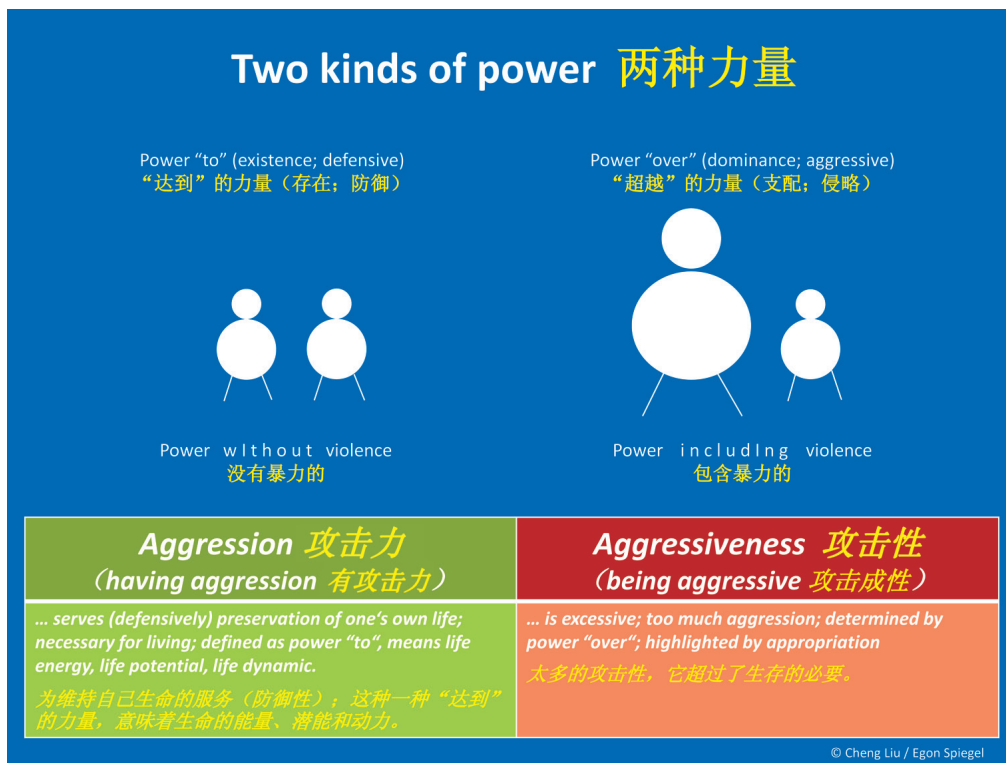
Three alternatives, one way

Because conflict is a part of our nature, conflicts will always exist. But it is not the existence of conflict that is our problem. It is how we deal with our conflicts that is the issue: either by ignorance, using violence or by acting nonviolently. Usually we solve problems nonviolently. Therefore our daily life is mostly determined by the absence of violence. We all are experts at solving conflicts through nonviolent means. From this perspective small talk is generally an attempt to prevent conflicts. In deed our capability for preventing or solving conflicts by communication and cooperation, by intensive and extensive interactions with others and by practices of reconciliation, is enormous. Nevertheless, sometimes we are liable to ignore a conflict. Of course we perpetuate it by doing nothing. Other times we may try to control our conflicts using violence. A lot of people think that there are only the two alternatives: to avoid conflict or to act violently. However, the same people should know by reflecting on their daily experiences that there is a third possibility: non-violent conflict transformation

with the expectation of a win-win-solution. Of course the nonviolence which is postulated here means neither passivity nor fatality. Later we will talk in detail about the dimension of nonviolence that is meant here. For now, we will simply assert that nonviolence is a higher form of active conflict transformation. Moreover, nonviolence is indeed a third alternative; or rather it is the first because of its daily normality. But, in fact, it is the only way that can lead to a real solution. Therefore overall it's the only one.

三种选择中的唯一方法

冲突是我们自然的一部分，冲突永远存在。我们的问题不是没有冲突，而是如何处理冲突：忽视冲突、使用暴力方式或非暴力方式。我们通常用非暴力方式解决问题。因此，我们的日常生活呈现出来的主要是暴力的不在场。我们都很精通用非暴力手段解决冲突。从这个角度来看，每一次私下交谈都是试图防止冲突。我们有通过交流与合作防止或化解冲突的能力，我们有通过深入和广泛的共同努力而实现和解的丰富实践。尽管如此，我们有时倾向于忽视冲突。当然，我们可以什么也不做，让冲突一直在那里。而且，我们可以用暴力方式调节冲突。很多人认为只有选择忽视冲突或采取暴力方式。然而，通过反思日常生活的经验，他们应该知道有第三种可能性：通过非暴力的冲突转化，实现一种双赢解决方案。当然，这里提出的非暴力手段不是被动的或宿命的。稍后我们将详细讨论非暴力的维度。现在，我们只是简单地断言非暴力是冲突转化的一种比较高级的有效形式。而且，非暴力确实是第三种选择，或是第一种选择，因为这是日常生活常态。但实际上，它是真正能解决冲突的唯一方法。因此，其实只有一种选择。



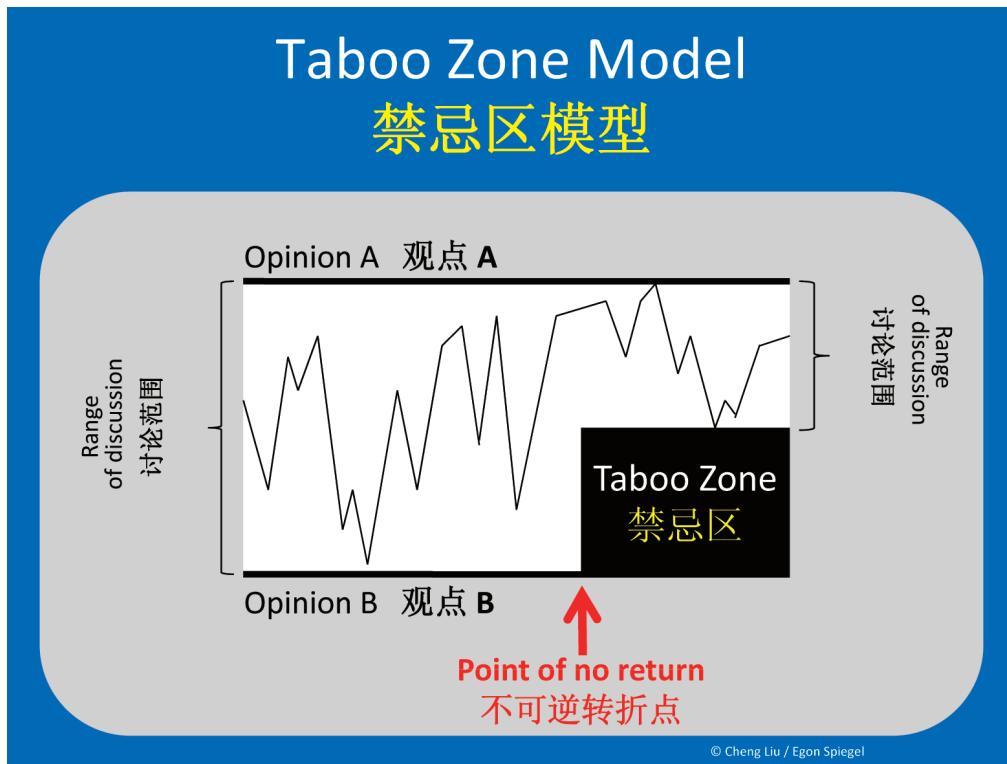
Aggression and power

Two terms you will very often meet in Peace Studies are “aggression” and “power”. Both terms need more careful consideration, especially in regard to violence. Aggression is primarily a potential, an energy that is not necessarily linked with violence. You need it as a basis of vitality and a dynamic for existing. If you didn’t have aggression, you couldn’t act. If you are depressive, you are deficient in aggression. But there is a huge difference between “having aggression” and “being aggressive”. Someone who is aggressive tries to assert more aggression than they need to exist. They assert their aggression not only needlessly, but also in an amount that gives them the potential not only to exist, but to dominate. At this moment aggression escalates into aggressiveness, which then contains violence. You can see the same development in the expression of power. Like aggression you need power to exist. This can be understood as “power to”. If you use more power than you need for existing as a human being among other human beings, you accumulate power, and then “power to”

becomes “power over”. Of course none of you behaves like this because you always meet with adequate resistance to overly increasing your own power. However, if you were to gain even a slightly higher level of power you would have to defend this. But then you can only overcome the understandable resistance of others by using violence. The development of “power to” into “power over” is the development of power without violence to power with or as violence. Power turns into violence.

攻击力和力量

和平学有两个常见的术语：“攻击力”和“力量”。我们要更加仔细地使用这两个术语，特别是涉及暴力时。攻击力主要是一种潜能，一种能量，与暴力没有必然的联系。它是你生命力的基础和生存的动力。如果你没有攻击力，你没法行动。如果你有抑郁症，你的攻击力就不足。但在“有攻击力”与“攻击成性”之间有很大的差别。某些好斗的人试图具有超过其生存需要的更多的攻击力。他们具有的攻击力不仅是不必要的，其程度超过了他们生存的需要，并使其拥有了控制的潜能。在这一刻，攻击力升级为攻击性，含有了暴力。同样的演变也表现在“力量”这个术语中。与攻击力一样，你需要生存的力量。这个力量是为了“达到”。如果你使用了更多的力量，超过了作为人类一员的存在需要，你提升了力量，力量就从“达到”演变为“超过”。当然，没有人喜欢这样的行为，因为你在过度增加你自己的力量的时候总是遭到抵抗。然而，你必须捍卫自己，或许只是让自己的地位比别人稍微高一点。于是，你只能用暴力压制别人的可以理解的抵抗。力量从“达到”演变为“超过”，没有暴力的力量也就发展到有暴力或作为暴力的力量。于是，力量与暴力联系起来。



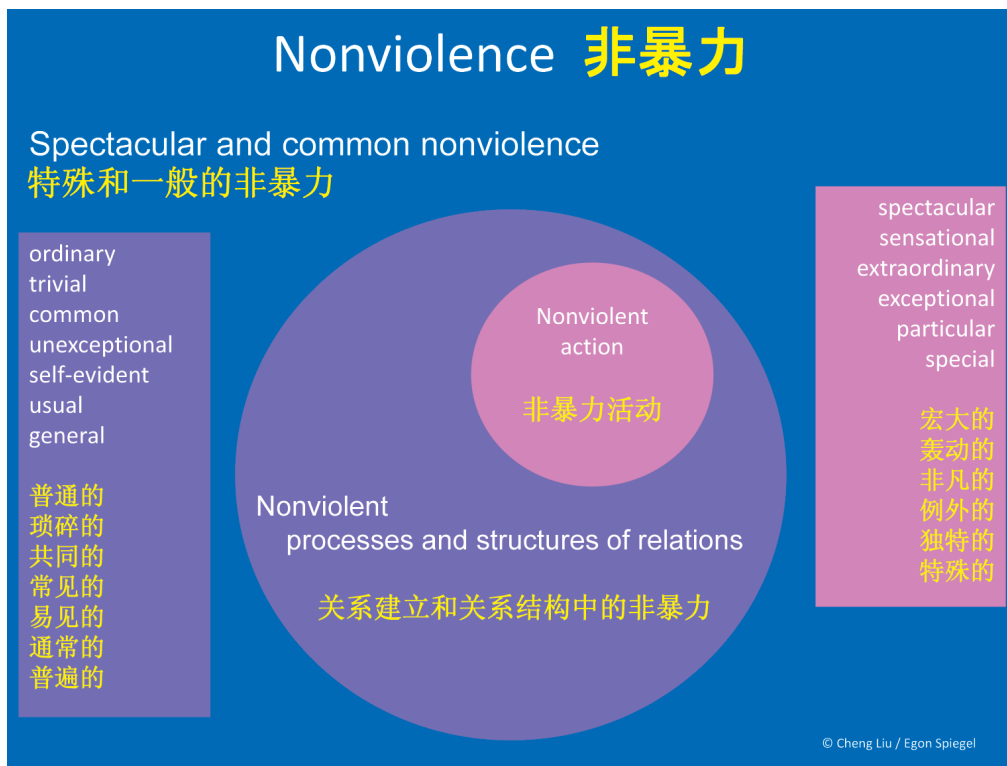
Taboo-Zone Model

The model above illustrates processes and structures you will often find. Very often the public opinion-forming process proceeds between two extremes: between the two positions of extremely pro and extremely contra an issue. In the case of war and preparing for war, this means the plea for deterrence and defence on one side, and plea for nonviolent conflict transformation on the other. All decision-making processes usually come to a point of no return when the question is decided. The process that leads to this point is described in the first, left hand part of the graph above. From a certain point on, the discussion carries on, but it is never allowed to run into the zone that was created by the previous discussion. The debate may touch the border of this zone, but is not allowed to overstep the borderline of the taboo-zone. Of course the temptation of this exists for some people, but in public discussion this must be continuously resisted. Whether the once-achieved taboo zone cracks or remains resilient, and the possible impacts of this, depends on the discussion. The graphs in our model

are created randomly. The curve of the line symbolizes only the possibilities of movement between the two extremes of pro and contra, and later between the one extreme and the tabooed zone (as you can see on the right side of the graph). The most significant point of this model is the beginning of the tabooed zone (the graph needs to be read from the left to the right side).

禁忌区模型

我们有很多实例可以验证上述模型演示的过程和结构。公共讨论往往介于赞成与反对的两个极端之间。在有关战争和准备战争的公众讨论上，一个极端是诉诸威慑和防御，另一个极端是寻求非暴力的冲突转化。所有的决策过程通常都要达到某个不可逆转的点，此时有关问题的争论已经非常明确。我们首先看图示左边的上部，曲线从这里开始并达到这个点。随着探讨的进程会出现某一点，讨论还存在，但不被允许再退回到讨论之前的区域。在这点之后的讨论可能触及但不可以超越禁忌区的边界。当然有些人还是想超越边界，但在公众的讨论中必然遭到持续的抵制。一旦禁忌区形成，它是被打开或是保有弹性，以及可能的影响，则取决于讨论情况。我们的模型中的曲线是任意勾画的。曲线反映的只是赞成与反对这两个极端之间的波动可能性，之后是在一个极端和禁忌区之间（参见图的右边曲线）。模型最重要的是禁忌区开始的那一点（曲线需要从左到右解读）。



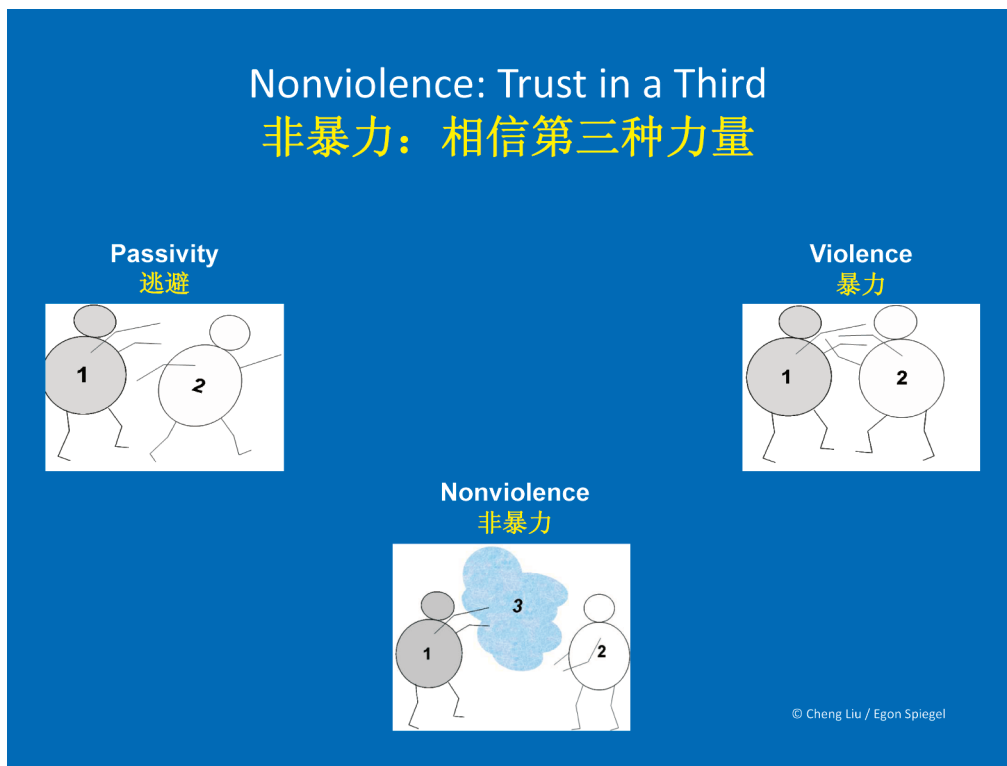
The second revolutionary discovery

Gandhi's nonviolent activities were incredibly impressive both in a specific, historical sense (in that he liberated India) and in a general, anthropological sense (he discovered nonviolence as a great human potential). One of his most famous actions was the Salt March (1930). Gandhi and thousands of nonviolent activists walked many miles to the sea in order to publically pick up salt, an act which Indian people were forbidden to do by the British Raj. The British army reacted brutally and beat to the ground all who were collecting salt. But this didn't stop the action: man by man they walked down to the sea although they knew they would be beaten, perhaps killed. Actions like this are very spectacular and good examples for studying nonviolence in a classic situation of confrontation. But they are also exceptional, extraordinary. They are very useful as a means to demonstrate the power of nonviolence but they are only the peak of nonviolence and they make people assume that nonviolence only happens in the context of spectacular events. They are very convincing, but they

are not enough, in themselves, to argue the case for nonviolence instead of violence. There is also a wide field of nonviolence that we could easily overlook because it is such a natural part of life: the daily lived reality of nonviolence, the ordinary, trivial, common, unexceptional, self-evident, usual, general nonviolence we can find in kindergarten and in families, in schools and universities, in partnerships and friendships, in trade and business, and in cities and in villages. This is an inexhaustible area of nonviolence that we need to study much more in future.

第二次革命性的发现

甘地的非暴力活动产生了广泛深远的影响力，不仅表现在一个独特的历史观念上（他运用非暴力解放了印度），而且体现在普遍的和人类学的意义上（甘地发现非暴力是人类的一种巨大潜能）。他最著名的一个行动是食盐长征（1930年）。甘地与数千名非暴力的拥护者长途步行到海边，公开地用海水自制食盐，以此抵制英国殖民当局的食盐专营法。为此，他们做好了遭受殴打甚至被杀的准备。这样的行动是研究典型的对抗状态下的非暴力的成功事例。这些事例是特殊的和超常的，它们可以很好地体现非暴力的力量。但他们只是非暴力的高峰，有助于我们认识非暴力在非常重大事件中的作用。这些事件是令人信服的，但还不足以证明用非暴力替代暴力的普遍性原则。我们可能很容易地忽略更加广泛领域内的非暴力，这些非暴力是我们生活的一部分：非暴力的日常现实生活，它们是普通的、琐碎的、共同的、常见的、易见的、通常的、普遍的非暴力。这些一般的非暴力存在于幼儿园、家庭、企业、学校、合作和友谊、贸易和商业、城市和乡村中。今后，对于这个无限广泛区域的非暴力现象，我们必须更多地开展研究。



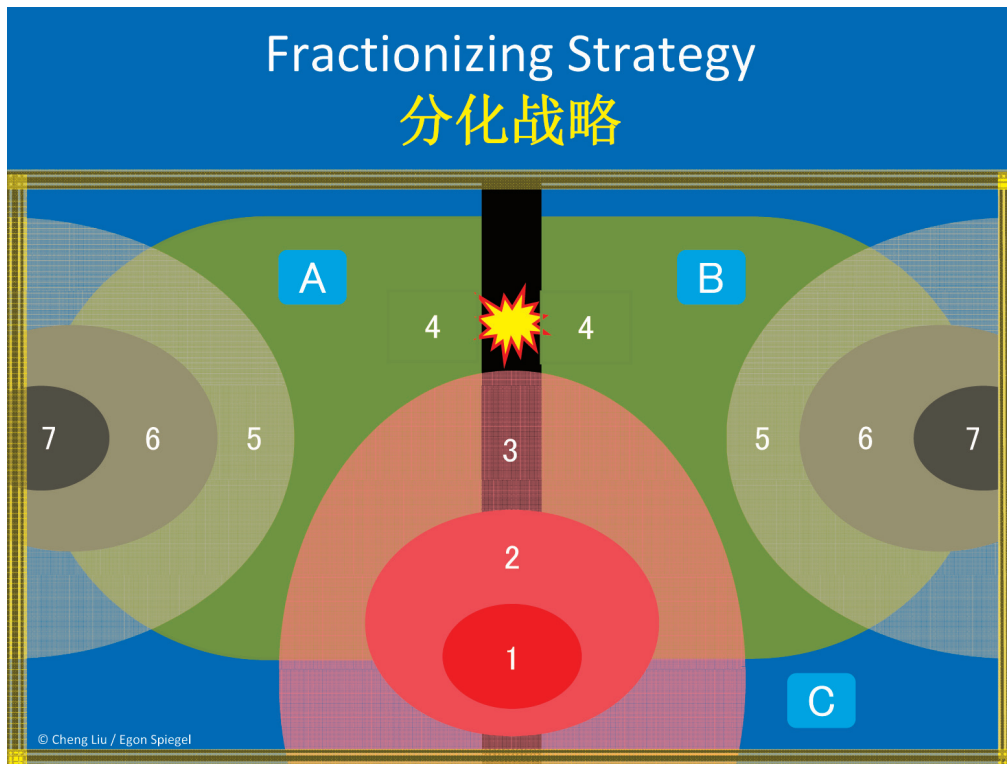
Spirituality of nonviolence

Those who work towards a nonviolent space, and expect processes that deliver results all participants can accept to develop in this space, believe in a power that is acting in the vacuum in the interests of both parties: a third, independent power, who both the nonviolent agent and the conflict opponent or partner are subject to. If nonviolence is to be more than merely a tactic or method to achieve an end, its agents have to believe in a power that is acting in the vacuum of nonviolence which the agent prepares through special nonviolent actions. Thus, Gandhi's nonviolent agents trusted in the power of truth (satyagraha): that there is a dynamic, a constructive potential (see Carl Rogers) that brings people together—a form of Third Power. In the biblical tradition this is represented by the four letters JHWH (which means that there is something that exists in the interests of the people). In a South African theology the name for this is MODIMO, which means that there is a God who collects friends and enemies within the same fence. There are many ways of naming it: Lao Tse called it

the Being beyond the whole being, Christians would say God, Muslims Allah, others believe in Biophily (E. Fromm) as the center of living together, or the Absolute Horizon of Being (V. Havel). In a very original way, the Anglican theologian, Carter Heyward, signifies dealings that relate to the existence of such a Third Power, however it is named, by the verb: “to god”. From this perspective, every nonviolent behaviour or dealing demonstrates an absolute trust in an inaccessible, in the between of all parties existing and acting Third. This spirituality is the core of a nonviolence that is much more than only a method.

非暴力的灵性

如果你致力于创建一个非暴力的空间，并在这个过程中找到所有参与者都能接受的最终结果，你就相信了第三种力量。它存在于双方利益之间的空间中，是一种独立的力量，无论是非暴力行动者或冲突对手或冲突伙伴都要服从这种力量。如果非暴力不只是实现某些利益的一种策略或方法，他们的代理人就必须相信一种力量的存在，它在非暴力的空间发生作用，促使一种特别的非暴力行动的出现。因此，甘地的非暴力追随者相信真理的力量（satyagraha）：这是一个有活力的和建设性的潜能（参阅卡尔·罗杰斯），它是一种使人们团结起来的第三种力量。在圣经传统中，它由四个字母代表：JHWH（意思是某样东西存在于人们的利益之中）。在南非的神学中，它被称之为 MODIMO，意思是有一个神用同样的栅栏选择朋友和敌人。道教中它是一种超越全部存在的存在。基督教中它是上帝。穆斯林中它是真主。其他还有人相信，（E. 弗洛姆的）biophily（生物恋）是共同生活的中心或是（V. 哈维尔的）绝对界域中的存在。英国神学家卡特·海沃德用一种非常原始的方式，将第三种力量与“属于上帝”连接起来。从这个角度来看，每个非暴力行为都绝对相信第三种力量，它可望而不可及，存在于所有方之间并发生作用。这种灵性是非暴力的核心，远不只是一种方法。



The battlefield and its fractions

In the preceding illustration we demonstrate the strategy of fractionizing by using another example. There is a typical conflict concerning one object, for example an island (see the yellow symbol which indicates an explosive situation). In this example, there are two parties, two countries (A and B), involved in the conflict (see the two green “playgrounds”). Both claim ownership of the island (see the black coloured gap). There are two camps opposing each other (marked by three grey circles). The inner (greyest) circle relates to the ideologically most extreme group (for example, the government). The middle grey circle corresponds to the people who actively support the position of their political camps (this might be the political administration, parts of the media, or the economic or education system). The outer light grey area represents people that passively affirm or condone the political position and dealings with the antagonist even if these include the decision to go to war (i.e. the silent majority). The dark red area corresponds to the group of peace activists (notice that this

field covers parts of both playgrounds, A and B); the middle red circle (which also partly covers both green fields) corresponds to supporters of the activists and their peace-oriented, nonviolent political position; the bright-red plane corresponds to the silent supporters of this. The blue area represents the world public (C). All planes (the grey and red areas alike) reach into this, and the gap does not only divide the two countries.

战场与分化

我们用另一种方式来解释前面图示的分化战略。这是一个因某个客体引发的经典冲突，例如一个岛（图示中黄色爆炸性的标记）。在这个例子中，有两个政党或两个国家（A 和 B）卷入冲突（两个绿色的“操场”）。他们都声称该岛的所有权（黑色的间隔）。有两大对立的阵营（三种灰色圈标记）。深灰内圈（7）是关注意识形态的最极端群体（例如政府）。灰绿中圈（6）是政治阵营的积极支持者，他们远离另一个政治阵营（例如公务员，媒体、经济和教育界的部分人士）。浅灰外圈是被动的支持者，或只是容忍这种对抗状况，即使他们接受了开战的决定（比如保持沉默的多数民众）。暗红色圈（3）聚集的是和平活动人士（这个部分覆盖了双边的操场）。中间的红色圈（也覆盖了部分绿色操场）描述的是和平行动的支持者，他们坚持和平导向和非暴力的政治立场。亮红色圈（1）是沉默的支持者（部分国民）。蓝色区域（C）表示世界公众。蓝色区域与其他所有区域都相连（灰色与红色的一样），间隔区域也是如此，它分割的不仅仅是两个国家。



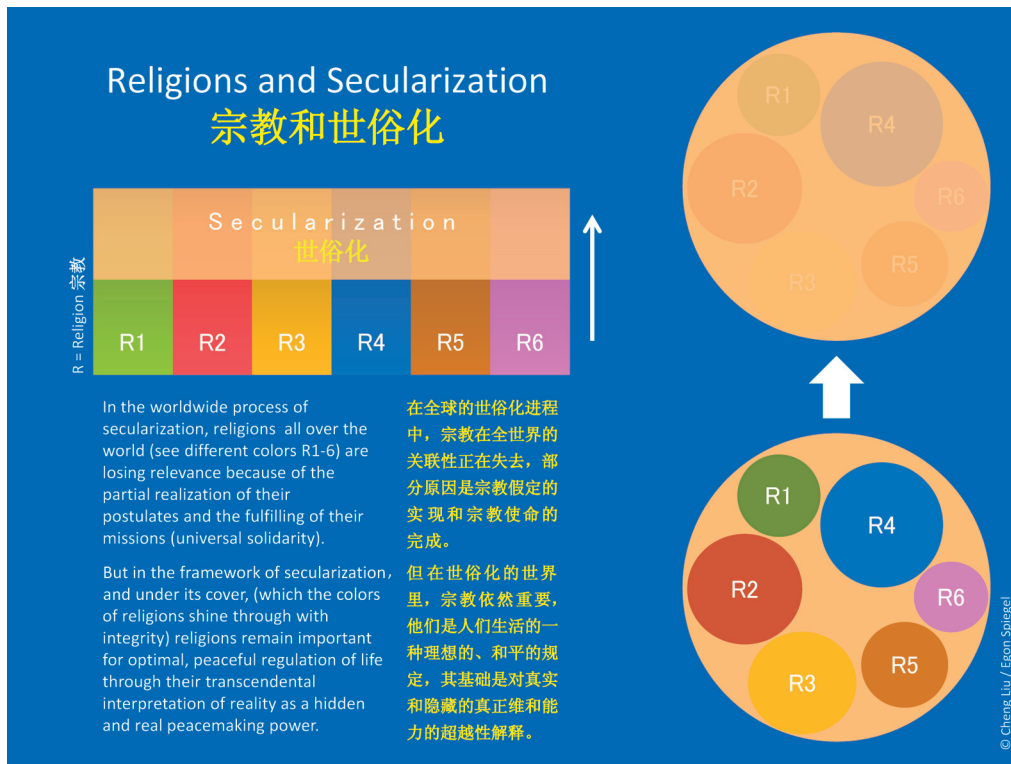
Reconciliation by an angel – a work of art from the Middle Ages

In the Boston Museum of Fine Art, you can see a remarkable painting by Barna da Siena, an Italian artist who created this work of art around 1340 ACE. The picture's title is "The Mystical Marriage of Saint Catherine". Our special interest is not with the main subject but with a section of the lower part of the canvas (we have circled it by a green ring on the left and enlarged it on the right). In this part of the picture, the artist portrays the act of reconciliation of two hostile parties represented by a black and a white warrior. They have put down their weapons and are hugging each other, we may say, quasi-tenderly. In fact, it seems as if they are kissing another. Behind the two warriors there is an angel. He is larger than life-size, which indicates that he is a Third and not comparable with the two soldiers. The angel is a being of another quality. However, the angel brings the parties together, connects both, just as his wings are stretched over both. The movements of the warriors reflect the form of the wings as they are linked in the centre, in a holy centre, expressed by a golden

halo. The weapons dropped to the ground are all pointing outward and downward. The Medieval painting focuses on the result of a process that is based on the work of the angel. Thus, from this perspective, peace on the basis of reconciliation is the work of a Third, the result of a miraculous mediation. This artwork is a marvellous illustration of the time-independent experience that there is a strong power bringing people together, even if they are enemies. Thus, rather than black and white causing a war through their differences, unity supersedes diversity.

和解天使：中世纪的艺术品

《圣凯瑟琳的神秘婚姻》这幅画收藏在波士顿艺术博物馆，它是一位意大利美术家在约 1340 年创作的。我们特别感兴趣的不是油画的主体而是它下面的一部分（我们用绿环标注）：画家描述了两个敌对团体之间（由黑衣和白衣武士代表）和解行动。他们放下了他们的武器，相互拥抱在一起，看起来在相互亲吻。武士后面有一个天使。天使比人的正常尺寸大，这意味着他是不同于武士的第三种力量，是另一种存在。然而，天使连接了双方，把两个武士结合起来。他的翅膀伸展开来罩住了两位武士。在翅膀的呵护下，两位武士在一个中心联合在一起，金色光环呈现了这个神圣中心。武器被扔弃在地面上，刀尖都指向外部。这幅中世纪的图画展示了天使的调解过程及其结果。从这个角度上看，基于和解的和平需要某种第三种力量，它能产生一个神奇的调解结果。本作品是一个奇妙的例子，它表明存在着一种强烈的力量，可以将人们聚集在一起，即使他们彼此是敌人。因此，黑色和白色的差异产生了战争，而团结消除了分歧。



The religious dimension of secularization

From the perspective of religions the worldwide process of secularization is terrible and grave. On the other hand we may be watching a remarkable movement proceeding in two directions: young people are making connections all around the world (by internet, travel and work) beyond their religious specificities, political orientations and cultural backgrounds. They are substantiating direct relationships (partnerships, families, friendships) on the basis of egalitarian affection and love. What more could religions actually want? Against that background we can suggest that maybe the religions are partly achieving their goal by optimizing communal obligations for solidarity and allowing themselves to be partly superfluous as peoples' behaviour changes in a way that was actually intended by religious education. However, in terms of having the better world we have prayed and worked for, this world does indeed need the religions for the following reasons: (1) to assert the need for a much better world and to condemn social injustices and other grievances that still exist, (2) to interpret ongoing

developments concerning their inner, transcendental foundations, and (3) to celebrate the connection between what we see happening and the dynamic that drives this in order to confirm the social everyday trust in the power that helps us unite and stay together permanently. As the same hidden (holy) peace-building dynamic is present in secular humanitarian movements as in religious ones, the transcendental interpretation can only be the same. The task of religions is to stabilize people in the endless (eschatological) process of creating a better world.

世俗化的宗教维度

从宗教的角度看，全球世俗化的进程是可怕而沉重的。在另一方面，我们可以看到的是一个引人注目的运动向两个方向进行：在超越宗教特性、政治取向和文化背景的基础上，全球的年轻人连接起来（通过互联网、旅行和工作）；在平等的情与爱的基础上，建立彼此的直接关系（伙伴、家庭、友谊）。宗教还有更多的真正想要的东西吗？在这一背景下，也许我们可以问，宗教可能已经实现了它们的目标。在这个过程中，宗教起到了增进团结的责任，宗教部分功能也变得多余了，因为人的行为发生了改变，而这种变化正是宗教的教育目标。然而，为了这个我们为之祈祷和工作的世界变得更好，世界依然需要宗教的存在。这基于几个原因：1. 呼吁创建一个更好世界，谴责社会不公等现象；2. 解释正在发生的有关宗教内部和超越的基础；3. 展示正在发生的事情和背后动力的联系，让人们坚信可以帮助我们永远相连的这种力量。在世俗的人道主义运动中也有隐藏（神圣）的和平建设的动力，这与宗教的情况是一样的，超越性的解释只能是相同的。在创造一个更好世界的无止境（来世论）的过程中，宗教的任务是起稳定民众的作用。



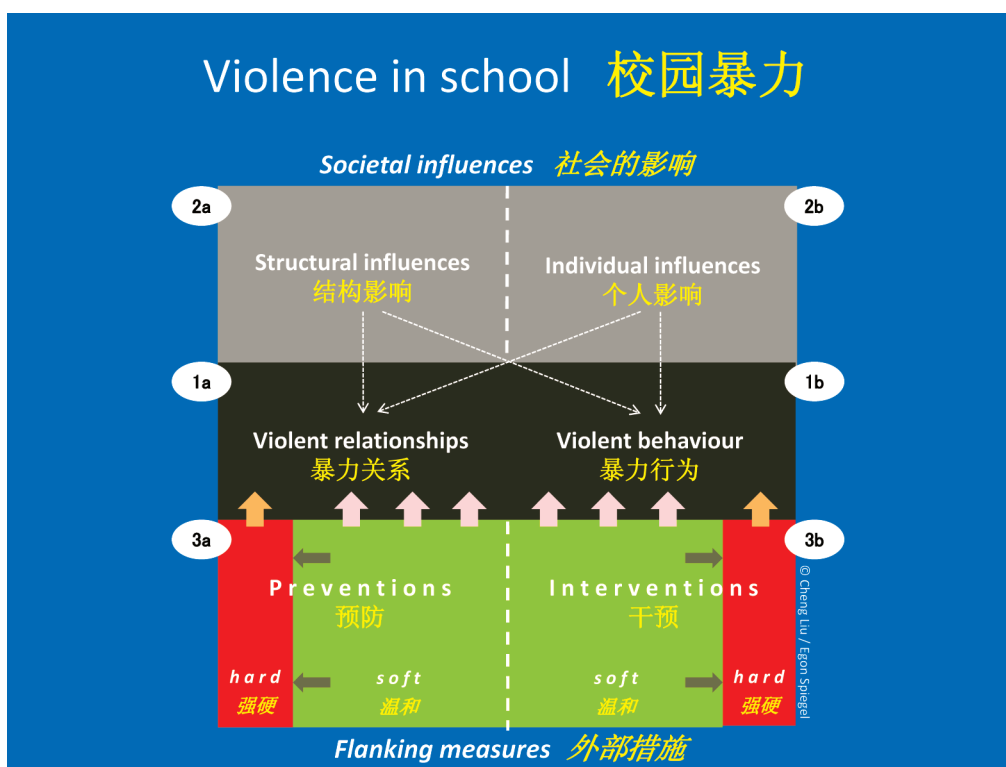
National reconciliation by initiating a broad national dialogue

National reconciliation is a special case, especially in traumatized post-conflict societies after a civil war. The need for national reconciliation may also exist when there are heavy national (political, economic, religious or ethnic) tensions. In order to prevent such tensions from developing into violent, armed (military) conflict, or to heal the wounds of war the various societal forces have to come together in a broad framework of national dialogue. Participants can include representatives from all sectors of society: the government and other political parties, NGOs and civil societies and civil liberties groups, entrepreneurs, trade unions, religious leaders, scientists, as well as nationally respected individuals such as musicians, painters, actors, sportspeople and people in the media ... The dialogue can happen both in decentralized meetings and in centralized meetings. The composition of the assemblies depends on the specific conditions of the conflict and the societal make-up of the country. The duration of the dialogue and the frequency of meetings may vary (with the process lasting

anything from several weeks or months or even becoming a permanent process). The (external) guidance under which national dialogue can establish itself and function is a main issue and often national dialogue is postulated and promoted by international forces. The objectives of the negotiation can vary: from single economic or ecological problems through political issues, relating to peace between rebels and the military, to conciliation processes accounting for the past inequities. If need be, the setting up of working democratic structures may be an overall objective. Another issue that needs to be considered is the location of the meetings, as this can create tensions in itself.

通过广泛民族对话实现民族和解

民族和解是一个特殊的案例，特别是在内战创伤后的冲突社会。当存在深重民族（政治、经济、宗教或种族）的紧张关系时，社会也需要民族和解。为了防止这种紧张局势发展成暴力冲突、武装（军事）冲突，或为了医治战争创伤，各种社会力量必须走进民族对话的广泛框架内。参与对话者包括来自社会各阶层的代表：政府和其他政治党派，非政府组织、公民社会和公民自由团体，企业，工会，宗教领袖，科学家，以及音乐家、画家、演员、运动员和记者等。对话可以是分散性会面和集中式会面。会谈的成员取决于冲突的具体状况和国家的社会构成。对话时间和会谈频率可能会有所不同（几个星期或几个月甚至成为一个永久的过程）。在（外部）的指导下，民族对话可以自己建立起来，其对话功能是一个主要的问题，往往是在国际力量的推动下开展民族对话。谈判的目标可能会有不同：从单一的经济或生态问题到政治问题；涉及叛乱者和军队之间的和平；处理过去的平等现象的和解进程。如果需要，民主的工作机制的建立可能是一个总目标。另一个需要考虑的问题是会谈地点，因为这可能造成对话的紧张气氛。



System check

Schools are places with dense relationship dynamics and high interpersonal investments. The conflicts that exist there are usually solved peacefully. However, we notice violent relationships on the one hand and the violent behaviour of pupils, teachers and responsible administrative personnel, on the other. To facilitate a better understanding of the (at times) highly complex situation, we have figured out an instrument, shown in the illustration above. This enables us to describe the phenomena (1), to analyse their background (2), and to ask for solutions (3). For the first step—in the middle black band (1), we list the phenomena separately as violent relationships (1a) and violent behaviour (1b). Violence in school is very often taken to mean only the violence of students eclipsing both violence against students and violent relationships (1b). In the second step—in the upper band (2), we write down the results of our questions concerning the background of the various phenomena of internal school violence. Here, we have to distinguish structural influences (2a) and individual influ-

ences (2b). Finally, for the third step—and the actual goal of our study—in order to identify appropriate measures for reducing violence in schools (3), we specifically explore the possibilities of prevention (3a) and intervention (3b) particularly making the distinction between hard and soft measures. As school is a part of the wider society we also have to regard societal influences. We cite this aspect as an important contextual factor outside the three-part scheme, also flanking measures without which schools are not able to reduce violence.

系统检查

学校是人与人之间交往活动密切的地方。校园中存在冲突，通常是通过和平方式解决的。尽管如此，一方面，学校里也存在暴力关系；另一方面，学生、教师和行政人员也有暴力行为。为了更好地理解校园的复杂情况，我们设计了描述校园暴力的工具，分析校园暴力的背景，寻求解决方案。第一步请看该工具中间的黑色带(1)：该区域为校园暴力关系的有关现象(1a)和暴力行为，通常指学生暴力、针对学生的暴力以及暴力关系(1b)。第二步请看上部区域(2)：我们在这个区域指出校园内部暴力的背景原因。我们要区分结构性影响(2a)和个人影响(2b)。第三步是寻求减少校园暴力的措施(3)：我们分别提出各种预防的可能性(3a)和进行干预的措施(3b)，特别是区分强硬措施和温和措施，这是我们研究的真正目标。学校是社会的一部分，我们必须考虑社会的影响。此外，没有学校外部的措施，学校也不能减少暴力。

A collage of all pictures







Preface

前 言

Looking around us, we find new upcoming generations that feel very connected by a close-knit worldwide network that includes all walks of life: economic networks with unlimited trade; a common cultural taste in such things as music and fashion; similar expectations concerning good education, safe jobs, sufficient income, health and stable relationships; the need to resolve ecological problems and economic polarizations; international exchange in the framework of school, study and business; and, last but not at least, the incredible possibilities of internet communication.

Against this background, attempts to resolve conflicts by violence make no sense. All examples from recent history demonstrate how inefficient and senseless, how dangerous for body and soul, and finally how deeply damaging violence is – both in social microcosms as well as in national and international conflicts. Indeed, as a method to resolve conflicts, violence is becoming more and more ridiculous. Consequently, violence, especially in the shape of war, is going to become outdated.

Modern society is intelligent enough to solve conflicts by looking for nonviolent methods of conflict resolution in a framework of creative conflict transformations. The amazing web-world we are capable of creating, and must develop continuously, does not need (violent) political confrontations. Rather it requires (nonviolent) common administration. Peace Studies can provide a means to describe and figure out the foundations for a peaceful, nonviolent way of living together in the one “web”, or “oikos”, as the Greeks would say; that is, in one world-household. In this context, Peace Studies must have recourse to the practice of nonviolence and the principles underlying a nonviolent creation of life and global society. Below, we will highlight some of the aspects of this that we consider to be particularly important. But let us

first talk about the circumstances that the present publication is based on.

The book you are now beginning to read is the result of a very special five year cooperation that involved both extensive research and a great deal of teaching. Both authors are from different academic departments: one from the field of history (specializing in World History, particularly British History), and the other from theology (specializing in Practical Theology, particularly Religious Education). Both of us have the same special interest in Peace Studies / Peace Sciences: we have researched these for many years; taught about them both in general and in relation to special topics; initiated, organized and performed numerous workshops and congresses; and written a great many publications.

The illustrations and comments we present in this book have been created and frequently used by us both in our regular lectures and seminars teaching students in China (Nanjing University) and Germany (University of Vechta); and also in international congresses and lectures in universities all over the world (for example, in England, USA, Japan, South Korea, Brazil, and Poland). Because of our positive experiences with this material we decided to publish it by choosing a combination of illustrations with English and Chinese comments.

Although Peace Studies and Peace Sciences cover a huge area of questions and require the integration of nearly all disciplines found in universities—and we have tried to consult these as comprehensively as possible—here we concentrate on the macro level of peace building and especially on the classic questions of peace and war. Of course the key to accepting the challenge of building peace in a globalized world and to solving questions of peace are in principle the same. The name for this key is nonviolence. This is the general answer provided by Peace Studies as presented here.

The specific framework in which we are locating our project is the UN decade for a “Culture of Peace and Non-violence for the Children of the World” (2001-2010), with a particular focus on nonviolence. Our approach regards globalization as creating very special conditions for peace building. As such, it involves a concept that is basically determined by the recent transcultural and transnational networking, especially that created by the youth of the world, as well as the positive effects of the worldwide economic network. At the centre of this peace-making concept are ideas of conflict transformation with the goal of making war and violence extremely taboo

activities.

Peace Studies and Peace Sciences in the form of Peace Research, Peace Education, and Peace Activism are motivated by our perception of the things that are wrong in our world. Violence in all its manifestations causes deep wounds within humanity and it is this that forms the essential motivation of Peace Studies. The conventional approach to this is to focus on these phenomena and discuss their possible solutions. Our approach contrasts with this in its basic concept: It is not deficit-oriented, but resource-oriented. This means, that we try to isolate violence and transform it, not by highlighting the phenomena and attacking them directly, but by emphasizing the opportunities and possibilities that are clearly given us by so many spectacular nonviolent activities; as well as by the nonviolence we practice on a daily basis.

Our positive perspective is mainly fed by our optimistic assessment of the human capacity to learn, by the discovery that human beings are becoming more and more sensitive and humane and by our belief in the increasing worldwide connectivity, not least through the global economy and digital-based communication. In such a world violence has no place. What we need is a responsible federal administration of the world based on a form of politics (“conflict politics”) that not only appreciates nonviolent conflict transformation but which is familiar with the principles, practices and perspectives of nonviolence.

There is no need to explain that our introduction to Peace Studies is very subjective—as are all others. Every introduction bears the signature of its author or authors. This one begins with the separation of issues and topics and ends with descriptions of special positions and contents. Also our texts and collection of illustrations at times bears the handwriting more of one or the other of the two authors.

Some texts mainly focus on informing the reader, others aim to polarize and provoke. The comments are all short and presented in combination with pictures so as to be well suited for special peace courses, self-study or discussions. Although the chapters and pages are sequentially arranged and sorted according to specific aspects, it's not a problem if the reader prefers to pick out a special page and discuss it in isolation from the previous or following pages. So feel free to use our book either as a textbook by reading it consecutively or focussing on only one aspect for elaboration and discussion. All the illustrations can also be studied independently. For that reason, please accept that some duplication has been allowed for within the book as a whole.

Very often the comments explain the contents and emphasis of the picture above it. Sometimes it offers an additional aspect or approach concerning the issues discussed in that page. And in some cases we don't describe the illustration at all.

Because peace building is not divisible and therefore not a matter of one postulate here and another there, this presentation is not only addressed to Chinese people who are generally very interested in education and very open to the challenges of peace education. By using Chinese and English in our illustrations and comments we demonstrate the current level of peace research in China to those outside the country and invite non-Chinese interested parties to participate critically in the working results of our ongoing workshop.

This book owes a lot to our students as well as the high school students with whom we tried out parts of this introduction to Peace Studies and therefore it is mainly addressed to young people. But it is also addressed to colleagues teaching the same subject in universities and to teachers in schools, as well as to parents and educators in childcare and preschools (offering aspects of early peace education). Finally it is addressed to those people who are responsible in culture, religion and nations, in politics and economics, in governments and NGOs. In short, we hope it will be of interest to all people concerned with peace building and the goal of enlarging the culture of peace that we can now find all around us.

Possibly you will miss having footnotes and references to other literature because we decided to keep this book free of these in favour of making it more readable. However, in our other publications, or in those of our colleagues, you will find a lot of these that can be used for deeper study. As well as the basics of Peace Studies, we have included a selection of topics, special views and perspectives. However, due to the limitations of space, we had to set priorities: we have often had to leave out explanations of controversies concerning the various theories, ideas, persuasions and positions. However, we consciously chose to risk being accused of dilettantism, than to overload the book. So it is important to understand that the first intention of this book is to initiate discussions and encourage nonviolent decision-making by using pleasing and simple pictures. In both the slides and the comments it hasn't been possible, and perhaps not desirable, to take on board all aspects of the questions we raise. Very often we only pick out one aspect of a subject in much more depth than others and hope that the discussions these provoke will lead to plenty of further questions

and critical positions—and, of course, the desire to study peace so as to gain a much deeper understanding. It is this motivation that we seek to achieve.

It's our great personal pleasure to give our ineffable thanks to our colleague and friend, Professor Alan Hunter PhD of Coventry University, England, who is doubtless the Spiritus Rector of modern Peace Studies in China. He inspired Liu Cheng path-finding and helped him to sustain it, so he was able to introduce his pioneering Peace Studies work to China. Thank you for this very much and for the wonderful foreword, you have written for our book.

Many thanks, also, to dear Prof. Dr. Dr. mult. Johan Galtung! You are the father of modern Peace Research. Without your research we wouldn't or couldn't create and publish this book. In Germany Egon Spiegel met you several times at lectures you gave in several different contexts, especially invited by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. More than this, Cheng Liu translated your books into Chinese and published it in China. He also vividly remembers intense official and private meetings with you in Nanjing. In a lot of aspects our ideas mirror, actualize and particularize yours. Your opus is much more than a milestone in the development of Peace Research: it has established Peace Research, and did so over half of a century ago. Thank you for your fatherly, collegial blessing in the form of a foreword.

The authors didn't know each other before this collaboration. They were brought together by Fan Li, who was a Chinese MA student at the University of Vechta at the time. Thank you very much. Thanks also to Ms Jessica Aitken for her great job proof-reading our book, and to Ms Gerda Büssing, for her excellent and patient support. Many thanks to He Lan, Prof. Dr. Annette M. Stross and Anja Niermann: we were always able to discuss our book with them.

Last but not least, thanks for the People's Publishing House, especially Ms. Meiyan Yang and her staff, for giving us the opportunity to publish this special kind of introduction to the subject.

The world we are envisaging is a learning world, a world full of ambitious young people, willing to run this globe sustainably, which means being peacefully nonviolent through a high level of engagement and the investing of their valuable energy. Maybe our critics will reproach us for a far too optimistic view. Perhaps others will think that we challenge our young people to undertake a responsibility which they cannot match. However, at the very least, we keep in mind the countless people

all over the world—young and old, women and men, at the bottom and at the very top—who are willing to create a world together that is a good sustainable place for us all to live in.

Nanjing/China, May 2015

Cheng Liu/Egon Spiegel

环顾世界，我们发现新生代已经被一个全球性的经济网络和贸易非常紧密地连接起来，他们通过一种共同的文化品味，例如音乐与时尚；类似的期望，比如良好的教育，安全的工作，丰厚的收入，健康的身体，稳定的关系，生态问题与经济极化现象，学校、学生与商业的国际交流；最后强调一下，互联网提供的难以置信的可能性。

在这种背景下，试图用暴力解决冲突没有任何意义。而且，所有年轻人的事例表明，那些存在于社会微观领域以及国家和国际冲突中的暴力行为，是无效而没有意义的，它们危害了身体与精神。暴力作为一种解决冲突的方法正变得越来越荒唐。暴力特别是战争正在成为一种过时的东西。

现代世界有足够的智慧去寻找其他解决冲突的方式，即通过非暴力方式实现冲突转换来达到化解冲突的目的。在这样的神奇的网络化世界里，我们可以也必须创造持续的需求，它们不是（暴力的）政治对抗，而是（非暴力的）共同管理。和平学可能描述并找出一个和平的、非暴力的共同生活其中的一个“网络”基础，按照希腊语来说，生活在一个世界的房子内（oikos）。在这一背景下，和平学必须探求我们生活和世界中的非暴力的资源、行动与原则，其中部分重要内容将在本书中得以呈现，当然是基于我们的视角。下面，我们首先说明本书出版的条件。

你刚刚开始阅读的这本书，是为期五年的一项非常特别的合作研究与教学活动的结晶。本书两位作者有着不同的专业背景。一位是历史学系的教授（世界史专业，英国史方向）；一位是神学系的教授（实用神学专业，宗教教育方向）。我们都对和平学有兴趣，为此进行了长期的相关主题的教学与研究活动，发起并组织过和平学主题的工作坊与学术会议，也发表了很多成果。

本书的图示与评论是我们在中国（南京大学）和德国（费希塔大学）共同课程的材料，也常常在其他一些大学（比如英国、美国、日本、韩国、巴西、波兰、中国台湾、中国香港）的讲座与国家会议上所使用。因为积极应用这些材料的经历，促使我们决定从中挑选部分图示与评论出版。

和平学或和平研究的涉及面非常广泛，几乎需要整合大学的所有学科。然而，我们试图在本书中阐述的观点集中于和平建设的宏观层面，特别是有关和平与战争的经典问题。当然，我们的重点是在全球化世界中接受建设和平的挑战，以及如何解决有关和平的问题。非暴力是这个重点问题的名称，也是本书所描述的和平学给予的基本回答。

联合国的“世界儿童和平与非暴力文化国际十年（2001—2010）”是本书的特殊框架，我们将特别关注非暴力问题。我们的方法是将全球化作为建设和平的一个非常特殊的条件，所涉及的理念因而主要是由最近的跨文化和跨国家网络，尤其是青少年以及全球经济网络的正能量所决定的。我们的和平理念与冲突转化的中心目标，就是使战争和严重暴力行为成为一种禁忌。

和平学包括和平研究、和平教育、和平活动，它们都是为了纠正我们在这个世界上所做错的事情。暴力造成人类的重大伤害，和平学在根本上源于此。传统的立场通常要挑选出这些暴力现象并讨论他们的解决方案。我们的方法却截然不同，它不是以削减而是以资源为导向。这意味着，我们试图隔离暴力行为，我们的做法不是指出这些现象并直接予以抨击，而是通过一些非暴力运动以及我们日常生活中的非暴力行为来提供机会与可能性。

我们对和平的积极展望，主要源于我们对人类学习能力的乐观评价，源于我们对人类越来越敏感和人性的判断，尤其是源于我们对基于全球经济和数字通信的全球村的认识。在这个世界上没有任何地方可以容忍暴力的存在。我们需要的是一个负责任的政府，它们是基于政治（冲突政治）世界的政府，不仅欣赏非暴力冲突转化，而且通晓非暴力的原则、实践和展望。

我们对和平学的介绍基于我们的非常主观的认识，就像其他人一样，对此无需解释。作者都要为其著作承担责任，无论是选择的问题和主题，还是作者的态度与书写内容。当然，我们这本教科书的部分图片出于其他人的成果。

本书一部分内容主要是阐发观点，其他的内容则是激发大家的思考。书中所有的简短评论都有相应的图示配合，适合和平学课程、自学或讨论的需要。虽然内容上做了系统性的编排，但是任何一个主题页都可以单独分离出来进行专门讨论。本书可以作为教科书使用，可以连贯性地讲述全书内容，也可以选择其中一章进行阐述与讨论。本书各章顺序可以根据各自需要自由调整，不必拘泥于出版的编排。所有的图示都可以进行专题研究，正因如此，我们在书中提供了一些看似多余的插图。在多数情况下，评论是在解释插图包含的观点与信息。有时，评论提供了涉及该主题的另外某个方面或立场。在某些情况下，图示已能清楚说明问题，无需再加评论。

建设和平是全人类的共同事业，因此，本书不仅仅是为了那些对和平教育有兴趣的中国读者。本书插图与评论用中文和英文两种语言表述，力图体现和平学的最新水平，因而也适合感兴趣的非中国的读者，欢迎大家对我们正在进行中的这个阶段性成果提出批评意见。

本书主要是写给年轻人的，我们非常感谢我们的学生，他们人数众多，有研究生、大学生，还有高中生，我们在课堂上共同讨论了本书的部分内容。但是，本书也是写给大学和中小学讲授同样主题课程的同行们；父母们、幼儿园和学前班的教师（他们承担早期和平教育的责任）；最后是政治、经济、文化（包括宗教）、民族、政府机构和非政府组织内的工作者。总之，本书适合所有对建设和平文化有兴趣的人士阅读，而这种和平文化已经在我们周围出现。

为了更加方便阅读，本书略去注脚，只在最后附上部分参考文献，这些我们和其他同事的著作将有助于读者作更深一步的研究。同时我们常常不得不放弃对有争议的某些理论、观点和立场做出解释。我们更关注本书的简单易懂，为此宁愿承担蜻蜓点水的风险。本书的初衷是通过简洁易懂的图示引发讨论和鼓励非暴力的决策，我们不可能对图示涉及的所有方面进行评论。我们常常只挑选出一个方面，希望我们的图示和评论能够激发讨论，由此引申大量的进一步的问题、批评性的立场，进而产生研究和和平的欲望，以加深对有关问题的理解。这就是我们想要达到的目标。本书包含了和平学的基础问题，以及有关主题、个人见解和展望。当然，限于书本篇幅，我们在内容上有所取舍。

我们要特别地衷心感谢考文垂大学和平与和解中心教授艾伦·亨特博士，他无疑是中国现代和平学的精神领袖。和平学正是在他的启发与帮助下被引入中国，他也始终激励着刘成对和平学的探求与可持续的努力。感谢他为本书所作的精彩序言。

非常感谢约翰·加尔通教授！你是现代和平研究之父。没有你的研究，我们不可能创作和出版这本书。埃贡·施皮格尔多次聆听过您的演讲。刘成翻译了您的著作，至今他还清晰地记得您访问南京大学的情景。在很多方面，我们的想法是在反映、实施和阐述您的思想。您的贡献远不是只用“和平研究发展的一个里程碑”就可以表达的。您开创了和平研究，并在半个多世纪里持续推动它的发展。谢谢您在序言中慈爱的同事祝福。

在此之前，两位作者并不认识。他们的相识要感谢李凡，她当时是德国费希塔大学的中国硕士研究生。感谢杰西卡·艾特肯女士对本书的出色校对。我们要感谢格尔达女士的耐心支持。我们还要感谢何岚、安妮特·M. 斯特罗斯教授和安雅·尼尔曼：我们总是可以跟她们讨论本书涉及的有关主题。

最后但同样重要的，我们要感谢人民出版社，特别是杨美艳女士和她的同事，使得这本特别阐释和平主题的著作得以出版。

我们面对的世界是一个学习世界，这是一个充满雄心壮志的年轻人的世界，他们希望保持地球的可持续运转。这就意味着采取和平与非暴力的方式，需要他们有更远的抱负，也需要他们充满活力的宝贵贡献。我们的观点也许会被指责为太过乐观。也许其他人会发现，我们是在激发年轻人承担起他们责无旁贷的责任。我们认为，世界各地的芸芸众生，年轻人和老年人，男人和女人，底层和顶层，他们都愿意共同创造一个保证所有人富裕生活与体面生存的世界。

刘成 / 埃贡·施皮格尔
2015年5月于中国·南京

Afterword

后 记

This book is concerned with the question of peace. But as we know, peace is not merely the absence of war, but also means the elimination of hunger, refugeeism, pollution and other problematic issues with the aim of creating the conditions for a harmonious coexistence within the global environment. Achieving such peace for human society is a great and challenging project, requiring unremitting exploration and persistent efforts concerning the needs of all people. As President Xi Jinping said during his historic visit to the UNESCO headquarters: “Through cross-border, cross time, cross civilization education, science and technology, and cultural activities, let the seeds of the ideas of peace sprout and take root in the hearts of the people all over the world, and so let this planet we live on together grow more and more forests of peace” (27 March 2014, in UNESCO). The purpose of this book is to attempt to do what little we can to support this project by providing some constructive suggestions.

Globalization is the current status of today’s world, and this is underlined at the very beginning of our book. But here we feel we must add that globalization is not a simple process since the world is so rich and varied. Peace building is destined to be a continuing and continual effort to progress in such a world, and so our thinking in relation to peace is a life-long comprehensive process.

Peace Studies with its transdisciplinary nature is related to everything, therefore, in view of the limits of our time and academic reach, inevitably, shortcomings and mistakes exist in this book. But there is one thing we can guarantee, all we have written in this book has been out of the desire for and pursuit of a more peaceful world.

We sincerely look forward to comments and criticism from readers.

这本书关注点是和平问题。但是，和平不仅是没有战争，而且意味着消除饥饿、难民、污染等问题，从而创建一种和谐共生的全球环境。这样一个和平目标是人类社会最伟大也是最有挑战的工程，需要所有人的持久努力和不懈探索。2014年3月27日，习近平主席在联合国教科文组织总部演讲时提到：“通过跨国界、跨时空、跨文明的教育、科技、文化活动，让和平理念的种子在世界人民心中生根发芽，让我们共同生活的这个星球生长出一片又一片和平的森林。”我们写作本书的目的就是试图为此工程添砖加瓦，提供某些建设性的意见。

全球化是当今世界的现况，这是我们在本书开始部分所强调的。但在这里我们必须补充一点，全球化并不是单一化，世界是丰富多彩和包容万象的。在这样一个世界里进行和平建设注定是个持续努力的进程，我们对和平的思考也必然是一个终生永不停止的过程。

和平学具有跨学科的特点，相关内容包罗万象，加之我们的水平与时间的限制，本书难免挂一漏万，不足和错误也一定存在。但有一点我们可以保证，我们在书中的所有思考都是出于对一个和平世界的向往与追求。

我们真诚期待读者的赐教与批评。

Foreword I

序言一

Dear Reader, please do not think of the book you have in your hands as Chinese peace studies. Peace has no nationality. This extraordinary book is global peace studies! The book itself builds peace in a globalizing world, written in two major world languages, and co-authored by authors also spanning the Orient-Occident gap.

The book not only has a message. The book is a message.

And the message is strong. A new generation is coming up, “very connected by a tight economic network” and “a common culture taste”; culture being defined as “a common or similar thinking and acting”. “Against this background attempts of solving conflicts by violence don’t make any sense”. They do not belong in this world, as little as slavery and colonialism. Violence is not the key, nonviolence is. “What we need is a responsible federal administration of the world based on “conflict politics” which do not only appreciate the nonviolent conflict transformation but is familiar with “the principles, practices and perspectives of nonviolence”.

Let us pause for a moment. There was a lot of common thinking and acting among the European powers that repeatedly killed each other last century. The elites adored the same music and authors. And there was a lot of dissimilarity between the centers of occidental and oriental empires and their peripheries or colonies. Similarity may imply pursuit of the same scarce goals, dissimilarity may imply serious lack of empathy. Both may engender violence, even genocide.

But, like the authors I would play the similarity card for peace. Culture is crucial, there is communication, not a gap easily filled with war, conquest, occupation, colonialism, polarization, domination. Something must fill that gap and I join the authors: peace education, what to do and how, familiarity with peace practices. Altern-

tives to the security paranoia and being No. 1 mania so often encountered.

Being the founder of the peace-development-environment network TRANSCEND International I like the frequent use of the word trans in the book. Beyond, au-delà, jenseits. Not a compromise, some kind of compelling new reality that has to be captured by the thought, clad in words and written on the wall – the key is creativity – and then be put into practice, carefully, building on what is – the key is pragmatism.

Have a cursory glance at human history: enormous creativity and trial-and-error practice. For good and for bad, yes, but maybe on the average more good than bad, otherwise we would no longer be around. It is in our power to distribute better, to get all of humanity into it through togetherness and sharing. And it is in our power to handle conflict – incompatible goals! – much better through conflict hygiene, like we have learnt to manage body hygiene for health, not too badly.

But world federation? I have some doubts. It presupposes more of an urge for togetherness than we have today. World governance of 7-8 regions based on some similarity, or at the very least – Africa, ASEAN – closeness should be possible. But there is another argument than deficits in belonging together: the need for diversity, for the challenge of dissimilarity, to work out new symbioses. This is nature's clear message to us: diversity with symbiosis is the key to sustainability, and we want sustainable, dynamic peace, not ceasefire.

“Without God, but not godless, without religion, but not unreligious”. Transcending the religions as we know them, building on the best in them and in the secular world views. For spiritualism, the faith in something beyond ourselves, our Selves. Or better: spiritualisms in plural. Mine is “peace”, my job is to get closer.

We read on and on in this masterpiece of a book, inspired as it is by the Chinese symbiotic coexistence of “three teachings”, daoism, confucianism and buddhism. A rich combination of very many ideas. And underlying it all the greatest gift of all: optimism. Thanks!

Andreas Galt

亲爱的读者，和平没有国籍，请不要将你手中的这本书看成是中国的和平学。这是一本非同寻常的全球和平学的著作！这本书本身就是在全球化世界里建立和平，它使用了世界上两种主要语言写作，合作作者也跨越了中西差距。

本书不仅是传递一种信息。这本书本身就是一种信息。

而且这个信息非常强烈。一个新时代正在来临，世界由“一个牢固的经济网络”和“一种共同的文化品味紧密相连”；文化被定义为“某种共同或类似的思维和行为形式”。“在这种背景下，试图用暴力解决冲突是没有任何意义的”。它们不属于这个世界，就像奴隶制度和殖民主义一样。暴力不是解决冲突的关键，非暴力才是关键。“我们需要的是一个负责任的世界联邦政府”，它基于冲突政治，“不仅欣赏非暴力冲突转化，而且通晓非暴力的原则、实践和展望”。

让我们稍作以下关注。欧洲列强有很多共同思想和行动，这些致使他们在上世纪反复互相残杀。精英们喜欢相同的音乐和作者。在西方和东方帝国的中心与它们的边缘或殖民地之间存在很多差异。相似性可能隐含着对相同的罕见目标的追求，差异性可能隐含着同情的严重缺乏。这两方面可能会造成暴力，甚至种族灭绝。

但是，如同本书作者的观点，我愿意为和平打出相似的牌。文化是非常重要的，应该沟通，而不是隔阂，后者很容易造成战争、征服、占领、殖民主义、极权主义和控制。这种隔阂必须用某些东西来填补，我非常同意作者的主张：和平教育，做什么及如何做，通晓和平实践。

作为和平—发展—环境网络“超越国际”的创始人，我赞赏本书经常使用“超越”这个词。“超越”不是妥协，一些令人关注的新的现实必须辅之于新的思想，让人人知晓，关键是创新，然后付诸实践。和平建设工作要小心谨慎，其关键是实用主义。

人类历史表明：人类有巨大的创造力，有不断摸索与实践的能力。其中有好的也有坏的，但平均而言，也许好的多于坏的，否则我们将不再存在。我们有权力宣扬好的，促进所有人的团结与共享。我们有能力处理冲突——不相容的目标！我们通过冲突保健法解决冲突，就像我们已经知道的身体健康法一样，这种方式会更好，而不是太坏。

但世界联盟是一种方式吗？我有些怀疑。它假定据此可以带来比今天我们已有的更多团结与友爱。世界上有七八个有些相似性的地区建立了联盟，或至少非洲和东盟的亲密关系应该是可能的。但还有另一观点：我们需要多样性，需要差异性的挑战，在此基础上产生新的共生关系。这是大自然给我们的清晰的信息：多样性与共生是实现可持续发展的关键，我们想要持续与动态的和平，而不是停火。

“没有想象的神，但神无处不在；没有宗教，但不是不虔诚”。我们要超越宗教，因为我们知道它们，我们要建设最好的宗教和世俗观。在灵性问题上，信仰是超越我们自己的东西，是我们的自我。这样表达或许更好：灵性是多元的，我的信仰是“和平”，我的工作接近和平。

我们读着这本杰出的著作，受到三种共生共存中国传统文化的启发：道教、儒教和佛教。书中含有丰富的思想。这本书给所有人一件最好的礼物：乐观主义。非常感谢！

约翰·加尔通

Foreword II

序言二

The search for peace is perhaps as old as the practice of fighting. In the past fifty years or so, this search has been systematized in the discipline of peace studies. One inspiration for peace studies was the concept of ‘pacifism’ promoted by some philosophers and especially religious thinkers: pacifists typically argue that as citizens we should always reject any form of organised violence, for example warfare. However, most people doubtless find this position rather extreme and unrealistic. They would easily point out, if my country has no armed forces, an aggressive neighbour is quite likely to invade; or ask, if a minority terrorist group is attacking our parliament, can we not defend ourselves?

The mainstream of peace studies does not propose absolute pacifism, but it can raise any number of sharp criticisms about irresponsible and unnecessary use of organised violence. Since criticism should be based on evidence and analysis, not on emotion, peace research is an essential first step. We need to discover causative factors: why nations go to war, why some social groups turn to violent instead of peaceful politics, why it is necessary for the arms industry to be among the biggest in the world. Equally, we need to devise new and more effective methods for dealing peacefully with conflicts of interest: showing that negotiations, compromises, and joint creativity are much more beneficial than mutual killing.

Peace studies then often helps us to understand peace as “ideal”, for example, the ending of warfare, or the abolition of nuclear weapons by international agreement; peace as “policy” opposition to a militaristic adventure, or promoting a peace agreement in a particular war; and peace as “social justice”, ending slave labour or the oppression of minorities.

In a more psychological sense, peace studies would also help us to see all citizens of the world as potentially friendly fellow human beings, as we hear from the Chinese expression *sihai zhinei jie xiongdi*. As this excellent book by Professors Liu and Spiegel demonstrates, the realization of common humanity is now a fact for millions of young people around the world, on a daily and hourly basis. Violence against each other, violence against ourselves, perhaps seems even more stupid today than it was in the past.

Peace studies has no easy answers to these difficult and important questions. Yet it gives us all an opportunity to think about them. Should one just accept injustice and oppression rather than fight a hopeless and destructive armed conflict? What problems may arise when using violent means in pursuit of a just and moral end? How can one act (as an individual, community or state) when facing a violent oppressor/aggressor? When and how is nonviolence a better strategy than violence?

In 2000, the Centre for Peace and Reconciliation Studies at Coventry University initiated research links with faculty members of the History Department of Nanjing University in the Peoples Republic of China (PRC). From 2002 to 2005, the partnership received financial assistance from the British Council under its Higher Education Links programme. A high point of the co-operation was an International Conference on Peace Studies held in Nanjing in March 2005, the first of its kind in China; collaborative work continues up to the time of writing. By 2014, the History Department of Nanjing University had been responsible for an impressively wide range of conferences, publications, translations, teaching programmes and presentations, inside China and internationally.

It is especially remarkable that peace studies in China started from Nanjing. As all Chinese know, and many foreigners also, the city of Nanjing was the site of a horrific series of massacres. The Japanese Imperial Army entered Nanjing, which was undefended, in autumn 1937 and initiated weeks of mass murder and rape which left an estimated 300,000 dead and many more traumatized. There is a disturbing commemorative museum in the city; almost all Nanjing families lost parents and grandparents. The legacy of war is a living issue in Nanjing. Perhaps the promotion of peace can be another commemoration.

More educated awareness of approaches to peace and conflict in different cultures is now essential. I am sure that the UK and US public would have been better

Peace studies in China, centred in Nanjing, gives all of us a set of tools, ideas, research materials and inspiration to make our own way through these complex, challenging issues.

Alan Hunt

人类对和平的探求也许与战争的历史一样久远。在过去的五十年左右时间，这种探求已经形成和平学的学科体系。和平学受到“和平主义”概念的激励，一些哲学家特别是宗教思想家起到了引领作用。和平主义者通常认为，作为公民，我们应该拒绝任何形式的有组织的暴力，比如战争。然而，大多数人却认为这是非常极端和不切实际的。他们很可能说，如果我国没有军队，很可能会遭到一个好战邻国的入侵；或者问，如果一个少数民族的恐怖组织正在袭击我们的议会，我们难道还不能保护自己？

和平学的主流不是绝对和平主义，但它可以唤起人们对不责任和不必要使用有组织暴力的尖锐批评。批评应该基于证据和分析，而不是情绪，和平研究因而是重要的第一步。我们需要找出原因：为什么国家要打仗；为什么一些社会团体选择暴力而不是和平政治；为什么军工业有必要跻身世界上最大企业行列。同样的，我们需要设计新的和更有效的方式，和平地处理利益冲突；表明谈判、妥协和共同创造比相互杀戮更有利。

和平学有助于我们对和平的理解：作为“理想”的和平，例如，通过国际协定消除战争，或废除核武器；“政策”的和平，反对军国主义的冒险政策，或促进签订某个特定战争的和平协定；“社会公正”的和平，废止压榨劳工或压迫少数民族。

从心理的角度来看，和平学也将帮助我们认识到，世界上所有公民都可能是友好伙伴，就像中国人所说的“四海之内皆兄弟”。正如刘教授和施皮格尔教授的这本优秀著作所言，对于全世界成千上万年轻人而言，共同人性的实现已经成为一种事实，并体现在他们的日常生活中。暴力对抗，暴力伤害我们自己，在今天或许看起来比过去更加愚蠢。

和平学对这些困难而重要的问题并不能给出简单的答案。然而，它给了我们所有人一个机会去思考它们。一个人宁愿忍受不公和压迫，也不要打一场绝望和毁灭性的武装冲突？当动用暴力追求某种正义和道德的目标时，什么问题会出现？在面对一个暴力压迫者（侵略者）时，（作为个人、社区或国家的）我们应该如何行动？非暴力何时和如何是一种比暴力更好的策略？

在 2000 年，英国考文垂大学和平与和解研究中心与南京大学历史学系建立了合作关系。从 2002 年到 2005 年，双方得到了英国文化委员会下设的高等教育合作项目的资助。2005 年 3 月，双方在南京合作召开了和平学国际会议，这是中国第一次召开这样的会议。双方的合作一直持续到现在。到 2014 年为止，南京大学历史学系在中国和国际上开展了令人赞叹的有关和平学的工作，包括会议、出版物、课程和演讲。

中国的和平学开始于南京，这一点尤其引人注目。所有的中国人和许多外国人都知道，南京是一座殉难城市。在 1937 年秋，日本帝国军队侵入南京，开始了数周时间的大肆屠杀和强奸暴行，造成大约 30 万人的死亡和更多人的精神创伤。在这个城市里有一个大屠杀纪念馆。南京几乎所有的家庭都失去了父母和祖父母。战争遗产是南京的一个现实问题。也许，促进和平可以是另一种纪念。

通过学习掌握不同文化中的和平与冲突的方法，这是现代人必不可少的事情。比如，美国和英国的公众应该更多知道，他们的政治家在西亚进行军事冒险活动之前，是否对冲突化解有更多的理解。我们有理由建议中国人，学习更多关于国际支持和平的话语、和平政治理论和历史，以及甘地、马丁·路德·金、图图等遗产。也许，非中国人有一个更为迫切的需要，即更深入、更尊重地理解中国的文化遗产。

作为战略思想家的中国当代领导人，他们从政治、文化、军事以及国内生产总值等方面，正在规划中国在未来世界的地位。所有的迹象都表明，他们希望越来越多地向世界展示，中国是世界上最热爱和平、合理的和不具威胁性的超级大国：一个比美国更能包容和体恤小国的国家。

同时，他们似乎很清楚，中国正在发生的社会的急剧转型可能会导致骚乱，并可能威胁到国家的繁荣和稳定。他们也知道，保持一个和平的国际和国内环境至关重要，例如通过避免竞争团体之间的暴力冲突，减少社会贫困，促进社会稳定；通过谈判解决国家正统性与非国家主体，特别是与宗教团体和少数民族之间的冲突；保护人权，例如不用军队镇压方式处置示威和抗议活动。互联网和社会媒体在这些方面发挥越来越大的作用，基于互联网的冲突化解必将成为政治管理的关键因素。

在过去的一个世纪左右，西方标准成为国际社会的主要行事原则，中国人与世界上其他多数人被迫处于这样的环境中。这些标准确实有吸引力并具有价值，在许多方面可以成为未来发展的基础。核心价值观可能会被广泛认可，比如个人的自由表达和法律保障权利，群众投票选举政治代表等。不过，亚洲的一些评论家认为，共同体和稳定性的“亚洲价值观”也是宝贵的。在和平与战争问题的辩论上，西方

代言人的自命正直的道德说教，理所当然地遭到许多亚洲国家领导人的厌恶，特别是他们对其他国家问题进行干涉的习惯。

中国和平学的中心在南京，它向我们所有人提供了一套工具、思想、研究材料和灵感，并形成处理这些复杂而有挑战性问题的我们自己的方式。

艾伦·亨特