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Clash of Civilizations? Solving Underlying Conflicts

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**CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS?
Solving Underlying Conflicts**

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Preface

These lectures were given fall 2014 – 19/8, 16/10, 29/10, 26/11, 3/12 – while holding the Tun Mahathir Chair of Global Peace Studies at the International Islamic University of Malaysia, in Kuala Lumpur.

There are two themes: real clashes, and potential solutions.

There is indeed something going on, by Bernard Lewis called "clash of civilizations", used by Samuel Huntington's publisher as title of a 1996 book about clash of regions with civilizational names but no cultural analysis. Culture is basic, telling us what is true, good, right, beautiful, sacred, valid, and what not. A *primacy of cultural power* thesis makes sense. Economic-military-political power also matter, with the culture shaping the economy, informing us about friend and foe, and right and wrong decisions.

The problem with Lewis-Huntington was that they forgot the major clash: missionary Abrahamism – Christianity and Islam – vs the Rest, all over the world, including the indigenous. They basically focused on the reactions, repercussions, today, on Islam, as if something new.

The cultural-racist contempt for indigenous in a "land without a people" was a reason for starting with Israel-Palestine, as a regional macro clash between nations and as a mega clash between civilizations.

The second lecture is inside religions – two Christianities, two Islams, two Buddhisms – for clashes not of but *inside civilizations*; seen in their economic-military-political contexts.

The third lecture broadens that to Christianity vs Islam in a historical perspective – when one goes up the other goes down, and vice versa – for a view of the present clash with ISIS, the Islamic State.

The fourth lecture broadens that perspective still further, to Abrahamic space – the Occident spanned by those three religions – vs the Buddhist space, the Orient of pure Buddhism, or amalgamated with other cultures – in-between is the Hindu space – in the same power context.

The final lecture brings it all together in a global perspective, using the Octagon representation of the world as Russia-India-China-OIC-EU-USA-Latin America-Africa, surrounded by BRICS. Civilizations, and economic-political-military power. For prognosis, for therapies.

The second theme can be simply formulated: *what to do about it*. There are general points like holistic understanding, large spacetime in geography and history, and dialectics, forces and counter-forces. But simple conflict analysis with two parties also carries a far way, from either-or clashes to neither-nor, compromise, both-and solutions. Nobody believes solutions are around the corner, but the lectures try to indicate in what directions they may be located, where to look. Some visions may dampen the huge violence potentials in all of them.

The reader will permit some overlaps as some basic points and history had to be repeated; possibly also useful for readers.

In gratitude for the invitation to lecture, for dialogues, and to Mohamad Kotob from Syria and Amel from Yemen for helpful advice,

Johan Galtung
Kuala Lumpur, Fall 2014

Introduction

When I went to school in Oslo in the 1930s-40s we were taught religion – actually "Christianity" – and it went roughly like this:

- at the bottom of it all are primitives believing in spirits;
- then comes polytheism, many gods, like the old Nordic gods;
- higher, not superstitious, is monotheism, with one God, the Creator;
- highest of them is Christianity because Christ suffered for us all;
- the highest Christianity is Protestantism; the Vatican was corrupt;
- the highest Protestantism is Evangelical-Lutheranism.

According to Article 2 of the Norwegian Constitution of 1814 *the* religion of Norway; now (Articles 4, 5) for the King who is holy. The points gave us a good feeling of being at the top.

I revolted when getting no answers to my why-why-why-why-why-why and my grades in religion headed downward. My adolescent revolt turned that hierarchy upside-down, 180 degrees. My position today is more 90 degrees, horizontal: religions as depositories of human experience defining civilizations. But, does religion have a monopoly on that? How about gender, male-female civilizations? Generation, young-middle-old? Class, lower-middle-upper? Habitat, urban vs rural? Geography, polar-temperate-tropical? All of the above, also religion?

This should not be confused with moral relativism. They are not equally good, that depends on the criterion. If technical, height of buildings, level of material construction-destruction, then Judeo-Christianity; for economic growth perhaps Protestantism. If the criterion is handling conflict and trauma Polynesian *alo'ha* culture, with the *ho'o pono pono* approach, is light-years ahead of

others. *Human* civilization is incredibly rich, but comes to us subdivided.

But rather than this competitive approach find the best they can offer humanity, and what they can learn from each other. Look at them from many angles, using dialogue, mutual learning. Clashes do exist, and we start with Israel vs Palestine, Judaism-West vs Islam. As late as Camp David 1978 Palestinians did not exist, only Bedouins, primitives. The land was empty, for a people without a land. Today?

1. Israel vs Palestine; Israel-USA vs the Arab-Muslim Worlds

We are exploring this at two levels: at the macro level Israel-Palestine between two nations, one also a state, the other a would-be state, and at the mega-level between a major part of Judeo-Christianity and Arab nationalism-Islam culture. Israel-USA prefers the first discourse where Israel looms large, especially when supported by USA; not the second level where the Arab nation-Muslim culture loom larger. The conflict is at both levels, regional and inter-regional, global.

Is this a clash of civilizations? Clash yes, but civilizations?

If we stick to the way civilizations are defined using religion as the basis there is no doubt about the Jewish side. Chosen People with a Promised Land, Canaan, is central in Judaism; texts, thought, speech, action. But to the Muslim-Christian-secular Palestinian side? For the Al-Aqsa mosque, the third most sacred in Islam, and Temple Mount control no doubt; but for the whole territory, however defined?

Maybe not by religion but general human civilization, if there is such a thing, linked to basic human needs with rootedness in land over time as a key part of identity, with ancestors, progeny. People fight; if not with cultural-religious power then with military,

economic, political power, as terrorism, BDS boycott-divestment-sanctions¹, and bilateral-multilateral decisions like recognition-derecognition. Israel does the same: in the form of state terrorism (now against Gaza), economic exploitation of dependent Palestinians, and conquest-colonization for the upper hand in all decision-making – with intensive lobbying – in the USA for ultimate decision-making.

The obvious conclusion: clashes call on all power dimensions, cultural-military-economic-political. Civilization with a religious rooting is only one of them. Mega-clashes may lead to mega-violence, calling on the remedy: solving underlying conflicts. For that all parties have to respect the land attachment of the others.

Like so many, like millions, this author's heart is bleeding for the killed and bereaved in Gaza – so disturbingly similar to the Warsaw ghetto in 1943, and Warsaw in 1944. With Arab and Western governments doing nothing; like the Red Army in 1944. But the latter was heading for Berlin. And the West uses Ukraine as a distraction.

Like Rabbi Michael Lerner my non-Jewish heart is also bleeding for Judaism and the Israel that could have been. The present regime betrays both, driving them into the abyss. But they have democratic, parliamentary, voter support? But parliaments are not infallible, democracies can go wrong, and even more so if the people think they have a divine mandate. England – the mother of parliaments – thought they had that, colonized 25% of the world, now hanging on to a "united kingdom". The USA still feels covenanted to the Lord, but is lording over less and less.

¹ Noam Chomsky warns against generalizing from the apparent BDS success in South Africa ("On Israel-Palestine and BDS", *The Nation*, 21/28-07-2014). There were other factors such as the Cuban war in Angola, Cuban "soft power" with health, and a compromise protecting US business interests in South Africa; meaningless in Palestine. But, Chomsky may

Japan suffers from similar Sun Goddess delusions.

Like the present Israeli *regime*. But there is still sanity left in the people of Israel; there is not only the regime pathology with megalomania-paranoia and a deficient sense of reality. Particularly:

Pathology 1: *The delusion that Gaza victory is feasible*, with no tunnels, rockets and hard core Hamas². Finite goals, reachable. But this is all autistic *actio*, with no sense of *reactio*. Kill one Hamas, produce ten. Rule over ruins of mosques and UN schools and children's corpses in Gaza, and occupied West Bank-East Jerusalem moves; inside Israel moves. Floods of tears, grief and hatred, and strong forces emerge rejecting the tamed Arab state system, fighting for an Islamic State. A reborn Ottoman caliphate with no role for Turkey-Istanbul?

And Western countries downgrading Israel/recognizing Palestine; UN recognizing Palestine more; BDS stepping up. And down the road the US ire overflows, "Israel: you are a liability". Like they told the Philippines and South Africa. Offering asylum for some in the USA.

Pathology No 2: *Conquest-colonialism and resistance are symmetric*. All over the world conquered-colonized resist, fighting for freedom; Palestinians are no exception. To see Hamas as another belligerent, with rockets the strongest Palestinian enemy, to be defeated, is the delusion of all terrorists, state or non-state. "If you get rid of what we hate, terrorism will stop". But the terrorized turn against the terrorists instead and third parties identify with the victims. The

underestimates BDS weakening a regime by delegitimizing it – a point made by former Mossad chief Shabtai Shavit; note 4 below.

² See Robert Fisk, "Israel-Gaza: No victory for Israel despite weeks of devastation", *The Independent*, 29-08-2014; english@other-news.info.

wisdom of fighting a militarily strong regime by military means can be doubted, however psychologically understandable. But Norway occupied by the hated Germans also combined violence and nonviolence; eventually the German regime collapsed, and a new Germany emerged.

Pathology No. 3: *At the end of this expansionism "secure and recognized borders" are waiting, and with that "peace".* From the Nile to Euphrates, the Genesis promise, involving 9 states, with Y-h as guarantor, King David as model? Face it, the regime prefers expansion to security and may end up with neither one, nor the other.

The alternative, 1-2-6-20, may not be available forever:

1: *One Palestine*, fully recognized, also by Israel;

2: *Two-states Israel-Palestine nucleus* for sustainable peace: 1967 borders with swaps, Israeli cantons in sacred West Bank sites and Palestinian cantons in the Northwest Israel of most of the *nakba*;

6: *Six-states Middle East Community* of Israel with its five Arab neighbors – Lebanon-Syria-Jordan-Palestine recognized-Egypt. Model: the six-state Treaty of Rome European Community of 1 January 1958.

20: *Twenty states Organization for Security and Cooperation West Asia*, OSCWA. Model: OSCE for Europe related to the Helsinki 1972-75 talks, with the neighbors of the five neighbors and some of their neighbors; also with Iraq-Syria, IS(IS), Kurds on the agenda. Initiative: UN.

In short: security through peace, not the delusion of the opposite.

There is nothing anti-Israel in this. Israel as a state with Jewish characteristics – not a "Jewish state" (read: only for Jews) – is there, learning how to live in peace with others. This is Buber, not Jabotinsky – but the latter leads but to the Wall and to:

The Basic Underlying Pathology: Displaced aggression against the Palestinians. To dump the bill for European, particularly Nazi-German atrocities at the feet of the Arabs, particularly Palestinians instead of carving out an Israel on German lands, is outrageous. However, there is historical legitimation for a Zion-Israel in the Middle East with the pre-1967 borders accepted by most. But Israel does to the Palestinians, step-by-step, even escalating, what Germans did to Jews. Proving "manhood" or whatever on somebody weaker than themselves. The Warsaw ghetto was emptied, there are voices for an empty Gaza. The hint of genocide on top of sociocide lies in the killing of children and women³. Nobody believes IDA to be that bad at targeting.

The many steps of Nazi atrocities not trodden by this ill-fated scenario should not be used to legitimize the steps taken. Just like belligerence cannot hide behind "we did not use nuclear bombs", the present Israeli regime cannot hide behind "no gas chambers used".

This pathological regime has to yield to sanity. In numerous visits to Israel, talking about 1-2-6-20 ("6" from January 1971) Israeli women invited me to contemplate their situation, caught between the definition of a Jew as born by a Jewish mother, and how they are treated by the religious aspect of Zionism, Orthodox Judaism. They want an Israel with Jewish characteristics but reject the four pathologies enough to constitute a solid

³ 327 Holocaust survivors and their descendants accused Israel of genocide of Palestinian people in an advert in the *New York Times* (english@other-

news.info, 25-08-2014), calling for economic, cultural and academic boycott of Israel over its "wholesale effort to destroy Gaza".

basis for an alternative. Many men will join. Look at statements from the leaders of Israeli secret agencies and the army, stronger than anything said above⁴. Some may even be preparing a regime change, not by election processes, not by violence, but by Mossad-IDA pressure, Thai style?

Basic change must come from the inside, not even the USA can force change upon Israel. Anti-Semitism certificates will be issued. But everything has limits; the present regime has overstepped theirs.

USA-Israel vs Arab-Muslim worlds-what happens? Nothing good. But have a look the standard peace studies way: Diagnosis-analysis, Prognosis-forecasts, Therapy-remedies, even solutions.

As mentioned, "Israel-Palestine" is the discourse Jerusalem-Washington prefers. They have overwhelming military power, political veto in the UNSC, the economic upper hand in interlocking economies, and have been backed by the delusion of working for a solution with Washington as mediator, that only USA can bring the two together and move them, gently or roughly, toward a sustainable peace.

Much distance from reality is needed to entertain that spin. USA and Israel are interlocked by a much deeper tie: they came into being the same way, flagging a divine mandate in a "land without a people for a people without a land". *Goes one, goes the other.*

⁴ The statement by the former director general of the Mossad, Shabtai Shavit, was published 24-11-2014, *Haaretz*. He points to Israelis rushing to get foreign passports, "people's feeling of security has begun to crack". His proposal: Israel-USA secret negotiation with Saudi Arabia on the basis of the Arab League's proposal of 2002 (also signed by Ahmadinejad for Iran); recognizing Israel in return for Israel accepting 1967 borders (with swaps) and a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. This, however, is only the negative peace of passive co-existence; very short of the mutual and equal benefit cooperation of 1-2-6-20.

Palestine is also part of something much bigger than itself: the Arab nation with its 500 years history of colonialism and imperialism, carried by Fatah in Palestine, potentially giving rise to a much bigger state, *Arabia* (not Saudi); and Islam carried by Hamas in Gaza potentially giving rise to a region, an Islamic *ummah*, beyond any Organization of the Islamic Community of states⁵.

USA is co-responsible for the current Israeli genocide in Gaza, and seen as such by most of the world. *Hate one, hate the other.*

Israeli expansion conflicts with neighbors and their neighbors, deep into the Arab-Muslim worlds⁶. *Your problems are my problems*, says the USA, so far. And the USA hyphenates Judaism-Christianity, excluding the third Abrahamic religion. The stark reality is three religious communities, not religions, hating and killing each other through millennia – and that hyphen, like in Israel-USA, calls for an alliance of 2 against 1. A political program. And that program could lead to mega-violence, even to a world war.

Add to this the three imperialisms suffered by the Arab nation.

Four centuries Ottoman Empire; four decades English-French imperialism from Sykes-Picot to Nasser; then US-Israeli imperialism to make the Middle East "safe for Israel and democracy". But democracy is rule by the consent of the ruled, not only the consent of USA-Israel.

⁵ However, there are also large, more or less suppressed, minorities in Arab and Muslim states: 20 percent of Iraqis are not Arab, same for Algeria, and more than half in Sudan and Morocco. Syria and Egypt have Kurds and Copts. Sunnis are suppressing Shia, and vice versa. See Rayyan al-Shawaf, "A foolish new attraction to oppressive Arab nationalism", *The Daily Star*, 23-03-2006.

⁶ For a glimpse into long term Israeli war planning see article in *Sunday Times*, 03-09-2006 on Israel, Syria and Iran.

The collisions are massive, involving ever more of the huge Muslim part of the world beyond the Arab world. How will this evolve?

More fear, more hatred; more terrorism, more state terrorism. USA-Israel will probably keep the military superiority for some time. But much else is happening. Both are heading downhill from the moral high ground and support they once had. USA is losing world hegemony – even in NATO where Germany de facto is siding more with Russia than the USA over Ukraine – and Israel by its fall from the moral high ground into the immoral abyss, even among many deeply touched by the *shoa*. Israel aggravates its own situation by gluing the etiquette "anti-Semitic" to its increasingly numerous and powerful critics.

Where are the Arab-Muslim worlds heading? Not downhill; mixed.

The Ottoman empire was also a benign Sunni "family of nations" with caliphate, centered in Istanbul. Recreating an Arabia ruled by Turkey is out. Also unacceptable is Sykes-Picot Western colonialism with four "mandates", colonies rather, Iraq-Palestine-Syria-Lebanon. Much blindness and ignorance were needed to be surprised at the Islamic State in Iraq-Syria (ISIS). Sykes-Picot cannot stand, but US invasions from 2003 reified those artificial creations, Iraq and Palestine divided into Israel-rump Palestine-Jordan. ISIS was highly predictable: extremist brutality bred by brutality, *and* a vision, an Ottoman type Sunni caliphate, without any special role for Turkey.

Without Sykes-Picot no Balfour, without Balfour no Israel. The Ottoman Caliphate had no Israel. A problem of USA-Israel's own making.

Patrick Cockburn⁷: ISIS controls a third of Syria and a quarter of Iraq with population beyond Denmark, quickly conquered, heading for Baghdad and Damascus – capitals of two former Islamic dynasties. Assad may fall, so may al-Maliki's successors. Al Qaeda will join ISIS. The ISIS problem is Iran and the Kurds, possibly with US-engineered wars that may unravel as such. We will soon see. Imagine ISIS conquering Baghdad, what happens to the megalomaniac US embassy? ISIS using Saddam Hussein assets like the Tikrit clan and his military? But Saddam also reified Sykes-Picot as Iraq's ruler installed by the USA, till he turned against USA in 1988 in the Arab-Persian Gulf.

Anyhow, destroy present ISIS and new will emerge out of the same Arab nation holism and dialectic; much stronger forces in the longer run than USA-Israel on a downhill slope, with the USA possibly heading for racist fascism, at home and abroad. But what happens to Islam?

Two major factors in its favor. The counter-cyclical pendulum between Christianity and Islam – up for one means down for the other, being so similar – is moving from the Christian-secular toward the Islamic pole (see Ch [3] below). One factor is Islam's message, togetherness and sharing, very attractive to victims of egocentrism, greed and inequality in the Western world. Another is similar to the ISIS factor: the long term move toward an Islamic *ummah*, not a state system ruled by kings-emirs-sultans against *shahada* monotheism.

And who created that Muslim state system? The West, through its colonialism. What we witness today is not only ISIS but all over Muslim youth trying to be the *ummah*, uniting across colonial borders like between Iraq and Syria; being the future they want to see.

⁷ *London Review of Books* 21-08-14.

Anything beyond USA-Israel going down and Arab-Muslim worlds up? Yes: *dialogue*, joint search for how all four could become masters in their own house and nobody else's. Again, see Ch. [3] below.

2. Protestantism vs Catholicism; Sunni vs Shia: Similarities?

Islam, Christianity and Buddhism exercise deep religious-cultural powers over lives; promising eternal salvation after death in paradise or as dissolution in nirvana provided rules are observed. Being open to all at all times they crossed fault-lines beyond Arabia, Palestine, Nepal-India even into enemy, economic-political-military realities.

Islam expanded from Casablanca-Iberia to Delhi by 1192 and onward to the Philippines; but Arabia was and remained Muslim.

Christianity became the religion of the Roman Empire in 313-325; from 395 split into a Catholic West and an Orthodox East, confirmed by the schism in 1054. The Western church was divided around 1500 into a Catholic South and Protestant North, the three Christianities together covering most of the world; but Palestine became Muslim-Jewish.

Buddhism, casteless, was evicted from Hindu Nepal-India to neighbors; but a thousand years later was rooted all over East Asia.

Three religions became three civilizations of three vast regions.

But economic-political-military fault lines generated schisms in the three religions; why? *We want our own Buddhism-Christianity-Islam!*

Vietnam-China-Japan wanted a we-culture *mahayana* Buddhism, not a Sri Lankan individualizing "little wagon" *hinayana*.

Europe *transalpina* wanted no rule by Rome, and Martin Luther delivered in 95 theses a new Christianity on 31 October 1517, defended in Augsburg 1530. God is his own cause, *causa sui*, deciding salvation by His Grace; not steered by deeds, works, merits, money, church.

And Islam, in the Greek-Byzantine-Persian-Sassanid (224-651), later Orthodox-Ottoman (from 1299)-Persian-Safavid (1501-1722) empires war zone, split into *Sunni vs Shia*. The occasion was the struggle over the successor, *caliph*, to Mohammed when he died in 632: Abu Bakr by *shura*, election, or Ali, the cousin, by blood.

The geographical dividing line, like the Alps for Christianity, was the Arab-Persian Gulf, and then onward, up North, then as now.

Even if the major trust in the split came from the economic-political-military divides, the causation was circular, rooting the divisions deeply in the culture. *Not clashes of civilizations, but clashes within civilizations*. Tragic for the peace messages in Buddhism, Islam and Christianity that should have given rise to three peace regions where Buddhists do not kill Buddhists, Christians not Christians, and Muslims not Muslims. That was not to be, so far.

Mahayana Buddhist Vietnamese became tools of French colonialism in Hinayana Buddhist Cambodia; Phnom Penh, Khmer Rouge atrocities were a strongly anti-Vietnamese reaction directed against that.

Japan had Buddhism as a strong civilization factor when attacking China with the same Buddhism, also as a strong civilization factor.

Christian Europe had Thirty Years War 1618-1648 between the two Western

Christianities. The Napoleonic wars, First, Second world wars, the Cold War, and the confrontations over Ukraine enact, in different ways, the old schism between the Western and Eastern Churches.

The price paid for their own variant of the message is very high.

A key Mongolian Buddhist said "*Buddhaya*na-not Hinayana/Mahayana". Not yet. The Westphalia "peace" after 30 years of barbarism was only passive co-existence; and only between two of three Christianities.

But, an effort was made to go beyond. Catholics and Protestants met in symbolic Augsburg in 1999 on the symbolic date 31 October, and issued a declaration⁸:

"Together we confess: By Grace alone, in the faith in Jesus Christ the Savior and not by our own merits, are we accepted by God and receive the Holy Spirit that renews our hearts while equipping and calling us to good works."

The outer human acts, and the inner human believes; works and faiths in one and the same persons, and they reinforce each other.

Rather obvious. No need for almost 500 years, the 13 years to the first Augsburg should have been sufficient. The Declaration puts together what the geo-political infrastructure – the conflict basis with its theology super-structure – had kept apart. But only after the geo-political infrastructure had undergone some very deep changes.

The EU-NATO economic-political-military integration had bridged the gap between the Protestant North and the Catholic South, paving the way for a theological Declaration. Could that happen to Islam?

Sunni-Shia. This outsider author came to three conclusions:

[1] Nothing Qur'anic seems unequivocally to favor one or the other;

[2] Maybe the Prophet had not made up his mind or was of two minds – Abu-Bakr was his father-in-law, Ali his son-in-law and cousin – and left to Muslims to decide, in favor of Abu-Bakr who appointed as his successor Umar who followed the Prophet's *shura* approach;

[3] Abu-Bakr and Ali had a friendly, cooperative relationship.

A tragic *either-or* split Islam, with subdivisions. Today Sunni ISIS invokes the Sunni Caliphate as institution pitted against Shia. The last Caliphate was Ottoman, from the Sultan's victory over the Mameluks in Egypt in 1517, till the end in 1922; after Sykes-Picot 1916, Balfour 1917, and the Allies occupying Istanbul 1918.

In hindsight the alternatives are clear: a *neither-nor* favoring the Prophet's wife Aisha or daughter Fatima (the sons died young); a *compromise* with cooperating camps, a *both-and* with joint successors. But patriarchy, the infra-structure, and One Successor ruled them out.

Sooner or later there will be a both-and *Mohammedia*. OIC has 57 states with 1,600 million Muslims; 22 of them Arab, with 350 million. Adding non-Arab Iran and Turkey there is still a very clear Muslim majority outside the Sunni-Shia quagmire. Educated guess: the renewal of Islam, the *both Sunni-and Shia*, will come from Islam further East.

The West and USSR colonized 48 of the 57 states⁹, and by state-building drove wedges between the Ultimate Ruler and Muslims: emirs, monarchs, presidents, PMs. An imposed *state logic*, to divide and rule.

⁸ *Washington Post/Japan Times*, 01-11-1999.

⁹ See the Appendix to this chapter.

Against the Islamic *ummah logic*, the Community of Muslims; once an archipelago of city-states, sultanates, with *millets*-autonomies; densely interlocked economically, with a sharia-compatible Islamic economy. A family of nations with benevolent guidance, like the Ottoman empire? A change of infra-structure as the Islamic part of globalization? An OIC, C moving Conference > Cooperation > Community, to Union? An Islamic Union? Bound to come, bridging Sunni-Shia.

Drawing on the experiences of all Islams, focusing on the best, weeding violent weeds making some Muslims non-Islamic in the recourse to violence; much of it directed against each other. Time is overdue to work both on the basis and on the theology in order to go beyond.

Could that also happen to Christianity, to Protestant vs Catholic vs Orthodox (Greek and Russian) Christianity (and there are more)?

Possibly yes, if there were an infrastructure of cooperation, as equitable as the European Union. There was a chance after the Cold War when the Soviet Union imploded. Gorbachev talked about the House of Europe, with the former Soviet Union in it (like in the Council of Europe). WTO was dissolved, Russian troops were withdrawn from Eastern Europe, trusting the US promise not to fill the empty space.

But NATO was not dissolved, and US triumphalism prevailed – "the Cold War is over, and we won"¹⁰. Eastern European-Baltic countries joined EU and NATO, claiming that the promise was only verbal.

¹⁰ The implication was treating Russia –Yeltsin after 1991 – as a defeated country, like Germany and Japan after 1945, with "advisors" and US capitalism. Gorbachev changed history, ending the Cold War by doing the inevitable, leaving the countries in the Soviet sphere to themselves, starting with DDR, creating the CIS Commonwealth of Independent States. Yeltsin played the US game, not inevitable. Putin resurrected

In 2004 the policy was Ukraine-Georgia joining NATO; in 2008 Georgia attacked South Ossetia, Russia invaded; and Crimea-Ukraine unfolded.

There was also theology: Evangelism, from the Virginia Beach-California Bible Belt, bent on mission, not on any conciliation.

The two Europes, split by 395, 1054¹¹, again became two houses. Islam will overcome Sunni-Shia before Christianity overcomes Year 395.

The clashes within civilizations are on, and they are serious.

3. Christianity vs Islam: The Countercyclicity Thesis: And Then?

"Countercyclicity" means that both move in cycles, up and down; but, when one is moving up the other moves down, and vice versa.

Christianity started very low with Jesus crucified, like the first pope, St Peter. Christians were tortured, killed, expelled from Palestine, but came up as *religio licita* in the Roman Empire, defined in Nikea 325 by Emperor Constantine. The Empire split 395 – Catholic in the West and Orthodox in the East. The Western Christian Empire fell 476, the Eastern 1453. *The fate of empires: up, then down.*

Islam started with the *hegira* migration from Mecca to the Medina city-state under Mohammed till 632. The *Umayyad* Damascus dynasty till 750 covered Iberia as the 711 caliphate of Cordoba, and all the way to India. The *Abassid* Baghdad dynasty till the 1258 massacre by Mongols and the

Russia from the US-Yeltsin ashes, also inevitable for such a resourceful country. If he had not done it, somebody else would.

¹¹ "Communism" was only a 70+ years episode in this split; a secularism, like liberalism, also singularist-universalist. More important than the clash of ideologies is the underlying, very longlasting, clash of Western vs Eastern civilizations.

Pope; but then sultanates: Delhi 1192, Pattani, Aceh, Sulu 1405, Maguindanao in Mindanao Philippines 1490s. Islamic counter-expansion, cultural more than brutal: *up, then stagnant*.

Up came in 1492 a brutal Christian expansion that conquered the caliphate in Granada, killing, ethnic cleansing of Moros and Jews, and the *bolla papale* of Pope Alejandro VI of 4 May 1493 legitimizing colonization and imperialism in most of the world. *Christianity up*.

The East Roman Empire lasted a thousand years but Istanbul became center of the huge Ottoman Caliphate in 1517 with Egypt, stagnating, succumbing 1922 to expansionist Christian powers peaking around 1900.

Then they went down: liberation of India 1947, USA not winning in Korea 1953, colonialism ending 1960, Vietnam defeating USA 1975, USA-West losing in Muslim Central-West Asia in the early 2000s. *Islam up*.

Why are the cycles related negatively, both in West and East? Conquering each other? No, one declines before the other expands; brutal Christianity being beaten whereas cultural Islam stagnates.

Let us look more closely at the five "world religions", Judaism 0.2%; Christianity 31.5% (17% Catholics, 6% Protestants, 4% Orthodox); Islam 23%; Hinduism 14% and Buddhism 7%, according to Pew.

They differ. Christianity-Islam, above half of humanity, are *singularist* and *universalist*, the *only* truth for *all* – like liberalism and marxism. Hence missionaryism, propaganda, clashes. A solution was geographical division of space with Islam in the desert, Christianity in the

temperate zone, Hinduism in India, and Buddhism in the tropics.

Another solution was in time: the counter-cyclical theory.

Judaism is for the Chosen few, Hinduism is pluralism and Buddhism is pluralist; the problem is mutually exclusive Christianity vs Islam.

Table 1: Christianity Trinitarian and Quaternarian

	Pillars	Supportive
Purely divine	God <i>the Father</i>	<i>The Holy Spirit</i>
Semi-divine	Christ <i>the Son</i>	Mary the Virgin

The trinitarian aspect is in Matthew 28:19: baptized "in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit"; three faces of one God.

The Father and the Holy Spirit are the church pillars; the Holy Spirit is received by the believers, starting with the popes. On top the Pope, then a *curia* of learned interpreters, then congregations.

With a counterpoint in conscience, compassion and samaritan work of Jesus love for thy neighbor, thy enemy; in liberation from Empire and Pharisees. And in "*Ave Maria, ora pro nobis*", interceding for the sinners, *peccatoribus*. Something human, missing in the intellectual wisdom conveyed by the Qur'an, but not in the *hadith* and the action.

The Holy Spirit and Mary begat Jesus by immaculate conception. A family with contradictions: a stern Church vs a loving Jesus-Mary¹².

Nothing like this in Islam: a one-line article of faith in *one* God, Alla'h and *the* Prophet vs a dozen lines in the three Christian articles for Father-Son-Holy Spirit; some dogmas very hard to believe.

the Curia of suffering from "spiritual Alzheimer" (sounds serious).

¹² The present Jesuit Pope Francis tries to bridge the gap, emphasizing both "the freshness of the gospels" about Jesus, and the Holy Spirit; but recently accused

Islam has no pope, Mosques headed by imams, community leaders, an *ulema* of learned interpreters, then the vast *ummah* of the believers.

And the 5 pillars: *salat*-prayer/*hajj*-pilgrimage for *togetherness* and *zakat*-giving/*ramadan*-fasting for *sharing*: five times a day, a month every year, and once a life. Concrete action, in public space.

For many Protestants Christ is twice a year--Christmas for birth and Easter for death-resurrection; no action, and not in public space.

Content so similar except for christology, and yet so different.

Missionary Christianity was based on the Church, Jesus-Mary love, and economic-military-political power. Missionary Islam on the Mosque, togetherness-sharing, and *jihad*¹³: exertion to do good and oppose evil, inside oneself, by the 5 pillars, and socially, by honest trade, *and* as armed self-defense against aggressors trampling on Islam.

The West, as Evangelism, uses bombs, drones, snipers massively against some Islam terrorism; also violent but mostly in self-defense.

We are now in a period with Islam entering Christian-secular lands by conversion, offering something concrete the West needs.

¹³ In "Concept of 'jihad' misunderstood", *New Straits Times*, 14-07-2014, Professor Mohammad Hashim Kamali, chairman of the International Institute of Advanced Islamic Studies in Kuala Lumpur, points out that *jihad* is mentioned in 24 verses in the Qur'an, "most of which emphasize the spiritual and non-violent aspects of jihad"; some Medina verses are about self-defense.

¹⁴ The time order matters: Judaism, being the first, could not include messages of the other two; Christianity, the second has very much Judaism, Abraham and Moses, in the Old Testament of its Bible. And as to the third, Islam:

In the West the State side-tracked Jesus-Mary, turning "love for thy neighbor" into welfare state bureaucracy, creating loneliness, I-culture alienation. Islam offers togetherness and we-culture sharing.

The West is richest, and there is no Muslim country in BRICS. But the West, outcompeted in the real economy, has turned to finance economy-speculation, stumbling downward from crisis to crisis. Up comes Islamic banking, not based on naked money-interest-commissions relations only but on economic, human cooperation for mutual benefit, up and down together. Moreover, Islam seems even to be beating the "strongest power on earth", the USA, militarily; again and again.

Prognosis I: Massive conversion to Islam; for less dogma, more action.

Prognosis II: Islamic Banking increasingly inspiring Western economy.

Prognosis III: Christianity split in stern church vs Jesus-Mary love.

Prognosis IV: The West split in fighting Islam vs improving West.

The West will find Islam more tolerant of them than vice versa; on Islam's premisses: Abrahamic non-Muslims as 2nd class citizens¹⁴.

"While the Qur'an mentions Prophet Moses' name 136 times, Prophet Abraham's name 69 times and Prophet Jesus and Holy Mary's names 70 times (collectively), it mentions the name of the Prophet of Islam who is the messenger of this religion only four times" (Moses is Musa, Jesus Isa and Maria Maryam).

Abdul Ali Bazargan in his "Answer to Pope Benedict". This could open for 1st class, not 2nd class citizenship, but how about non-Abrahamic like Hindus, Buddhists, Daoists?

Although war is limited to self-defense against aggression Bazargan admits that "the Sultans of the Umayyad, Abassid and Othman did get engaged in expansion through military means and used the

Not good enough; nor is tolerance even if better than intolerance nor is dialogue alone. Time for mutual learning, a both-and for the two largest faiths, picking the best from each other, like diversity from Christianity and taking peace seriously from Islam (Sura 8:61).

Reviving the Jewish-Christian-Muslim *convivencia* of Córdoba-Granada? The best place would be Istanbul, with a history that includes all three; an incredibly rich history and geography. What a challenge – possible best met with Turkey as member of both EU and OIC.

But what happens today is senseless bombing of Muslims, possibly leading to more USA-West defeats, more brutal ISIS-type movements, more West-Islam polarization. Any way out? Well, out of what?

"*ISIS, Islamic State in Iraq-Syria, appeals to a longing for the Caliphate*" writes Farhang Johanpour in an *IPS* column. The Ottoman Caliphate¹⁵, with the Sultan as Caliph – *Shadow of God on Earth* – after the 1516-17 victories all over, till the collapse of both Empire and Caliphate in 1922-4 at the hands of the two allies England-France.

Imagine a collapse of the Vatican – not of Catholic Christianity – at the hands of somebody, Protestant, Orthodox, Islam; meaning Anglo-Americans, Russians, or Muslims. A center in this world for faith in transition to the thereafter – headed by a Pope, apostolic successor of the Holy Spirit, an emanation of God – to Heaven. Imagine it all gone.

And imagine that those who brought about that collapse started bombing, invading, conquering, colonizing Catholic countries,

one after the other; like the 2 Bush wars in Afghanistan-Iraq, 5 Obama wars in Pakistan-Yemen-Somalia-Libya-Syria, and "special operations" all over. Would we not predict [1] a longing for the Vatican, and [2] an extreme hatred of the perpetrators? Fortunately, this never happened.

But it happened in the Middle East. The Sykes-Picot agreement of 16-5-1916 led to the Caliphate collapse and four well-known colonies – less known is promising Istanbul to Russia – to the Balfour Declaration 1917 offering some Arab land as "national home for the Jewish people", colonizing Palestine. Johanpour quotes Churchill: "selling one piece of real estate, not theirs, to two peoples at the same time".

There was a *first* liberation in this, from 400 years Ottoman Empire; but only to fall prey to Western imperialism in 1916 instead. And the Ottoman Turks were after all Muslims, like the Arabs; the West was Christian and Jewish. So the Middle East colonies fought the West through military coups for independence, with Kemal Atatürk as model.

The *second* liberation against the West came from the militant Muslim Brotherhood, FIS, etc. against military dictatorships. Egypt's Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956, fought England-France-Israel, was helped by the USA, and executed the Muslim Brotherhood leader Qutb, only to fall prey to US-Israeli imperialism from 1967 instead.

The *third* liberation against US-Israeli imperialism and their use of corrupt tyrants is on right now, the (multi-seasonal) Arab Spring or Arab Awakening, a people's movement, starting, and so far stopping, in

"sword" to convert people – "the followers of any tradition do not necessarily reflect the teachings of that tradition. As the historical records show, Judaism and Christianity have not always been practiced according to the teaching of Prophet Moses and Jesus".

¹⁵ There is also the theory that IS, ISIS, SIC (State of the Islamic Caliphate) comes from the radical wing of Wahhabism in Saudi Arabia. But Saudi Arabia was not part of the Caliphate, so prominent in ISIS rhetoric.

Tunisia¹⁶. The empire strikes back: the West-Israel prefers by far military "order" to any longing for the Caliphate, and repeats 1956 with Al-Sisi as Nasser; and Morsi as Qutb, executed by him?

But the longing persists. ISIS is one expression, exceedingly brutal¹⁷; fueled by Western brutal killing of hundreds of thousands, starting in Afghanistan and Iraq and the horror regime in Syria.

A "damage and destruction" by Obama and allies will be followed by a dozen ISIS from the 1.6 billion Muslims in 57 countries. A little military politicking today, some "training" here and fighting there, bombing all over, only cause ripples on a groundswell.

This will end with a Sunni caliphate sooner or later. But, the lost caliphate they are longing for had no Israel, only a "national home" for Jews; underlying some of the US-West despair. Any solution?

The way out is a defensive strategy, cease-fire and negotiation, under UN auspices with UNSC backing. Switch to a defensive military strategy defending Baghdad, the Kurds, the Shia and others in Syria and Iraq. Problematic for the USA, so maybe some other members of the coalition can do better, leaving Baghdad to the USA. After all, the US embassy there must be very attractive as a future Caliphate see.

The historical-cultural-political position of ISIS is strong; the West is weak. The West cannot offer withdrawal in return for anything as it has already officially withdrawn. How about "real withdrawal"?

The West, however, can offer reconciliation, both in the sense of clearing the past and of opening the future. Known in USA as "apologism" a difficult policy for any US president. But the onus of Sykes-Picot is for once not on the USA, but on UK-France; Russia dropped out after the 1917 revolution revealed the plot. Hence, "the West" above refers to the countries of Lord Sykes and Monsieur Picot.

Bombing, an atrocity, will lead to more ISIS atrocities. A conciliatory West might change that. An international commission could work on Sykes-Picot and its aftermath, and open the book with *compensation* on it. As a principle; the West cannot pay fully anyhow.

But they can open for future cooperation. The West, and here USA enters, could force Israel to return the West Bank except for small cantons, the Golan Heights, and East Jerusalem as Palestinian capital; sparing the Arabs and the Jews horrible, long-lasting, warfare.

This would be decency, sanity, rationality; the question is whether the West possesses enough of these qualities.

The prognosis is dim. More, avoidable, war is on the horizon.

There is that Anglo-American self-image as infallible, a gift to humanity, a little rough at times when civilizing the die-hards. But not weak, hence no apology. However, they could wish their policies in the region since, say, 1967, undone. No sign of that either.

So much for the willingness. Does the West have the ability? Do they know how to reconcile? After Portugal and England

¹⁶ See the eloquent "The Expanding Arab Spring" by Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Tawakkol Karman of 04-10-2014: "tyranny and terrorism are two sides of the same coin".

¹⁷ Some of this brutality can be attributed to the very brutal tradition in Iraq, in Mesopotamia, in the

Assyrian and Babylonian empires. See the review of books about Iraq by Max Rodenbeck, "Iraq: The Outlaw State", *The New York Review of Books*, 25-09-2014.

conquering the East China-East Africa sea lane around 1500, ultimately establishing themselves in Macao and Hong Kong, after the First and Second Opium wars 1839-1860 in China, ending with Anglo-French forces burning the Imperial Palace in Beijing, did England use the 1997 hand-over of Hong Kong for reflections on the past? Not a word from Prince Charles.

China could have flattened those two colonies – but did not. As Islam has retaliation among its values, the West may be in for a lot.

Slavery, colonialism, imperialism. My country, Norway, accused by Caribbean countries of complicity in slavery, is joining anti-ISIS; the fourth war since 2001. And the tiny opposition had no alternative.

Le Nouvel Observateur lists "groupes terroristes islamistes" in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Libya, Algeria, Mauritania, Nigeria Niger, Somalia, Yemen, Pakistan, Indonesia, Philippines, Uzbekistan, Chechnya, produced by similar circumstances. Imagine they also share the longing for a caliphate; the Ottoman Empire covered more than the Middle East, way down in Africa. More groups are coming; invincible.

Imagine that Turkey itself shares that dream, maybe hoping to play a major role. The prime minister, Davutoglu, was in his academic past a specialist on the Empire, an additional reason for Turkey not really joining, as it seems, this anti-ISIS crusade?

The West should be more rational, realistic. Not "realist".

And Islam should insist that it is incompatible with aggressive violence; unlike the West trusting the strength of its message.

Of the 57 Organization for Islamic Cooperation members it is hard to find any one that was not one way or the other colonized by the West or the Russians, imposing the state system. Or was the victim of some major aggression with deep traumas. But Russia at least made republics of 6 of them; Christianity (UK) even rejected an Islamic state around Sarajevo and occupied Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Nothing the Umayyads-Abassids in Iberia or Ottomans in the Balkans did remotely corresponds to this. May the West understand.

Appendix: the West and Islam: an overview after the crusades

Muslim country	Colonial rule Aggressor	Auto-cracy	Trauma years	Resource base
Morocco	France 1904-1956 Spain 1905-1956	Yes	1925 bombing Xauen	bauxite
Algeria	France 1830-1962	Yes	1830 occupation 1945 treason	oil
Tunis	France 1881-1956	?		
Libya	Italy 1912-1951	Yes	1911 bombing	oil
Sudan	Egypt UK 1898-1956	Yes	1898 Omdurman	cotton+
Somalia Mullah	UK Italy 1887-1960	?	1899-05 1907-20	location
Sokoto Caliph	UK (Nigeria)	Yes	1903 1851-1960	oil tin
Yemen	Turkey UK 1839-1967	?		gold oil
Saudi Arabia	USA	Yes	1945 Oil treaty	oil
Kuwait (GCC)	UK Iraq 1897-1961	Yes	1898 1990-91	oil
Egypt	France 1798-1805 UK 1882-1922	Yes		cotton
Palestine	UK Israel France		1956 Suez	
	UK 1922-1948	Yes	1916 Sykes-Picot	labor
	Israel Occupation USA support		1917 Balfour 1948 Nakba	labor labor
Jordan	UK 1921-1946	Yes	1922 division	labor
Lebanon	France 1918-1943		1916 Sykes-Picot	
Syria	France 1920-1944		1916 Sykes-Picot	
Turkey	Allies WWI USA	Yes	1918 Istanbul end of Ottomans	labor
Iraq	UK 1920-1932	Yes	1916 Sykes-Picot	oil
	USA	Yes	1991, 2003- war	
Iran	UK USA	Yes	1953 MI6-CIA	oil
India	UK 1856-1947		1798 Mysore 1948	
Pakistan	UK 1856-1947	Yes	1948 partition	jute
Afghanistan	UK	Yes	1838-42 1878-81 1978-	
	Russia USA		1986-1989 2001- war	
Central Asia	Russia tsarist	Yes	19th century	oil
	Russia bolshevik	Yes	20th century	
Bangla Desh	UK Pakistan	Yes	1948 1970	jute
Pattani	Thailand-UK	Yes	1909 annexed	tea, tin
Malaysia	UK 1800-1957			rubber
Indonesia	Holland 1800-1949	Yes	Aceh 1873, 1893	spices
	USA		1965	
Mindanao	Spain	Yes	1521-	
	USA	Yes	1898-	
	Manila	Yes	1945-	

4. Abrahamism vs Buddhism, Occident vs Orient: And Then?

Civilization clashes Occident-Orient? Yes, Christianity and Islam are on Buddhist lands; today with clashes in Sri Lanka, Myanmar.

Occident is the big space of the three Abrahamic religions Judaism-Christianity-Islam, with the secularisms of the first two, all excluding each other. Indonesia-Philippines are actually Occidental.

Orient is a big space spanned by a Buddhism that does not exclude others, not even violent state power; hence more complex. There are *pure Buddhist countries*: Sri Lanka, Thailand, Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos and *mixed Buddhist countries*, with other, also non-exclusive, faiths: China with Daoism-Confucianism, Japan with Kami shinto-Confucianism, in Vietnam and Korea with Confucianism and more. Strong combinations.

The world *religio-scape* starts with *Naturism*, invoking Nature's blessings – sun, water, soil, fertility – offered by *Mother Earth*. The worst treated civilization of all, not even called a "civilization".

Then came, 3000+ years ago *Father Sky* in the *Abrahamic religions*; the Father-Mother mix in *Hinduism*; and the advanced *Naturism* of *Daoism yin/yang* in China, *Kami shinto* in Japan, and *Confucianism* as social *Naturism*, also focused on ancestors and progeny in both and in Korea.

Hinduism was challenged by Buddhism over *caste*, and was driven out; Judaism as *tribal* by Christianity driving out Judaism.

Occident vs Orient can be seen as *Abrahamism vs Buddhism*, with diverging world views. To wit: *Nature: Herrschaft vs Partnerschaft*. *Self*: individual Egos vs

relations between them, knots vs nets, I-culture vs we-culture. *Society*: vertical-competitive vs horizontal-cooperative (*sangha*). *World*: globalism, Center-Periphery-Evil vs localism, each part a center. *Time*: limited, from creation to the end vs from infinity to infinity. *Transpersonal*: one God-Satan-soul-Paradise-Hell, exclusive vs none of the above, inclusive of others.

Episteme: atomistic-deductive, no contradiction vs Buddhist *tetralemma* adding to either-or dilemmas neither-nor, both-and. Look, search, create and you will find them or create potential realities.

Christianity-Islam, driven by "the only truths for all" script became missionaries West and South, destroying *Naturism*. And East: Islam with Sultanates, Christianity with colonies-companies.

But Hinduism-Buddhism went East before them. Buddha, -563-483, lived a half millennium before Christ and a millennium before Mohammed 622, the *hegira*. Ashoka sent Buddhist missionaries to Sri Lanka - 250, then East to Myanmar-Thailand-Malaya-Indonesia-Laos-Cambodia-Vietnam, China in +100, on the Silk Road, Japan in +532, all *mainly peacefully*.

The epic *Mahawamsa* is a narrative about this, with triumphalism.

Islam moved East the desert-tundra way, and by sea from Yemen: from Spain to India 750, Central Asia, Sultanates in Delhi 1192-Aceh 1496-Pattani 1516-1902-Sulu 1405-Maguindanao 1490; Malaya, Indonesia; *mainly peacefully*¹⁸; but clearly after Hinduism-Buddhism.

Christianity moved East the sea way: Portugal-England taking the China-Africa Silk Lane for their Kings; England-France to India 1805-Sri Lanka 1815 -Burma 1852-

Mongol Empire even if he used Muslim symbols. Anyhow, it was short-lasting.

¹⁸ Except Tamerlane, Timur (1320-30s-1405), but it is hard to see him as Muslim if he wanted to restore the

75, Vietnam 1859-85; China Opium Wars, burning Imperial Palace 1860, "opening" Japan 1853, boycotting-fighting-nuclearizing it 1941-45. Few Christian converts, but often at the top of colonies; *still there*. The Philippines became Catholic, colonized by Spain 1521-USA 1898. *All mainly by war. Hardly stable.*

But even if they differed in level of violence the two world religions served to legitimize conquests; Umayyad Islam in Iberia, defeated at Tours 732; Abassid Islam in North Africa; Ottoman Islam in East Mediterranean, defeated at Lepanto 1571, Vienna 1683, Balkans 1878, and in the Balkan wars. As said many times, there is cultural power, often clashing with military-economic-political power.

We can now do the same for Christianity vs Hinduism-Buddhism as for Christianity vs Islam in Ch. [3]: colonization? Of the 4 pure Buddhist countries 3 were colonized, Thailand not; of the 4 mixed Vietnam was colonized and warfare/occupation in China, Japan, Korea. The de facto occupation of Japan and (south) Korea is still going on; what this chapter does is to place it in a larger perspective.

There is migration from Buddhist lands and conversion to Buddhism but attack only from State shinto Japan making Emperors divine Kings: North, Russia 1904-05; West, China 1931-45; South 1941-45; East, Pearl Harbor 1941: aggression, self-defense, against Western colonialism.

Today Islam has four open clashes with Buddhism. Two at borders: Thai conquest of Pattani Sultanate 1785 recognized in the 1909 Anglo-Siamese Treaty; Muslim Uighurs in Xinjiang-China next to Kazakhstan. And two by migration: Bangladesh to Myanmar and Malaya to Sri Lanka; all in the UK Empire, partly moved

by the UK, the key responsible. UK, however, forgets that, and talks about democracy and human rights.

The conflict? Buddhist historical rights vs Muslim human rights.

No religious conversion to the other, no secular neither-nor, no half-Buddhist/half Muslim compromise, no both-and amalgam: Buddhism with State power is also exclusive¹⁹. Any political solutions?

Southern Thailand, Western China: Muslim autonomy in *federations*. China is already one but Thailand is a unitary state. Or *independence*: a *Pattani Sultanate Darussalam* of three Thai and one Malay province. Or as a region in ASEAN with *open borders*: the Basques in Spain-France may be moving toward that in EU. So may China-Kazakhstan within SCO.

Sri Lanka-Myanmar: Ethnocide-slow genocide-of Muslims. A Muslim province in East Sri Lanka; a Rakhine state for Rohingya in Myanmar? Conquest by migration? Mahawamsa is now a doctrine in Sri Lanka as *Promised land*, by the Buddha; for a *Chosen people*, the Buddhists.

Enter *Human Rights*. Article 18, Universal Declaration:

"Everybody has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion [...] and, in public or private, to manifest his religion".

This overrules Mahawamsa "convert to Buddhism" or "get back to where you came from". But the UN Human Rights Committee went further 21-11-2014: the persecuted 1.3 million Rohingya should be allowed "access to full citizenship on an equal basis"²⁰. If not, Chapter VI sanctions?

¹⁹ There may be some possibility between Sufism as soft Islam and Daoism, see Tushihiko Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, University of California Press, 1983.

²⁰ The conflict is not only about religion, but about nations and nationalism; and Burmese nationalism is directed not only against the Rohingya in Rakhine but

Hopefully respecting good Buddhism, and the language of the host.

In Sri Lanka the Buddhist extremist Bodu Bala Sena, supported by the government of Mahinda Rajapaksa, is now raising stupas in all nine provinces to commemorate those who died massacring the terrorist LTTE, the Tamil Tigers. Evidently the tactic was Tamils first, then turning on the Muslims²¹ after that massacre, for a pure Buddhist Sri Lanka.

*New York Times*²² editorializes against an islamophobic alliance between Bodu Bala Sena, Thein Sein of Myanmar, and Modi of India for an anti-Muslim Hindu-Buddhist Peace Zone in South Asia. And Buddhist *Seeds of Peace* points accusing fingers at Buddhist violence.

What is the reaction to all of this from "Buddhist lands"? Daoism-Buddhism, China, is now doing what Japan failed to do, moving in all compass directions – *peacefully*. Hopefully staying that way.

Having explored China very many times the last 40 years – high up, low down, sideways, dissidents – the changes are remarkable. Given the three components in Chinese civilization a hypothesis took shape: Confucianism is compatible with growth, Buddhism with distribution and Daoism with switching between them, like every 9 years, it seems. The time it takes to exhaust one of them, then opening for the other.

against the many other national minorities. One reason why the military government enjoyed popular support and still do was its brutal policy against them; the Rohingya being only one case. When this author as a mediator opened for a federation discourse it became very clear that in Myanmar, like in Sri Lanka, there was no knowledge of federalism; one reason being that all sides in the conflicts had been taught political science by English professors familiar with "union" discourse. It belongs to the picture that the iconic opposition figure, the Lady, an upper class Burmese, is unable to come up with a solution.

1949-1958 distribution, People's Communes; 1958-1967 growth, the Great Leap Forward; 1967-1976 Distribution, Cultural Revolution; 1976-1980 confusion after Mao's death, discussions all over – an incredible thing to watch, big posters, big meetings, the whole country a seminar.

Then on it again: 1980-1989 Deng Xiaoping growth in Guangdong, in farm areas near cities, by marketing and trade; 1989-1998 distribution after Tiananmen, trade; 1998-2007 growth, trade; 2007-2016, Hu Jintao-Xi Jinping distribution, greening, going West, local democracy, trade; 2016-2025: growth, trade. The West calls them pragmatism, dogmatism.

All of this is non-linear, spiraling upward, with the tremendous lifting up of 350-400 million 1991-2004 from rural misery to urban lower middle class – with its problems. But from 1980 something more linear started, Deng's "loosening up": freedom to travel, freedom of expression, also publicly as demands, posters, demonstrations. There may be 15 Tianmans somewhere in China, at any time. No comparison.

China's comparative advantage is civilizational, combining in theory and practice what to West is uncombinable: "capi-communism", "one country two systems", opening up to "barbarians", North, East, South and West – beyond "the Chinese pocket" Tundra-Sea-Himalaya-Gobi.

²¹ On the other hand, not limited to Sri Lanka: how different can a minority be? Dressing their children in black from head to toe as general dress code? The food code: *halal*? Buying property to make separate communities? All of this is within their rights; Article 18 explicitly mentions practice and others also live in communities. But, in Rome, maybe wise to do as the Romans do – even if the Romans also did exactly that all over the empire? And then encourage dialogues based on respect and curiosity between host country and immigrants.

²² 16-10-2014.

Another advantage: mainstream West never understood China, but China knows the West, from experience, migration, studies. And:

Going North: prompted by US encircling, the expansion of NATO eastward and of the security treaty with Japan westward: SCO, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, both the biggest military alliance ever and at the same time a cooperative community. China with Russia, settling old conflicts, and with Central Asian republics, now expanding.

Going East: to Pacific islands, with tense relations with Japan that had its economic heyday 1960-70s challenging the West, then more and more outcompeted by their offspring "dragons" shaped by Japan's empire, then by giant China itself, now joining the world. Issues of reconciliation loom high, but Abe's "collective security", a de facto alliance with the USA, points backward. Many may want to attack USA, Japan may be heavily involved. Or be dropped by USA, in favor of China.

Economically, "heydays" do not last that long these days, a decade or two or three. Others learn the tricks – Japanese Akamatsu Kaname showed the way – saving, investing in R&D for ever higher levels of processing, pocketing the value-added, then saving, investing etc. Others enter, with lower labor and transportation costs and resources closer to markets. South is coming, Africa-Latin America-South Asia; BRICS is a premonition, with BRIS without C outcompeting C, China?

Going South: many diaspora Chinese there, much cooperation with the ASEAN 10 inside the APEC 21 countries, more than the US TPP 12 "secret accords secretly arrived at", "with anybody but China". China did not even intervene in the Indonesia massacre of Chinese 1965-66.

Going West: on land along the "Silk Roads", today railways; on sea along the "Silk Lane"

500-1500 AD, from East China to East Africa. Much Chinese policy focuses on reconquering the Roads and the Lane, back to the Minh dynasty, and for more than silk. On (rail)road through Eurasia to European Union, with deals for mutual benefit. On the lane – with islands, conflicts with ASEAN countries – to Africa, with containers from Dar to Kinshasa, then on ship to Latin America.

In all directions: Chinese emigrants, often energizing locals.

Into China: resources, but China pays, does not steal like West.

Inside China: profoundly China-centric, all of this to serve China, as the longest lasting, major civilization. A duty. However, wisely they do not build a world empire, saying they want "harmony". They know that the time allotted to the present "communist" dynasty, like to all their dynasties (in time, not in space) is limited and may be running out. But their historical experience is that after one China – the territory may change a little – comes the next China. Those who go for empires see their empires born, mature, decline and fall, like dynasties. But when empires fall it is forever. Not China.

And the relation to the Far West, or Far East – the United States?

In a bankrupt country with 20% or so in misery "Made in China" of all kinds, very cheap at Walmart, is a necessity for US stability. But, for more about that please turn to the next chapter, Lecture 5.

How about Tibetans, Uighurs, Inner Mongolians? China's policy has been to settle many Han Chinese and to make China attractive by modernizing. The three provinces, 40% of Chinese territory, will not become independent. But high cultural autonomy within China may be possible, as for Hong Kong. And Taiwan? One country, six systems?

How about communism, democracy? Communism in name only, like "Christian" democracy in Germany. The Party – there are actually six, with the Nationalists – is more Confucian, the majority of 80 million members being well educated, but not old men: young people and women everywhere. To steer the highly complex yin/yang processes of giant China they prefer "idea democracy" to (Western) "arithmetic democracy" and point to the "petition democracy" from Confucius: local meetings criticizing policies, with constructive ideas, lining up in front of public offices. Something for the West to learn? People lining up outside all public offices with critical but constructive petitions?

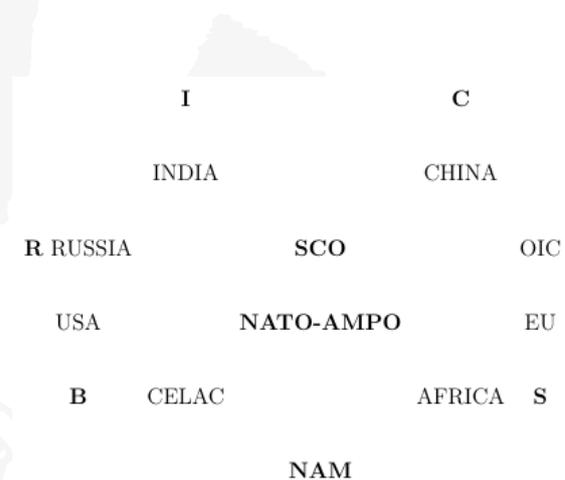
In the preceding chapter Istanbul was seen as the meeting place for dialogues between Judeo-Christianity and Islam. Is there a good place for dialogues Occident-Orient? Hong Kong would be on many minds, but too much a product of colonialism, with no Islam, and the buddhism maybe too "amalgamated". However, when they learn to add "arithmetic democracy" to petitions and demonstrations, a good site.

How about Thailand as a bridge if they solve the problem in the South, maybe in Pattani itself? The components are all there, and Thailand was not colonized. Potentially everybody could benefit.

And then a bridge of bridges: Istanbul-Pattani-Hong Kong.

5. The Octagon World: The West vs the Rest, BRICS, Prognosis

Here is an image of today's multi-polar world, with 8 poles²³:



Four states, four regions, with cultural-economic-military-political power; surrounded by BRICS²⁴. Emerging Russia-India-China-OIC are on top, declining EU-USA, EUSA, in the middle, and "Third World" Latin America-Africa at the bottom – with some military bridges between them.

For all eight "civilization" applies²⁵, with "clashes".

²³ Japan and Israel can be seen as allies of the USA, and ASEAN as a bridge between China and OIC. But watch out: in the longer run (or not so long) the USA might find China much more attractive than Japan, and OIC much more attractive than Israel – as trade partners, major actors, poles, according to the old mantra "if you can't beat'em, join'em". Israel and Japan are US allies to beat them; if that does not work (SCO stands in the way in both "theaters") then drop them. Israel-Japan have a joint interest in preventing that, making them even more belligerent, joining the USA. So far. Till Israel joins its neighbors in a Middle East Community and Japan its neighbors in a Northeast Asian Community – beating the USA.

²⁴ BRICS may be seen as an outcome of the Group of 77 that recently celebrated its 50th anniversary. Their theory was terms-of-trade, quantity of resources for a unit of processed goods, how much oil for a tractor, their policy better terms. But the better theory was to do the processing oneself, first Japan, then Japan-influenced countries in East-Southeast Asia, then China, now BRICS. Johan Galtung, "The Group of 77 at Fifty: Congratulations!", *UN Chronicle* No. 1 2014, pp. 14-15.

²⁵ Latin America-Caribbean and Africa are not in a process from continental regions to something more coherent between region and civilization.

Table 2: The Octagon Rank Profiles: 8 actors, 4 dimensions.

Ranks	Spacetime	Population	GDP	Military
RUSSIA	3	8	7	5
INDIA	4	3	8	7
CHINA	2	2	3	4
OIC	1	1	4	3
EU	7	6	1	2
USA	5	7	2	1
AFRICA (AU)	6	4	6	8
LATAM (CELAC)	8	5	5	6

Table 3: Table 2 simplified to 3 Octagon groups and 4 dimensions

Average Ranks (rounded)	Ascribed ST+Population	Achieved GDP+Military	SUM Averages
Octagon Top 4: R-I-C-OIC	3	5	8
Octagon Middle 2: EU-USA = EUSA	6	2	9
Octagon Bottom 2: AU and CELAC B-S	6	6	12

Spacetime, ST, of a pole – seniority as a cohesive entity multiplied by area – and Population, are ascribed attributes, like gender and race; hard to change. GDP and Military Spending are achieved attributes.

There is much history, and much future, in tables 2 and 3.

How come Nos. 5, 7 in spacetime and 6, 7 in population, are Nos. 1, 2 in GDP and military spending? Answer: because they brutally conquered, exploited, stole resources, and imposed "trade" keeping the added value; using military spending to keep it that way.

Prognosis: more EUSA-NATO warfare like in Libya-Mali.

But the victims are emerging; BRICS quickly, Third World slowly; having more

to draw upon than declining, outcompeted, EUSA. Up comes China, high on spacetime and population, no. 3 in GDP after No. 1 EU (not only the Eurozone) and No. 2 USA, slated to pass both. China has joined the world, equilibrating economy and military spending to the other two, crossing the profiles of EUSA. Germany crossed profiles in Europe 19th-20th century by unifying and nazifying.

Prognosis: EUSA pressure but SCO will deter attacks on the top 4.

However, it does not have to be this old way. Look at this:

They can *choose* to focus on the worst in others, criticizing, building on paranoia and worst case analysis, "security". *Or* choose to focus on the best, with cooperation as dominant mode, conflict as recessive. They

can cooperate for mutual and equal benefit like in good trade, exploring each other's comparative political-cultural advantages,

even in public space, as both teachers and students, in the 28 bilateral relations. And great peace horizons become visible:

Table 4: The eight poles in the best and worst light.

	The Best they can offer	The Worst they can offer
USA	New Beginnings Innovation	Plutocracy Geo-fascism ²⁶
EU	Peace Community	Technocracy US clients
Russia	De-imperializing	Autocracy
China	Daoism Capi-communism	China-centrism
India	Linguistic federalism	Caste system
OIC Africa Lat-Am	Togetherness Sharing ²⁷ Precolonial cultures Few inter-state wars	Terrorism Anomie-atomie Military coups, class

What can the poles in an octagonal world learn from each other? A lot:

[1] *Russia-India.* Russia can learn from India true federalism (Tatars, Chechens etc.); India from Russia control of own economy.

[2] *Russia-China.* Russia can learn from China about capi-communism, combining the best of them; China from Russia control of own economy.

[3] *Russia-OIC.* Russia can learn more togetherness and sharing; OIC to tolerate secularism and to administer vast territories for *ummah*.

[4] *Russia-EU.* Russia can learn from EU about a looser federation; EU from Russia about giving up empires (not gifts) with more grace.

[5] *Russia-USA.* USA can learn how to give up empire with more grace; Russia can learn

how to get out of stagnation with more innovation.

[6] *Russia-AU.* Russia can learn from AU the search for wisdom in the indigenous past; AU from Russia about watching better own resources.

[7] *Russia-CELAC.* Russia can learn from CELAC about diversity in a big region; CELAC from Russia about watching better own resources.

[8] *India-China.* India can learn from China lifting the bottom up; China from India linguistic federalism (for Tibet, Uighurs, etc.).

[9] *India-OIC.* India can learn from Islam togetherness and sharing over big economic gaps; OIC about federalism (Sunni-Shia) in *ummah*.

²⁶ As opposed to US imperialism having local elites do the neo-colonialism and state terrorism, doing it themselves.

²⁷ Also outside the *ummah* community of Muslims, as morality in economic-military-political spheres.

[10] *India-EU*. India can learn from EU about looser structures; EU from India about more solid structures with a single currency.

[11] *India-USA*. USA can learn genuine federalism (Inuits, Hawaiians, etc.); India to convert caste into class – as USA tries with races.

[12] *India-AU*. India can learn from AU equality for Islam in a big region; AU from India about African unity with linguistic federalism.

[13] *India-CELAC*. India can learn even more diversity, from Cuba about public health; CELAC could learn from India about more unity.

[14] *China-OIC*. China can learn from Islam sharing across inequality; OIC from China administration of an enormous territory like the *ummah*.

[15] *China-EU*. China can learn more diversity and federal structures; EU can learn capi-communism for a better social capitalism.

[16] *China-USA*. USA can learn lifting the bottom up to suffer less and to improve the economy; China can learn more about freedom.

[17] *China-AU*. China can learn from AU more tolerance of cultural diversity; AU from China lifting the bottom up for less inequality.

[18] *China-CELAC*. China can learn from CELAC more diversity (two, six Chinas); CELAC lifting the bottom up for more cohesion, less coups.

[19] *OIC-EU*. OIC can learn from EU dangers of technocracy; EU from OIC images of a Europe based more on local and less on state levels.

[20] *OIC-USA*. USA can learn about more togetherness and sharing; Islam more about diversity in interpreting religious messages.

[21] *OIC-AU*. OIC can learn from AU efforts to respect diversity; AU from OIC about an Africa based more on local and less on state levels.

[22] *OIC-CELAC*. OIC can learn from CELAC to combine Catholicism with secularism and diversity; CELAC from Islam togetherness and sharing.

[23] *EU-USA*. USA can learn how to move from a unitary state racially-linguistically to federalism; EU from confederation to federalism.

[24] *EU-AU*. EU can learn from AU more respect for pre-modern wisdom; AU can learn the same from EU, they can both searching together.

[25] *EU-CELAC*. EU can learn more decentralization from CELAC; CELAC can learn more centralization from EU.

[26] *USA-AU*. USA can learn from Africa before slavery-colonialism; AU can learn about more unity – but also to watch out for a Civil War.

[27] *USA-CELAC*. USA can learn about trade for basic needs and public health from Cuba; CELAC how to make a more solid union.

[28] *AU-CELAC*. Working toward unity and equality with colonial-imperial powers they can learn from each other for shared policies.

Yes, they can choose this. Making therapy the prognosis.

But they often do the opposite, focusing on the worst. Look at the USA and the 7 others, as *actio* and *reactio*:

[1] *USA-Russia*. USA tries to penetrate Russia with capitalist imperialism backed by force; Russia counters with autocracy.

[2] *USA-India*. USA business as usual in India combined with military alliance; India's upper castes share profit with US elites: "growth".

[3] *USA-China*. USA isolates China with TAP-TPP for own Center status; China responds with withdrawal and military posturing; possibly war.

[4] *USA-OIC*. USA practices state terrorism with drones and Seals; OIC countries respond with terrorism against US targets.

[5] *USA-EU*. USA dominates EU markets through free trade; EU responds with more technocracy – conflict, or cooperation in dominating others.

[6] *USA-Africa*. USA meets efforts for more equality within and among African countries with force; Africa responds with subservience.

[7] *USA-CELAC*. USA meets all effort for more equality within and among Lat Am countries with force; CELAC responds with subservience.

And so on, all 28 pairs; leaving to the reader to complete this sad list that mirrors recent reality better than the "sharing the best" list above. *But that is the reality we want go get away from.*

A switch in politics is needed from basing politics on the worst to the best. For a political switch a discourse switch from conflict to cooperation is needed. But before a switch in discourse a switch in paradigm is needed – another intellectual framework. Actually a switch from a

conflict civilization to a cooperation civilization.

Is this asking for too much? No, like in religiously defined civilizations there is space for both-and, for the best and the worst, giving priority to the saint in humans, yet having the sinner in mind. Even preparing for it, an example being transarmament from offensive to defensive defense, taking the worst, a war, on one's own lands.

But the dominant paradigm in inter-nation, inter-state affairs is still "security studies", academically institutionalized paranoia.

Look at the whole Octagon again from that angle, and we find that 10 of the 28 relations are clearly negative, bad, and could get worse.

The problems, starting clockwise with Octagon neighbors: USA-Russia, China-OIC, OIC-EU, EU-AU, CELAC-USA. Add to these 5 USA, Russia, India with OIC, and we get 8. Add Russia-EU over Ukraine, and on top the basic rivalry, USA-China and we get 10 (in the future maybe intra-West, *viz.*, the famous US statement "fuck the EU" over Ukraine).

The 10 negatives have 20 roots: USA 4 times; EU 3 times – meaning West 7 times – OIC 5 times; Russia 3; China 2, India, AU, CELAC 1 each.

The non-problems are at the top: the Russia-India-China triangle – India-China with the 1954 *Panch Shila* treaty²⁸, but a short war in 1962 – in the middle EUSA, and at the bottom Africa and Latin America.

If the octagonal world should become tripolar – bi- and unipolar highly unlikely – the alliances are waiting, and NAM. It might be as:

affairs; Equality and cooperation for mutual benefit; Peaceful Co-existence. The implicit message: we shall not behave like the colonial powers.

²⁸ "Five Virtues". They are: Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; Mutual non-aggression; Mutual non-interference in internal

Pole 1: Russia-India-China-some from OIC (SCO)

Pole 2: USA-EU (NATO)

Pole 3: Africa-Latin America (NAM)

The third pole enters in their old role as neutral-nonaligned; the first and second like in the Cold War. Why so similar? – not as a continuation of the Cold War, but because both are produced by the old clash of civilization between the Western and Eastern Churches. But Russia-SCO is stronger than USSR-Warsaw Pact, adding India, China and Central Asia – maybe also Pakistan and Iran – across civilization gaps Orthodox Christianity with Hinduism-Daoism-Islam (India may vacillate, could be anywhere, or be itself). Old clashes may be reborn, but gaps may also be bridged, eg. by US economic-military-political pressure.

Having established relative capabilities as ranks, the security paradigm would turn to intention, particularly in the strong and evil. But let us change focus, from evil actors to bad systems, and ask, could the state system produce aggression as something built into the system, like capitalism produces greed to survive competition?

Hence, a new look at the problems of aggression and prognosis.

As mentioned, the Octagon top 4 now draw on ST and Population, and so does the Octagon bottom; with B-S, Brazil-South Africa, of BRICS up front. The disequilibrated top grows and arms; the bottom, equilibrated, does the same but more slowly, eking upward on both.

How about the middle, the profiles crossing the top, discordance, a recipe for conflict, even violence? Prognosis: EUSA-NATO try to expand Area and Population at the border – U-KRAINA means that – and they did, trying to incorporate large Ukraine, and Georgia, into NATO and EU, like they did

in Eastern Europe and the Baltics. And this is where Russia tries to stop them, *njet* – predictable from the theory.

Ranking the three groups from 1 to 3 the profiles 1-2, 3-1 and 3-3; with EUSA rank discordant, crossing profiles, with the other two. *Prognosis*: EUSA may be at war with both groups, as mentioned above.

What are the possible solutions to all of this?

Certainly not *rank concordance* with one group-pole being 1-1-1-1 the next 2-2-2-2 and so on to 8-8-8-8. Or, in the simplified version: 1-1, 2-2, 3-3. That is the setting for *structural violence*, like maximum disequilibrium and discordance is for *direct violence*. Any good theory in this field should not only be a theory of war and direct violence, but also of exploitation, structural violence.

But again, how about solutions? A preliminary list:

1. Abolish the armies, total disarmament: too superficial.
2. Abolish states, make the world a carpet of the local: too utopian.
3. Abolish rank by giving all the same rank as EU, UN member: indeed.
4. Make rank disequilibrium irrelevant, paying less attention: maybe.
5. Make rank discordance irrelevant, paying less attention: maybe.
6. Make some dimensions irrelevant like race, gender socially: maybe.
7. Make cooperation logic dominate power-conflict logic: Yes!

A UN where all feel at home and a discourse-paradigm switch.

This theory of war and peace in state systems has three axioms:

A1: they want highest possible rank;

A2: comparing with themselves they want to equilibrate;

A3: comparing with others they want to remove any discordance.

If guided only by this power game aggression is inevitable. They use high ranks to pull up the low ranks and then produce unacceptable discordances, passing somebody who used to feel comfortably high.

Focusing only on China-USA and on average ranks we get:

Table 5: Table 3 simplified to China and USA

Average rank	Ascribed ST+Population	Achieved GDP+Military
China	2	4
USA	6	2

China in fact has 1-2 and USA 2-1. And China closes in on USA on achieved dimensions, with high growth paying for military spending. USA has to print money which makes them vulnerable to alternative BRICS institutions. USA risks super-inflation, China not.

China has been equilibrating and China-USA rank discordant for a long time. Preemptive, even preventive war ideas are no strangers to Washington even before China changed military doctrine from PLA ground defensive defense to an army also equipped for sea, air and space.

Encircling China is still the US response; breaking out China's.

In some years the profiles may become 1-1, 2-2 – equilibrium and concordance – not only with USA, but with EUSA. What happens then?

Prognosis: USA after some desperate killings withdraws from that power game into "isolation" as opposed to "global responsibility".

China, China-centric, has another game, *harmony*, in their favor.

Problem: to China the game is old but the world is new, to USA the game is new but the world has foot-prints of US aggression all over. China works along *Panch Shila* lines; the USA is confused.

We may end up with a much reformed UN or a United Regions, UR, with mostly peaceful relations but some of them problematic. We need a switch from conflict-competition to cooperation civilization; a condition for globalization to become meaningful. Entirely feasible.

Conclusion

Where does this bring us on civilizations? In *A Theory of Civilization*²⁹, they are seen as carriers of meaning in vast spans of space and time, deposited in deep culture, (social) *cosmology*.

The deep culture is transmitted through (social) *institutions*, how we do things, like eating and sexing, living our family lives, in our habitats like rooms-flats-houses and huts, villages-town-cities, like fighting, at war – living in peace, etc. Changeable, but slowly.

Time has come to question the monopoly religion has had on civilizations. This (controversial?) overview is from the book:

²⁹ TRANSCEND University Press, 2014.

Table 5: Figures of thought, faiths, and beliefs of true believers

<i>Figures</i>	<i>Faiths</i>	<i>Beliefs</i>
Mono	Judaism	Israel, Zion; for Chosen People ³⁰
Mono	Catholicism Orthodoxy	Pope (infallible), Vatican Patriarch, the Third Rome (Moscow)
Mono	Evangelism	Dualism-Manicheism-Armageddon, DMA Exceptionalism as Chosen People
Mono	Islam	Togetherness under Alla'h, sharing
Poly	Hinduism	Creation-Preservation-Destruction
Pan	Buddhism	<i>dukkha-sukha</i> , sentient life networks
Pan	Daoism	Holism-Dialectics-Transcendence, HDT
Pan	Confucianism	Authority-Harmony Ancestors-Progeny
Pan	<i>Kami Shinto</i> <i>State Shinto</i>	Besouling nature Chosen, divine, Emperor with His People
Pan	Polynesism	<i>lokahi, 'ohana, alo'ha, mana</i>
A	Humanism	Humans; as Chosen species with rights
A	Liberalism	Individuals-Choice-Equilibrium; Markets
A	Marxism	Classes-Struggle-History; Plans
A	Nature	Diversity, Symbiosis

Searching for a human civilization? Maybe *togetherness-sharing* from Islam, much to find in poly-, pan-, a-theist beliefs, and indeed from Nature as civilization: *diversity-symbiosis* as basic needs for Nature to survive *and evolve*, so also for human beings and societies.

Beware of secular "enlightenment" dethroning God, offering states fueled by nationalism, markets by capitalism and secular faiths like liberalism-marxism, also singularist-universalist instead. But they inspire neither-nor (green), compromise (pink) and both-and (China).

Maybe rural, local communities rather than urban civilization with cities and mega-

cities? Closer to nature, people closer to each other for togetherness and sharing. And cooperation rather than conflict-competition civilization, even a power cult civilization as power-over-others built into the state system and in the obsession with growth in the market system. In favor of power-over-oneself, competing with oneself for self-improvement rather than with others producing winners and losers in the struggle for power and wealth.

Take as example nuclear weapons (of mass destruction), brought up by a participant in the final lecture; extremist "power civilization".

³⁰. Netanyahu is often criticized for promoting Israel as Jewish state – not only with Jewish characteristics –

now also by law. In doing so he is enacting a major part of Judaism.

What is the clash, the conflict about? Between the haves – who also have bunkers for their own survival – and the have-nots to be sacrificed at the altar of the power games of the haves.

What are their goals? For the haves the *ultima ultima ratio*, the final "argument", weapon, to defend, as they say, their civilizations. Mono and Poly identify Israel-France-Russia-USA-UK-Pakistan-India as nuclear powers; no Buddhist state, but Daoism-Confucianism for China. And, as fundamentalist Confucian: North Korea. BUT: is it civilized to defend a civilization by killing, say, 50% of humanity?

Second goal: to be member of the *Club of nuclear powers* who count with "non-proliferation" to limit membership. Also illegitimate, like the past *Club of colonial powers*, or the present *Club of veto powers*.

For the have-nots: survival, wellness, freedom, identity-meaning. Basic needs for humans and for nature, for a joint *human civilization*, with countless interpretations over space and time. A final answer.

The solutions to conflicts underlying the clashes in the five chapters are all in that spirit, derived from that answer.

For *Israel-Palestine* the 1-2-6-20 proposal is an effort to accommodate the identity with land in a broad sense of both nations, with a state for the present would-be state. And for Israel-Palestine writ large, now also over ISIS, a defensive military strategy, cease-fire, negotiations for 1-2-6-20 not denying the longing for caliphate; with

international assistance to help dispel the Sykes-Picot trauma.

For *Sunni-Shia* overcoming the debilitating cultural divide by overcoming economic-military-political divides in the Islamic world, like the West had done for the Catholic-Protestant divide, but fails to do for the Western-Eastern (Orthodox) divide. So far.

For *Christianity-Islam* recognizing counter-cyclicity as a form of conflict resolution – now it is Islam's turn – admonishing the West to be less violent now and next time, focusing on Jesus-Maria mercy more than on a stern church, using the freedom of the West for deep dialogues across all divides. A vision: the *mesquitsa-catedral* in Córdoba used for Muslim services on Fridays and Christian on Sundays with the Saturdays dedicated to dialogues, and not only between them.

For *Abrahamism-Buddhism* recognizing the depth of the divide, like for Christianity-Islam retracing the past for trauma conciliation, and then dialogue for mutual learning. All of them should search in their chambers of wisdom for ways of favoring peace over violence; Judaism for security through peace, not vice versa, Christianity and Islam for paradise on earth, not vice versa. Buddhism for the Buddha who renounced social and state power. They could help each other.

For the present *Octagon*: recognizing the best in the other 7, not being mesmerized by the worst for a paranoid "security civilization", building a civilization of cooperation for mutual and equal benefit.