PEACE NOW!
FRIEDEN SCHAFFEN IN SCHWERIGEN ZEITEN
SYMPOSIUM, 15 – 17 SEPTEMBER 2017 WIEN

PEACE IS MORE THAN WEAPON SILENCE
By Michel Aguilar

> The mind has transformed the world and the world
> has paid it back well.
> It has led man to places he had no idea how to
> reach.
> Paul Valéry

INTRODUCTION

First of all, I would like to thank Shamballa for the honour to be invited and thank particulary Hania and Mark Gardner who translated with big attention the French original version towards English.

Peace now! Here is a particularly problematic title because, as a result of its terseness, it contains at its core a number of questions. There is terseness of vocabulary: two words, no more. *Peace*, and we will examine what ideas the word signifies and evokes. *Now,* a precise adverb. There is grammatical terseness too. The exclamation mark gives to the two words, *peace* and *now,* the power of an imperative. This two-fold terseness, then, gives rise to a cascade of questions.

- Who is saying *« Peace now »?* We do not know the subject of this verbless imperative phrase. It could be singular or collective.
- To whom is this exclamation addressed? There are a number of possible candidates, such as governments, religious authorities, weapon holders ....
- Could it represent a plea? *Peace now, please.*
- Does it express the insistence of an overwhelming necessity? Peace now !!!
- Does the title reflect a world-weariness?
- Could it be a request to accept a claim in which we don't believe any more?
- When we demand peace, are we not in essence asking for everything to be blown to smithereens in order to clear the ground to make a fresh start? In other words, is an imperative call for peace not the last step before " decivilisation"?

One could say that the title seems to express exasperation: why doesn't peace reign here and now? In taking on board this question *why doesn't peace reign here and now?* and its corollary, the demand for *Peace now !,* we must be precise about what we are saying to allow us to drive out the essence of this phrase.

Peace now! *rings out like a summons* to civil society with, as a specific target, educators, trainers and social workers. *A summons equally addressed with emphasis to governments.* The establishment of peace requires the adoption of virtues such as courage, discernment and generosity. In short, a measure of boldness. Such virtues, or moral values, can act as catalysts to action if, and only if, they are recognised by everyone as a necessary reason to act.

For us to have a chance of reaching the heart of the exclamation Peace now !, I suggest that we examine together if the desire to establish peace in the world is a realistic project or just a utopian pipe dream. With this in mind, I intend to present my proposition under three headings:

1. Semantic and conceptual clarification
2. Continuous violence and unnoticed violence
3. What are the conditions for peace?

Finally, I shall present an open conclusion, essentially speculative, followed by a bibliography.

1. SEMANTIC AND CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

Peace.

We should define straight away what we are talking about. The Historical Dictionary of the French Language writes:
> « Latin etymology: pax = ''the act of making a convention between two warring parties'', which results in a state of peace. The word also personifies the deity who presides over peace.
> Peace describes the harmony and tranquillity which govern relations between two or more persons. »

The English word *peace* comes from the old french *pais* originating as before from the Latin *pax*[1].

The Chambers Dictionary offers a number of definitions of peace, including: *freedom from or absence of war; treaty or agreement ending a war; freedom from or absence of noise, disturbance or disorder; quietness; serenity or peace of mind.*

The German dictionary confirms the sense expressed by Chambers

The dictionnaries of these three languages (English, German and French) put forward a number of synonyms and similar terms. I am particulary struck by "*serenity" and "treaty"*. Serenity, or tranquillity, characterises the atmosphere where, in addition to weapon silence, there reigns a harmony which allows everyone to experience relative freedom from concern and ease of mind. Treaty, or otherwise convention, are terms which resonate because they are two judicial forms which allow sovereign states to establish peace between nations. Thus we can introduce into the semantic world of peace the notions of security and safety as guarantors of the protection of persons and possessions. This combination creates space for the freedom of expression and the enjoyment of liberty which together favour both individual and collective emancipation,

With regard to freedom of care and ease of mind, we should note that peace is characterised by weapon silence and harmony. As with health, so with peace: it is only when things no longer go well, " are in silent harmony", that we notice what's missing and immediately feel the need for peace. The establishment of peace can be proactive or reactive. In other words it can be a driver or a consequence of a situation.

---

[1] Dictionaire historique de la langue française. Under the direction of Alain Rey.Ed. Le Robert 1999
http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=peace

Let's now move on to review some of the elements of peace:
-   The freedom to establish, or not establish, peace
-   The assumption of responsibility: the Council of Europe (CoE) with the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) has made jurisprudence, principles, values and conventions the pillars which uphold the duty of peace
-   The law, justice and proportionate reparations

At this stage in exploring the concept of peace, we can legitimately ask whether peace is an absolute or if it can be relative. We can consider the example of armed peace. To summarise, we can say that peace is a state of harmony which reigns within the heart of a human group whether large or small. This harmony encompasses weapon silence, security in the sense of the absence of danger and that assurance which is the mark of a guarantee of the absence of danger. It is the state most conducive to the responsible exercise of individual and collective liberty and consequently to emancipation.

Finally we should note that, thus conceived, peace is essentially an unstable state because life itself is a complex system of complex systems. This being the case, can we concur that peace without conflict is unimaginable? The interests of different parties may be "naturally" in conflict and the link between conflict and peace is compromise, that is to say the realignment of values and fundamental principles.[2]

Accepting that conflict is a constituent of peace because its resolution requires a constant return to fundamental values, it follows that the exercise of violence is the opposite of peace. Violence can take many forms; it may manifest itself as war, as disputes or as criminal acts of a vile, debased or degrading nature.

Violence.

Most philosophies, religions and other schools of thought put peace in first place with violence as secondary to it. This is an important point because as soon as one cries Peace now! one is asserting the ebbing of violence until it disappears and not the need to "invent" peace.

The dictionary tells us: violence = the excessive or unjustified use of force. We can add that such an excessive use of force can take many forms. Bernard Quelquejeu has written : *« one can define as violence any thought, any action, any institution which is capable of adversely affecting the life or dignity of another[3] ».* On this basis, one can conceive of non-violence as the refusal to resort to excessive force to settle a conflict while nevertheless not avoiding confrontation for as long as a compromise has not been reached. We can recognise within ourselves this state of choice between resorting to excessive violence or renouncing it when, for example, we try to overcome an overwhelming desire or impulse. Giving in to such an overwhelming desire is a victory for violence and a submission of the psyche. But by the same token, the overcoming of such desire as a consequence of, for example, a lack of self-esteem or the development of guilt feelings testifies to a victory of violence, supposedly of a

---

[2] A compromise in respect of the realignment of values and fundamental is quite different from that which consists of denying values in favour of immediate venal interests.
[3] 3 Publication cited in the bibliography -page 14

moral character, on our mind. It is between these two boundaries that one can find the space to confront the two tendancies and so establish a compromise.

This example allows us to clarify another important semantic distinction; non-violence and pacifism, far from being synonyms, are two totally different entities. Pacifism is defined as the refusal to enter into any conflict. We have just seen how, within ourselves, such a possibility is illusory. The same goes for situations of divergent interests such as we have mentioned previously. We should remember that although conflict is dynamic in character and there will be inevitable moments of deadlock, one can confront conflict vigourously in a non-violent manner and reach a compromise.

We should not forget that in order to preserve the primacy of law as incontestable and to guarantee the execution of judicial decisions, the presence of a constraining force, such as the police or the army, is as indispensible as are the law and the judiciary themselves.

2. CONTINUOUS VIOLENCE AND UNNOTICED VIOLENCE.

2.1 Continuous violence in Europe

When one mentions violence one automatically thinks of wars. Consider the Middle East or East Africa. I have already mentioned armed peace. Within continental Europe there are border tensions between Armenia and Turkey, Azerbaijan and Armenia, Ukraine and Russia. These are what we call "frozen conflicts". The situation in Transnistria, the eastern province of Moldova may go unreported but it is no less dramatic and violent than that which exists in the Donetsk province of Ukraine.

Let us consider briefly the events in Donbass (the Donetsk and Luhansk provinces of Ukraine) and the Crimea at the end of 2013 - beginning of 2014. This tearing apart of Ukraine suggests a parallel between the contemporary Russo-Ukrainian conflict and the Carolingian conquests of the Middle Ages. There is a fault line which runs between Tallinn, capital of catholic/protestant Estonia, and orthodox Russia, weaves between the Baltic States and Russia and between catholic Poland and orthodox Belarus, then runs between catholic western Ukraine and orthodox Donbass and on to divide catholic Slovakia and Hungary in the west from orthodox Romania in the east. At this point the fault line turns directly west to skirt the northern border of the Muslim Balkans as far as Split in Croatia. This line running from Tallinn to Split marks the limit of the Carolingian conquests and its diversion to the north of the Balkans is evidence of the 16th century Ottoman conquests which proved such a headache to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V.

Still within Europe, in fact at the heart of the European Union, I recollect, without going into details, how the Visegrád Group (Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia) gave Brussels such a hard time. You may be aware that this informal group was formed in 1335 when the kings of Bohemia, Poland and Hungary met in the Hungarian town of Visegrád to seal an anti-Hapsburg alliance. Frederick II (1327-1344) was then in power and the politico-religious tensions were a precursor to the Papal or Great Western Schism (1378-1417).

In relation to peace in Europe, this historical and geographical context reminds us how important it is to have a clear view of old conflicts. The increasing neglect of the study of history in the school curriculum constitutes an unnoticed violence. We have frequently discussed this issue in the Council of Europe.

The Council of Europe also actively opposes populist discourse. Research which I have undertaken shows that nationalist and populist movements, whether national or regional (such as in Catalonia or Northern Italy) are often in conflict with each other. Certain countries still suffer from territorial amputations to which they have been subjected during the course of an eventful European history. History helps us to understand that all nationalisms are unique although what is notable today is the simultaneity in the rise of nationalisms and the populist discourse which accompanies them.

It seems to me that the first elements of this study demonstrate the extent to which peace is primary and violence secondary, contrary to what many deduce. Peace is possible at all times. The barrier to peace is primarily an internal attitude.Whether one is inherently more inclined to peace and harmony than to envy and contention, our emotions make the internal attitudes readily contagious. In one sense or another.

2.2 Other kind of continuous violence

Violence can be, for example, urban violence or domestic violence but we should take note of the many other forms of violence. I will start by referring to those continous types of violence which, though unacceptable, are rarely spoken of except in exceptional circumstances. Afterwards I shall focus on unnoticed violence.

- Population migration and associated violence as a result of climate change. Rising sea levels and the reduction in soil fertility will increasingly reduce available habitable land driving populations into more crowded territories. One can imagine the tensions which will arise from the cohabitation of competing social groups.

- Structural violence of societies. In his work, the great Muslim intellectual Ibn Khaldûn (1332 – 1407), having pointed out that societies have their origin in the use of violence against competing nations or races, summarises clearly the process of degeneration of societies.

   The city, having become confident in its institutions, its judiciary and its security forces, finishes up by forgetting its foundation in violence. This loss of memory goes hand in hand with the forgetting of the very "habitus[4]" of resistance.
   Once pacified, the city is surrounded by borderlands, which retain their internal solidarity and their potential for violence. The ruler may adopt one of two strategies. Either, wishing to avoid wars of attrition which entail both human and financial cost, he circumvents the borders of his kingdom in order to more fully exploit his "useful" lands (those producing revenue which can be translated into tolls and taxes); or he makes use of these borderlands to provide the mercenary forces which he needs. A similar assymetry governs the relations between the city and its borderlands.
   On the other hand, the borderlands, which evolve in tough conditions where a lack of resources prohibits the existence of a professional body of security agents and judges, can count only upon their internal solidarity and their collective access to the means of violence for their survival.

---

[4] Habitus is a combination of acquired, long-lasting predispostions made up of classes of valuations and judgements and leading to social practices which match social position. Acquired during early education and first social experiences, it also reflects the path taken through life and later experiences. Habitus results in a progressive incorporation of social structures.

It is this dialectic between sophistication and rusticity, between the overabundance of resources and their dearth, between the corrupting influence of civilisation and the nobility of refusal to have any part of it, which leads to the erosion of power and brings the "barbarian" borderlands forward to centre stage. These however must guard against making a bid for power too soon, looking simply to their internal cohesion, their joint armed forces, their spirit of do or die, or even the illegitimacy of an increasingly unjust and unrighteous ruler[5].»

New challenges emerge. They arise because politicians lack courage and adopt only a short-term view, that is as far as the next election. This is a global phenomenon which creates a vast opening for the rise of centres of extremely savage violence at the margins of world regions, countries or towns. Current electoral campaigns on all continents, the deposing of heads of state, the mistrust of intergovernmental organisations and the arrogance of despotic powers are daily evidence of this deterioration in all political spheres. This deliberate myopia and focus on the short term is in itself structural violence.

At a local level, the withdrawal of funding from associations promoting civil or humanitarian solidarity, the replacement in public libraries of history books with works selected for their "political correctness" are among the acts of structural violence perpetrated by the local authorities.

- Institutional violence: examples of this include the treatment of people held in prison and detention centres, those under house arrest and the status of those with mental illnesses who in certain countries may even be criminalised.

- Communautarianism (inter- and intra-community) violence. More and more people are being attracted by popularist rhetoric and inward looking communities. These latter are based on making distinctions (political, economic, legal, social) between those on the inside and those on the outside. This tendency is evidence of a malaise: the middle and working classes are experiencing globalisation as dispossession; that is, dispossession of social advantages as a result of fiscal and social dumping. Equally they are experiencing cultural dispossession, as tastes, food stuffs and consumer goods in general become more uniform. In short, this malaise is born of a feeling that they no longer have control of anything.

The only domain in which people feel they have the power to act is in relation to others, especially those less well off than themselves and foreigners. This contributes to an "us and them" attitude as much amongst those who see their lives as culturally dispossesed as among the groups they condemn. It is clear that communautarianism may be understood as based on claims by cultural, political, religious, ethnic or other minorities and as resulting from constant denigration.

Simultaneously, communautarianist violence is also an internal process as each member of the community feels obliged to think and act according to the claims expressed, and consequently their inner self clearly experiences coercion and violence.

---

[5] This quotation is taken from the article entitled *Quand les société s'effondrent; Perspectives khaldûniennes sur les conflits contemporains,* written by Hamit Bozarslan and publishedin the review Esprit number 421 of January 2016 (pages 30 to 44).

I have given you some examples of violence which takes place on a more or less continuous basis and to which we are so accustomed as to be unaware of it except in unusual circumstances.

2.3 Unnoticed violence

Now I would like to turn my attention to what I call unnoticed violence.

In this category I identify two large domains which are potential carriers both of progress and of violence. On the one hand, there are the emergent technologies which are designated by the acronym NBIC: Nanotechnology, Biotechnology, Information technology, and Cognitive science. On the other hand, there is the simultaneous convergence of three new phenomena in the history of humanity: a) the development of new technologies, b) climate and environmental change, and c) the "de-westernisation" of the world. We shall see that the sources of this violence are not always where we would expect to find them.

2.3.1 The emergent technologies NBIC.

First of all we should note that the NBIC are interlinked. Nanotechnology, biotechnology, information technology, and cognitive science feed off each other to the extent that each is necessary to the other for its development.

The first type of violence inflicted by these massive developments puts in jeopardy the limits of life, our relationships with others and the culture which has accumulated since the dawn of humanity, in short the meaning of life. This stems from the speed at which these technologies have penetrated the daily lives of millions of people around the world. It consists of the violence of change and even more, the violence of integration. I mean that no-one can escape the need to integrate these new technologies into their private, professional or social life. We are faced with a twofold violence: there is no possibility of drawing back from the effects, whether positive, negative or others as yet unknown, of the widespread and general use of these technologies; and yet we do not have a choice to resist the demands to sign up to them with which we are bombarded. We have all experienced the uncomfortable dilemma in which increasingly numerous and specific computer applications, while facilitating all kinds of tasks and activities, at the same time inherently require us to renounce individual freedom.

> Moral value...
> My liberty needs yours and yours needs mine in order to develop and evolve mutually.
>
> J.-C. Ameisen

A range of economic, social, cultural and political operations have been short-circuited by the increasingly in-depth knowledge of cognitive functions, the power of biotechnology which has shattered our understanding of traditional biology and the beginnings of human connectivity made possible by the web and real time date capture and computation. We are confronting the rupture of civilisation. Extensively documented and scholarly studies by such thinkers as Pierre Musso, Clarisse Herrenschmidt, Pierre Legendre, Bernard Stiegler, Jean-Michel Besnier, and many others, shed light on a dual historical perspective. From his earliest days man has been unable to survive without recourse to the tools and techniques of hunting, gathering and observation. Humans have therefore always been, and always will be,

technological beings. Secondly, classical Greek thought has enabled Christianity, at a later date, to introduce by means of its internal logic what we call today the concept of reason. Once the idea of reason has penetrated a sphere of knowledge or competence it becomes difficult, even impossible, to remove it. Anyway, the concept of reason has taken no time at all to conquer the whole world!

Today, an enormous proportion of the population no longer has a fixed line telephone but a portable smartphone. On this subject Stiegler references Husserl: *« "Retentions" is the name we give to that which is retained by us and by information systems, which are much better at retaining things than are we. Husserl has shown that when these "retentions" are combined "protentions" are produced, that is to say anticipations, expectations, desires, pleasures and fantasies[6].»* Desires, volition, pleasures, fantasies; it is easy to understand the processes, which drive our addiction to the screen. Even more worrying for future peace: how will our children find the freedom to think for themselves about peace, dignity, solidarity when for some years now they have entered a digital world where there are screens everywhere to distract them (and allow their parents to relax), and how will they then have any chance of creating their own desires, pleasures and fantasies?

In *La theorie du drone*[7], Grégoire Chamayou explains how the concept of war has been stood on its head, pointing out that drones and robots dehumanise war. Social psychologists highlight the growing need to re-humanise war.

Given this twofold historical perspective, the technological human and the unassailability of reason, certain lines of logic become inevitable. In particular, in the short term, the delegation of an incalculable number of tasks to robots. The question is to think through these technologies and their limitations because a system which does not know its limits will result in entropy and decay.

How does all this relate to peace?

First of all, the internet and social networks tend to homogenise behaviours and desires. But life is above all diverse. Peace is part of this diversity. Thanks to our free contributions Google's algorithms have improved spell and grammar checkers. Voice recognition is progressively replacing text creation using a computer keyboard. Together with predictive text and the use of abbreviations and emoticons in text messaging, these applications lead to a loss of writing skills. But according to Bernard Stiegler, "the written word is the basis of the Greek law of rights" and the law is the bulwark of justice, equity and, it follows, peace. To lose knowledge of the written word is, unconsciously, to lose the capacity to produce the law. When the rule of law gives way, force and injustice take its place. Véronique Nahoum-Grappe writes in the review Esprit number 435[8] page 37: *Suffering linked to the perception of injustice is a hurt, which leads to rage ».* The erosion of writing constitutes an unnoticed violence far more subtle that one would imagine.

We are told that robots pose a widespread threat to unskilled work where employees spend all day carrying out repetetive tasks. This is true. The Taiwanese company Foxconn[9], a leader in the manufacture of electronic components, employs 1,300,000 people. It has installed 10,000

---

[6] See the link: http://www.scielo.org.co/pdf/pafi/n37/n37a10.pdf and also http://arsindustrialis.org/desire-and-knowledge-dead-seize-living

[7] Publication cited in the bibliography

[8] Publication cited in the bibliography

[9] https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foxconn

experimental robots, thereby making the same number of employees redundant, and is investing in the introduction of a million robots. Groups of 150,000 to 200,000 people at a time are gradually being dismissed. But the reality is even more vast. Over a period of just a few months a London investment bank has replaced 600 traders by 2 technicians who monitor the screens which control transactions speeding round the world at 230,000 km per second, that is a two-thirds the speed of light. In the same way legal experts who are employed to study jurisprudence and build highly sophisticated databases of documentation are being progressively replaced by computers. So unskilled, semi-skilled and highly skilled personnel will lose their jobs in the near future. Devaluing people by depriving them their skills, their know-how, and their social and family status severely damages their personal dignity and, as a critical mass is reached, degrades collective dignity. This represents an unnoticed violence which threatens peace unless a new social system can be rapidly invented.

There is no need to provide further examples. We have understood that the disruption caused by these ongoing technological advances requires us, firstly, to invent as quickly as possible a new socio-economic-political system, so that people may acquire new competences which will allow them to receive the financial remuneration appropriate to their contribution to the digital society. Secondly, history has shown us that each new major technological revolution (fire - the wheel - printing - steam power - oil exploitation) has upset the balance between the technical and social systems - to be sure, never satisfactory and never stable - which previously prevailed. A technological revolution always brings with it a need to create a new social system adapted to the new industrial situation. In "L'age de la régression", pages 250 and 251, Wolfgang Streeck[10] introduces the concept of the "interregnum''. He writes *« an interregnum is a period of indeterminate length where it is recognised that the ancient order has been destroyed but a new one cannot yet be instigated. (...) Before this new order can truly be established, we must wait, as Gramsci says, for ''many different kinds of pathological phenomena'' »*. Later, page 265, he explains that the elites of the decaying system and other opponents of change resort to a violent criticism of the agents of change and create a diversion by suggesting there is a crisis of legitimacy.

This very brief interpretation of the impact of continuous and unnoticed violence in the field of technology illustrates the extent to which the unwillingness to take on board these contemporary realities creates a lasting menace to peace, as defined at the start of this study.

2.3.2 The three unprecedented elements

As previously mentioned, three situations totally without precedent have appreared simultaneously:
- The development of new technologies
- Climate and environmental change
- The "de-westernisation" of the world

I shall not reopen the subject of the new technologies. As for climate and environmental change, the goal of limiting average global warming to two degrees is little more than a public relations exercise. Experts predict that by the end of the century the average global temperature will have increased by seven degrees and sea levels will have risen by two metres, perhaps more. To give examples of current responses, the city of New York is building barriers against rising water levels and the Dutch are considering floating houses. It appears that many countries, among them those of Southern Europe, have forgotten about their thousands of kilometres of coastline. An astonishing lapse of memory. This geographical

---

[10] L'âge de la régression, joint publication cited in the bibliography.

modification affects shorelines, estuaries and former marshlands. Inevitably the result will be population movement inland as well as international migration. Numerous businesses and industries will also have to relocate in order to continue their activities.

It would be a criminal act towards all living beings on this planet not to make massive and large scale efforts to bring ourselves as quickly as possible out of our anthropocene age.[11] It is a potential source of violence whose voluntary, because conscious, negligence is a grave menace to peace in the years to come.

We come to the last of the three unprecedented elements, the "de-westernisation" of the world.[12] In my view, there are several manifestations of this "de-westernisation".

2.3.2.1 The technological aspect.
Some people say that this is not an unprecedented element because at the end of the XVIII century, India and China between them held 40% of world wealth and power. That is to attach little importance to that very recent period in our history, which we call the industrial era, from 1830 to the present day. Those two countries missed out on the rise of modernity at the beginning of the XIX century. Today, as we know, these two powers have made up their lost technological ground. Economic, demographic and latterly military power has shifted the centre of gravity of the modern world from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

2.3.2.2 The cultural and moral aspect
The dramatic events of recent years (targeted but blind acts of terrorism, financial meltdown) have shown us that the moral values based on European culture no longer hold sway throughout the world. These are the principles of universality, gender equality, democracy and the rule of law; principles which guarantee equality under the law for all. At present, a number of supporters of despotic political power repudiate the advances in civilisation represented by human rights and their universality.

2.3.2.3 The moral values aspect
These essentially European values are equally scorned by the shareholders of those internet giants which are collectively referred to by the acronym GAFAM (Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon, Microsoft), to which we can add PayPal and some others. The plan of these American millionaires is clearly libertarian: they wish to live outside the law and for them the rule of law and everything relating to regulation is the enemy. It is claimed that the Internet and social networks are open spaces ideally supporting the bottom up development of contemporary society. This is completely false. The principals of these Internet giants use secret algorithms to exercise extremely precise top down control of social networks and the Web. One can see that the deliberate weakening of the values of dignity, equality and solidarity is not the sole privilege of certain extreme eastern theocracies nor of the despotic leaders of Central and Eastern European republics. Very well educated western capitalists, fully versant in the psychology of the western mind, have developed an egotistical cynicism which knows no bounds..

2.3.2.4 An almost unknown disturber of peace
To finish this chapter, I would like to bring to your attention a recent article in which a team of researchers has demonstrated that both political and religious beliefs and affiliations follow the same neural pathways. These neural cells are linked to the control of emotions and self

---

[11] Anthropocene: see the course given by Philippe Descola at the Collège de France
http://www.college-de-france.fr/site/edouard-bard/symposium-2015-11-09-15h30.htm
[12] See the works of Bertrand Badie in the bibliography.

identity. In other words political and religious argument and counter-arguments are more likely to generate feelings of fear and anger than to change opinions and affiliations. (I will expand on the proposition of "moral" initiatives subsequently).

Summary

> Today the West cannot take *its* thought to be *the* thought.
> Jean-Pierre Vernant.

As we reach the end of this short exposition, we see that there is a savage violence inherent in what I have described as the unwillingness of the powers-that-be to take charge of what appear to be tomorrow's issues but which in fact date from yesterday. Because the conditions which favour the development of the phenomena which I have just outlined have already existed for some time. To ignore the inevitable benefits and the undeniable disadvantages which these powerful and simultaneous contemporary phenomena bring is in itself an act of violence towards all living beings on the planet today and tomorrow. Not only will there be undesirable consequences but also no-one can know now what will be their effects in the medium and long term.

3. WHAT ARE THE CONDITIONS FOR PEACE?

What antidotes can we administer to counter these unnoticed elements which threaten a stable and long-lasting state of peace?

International organisations such as the Council of Europe play a role of prime importance. As the upholders of principles, values and wide-ranging jurisprudence, they are the guardians of the temple of fundamental rights and as such reaffirm in many ways the universality of human dignity, equality under the rule of law and individual and collective solidarity. Unfortunately in these days it is not enough to guard the temple and affirm values because these same institutions have also become "Maginot lines". Over time cynical big business and despotic politicians bypass them without the least scruple, allowing themselves to be carried away by the pleasure of ignoring civilised values in order to gratify their egos in the short term. Therefore it is essential that such intergovernmental institutions as we know continue to exist, but they will only do so if they succeed in renewing themselves, which sadly seems not to be currently the case. At a recent conférence, Bernard Stiegler reminded us that back in the 1950s, Marcel Mauss stated that we must *« invent not so much a international space but an "internation", that is to say a movement to become nations among ourselves in a new type of relationship, which implies that we must reinvent democracy, public power and the role of business and develop a new concept of the regulatory systems[13] »*.

Nevertheless, the Council of Europe publishes many excellent documents to further the establishment of peace and harmony. The White Paper on intercultural dialogue, written in English, is listed in the bibliography. The civil society delegation to the Council of Europe has also created a "tool kit" to enable conflicting parties to create the right conditions for entering into dialogue.

---

[13] See the abstract and the full text in english under the link:
http://www.cairn-int.info/article-E_RDM_036_0283--a-different-approach-to-nationhood.htm

Other "moral" initiatives also exist. I would like to mention a small European association for which I have the honour to have been President for three years. We promote the morphing of interrelilgion dialogue towards interconviction dialogue. To this purpose we have created, in partnership with a fellow association, a training course called: ''How to live together in Europe with our different convictions''. Its aim is to establish the conditions to enable dialogue between philosophies, religions and schools of thought which tend to be mutually exclusive, on the pretext that each holds the one real Truth, whether revealed or not. We also promote the principle of non-conclusive debate so that ideas can be shared and the path to compromise becomes achievable without any of the participants emerging as the "winner" or conversely "overpowered" by an ideology other than their own. You may be interested to know that on Tuesday 19 September, we have organised a meeting with the French Senate to launch a European Charter of Interconvictionality which we drafted last spring. Subsequently we hope to hold an event to launch this Charter with the Council of Europe and the European Union.

Could religions themselves act as a counterweight to these threats to peace? Religions are based on peace. For example, the letters ''s – l – m'' have given us the word ''islam'' which means *'peace with oneself through submission to god''. ''SLM''* has the same root as Shalom, Solomon and Jerusalem. But no religion is monolithic. Very different, even antagonistic, tendances exist in all religions. Religious elites have harnessed speech and deny expression via the media to dissenting voices within the same religion. These ruling elites sometimes arise out of tendances which do not include the majority of believers. And so they often shore up their authority by aligning their interests with current holders of political power. In other words, these dominant religious movements make compromises with politicans who have no interest in the issues we have looked at earlier. Few religions have any credibility as balancing agents for the protection of peace in the face of contemporary issues. On the other hand many individual believers and practicants of various religions quietly act for peace within their professional lives and as participants in associations. Sometimes it is important to make a distinction between religious institutions and practicing believers.

Based on my many years of study and my experience of more than ten years within the Council of Europe, I am convinced that civil society holds the key to a future where peace has a chance.

As we have briefly observed, the current macro-system offers the promise of major progress for humanity but the way in which it operates produces more confusion than benefits. The problem lies not in the technological system itself but in its top-down and oppressive implementation. We must call upon the external contribution of the wider society to create a new general system.

We all know that finance, the economy, the social fabric, health and education systems and political processes have become not so much inoperative as ineffective, sometimes even counterproductive, because they have lost all dynamism and all capacity to adapt to a completely changing world. It is left then to the universities, to citizens, to parents, teachers, pupils and students, to doctors, to the sick, to lawyers, to social workers and to all the members of civil society to mobilise and join together to invent a new social macro-system. Do not think that these are just fine words on my part. Far from it. Activities of this kind are taking place in a coordinated manner in many countries throughout the world.

What we must do is invent a social system which enables life-long learning, where people can progress from one skill to another and so are permanently integrated into the constantly developing contributory economy. In this way they remain socially useful, can earn a living,

be moderate consumers and pass on to the following generation a way of life which respects others, of which peace is the corner stone. Our young people will grow up in this reconstructed social system and will be capable of conceiving new directions to enable them to tackle successive phases as they emerge.

> Moral value.....
> To have moral value is to show yourself equal to what life brings
> Gilles Deleuze

GENERAL CONCLUSION.

At the end of this short study we can see that there are two indispensable requirements for the establishment of peace now. Firstly, we must make an effort to meet head on the unprecedented elements by seeking to understand the epistomology of the technologies and the processes which are producing the disruptions prevalent across the globe. Secondly, once we have acquired and made widespread this understanding, each one of us at the heart of civil society, within our own environment and according to our capabilities, must commit to contributing to the emergence of the new world.

This is the global vision which I have worked to make accessible and which I have presented to my colleagues at the Council of Europe. The inertia of the system has prevented this message from being heard. Now that I am no longer part of that institution and have regained my freedom of expression, I am delighted to share with all of you here and with others in many other places, this message of optimism, dignity and realism in the cause of the emergence of peace for the greatest number.

Peace implies a process of comprehension, of an effort of epistemology, of discernment, of ethical debate, of assumption of responsibility, undertaken in each area where necessary conflict could descend into violence: institutional violence - technological violence - social violence.......

Peace is therefore above all a question of education and the quality of that education depends on the clarity of thought of those who pass on their knowledge from one generation to the next.

Peace, like truth, is not an abstract concept but the creation of a relationship between an abstract concept and its context. To paraphrase Pierre Musso, I shall conclude by saying that peace is both a "function" and a "fiction" because it is first and foremost an internal attitude.

> Moral value…
> Moral value is to create the conditions to see it clearly.
> Francisco Varela

Thank you.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Nicole Aubert (dir) *L'individu hypermoderne* Editions Erès 2017

Arjun Appadurai (dir) *L'âge de la régression* Editions Premier parallèle 2017

Antoine Arjakovsky (dir) *Histoire de la conscience européenne* Editions Salvator 2016

Monique Atlan et Roger-Pol Droit *Humain ; Une enquête philosophique sur ces révolutions qui changent nos vies* Editions Flammarion 2012

Bertrand Badie *La fin des territoires* Editions Biblis 2013

Bertrand Badie *L'impuissance de la puissance* Editions Biblis 2013

Bertrand Badie *Nous ne sommes plus seuls au monde* Editions La Découverte 2016

Sophie Body-Gendrot *Les villes, la fin de la violence ?* Editions Presses de Sciences Po 2001

Jean-Pierre Bois *L'Europe à l'époque moderne XVI° - XVIII° siècle* Editions Armand Colin 2003

Jean-Claude Caron et Michel Vernus *L'Europe au XIX° siècle ; Des nations aux nationalismes 1815 – 1914* Editions Armand Colin 1996

Grégoire Chamayou *Théorie du drone* Editions La Fabrique 2013

Yves Citton *Pour une écologie de l'attention* Editions du Seuil 2014

Monique Dagnaud *Le modèle californien ; Comment l'esprit collaboratif change le monde* Editions Odile Jacob 2016

Stanislas Dehaene *Le code de la conscience* Editions Odile Jacob 2014

Philippe Escande et Sandrine Cassini *Bienvenue dans le capitalisme 3.0* Editions Albin Michel 2015

Franck Frommer *La pensée PowerPoint* Editions La Découverte 2010

René Girard *La voix méconnue du réel ; Une théorie des mythes archaïques et modernes* Editions Grasset 2002

Pierre Grosser *L'histoire se fait en Asie* Editions Odile Jacob 2017

Clarisse Herrenschmidt *Les trois écritures ; Langue, nombre, code* Editions Gallimard 2007

Bruno Jacomy *Une histoire des techniques* Editions du Seuil 2015

Jack Kornfeld *Bouddha mode d'emploi* Editions Belfond 2011

Pierre Legendre *Ce que l'Occident ne voit pas de l'Occident* Editions Mille et une nuits 2016

Danilo Martuccelli *Sociologies de la modernité* Editions Gallimard 1999

Yves Michaud *Changements dans la violence ; Essai sur la bienveillance universelle et la peur* Editions Odile Jacob 2002

Laurent Mucchielli et Philippe Robert (dir) *Crime et sécurité ; l'état des savoirs* Editions La Découverte 2002

Laurent Mucchielli *Violences et insécurité ; Fantasmes et réalités dans le débat français* Editions La Découverte 2001

Pierre Musso *La religion industrielle ; Monastère, manufacture, usine, une généalogie de l'entreprise* Editions Fayard 2017

Marylène Patou-Mathis *Préhistoire de la violence et de la guerre* Editions Odile jacob 2013

Natacha Polyny *Bienvenue dans le pire des mondes ; Triomphe du soft totalitarisme* Editions Plon 2016

Bernard Quelquejeu *Sur les chemins de la non-violence ; Etudes de philosophie morale et politique* Editions Vrin 2010.

Majid Rahnema *Quand la misère chasse la pauvreté* Editions Fayard / Actes sud 2003

Wolfgang Streeck *Du temps acheté ; La crise sans cesse ajournée du capitalisme démocratique.* Editions Gallimard 2014

Norbert Wiener *Cybernétique et société ; L'usage humain des êtres humains* Editions du Seuil 2014

Patricia Wiater *Intercultural Dialogue in the Framework of European Human Rights Protection* Publishing Council of Europe 2010

Revue Esprit n° 421 *Violences sans fin* Editions Esprit 2016

Revue Esprit n° 435 *La bataille des droits de l'homme* Editions Esprit 2017
Revue du Mauss
Revue Tendrel n° 56 pages 64 à 69 *Violence éducation et Dharma* Editions Dzambala 2001
Dictionnaires: n° 36 published in english La Découverte 2010

- Dictionnaire historique de la langue française – sous la direction de Alain Rey. Editions le Robert 1999
- The Chambers Dictionary - Chambers Harrap Publishers Ltd
- Dictionnaire ''Allemand'' Editions Larousse 2007