

Kyoto Speech

My remarks today encompass five major points:

- 1) The tensions between China and the United States arise from a clash of ethnic axial principles.
- 2) The alternative to conflict is a dialogue between Americans and the Chinese.
- 3) The dialogue should search for alignments between ethnic core values.
- 4) Dialogue is promoted by using concepts of equilibrium and balance among the equities.
- 5) Moderation – Yawagari -requires a new theory of power in inter-group and inter-state relations – the notion of balanced partnerships or what I call associative power.

The tensions between China and the United States arise from a clash of ethnic axial principles

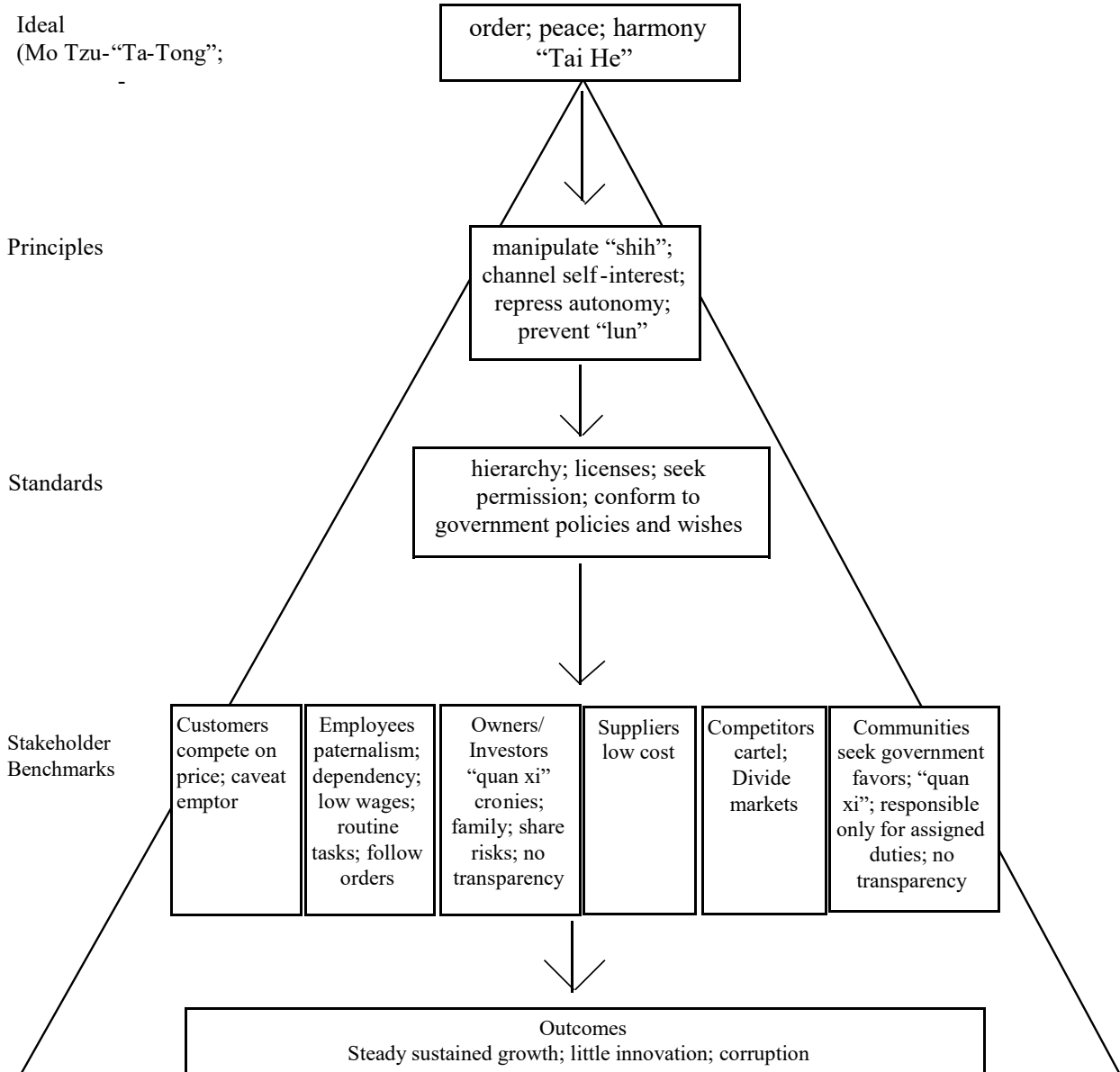
American sociologist Daniel Bell used the concept of an axial principle to provide clarity on the fundamental teleology of any social system in lasting equilibrium. In such social systems, culture, distinctive personality types, social hierarchies and dynamics, politics, and economic arrangements are all mutually supporting and synergistic

Axial Principles provide human systems with a vision of meaning and a telos – a purpose which rationalizes subordinate values, beliefs, structures and efforts. An Axial Principle admits what is coherently collegial and refuses absorption of that which is conflictual or inconsistent with its mission.

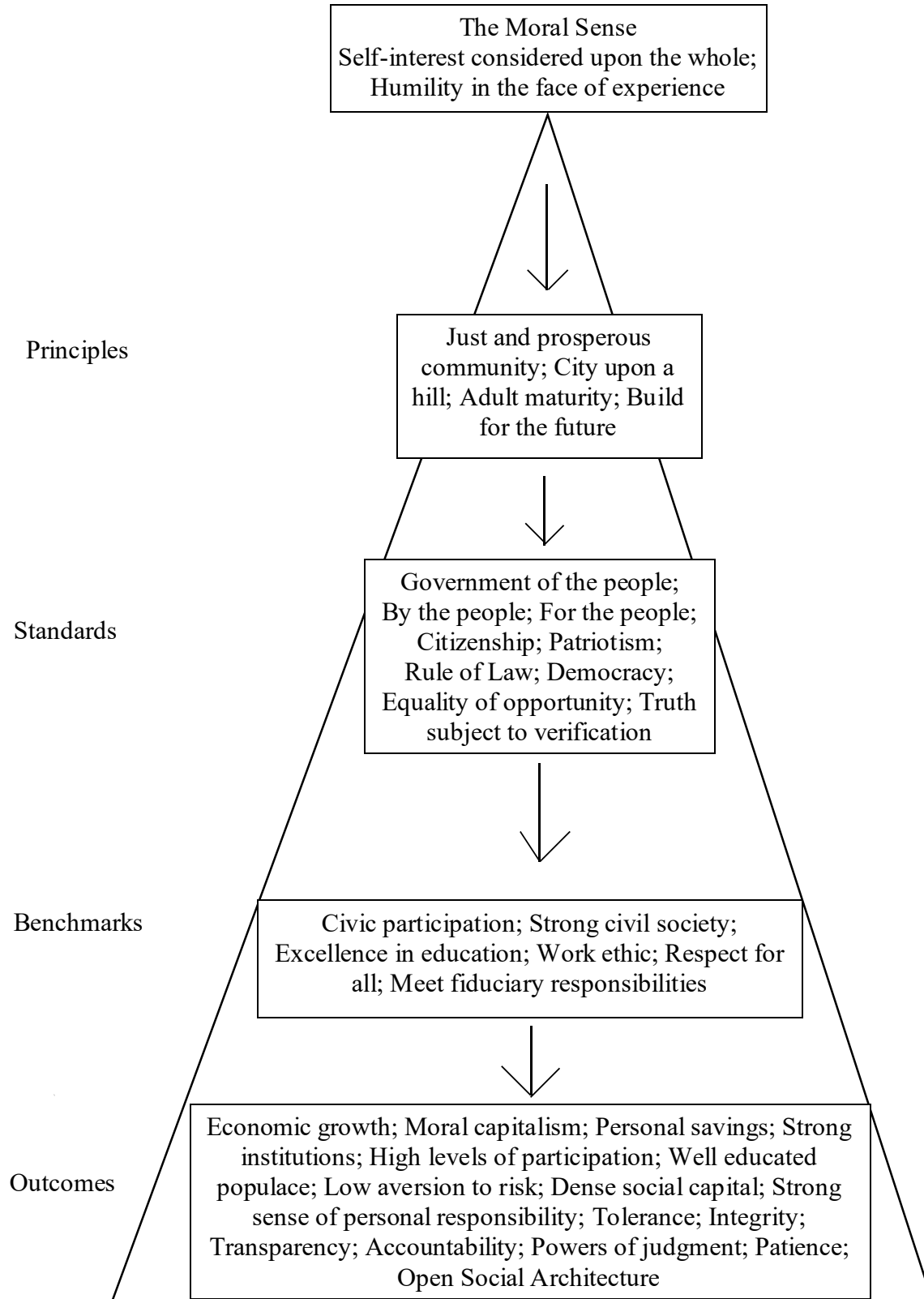
In my work I have used axial principles to model different forms of capitalism – American, Chinese, Japanese, Mexican, Thai. Following Habermas, I present the Axial Principle of a system as existing in the realm of “normativity” and using human agents to express itself in the realm of ‘facticity’.

Thus, I propose one axial principle for China and another for America. The Chinese axial principle is that of order imposed and maintained by the state. The American principle is a moral sense in each individual permitting individualism which creates sociality through collaboration by means of contracts and other forms of agreement. These axial principles oppose one another and so relations between the Chinese State and the United States can only rarely be harmonious.

Chinese Business Value Pyramid



The American Ethic



Chinese Axial Principle

The philosophy behind the right of the state to order society, culture, economics and politics – dispenses with virtue (*de*). As with Thomas Hobbes in England, the argument against virtue arises from an understanding of Natural Law. The argument is that human nature is not, in the normal course, meant to be virtuous. Hobbes famously wrote that, in a state of nature, the life of man is “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short.” Thus, the philosophy holds that the state must intervene in order to remedy deficiencies in human character placed there by nature. Jurists call the use of law by a sovereign government without reference to any higher authority Positive law Jurisprudence. I date the start of the Positive Law tradition in China with Mozi (470 – 391 BCE).

Mozi said: In the beginning of human life, when there was yet no law and government, the custom was "everybody according to his own idea." Accordingly, each man had his own idea, two men had two different ideas and ten men had ten different ideas -- the more people the more different notions. And everybody approved of his own view and disapproved the views of others, and so arose mutual disapproval among men. As a result, father and son and elder and younger brothers became enemies and were estranged from each other, since they were unable to reach any agreement. Everybody worked for the disadvantage of the others with water, fire, and poison. Surplus energy was not spent for mutual aid; surplus goods were allowed to rot without sharing; excellent teachings (*Dao*) were kept secret and not revealed. The disorder in the (human) world could be compared to that among birds and beasts. Yet all this disorder was due to the want of a Son of Heaven. (Bk III, Ch 9)

MoZi asserted: “In the beginning there was no Sun of Heaven and everybody was independent. Since everyone was independent, there would be one purpose when there was one man, ten purposes when there were ten men, a hundred purposes when there were a hundred men, a thousand purposes when there were a thousand men and so on until the number of men became innumerable and the number of different purposes became innumerable with it. And all of them approved their own ideas and disapproved those of others. And there was strife among the strong and struggle among the weak. Thereupon Heaven wished to unify the standards for All-Under-Heaven. The virtuous was selected and made emperor.

Therefore (Heaven) chose the virtuous in the world and crowned him emperor. Feeling the insufficiency of his capacity, the emperor chose the virtuous in the world and installed them as the three ministers. The emperor and the three ministers, seeing the vastness of the empire and the difficulty of attending to matters of right and wrong and profit and harm among peoples of far countries, divided the empire into feudal states and assigned them to feudal lords. Feeling the insufficiency of their capacity, the feudal lords, in turn, chose the virtuous of their states and appointed them as their officials.

American Axial Principle

The American Axial Principle of individual personal responsibility is very Protestant in its conceptualization. It is part of the Protestant Ethic which both struggled for constitutional democracy in England and the English colonies in North America and created capitalist enterprise in decentralized free markets.

In this English Protestant tradition, John Locke wrote the basic treatise on constitutionalism just as Adam Smith did on capitalism and William Blackstone did on the Rule of Law to manage both governance and the economy.

The English Protestants took seriously teachings of the Old Testament which called on individuals to personally walk in the ways of the Lord. Each person, therefore, needed to have a charisma, an inner conviction that he or she had a calling from God, a vocation, to serve and thereby to overcome selfishness and fear.

Government was to be a servant of the people as well, not their master. In 1 Samuel 8 we read:

When Samuel grew old, he appointed his sons as Israel's leaders. ... But his sons did not follow his ways. They turned aside after lucre and accepted bribes and perverted justice.

So all the elders of Israel gathered together and came to Samuel at Ramah. They said to him, "You are old, and your sons do not follow your ways; now appoint a king to lead us, such as all the other nations have."

But when they said, "Give us a king to lead us," this displeased Samuel; so he prayed to the LORD. And the LORD told him: "Listen to all that the people are saying to you; it is not you they have rejected, but they have rejected me as their king."

Thus, a king is not a sure means of achieving justice, but rather a likely source of injustice.

The judgment of the Lord was to unfold in due course. Later kings of Israel did not walk in the way of the Lord so he called forth prophets to warn them before he sent punishment upon them. The prophet Ezekiel said: "The word of the LORD came to me: "Son of man, prophesy against the shepherds of Israel; prophesy and say to them: 'This is what the Sovereign LORD says: Woe to you shepherds of Israel who only take care of yourselves! Should not shepherds take care of the flock?" (Ezekiel 34)

The Protestant thinker John Calvin in his Institutes of the Christian Religion was quite clear as to the responsibility of each Christian to have a personal ministry in this world.

The Puritan John Winthrop in 1630 when leading his followers to settle the colony of Massachusetts Bay wrote:

Thus stands the cause between God and us. We are entered into covenant with Him for this work. We have taken out a commission. The Lord hath given us leave to draw our own articles. We have professed to enterprise these and those accounts, upon these and those ends. We have hereupon besought Him of favor and blessing. Now if the Lord shall please to hear us, and bring us in peace to the place we desire, then hath he ratified this covenant and sealed our

Commission, and will expect a strict performance of the articles contained in it; but if we shall neglect the observation of these articles which are the ends we have propounded, and, dissembling with our God, shall fall to embrace this present world and prosecute our carnal intentions, seeking great things for ourselves and our posterity, the Lord will surely break out in wrath against us; be revenged of such a [sinful] people and make us know the price of the breaches of such a covenant.

The axial principle of Protestant ministry and service is found in the justification the American colonists later provided for their refusal to any longer recognize the royal government in London as their sovereign authority. In their Declaration of independence, signed in 1776, they affirmed: We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

We read in these words the same concerns set forth in 1 Samuel 8 and Ezekiel 34.

The Protestant principle of reliance on personal responsibility also was expressed in the American Constitution of 1787: We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

The people, not a king, were sovereign. The people were entrusted with responsibility for working together in good faith for the common good of the nation. Each person, therefore, held a civic office to work for the community.

The first American President, George Washington, expressed his personal sense of service in his first inaugural address, saying that he accepted a call to serve, not from personal ambition but from a sense of duty:

Washington articulate the American Axial Principle that responsible individual could achieve great good for humankind:

since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity: Since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven, can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained: And since the preservation of the

sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the Republican model of Government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

This was Washington's equivalent to the Chinese belief in Heaven providing for the good of the world through a ruler.

At the end of a bitter civil war, President Lincoln again aligned with the American Axial Principle to put responsibility for just outcomes in the hands of each citizen:

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

That theme of individual responsibility infused President John Kennedy's inaugural address, which ended:

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country. My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man. Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.

The alternative to conflict is a dialogue between Americans and the Chinese

Professor Togo has proposed that in international relations the assertion by one side that its interest or cause is 100% righteous and just and the position of another state is both neither and irredeemable is destructive of the common good. It is a zero-sum view of the world. Professor Togo argues that, instead, as rivalries between peoples and states increase in our time, it is possible and absolutely necessary that rivals deepen their respective understanding of others, and adopt policies seeking greater collaboration in problem-solving.

We might posit the Axial Principle governing dialogue as process with open mind able to see value in others. We might analogize dialogue to Habermas' ethic of discourse. Dialogue does not seek revealed truth or any *a priori* truth. The important work of dialogue is accomplished at the end of the process and is not ordained by its starting discussions and initial propositions. Thus, in Plato's *Republic*, the conclusion at the end of the discussion is much more trenchant to the reader than the first pages which set up the question to be resolved – what is justice. Dialogue is not a syllogism. Its methodology is found in rhetoric and persuasion.

The process of dialogue seeks balance or a middle way among many claims to truth, many emotions, many fears and angers, hopes and aspirations. The balance which dialogue delivers submerges the subjectivities of the participants to more objective views and so moves

participants towards a common understanding of an object or an objective state of affairs. Dialogue hopes to meld subjectivities into a social, cultural, or political mutuality.

This reliance on dialogue, interestingly enough, has deep roots in Japanese culture and behavior. In the 650 Code of civil governance of Prince Shotoku, Article 6, it was provided that:

Chastise that which is evil and encourage that which is good. This was the excellent rule of antiquity. Conceal not, therefore, the good qualities of others, and fail not to correct that which is wrong when you see it. Flatterers and deceivers are a sharp weapon for the overthrow of the State, and a pointed sword for the destruction of the people. Sycophants are also fond, when they meet, of dilating at length to their superiors on the errors of their inferiors. To their inferiors, they censure the faults of their superiors. Men of this kind are all wanting in fidelity to their lord, and in benevolence toward the people. From such an origin great civil disturbances arise.

Article 10 of the Code similarly provided that:

Let us cease from wrath, and refrain from angry looks. Nor let us be resentful when others differ from us. For all men have hearts, and each heart has its own leanings. Their right is our wrong, and our right is their wrong. We are not unquestionably sages, nor are they unquestionably fools. Both of us are simply ordinary men. How can any one lay down a rule by which to distinguish right from wrong? For we are all, one with another, wise and foolish, like a ring which has no end. Therefore, although others give way to anger, let us on the contrary dread our own faults, and though we alone may be in the right, let us follow the multitude and act like men.

And, Article 17 required that:

Decisions on important matters should not be made by one person alone. They should be discussed with many. ... But small matters are of less consequence. It is unnecessary to consult a number of people. It is only in the case of the discussion of weighty affairs, when there is a suspicion that they may miscarry, that one should arrange matters in concert with others, so as to arrive at the right conclusion.

There is little room for successful dialogue between believers in the Chinese Axial Principle of order under the direction of a Son of Heaven and in the American Axial Principle of freedom for individuals to follow the Moral Sense. For these Chinese, there can be little trust of individuals and for these Americans there can be no concentration of power in an emperor. Each side views compromise as demeaning and derogatory of its deepest held principles. Any attempted

dialogue between them will never get very far in building mutual acceptance. There is no middle way between them acceptable to both sides.

Accommodations and adjustments at the border between these two societies can be made but not at scale. We see this in the trade “war” between China and the United States today. Past accommodations by the Americans are being terminated and new suspicions about Chinese Party and State control of companies like Huawei are gaining a hold on American thinking.

But dialogue between Chinese and Americans does not need to be sequestered within state to state relations. The Westphalian model of sovereign exclusivity in international relations leads to conflict where dialogue is restricted and compromise hard to come by. Dialogue can happen in culture, education, business, civil society, and among individuals. Such dialogue may well lead to the finding of commonalities or reciprocities, which findings can then change State practices.

From this hopeful perspective, we must remember that in China the affirmance of an Imperial State is not the only way Chinese have suggested that society can be organized. There are other Chinese moral and intellectual traditions which have proposed different principles for bringing prosperity and happiness to the people.

Confucius proposed the principle of Shu or reciprocity as central. () He also argued that a sense of individual responsibility where each person had a social office – lord, minister, father, son, etc. – could provide governance for the community. () One text in the original Confucian School is the *Doctrine of the Mean*, which proposed following the Tao of Heaven by individuals who sought a balance between extremes and accommodations with realities.

Following Confucius, Mencius advocated the moral quality of humane conscience (*jen*) and the acceptance of social office (Yi) as the best principles for human well-being.

The philosophical Taoists – Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi – took the Tao as the Axial Principle for humanity. Personal ego, personal pretensions, social conventions of higher and lower, better and worse, were to be put aside as the mind of each person cultivated an openness and perceptual equilibrium. In this Taoism, the subject almost becomes the object, or at least any experiential gap between the subject and the object is minimized. ZhuangZi asked if he were the butterfly in a dream or was it that the butterfly was dreaming of being ZhuangZi.

Dialogue should search for alignments between ethnic core values: Finding harmonious intersections with Chinese thought leaders

The first article of Prince Shotoku’s Code of Civil Governance sets forth clearly and decisively the goal of dialogue:

Harmony is to be valued, and an avoidance of wanton opposition to be honored. All men are influenced by class-feelings, and there are few who are intelligent. Hence there are some who disobey their lords and fathers, or who maintain feuds with the neighboring villages. But when

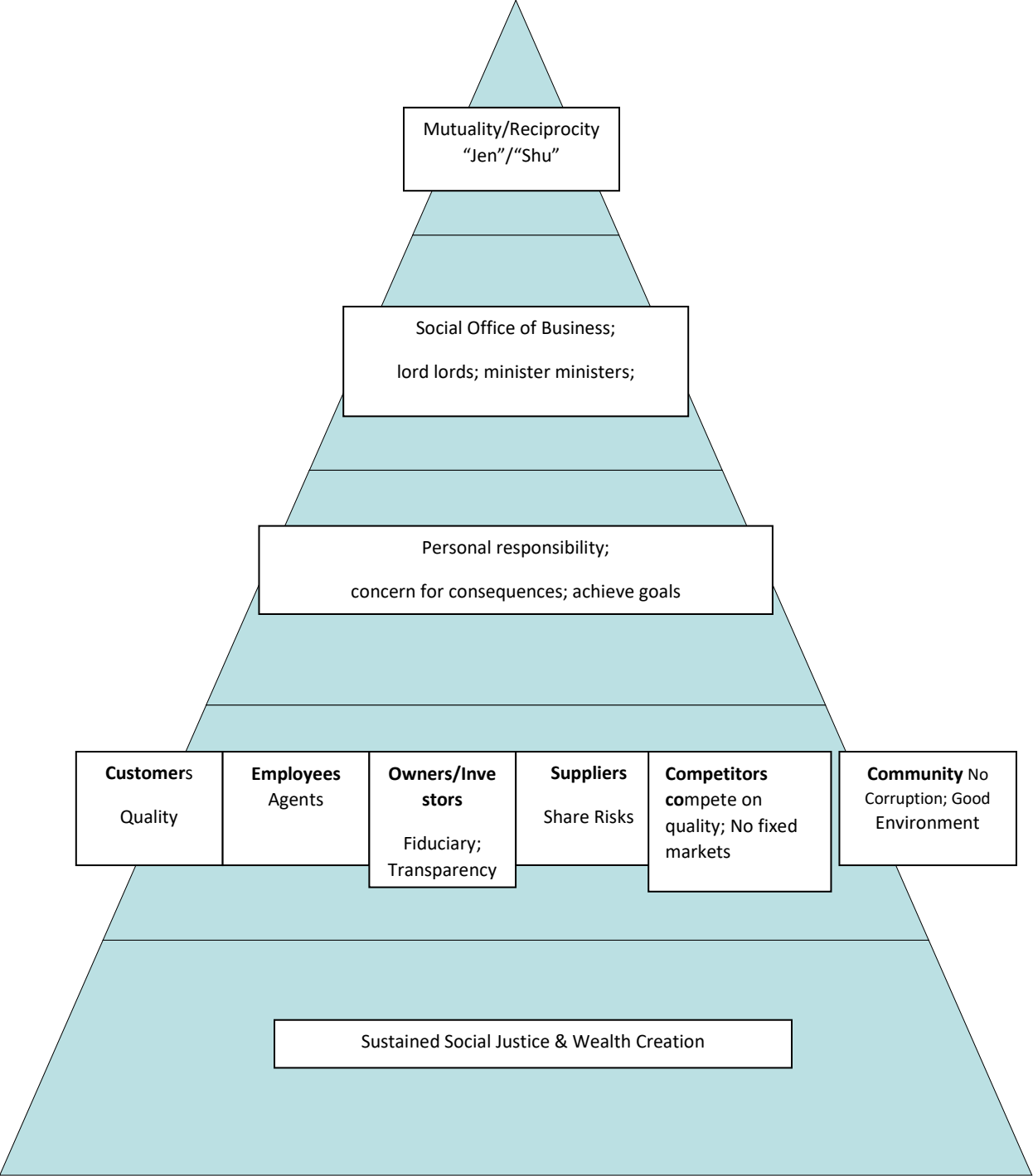
those above are harmonious and those below are friendly, and there is concord in the discussion of business, right views of things spontaneously gain acceptance. Then what is there which cannot be accomplished!

Dialogue, whether exploratory, in mediation, or for reconciliation, opens social and cultural pathways to collaboration and enhances trust across cultures. But for dialogue to be most successful, the respective Axial Principles of the interlocutors should be in resonance one with the other. Thus, to promote productive dialogue with the Chinese, a framing of Chinese thought paradigms should first be attempted.

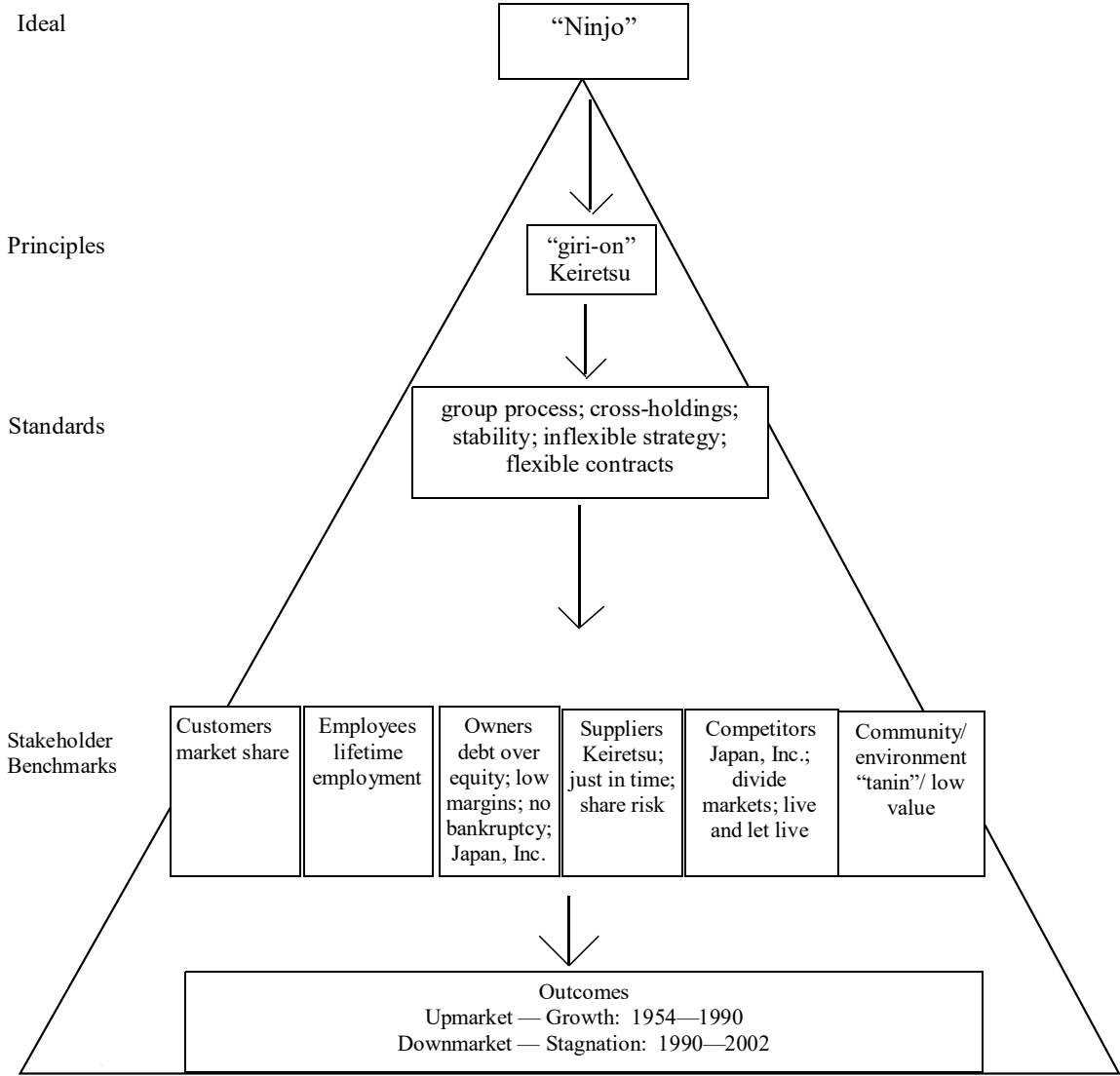
Now, below is a chart of Chinese values starting with Confucian ethics as the Axial Principle. If this Axial Principle on the Chinese side is contrasted with a certain Japanese Axial Principle, then dialogue between China and Japan will lead to mutual respect, trust, and peace.

This outcome is the hope expressed by Ezra Vogel in his new book *China and Japan: Facing History*.

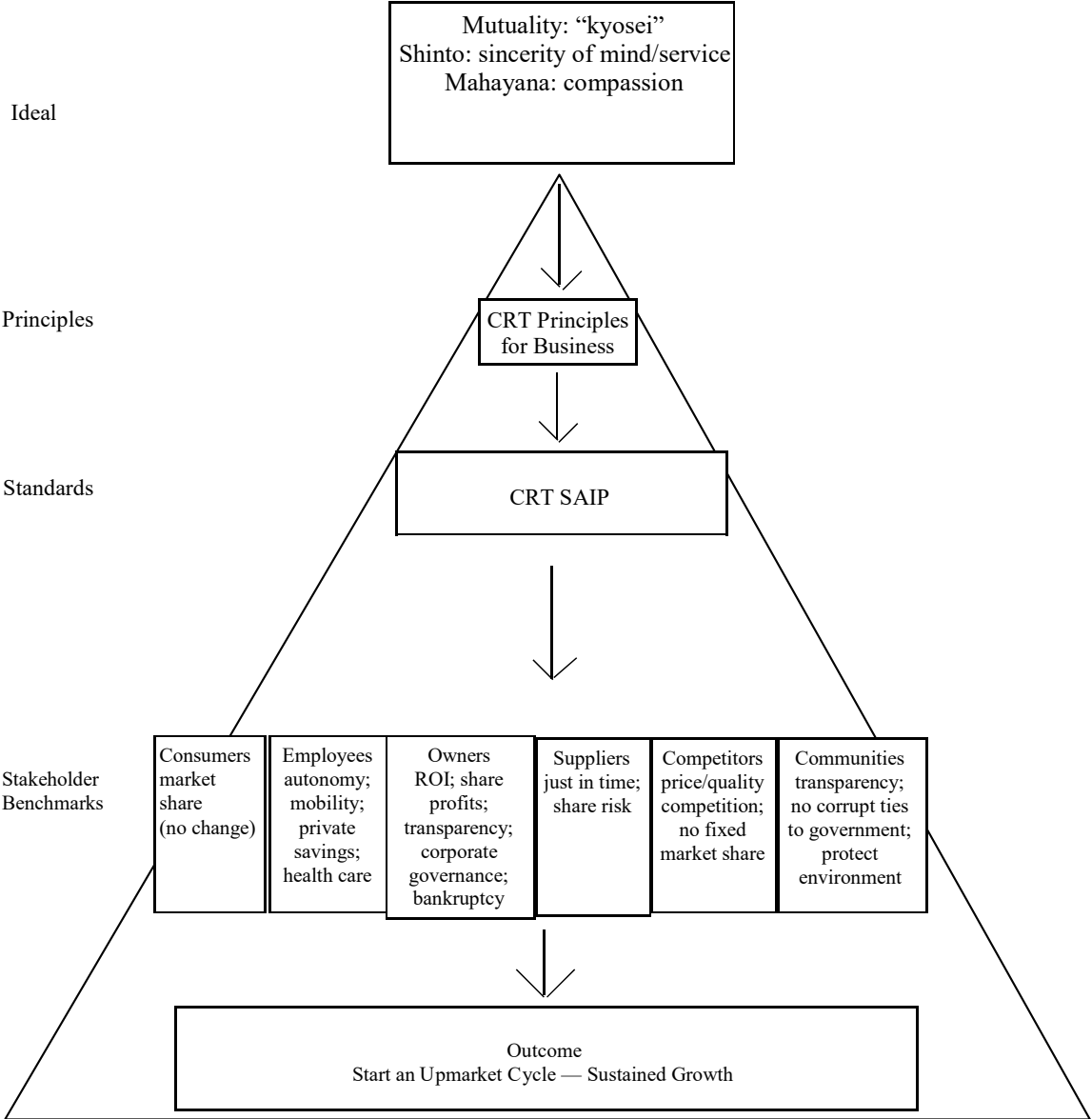
PROPOSED CHINESE BUSINESS VALUE PYRAMID



Japanese Corporate Value Pyramid



One Suggested Value Pyramid for Japan



Dialogue is promoted by using concepts of equilibrium and balance among the equities.

Yawaragi (moderation) in foreign policy. *Yawaragi* is defined as alleviation; abatement; peacefulness.

Yawaragi is found through process. It is not a single, stand-alone decision or a permanent, concretized, discrete end-state. It is a dynamic shifting thought and action as necessary to achieve equilibrium among the needs and wishes of those who participate in the process.

The very same recommendation for living wisely and successfully was made by Aristotle. He proposed a “mean” between alternatives as the path of ethics. To find the mean, Aristotle prescribed the use of rhetoric as the skill of dialogue as individuals and groups seek to find mutual accommodations. And, the realm for seeking the mean and using rhetoric for Aristotle was politics, where he recommended a mixed constitution among different forms in order to maintain balance and to avoid extremes.

Cicero followed the Aristotelian ideal with his works on politics, rhetoric, and moral duties. But his Roman Republic fell psycho-socially ill and died under attack from self-seeking autocrats supported by armed legions and the spoils of foreign conquest. Marius, Sulla, Cataline, Pompey, Julius Caesar and Octavian exploited one way or another the competition and jealousies between the wealthy Patricians and the less well-to-do, the Plebeians.

In the Christian tradition, the rule of doing unto others as they should do unto you provided a norm of respect for human dignity and a harmonious meeting point between individuals.

In the English Whig tradition, both John Locke and Adam Smith presumed that justice required use of the moral sense and prudence to find commonalities and compromise. Locke’s ideal of the just republic was a compromise between individuals who surrendered some rights in order to gain in return security and opportunity. His government was only a trustee, holding power as a fiduciary in order to benefit the people. If a government turned too self-seeking, it lost legitimacy and was to be overthrown. In Adam Smith’s explanation of the success of what was to be called capitalism, he pointed to balance and reciprocity as necessary for transactions and investment. Too extreme self-seeking would cause a breakdown in the system as others refused to continue their collaboration.

In its own way English Utilitarianism as in Bentham and John Stuart Mill demanded checks and balances, a middle way of bargaining to gain advantage. Achieving the greatest good for the greatest number for Bentham and Mill demanded aggregating the good of individuals through some process of collaboration. Neither thinker proposed Utilitarianism as providing for autocracy or tyranny, though others influenced by Rousseau, such as the Jacobins and socialist totalitarians, both internationalist and nationalist, would demand subjugation of all before an abstract General Will presumed to be the common good of all.

The Qur’an provides in several verses the seeking of balance – *mizan*. Not keeping the balance is transgression, which is punished by God. In Qur’an we read: “God set the balance of all

things, that you might not transgress the balance” (55:7-9); “on that day all shall be weighed with justice. Those whose good deeds weigh heavy in the scales shall triumph (7:8,9); and “[they are] those who, when they spend, do so not excessively or sparingly but are ever between those, [justly] moderate” (25:67).

Moderation – *Yawagari* - requires a new theory of power in inter-group and inter-state relations – the notion of balanced partnerships or what I call associative power.

If mutuality, reciprocity, respect, collaboration, are to happen in interstate relationships, then a new form of power needs to be used in place of unilateral imposition of the will of one state on another. If dialogue is to lead to collaboration, if moderation is to prevail, then compromises must be made and alliances for mutual interest must be formed. Alignment or converging tendencies between the axial principles of different peoples will facilitate foreign policies of balance and accommodation.

While the Imperial Chinese Axial Principle – order for All-Under-Heaven – is universalist and unilateral, contemporary international relations follow the Westphalian system of national sovereigns being independent from one another.

The Westphalian norm of state sovereignty in place of tribe and empire calls for unilateral forms of power, power which is exclusive to a sovereign and un beholden to any other authority except with sovereign consent. Such forms of power are now among scholars denominated as “hard” or “soft” power. “Hard” power is defined as compulsion and rests ultimately on the force of military sway. It is the power noted by the ancient Athenians when they said “the strong do what they will; the weak what they must.”

“Soft” power was proposed by Harvard Professor Joseph Nye as a more gracious, less coercive form of power such as arises from diplomacy, the attraction of foreign ideals, or just cultural affinities. Yet, in Nye’s formulation, “Soft” power is nevertheless as unilateral as “Hard” power. “Soft” power is still used to obtain acquiescence from the other sovereign. “Soft” power can be very demanding of others and intrusive on their prerogatives.

The conceptual predicate attached to the Westphalian system of diplomacy and international relations is the theoretical impenetrable density of each sovereign nation state. No other sovereign is authorized to “interfere in the internal affairs” of another sovereign.¹ Under such an assumption, sovereigns are left with only the tools of war or diplomacy to impose their will on other states. There is very little conceptual room for a “middle” path that is more than the soft power of supplicating diplomacy or strident idealism but stops short of war.

Neither “hard” nor “soft”, “Associative” power thrives in the tactical arenas of economics, communications with techniques of persuasion and rhetoric, social networking, cultural anthropology and psychology, political alliances, friendship and offering to perform the offices of

¹ United Nations Charter, 1961 Vienna Convention

a friend, crass and self-interested hard bargaining and deal-making, more gentle negotiations and mediation, and much more. Associative power runs along the gamut of human relations and motivations accumulating and aggregating social force with which to sustain collaboration in joint undertakings.²

The practical need giving rise to such associative power is the motivation which calls forth partnerships, joint ventures and agency appointments – the fact that one party cannot succeed on its own. Neither its “Hard” power nor its “Soft” power appears sufficient to accomplish its objectives unilaterally.

Associative power seeks out the actors who make a difference. Some are to be attracted into alliances while others are to be isolated and denied every kind of puissance. These power centers of interest may be part of a state apparatus or they may be “non-state” actors, international, sub-national, or even local in their areas of operation. Thus associative power strategies and tactics easily interface with political parties, religions, corporations and civil society organizations and movement.

The application of associative power is a virtuous circle: associative power augments the scale of outcomes and raises the probability of success; more accomplishment empowers more people to participate in new associative power arrangements. But for associative power to be effective the reliance of associates on one another must be protected. Partners in a joint venture need to have fiduciary duties to one another if they are to cooperate to the maximum in furtherance of their common objective.

Associative power is a joint venture, a partnership to a greater or lesser extent. Those committed to the associative undertaking are fiduciaries to one another. Each has duties under the agreement to cooperate. Importantly, as a fiduciary, each party has the obligation to be frank with the others when there are shortcomings in the execution of assigned responsibilities.

And, each party has a duty of loyalty to the common effort, a duty not to slack off or abandon other partners to their peril.³

The sum of the stewardship duties assumed by a partner is “mindfulness” – being mindful of the complexity of the undertaking, being mindful of others – their pride, their needs, their fears, their dignity, and being mindful of delivering good performance.

Special skills are needed to be a partner in good standing, one who can live up to the expectations of good stewardship and who can make the partnership successful as the parties intend.

In these joint undertakings, a premium is placed on relationship skills – listening, diplomacy, honesty, integrity. Partners are not objects. They are colleagues deserving of respect and consideration in the first place. Of course, they can prove to be bad partners, which development leads to a crisis in the relationship and possibly to its termination.

It must be remembered that partners have joined the common cause for different reasons. They retain those differentiating motivations, interests and beliefs during the term of the venture. At times there is full identity of purpose and understanding and so the partnership proceeds smoothly. But at other times there are divisions and arguments between and among the partners. Facilitation and mediation skills, and educational efforts, are then needed to remove frictions and bring the partners to an acceptable level of mutual agreement and understanding. Partnerships, like many marriages, need constant tending at the personal level of commitment and even love. Even the “soft” power of attraction is not a free good there for the taking.

Second, partnerships are most successful when all partners have excellent communication skills. Where one partner lacks this ability, others must step up out of loyalty to the common effort and as an act of care that the goals are achieved. Where cultural differences are wide in the partnership or suspicion of motives has emerged, non-judgmental emphasis on facts can often clear the air and settle emotions, permitting mutuality to once again emerge. Frankness about the inevitable rather than one-sided intimidation of a partner is the better practice in fiduciary relationships.

Third, partners need trust building skills. Sustaining confidence sustains mutuality of commitment and quality of effort. Partners need to be expressly open about their interests and values and once a value is set forth as the basis for decision, the talk must be walked. Conniving and hypocrisy must be astutely addressed as soon as they are observed.