

Military Ethics: China and the West In Dialogue

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Abstracts (as received and not edited) of papers that are to be pre-circulated before conference itself; listed alphabetically by author's surname (in BOLD):

(1) **"Humane Responsibility Overrides Sovereignty—On Mencius's Just War Theory"**

Tongdong BAI

Fudan University

Abstract: The starting point of Mencius's just war theory is humaneness or humanity (*ren*, also translated as "benevolence"). According to it, whether a defensive or an aggressive war is just depends on the principle that "humane responsibility overrides sovereignty." Mencius specifies detailed conditions and signs for a war to be considered just, and he explains his understanding of the relations between humane governance and the strength of a state. These ideas demonstrate the realistic side of Mencius, a Confucian who is commonly considered (overly?) idealistic. After illustrating Mencius's theory of a just war, I will compare it with the Western mainstream theory that advocates "human rights override sovereignty" as well as the newly developed doctrine of the responsibility to protect. I will then try to address some difficulties in Mencius's theory. I hope that this paper offers a new perspective on the issue.

(2) **"Human Dignity and Rights Forfeiture in Western and Neo-Confucian Thought"**

Ed BARRETT

U.S. Naval Academy

Abstract: This paper explores the relationships between human dignity, human rights and warfare ethics in Western and Confucian thought. The first part analyzes the relationship between dignity and rights forfeiture from a Western philosophical perspective, and then applies this analysis to several recent warfare ethics debates, including the debate between the rights-based Walzerian and revisionist schools of just war theorizing. The second part examines theories of human dignity and rights forfeiture in several Confucian and neo-Confucian thinkers, and ultimately argues that some of these theories are compatible with—and can fruitfully inform—the Western just war perspective.

(3) ‘Deterrence: ethical and unethical approaches’

Joel N. BROWN

United States Air Force Academy

Abstract: Just War Theory has exhaustively mapped out the conditions allowing a state to justly go to war but has been less engaged on the matter of what actually motivates aggressor-states to begin war. If the goal of Just War Theory is the preservation of human life, the preservation of a just peace, and the prevention of war, we must expand our horizons as just war theorists and explore the causes to arrive at just ways of averting particular conflicts, a requirement of a *jus ante bellum*. I take this broad thesis and focus it more specifically, exploring Hobbes’ three causes for quarrel—glory, diffidence and competition—and mining them for the purpose of justly averting war and building a lasting east-west peace. The last of Hobbes’ factors has drawn the most attention. Kant, for instance, supposed that perpetual peace might be attained because of something basic to the human condition, greed. This implies that those actors which reside on the outskirts or outside of a cosmopolitan-economic highway are threats to peace; this economic-fringe model raises ethical questions concerning how “gap” actors should be dealt with. I argue that current deterrence theory critically fails and submit instead that measures to incorporate North Korea into economic interdependency decrease likelihood of war, providing a weak moral impetus for the west to begin normalizing relations with North Korea. Of course it would seem to Hobbes that Kant’s model is incomplete; there are non-economic reasons that peace could be threatened—by actors who may be, from the view of economic self-interest, irrational. Opening the aperture to Hobbes’s other reasons for which actors go to war—diffidence and glory—may also aid in deterring it. I suggest building institutions which foster trust over diffidence and disincentivizing particular factors while incentivizing others which confer glory; thereby we can justly deter war, ease eastern-western tensions, and open a path to perpetual east-west peace.

(4) “Zeng Guofan’s military ethics: A Confucian view of military ethics in the late Qing dynasty”

Jonathan CHAN

Hong Kong Baptist University

Abstract: In this paper, I shall discuss Zeng Guofan’s military ethics which I take to be the most important Confucian view of military ethics in the late Qing dynasty. Zeng Guofan, who played an important role in launching China the path of modernization, was regarded as a great politician and strategist, a prominent Confucian scholar and the creator of the Militia Army of Hunan province (the *Xiang* Army) in the late Qing dynasty. Among his other prominent achievements, Zeng is well-known for creating the Hunan Militia Army which was built on the basis of Confucian ethical doctrines and defeated the Taiping Rebellion Army after a nine-year battle with the Taiping rebels. Zeng was also well-known

for his military writings as they had great influence on the military thoughts of the military leaders of his contemporary such as Zuo Zongtang and Li Hongzhang and the military leaders of the Republic of China (1912–49) such as Cai E. and Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek). As a military leader, Zeng was a controversial figure. Some historians suggest that following the defeat of the Taiping army, Zeng's troop stormed Nanjing and slaughtered much of the city's population, for which Zeng was held responsible. On the other hand, Zeng was highly regarded by historians for his effort of rebuilding the city. In this paper, I shall discuss Zeng's view of military ethics by doing the following things: (1) discussing his reasons for forming the Hunan Militia Army and launching civil war against the Taiping Army; (2) discussing the moral principles which Zeng advocate for governing the build-up of the army; (3) discussing Zeng's ethical approach to rebuilding Nanjing; and (4) discussing the limitation of Zeng's view of military ethics.

(5) "The Paradox of 'human security' from the perspective of just war tradition"

CHEN Yudan

Fudan University

Abstract: The concept of "human security" since 1990s has developed as a new focus in international studies. Indeed, it indicates, to some extent, a "paradigm shift" in the study of international security. The academic society, however, has shown much more interest on the practice, rather than the theoretical meaning, of human security, which is often rooted in modern liberalism. In this paper, the author will approach the concept from the perspective of war—the most related subject to "security". More specifically, with referring to just war traditions, the complexities and contradictions in "human security" will be revealed by the following two questions. First, who's security? Are all the individuals considered, or is there any "other" excluded from universal security inevitable? Second, what security of human beings? Is there any value people have to secure at the cost of lives, therefore, by means of war—the "security" beyond physical security itself? The author does not intend to reject "human security". With this paper, he would rather attract more attention and reflection on the concept.

(6) "The Concept of Fairness in Comparative Just War Theory"

Yvonne CHIU

University of Hong Kong

Abstract: "Fairness" is a concept that does not sit easily with the exigencies of warfare, in which giving any quarter to one's opponent often results in one's own death. Yet, warriors are continually drawn to the idea of fairness in warfare, even if it is practiced only

sporadically. This paper explores the genealogy and concept of a "fair fight" in war, the different forms it takes in Western and Chinese philosophy, the differing virtues--e.g., civility, honor, duty, benevolence--and practical calculations motivating it, as well as the points of convergence.

(7) Chinese Military Ethics Paper Abstract
Martin L. COOK
U.S. Air Force Academy
(Formerly at Naval War College)

Abstract: In recent years, Chinese military behavior has changed dramatically from the historical patterns to the People's Republic. For most of its history, the PRC has maintained a very large and relatively low technology standing Army. In recent years, however, the PRC has dramatically reduced the size of its land force and dramatically expanded its expenditures on state-of-the-art aircraft, missile technologies, and increasingly a blue-water capable Navy. It has claimed sovereignty over objects that, until China's massive dredging and building operations upon them, were clearly not "islands" in the sense recognized by the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, despite the fact that China is a signatory to that Convention. It interprets its rights inside its Exclusive Economic Zone in ways that are at variance with near-universal understanding of the purposes of an EEZ. Its activities have alarmed China's regional neighbors and have motivated Vietnam, the Philippines, Australia, India and others to see closer cooperation with the United States Navy, including in some cases opening bases and ports from which the United States had been forced out some decades ago.

Viewed from outside a Chinese perspective, these activities appear clearly illegal, dangerous, and even against Chinese interests in motivating distrust and resistance to their activities through the region. Yet Chinese thinkers and leaders seem almost unanimous in asserting the legitimacy of their activities and claims. They respond with furious denunciations to activities by other states that are in conformity with near-universal understanding of international law but which challenge Chinese assertions.

This paper will explore and attempt to explain this major disconnect between Chinese actions and assertions and near universal contrary understanding of the principles involved by the international community. This is vitally important to understand because the possibility of military conflict in the region is very real on a nearly daily basis – if not as a result of intentional policy on the part of the Chinese government, then as a result of miscommunication or mishap in a highly contested area with military forces of many nations in close proximity.

In terms of the large purposes of this group and project, this paper will build on my earlier efforts to determine to what degree, if at all, some of this contemporary behavior and thinking is informed by the classical Chinese traditions that many other scholars in this group know far better than I. A deeper understanding of why contemporary Chinese think and behave as they do in military matters is vital to inform policy makers and

regional military commanders. Pacific Command and the 7th Fleet Commander are vitally concerned to better understand these issues to increase the probability of continued peaceful operation in the vital common space of the South China Sea.

(8) "The Normative Grounds for Postwar Obligation"

Michael GROWDEN

United States Air Force Academy

Abstract: In this paper, I aim to answer the following question: what postwar moral obligations do just war victors incur at war's end? To answer this question, I begin the paper by assuming a reductive account of war, which holds that the moral principles governing war reduce to the same moral principles governing defensive harming in domestic situations.

Working from the preceding reductive claim, I proceed by first surveying a series of domestic self-defense cases in order to identify the possible grounds explaining why defenders might sometimes incur post-conflict obligations. Through this process, I identify four such possible grounds: (1) the use of unnecessary or excessive force; (2) when victim's defensive force imperils aggressor's life and victim can save aggressor without threat to self; (3) when victim's defensive force harms or imperils bystanders; and (4) when victim's defensive force threatens future harm to innocent people.

Next, I extend these normative grounds to national defenses situations to determine whether just war victors incur analogous post-conflict duties. My conclusion is that just war victors sometimes do incur such obligations, which potentially consist of: (1) providing safety and security in the defeated state; (2) mitigating postwar environmental threats such as unexploded ordnance or environmental contamination; and (3) paying restitution to parties wrongfully harmed during war. However, I conclude the paper by arguing that a victorious state's potential postwar obligations might be mitigated or negated because these obligations should instead fall to the defeated unjust state (when possible) as a matter of shifted responsibility.

(9) "Just War or the constraints on war? Exploring a proper name for theory about war"

HE Huaihong

Peking University

Abstract: In dealing with the problem of war, how to seek a proper middle path between absolute pacifism and extreme realism? How to adhere to a proper ethics of war? Whether "just war" we used as term of the moral evaluation of war is somewhat vague and ambiguous? This paper argues that in the analysis of various types of war ethics, it is necessary to put forward a "ethical constraints of war". Such constraints should go through in war, including before war, among war, or even post war. Politicians and all relevant people are asked to consider not only motives and intentions of war; also

consider the act and means in war, and even consider the long-term consequences of war.

(10) "Anti-corruption as a Just Cause: The priority of *jus ad bellum* in Just War discourse in contemporary Africa"

Simeon O. ILESANMI

Wake Forest University

Abstract: The preponderance of focus in most recent studies about the ethics of war, especially those undertaken from the perspective of the just war tradition, has been on the *jus in bello* concerns of this tradition. These concerns revolve around the desire to limit the destructiveness of war by subjecting belligerents to the twin norms of discrimination and proportionality. The justification for the significance of these norms has been in sought in both religious traditions and international law, especially aspects of the latter dealing with the belligerents' humanitarian and human rights obligations. Important as this focus is, it has tended to give priority to wars fought on behalf of states or their governments over those precipitated to challenge the legal and moral standing of the states themselves. Where the state is prima facially illegitimate and its government tyrannically corrupt, as is pervasively the case in sub-Saharan Africa, this tendency to accord presumptive legitimacy to states' use of violence is inherently problematic. State corruption in Africa is tyrannical because of its distinctively depredatory character, involving not just massive looting of public money but also spoliation of indigenous sources of wealth and revenue, such as land and rivers, jointly perpetrated by those who have fiduciary duty to protect these valuable assets and their international collaborators. Against this backdrop, I will draw on the literature from a wide range of disciplines and discourses, including historical and contemporary African liberation wars, civil disobedience, humanitarian and human rights law, etc., to argue for a renewed attention to the just war tradition's emphasis on just cause and legitimate authority in the hope of bringing the political and moral concerns of non-state actors into the heart of the just war tradition without necessarily absolving them of moral and legal accountability for conduct during war.

(11) "Theoretical vs. Practical Considerations in Doing Comparative Military Ethics: an Engaged View"

James Turner JOHNSON

Rutgers University

Abstract: Quincy Wright's *A Study of War*, originally published in 1942, during the Second World War, stands as a landmark effort to identify how war is and has been conceived

and practiced across the great variety of cultures of the world. Wright argued that wars across major cultural divides are typically fought with less restraint than wars between belligerents sharing a common culture: that is, conceptions of restraint in war do not cross cultural divides. Samuel P. Huntington more recently returned to this same theme under the rubric “the clash of civilizations,” though in addition to acknowledging the dangers of wars across major cultural lines, he suggested ameliorating this danger by efforts at identifying commonalities through cross-cultural understanding and the building of dialogical bridges. A unique opportunity for pursuing this approach is provided by scholarship on the idea of just war as this idea has developed in the ethical traditions of Western and Chinese culture. On the level of theory, comparative dialogue would aim at uncovering both agreements and differences, so as to maximize the former while managing the effects of the latter. But military ethics is not simply theory: it is a practical field having to do with the application of normative concerns to the choice of war and the conduct of war. So comparative dialogue aimed at bridging cultural divides must also examine this application in each of the cultural contexts. This paper begins by identifying important areas of agreement and difference between these two culturally grounded ethical traditions, then shifts to consider what can be said and what more needs to be said about the application of these ethical traditions to the level of military practice, including training, discipline, rules of engagement, and integration of relevant international norms, especially including those bearing on human rights and the conduct of war.

(12) “God’s Warriors: Individuals and the Right of War in Christianity and Islam”

John KELSAY

Florida State University

Abstract: Both just war and jihad traditions reserve the right of war to established public authorities, understood to indicate officials and institutions responsible for the common good. And yet, the historical record is filled with individuals and small groups who claim that in some sense these public authorities are illegitimate, and that they (individuals and small groups) are thus authorized to take up arms. In this paper, I focus on the examples of the forces marshalled by the abolitionist John Brown (1800-1859) and the jihadists Usama bin Ladin (1957-2011) and Ayman al-Zawahiri (b. 1951). The point will be to describe the arguments advanced in each case, as well as to sketch the reception history by which contemporary and subsequent witnesses evaluated the claims of “God’s Warriors,” particularly with respect to the criteria of the just war and jihad traditions.

(13) 'Syria and Moralities in Conflict: Exploring the tensions between state rights-based just war reasoning and emerging individual rights-based just war approaches.'*

Peter LEE

King's College London/Royal Air Force College

Abstract: The moral bedrock on which the just war edifice has always rested is the use of force in pursuit of a better state of peace. Since 2011 a multifaceted and ever-changing civil war in Syria – with its local, regional and international consequences – has brought the contested, highly complex nature of the use of force for political ends into sharp focus. It also brings into view the competing state-centric and individual rights-centric philosophical bases of just war reasoning in the twenty-first century. This paper explores the difficulties of making just war-based ethical choices in relation to political, ideological, cultural and religious complexities of events in and around Syria: all in pursuit of a better state of peace. Subsequently, using a novel analytical approach, the process will then be reversed, with the complexities of the Syria crisis being used as a lens through which to view tensions in contemporary just war reasoning. Competing individual rights-based and collective rights-based approaches to just war will be analysed – including the application of elements of deontological and utilitarian reasoning within them – demonstrating strengths and limitations in each. The paper concludes somewhat pessimistically that because notions of a better state of peace concerning Syria are contested, malleable and socially and culturally situated, there can similarly be no clear, unitary political solution to a crisis characterised by shifting political, ethnic and religious rivalries. Further, an interrelated homogeneous ethical justification for the use of force within a just war tradition is similarly difficult to articulate given the increasingly clear moral rivalries between competing just war approaches. [This paper is based on the article, Lee, Peter (2015) 'A Better State of Peace? Syria, Military Intervention and Just War Moralities in Conflict', *Pacem* 18 (2): 5-28].

(14) Politics and the Limits of Responsibility to Protect'''

Peter LEE

King's College London/Royal Air Force Academy

Abstract : At the UN World Summit in 2005, world leaders agreed an outcome document that formalised the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) as 'an emerging international security and human rights norm'. When UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan announced that the world had taken 'collective responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity', it appeared that a new era in international cooperation had arrived. This paper explores three stages of R2P development from the 1990s to the present: the events that led to the idea and implementation of so-called humanitarian intervention, including the discourse of Prime Minister Tony Blair in relation to the Kosovo intervention in 1999; the disputes that shaped negotiations surrounding R2P, highlighting how political compromise is embodied in the Responsibility to Protect text as an inherent weakness; while the final section

explores the conflicting geopolitical interests that render the legal dimension of R2P impotent despite the enthusiastic support of its advocates. The paper concludes that agreement on R2P and military intervention on humanitarian grounds is as far away as it was at the time of Blair's naively optimistic words in April 1999. The political limits of R2P have been reached. [This paper is based on the article, Lee, Peter (2014) 'Politics and the Limits of Responsibility to Protect', *Air Power Review* 17 (3): 82-101].

(15) "A Just-War Assessment of the Military Campaign against ISIS in Iraq and Syria."

David LITTLE

Georgetown University

Abstract: This paper will apply the eight-fold set of Just-War standards to conditions in Iraq and Syria to judge whether and to what extent the current NATO military response to ISIS is legally and morally justified. It will give special attention to the standards of Legitimate Authority, Just Cause, Reasonable Probability of Success, and Noncombatant Immunity, arguing that, on balance, the use of force is justified, though in some respects in a close call.

(16) "'Women, Peace, and Security' as Diplomatic Vocation: China Case"

LIU Tiewa

Beijing Foreign Studies University

Abstract: More open, active and comprehensive participation of women in public affairs is a very important part of modern democracy, and also significant for the global security and peace. More than 15 years have passed since the global agenda of Women, Peace and Security was advocated. As a responsible great power of the United Nations, though China has not yet brought forward a National Action Plan for WPS, it has been endeavoring to implement WPS in its own way. China has indeed made great progress in the promotion of gender equality, and Chinese women can play important roles in the society and politics, though some kinds of "hidden rules" still exist. This research will explore how China has considered WPS as its diplomatic vocation in the last 15 years through the implementation of its four pillars, namely participation, conflict prevention, protection, and relief and recovery, examining what is left unfinished and should be finished.

(17) "How Does China's People's Liberation Army Understand Military Ethics?: An Analysis of a Recent Textbook"

P. C. LO

Hong Kong Baptist University

Abstract: For a number of reasons the education system of People's Republic of China relies heavily on standardized textbooks. This reliance is even more so in the military institutions, for the sake of classroom instructions as well as for graduate school entrance examination preparations. The 2003 textbook, *Dangdai Junshi Lunlixue (Contemporary Military Affairs Ethics)*, edited by Gu Zhiming and published by the P.L.A. Press, is first of its kind. Prior to this publication all books and courses on military ethics are actually ethics for soldiers -- ethics in the sense of Confucianism, viz., moral cultivation and character formation. By focusing on the ethics of military affairs this textbook has more overlapping concerns with Western military ethics. However, this textbook also has broader concerns and it explicitly invokes the perspective of Chinese Marxism, which renders it very distinctive from a regular Western textbook on military ethics. This paper will analyze in details the Chineseness of this textbook for the sake of cross-cultural dialogue.

(18) "'In the Service of Military Combat Preparations' (在服务军事准备中): A survey of 21st century PRC scholarship on the role of military ethics in warfare"

Mark METCALF

University of Virginia

Abstract: A fundamental requirement when comparing philosophical systems is to ensure that one has a clear understanding of the technical terms that are used to formulate the respective systems. Without an awareness of subtle differences between the ways in which seemingly similar concepts, e.g. 'military ethics', are construed in each system it is likely that misconceptions will result. This paper reviews articles from PRC journals written by academics affiliated with People's Liberation Army (PLA) and/or Chinese Communist Party (CPC) institutions (or published in correspondingly affiliated academic journals) on the role of military ethics in warfare. The analysis begins with an explanation of the ways that technical terms and concepts associated with military ethics are described by PLA and CCP writers. This includes an overview of key philosophical and historical sources that have contributed to the formulation of PRC military ethics. The paper concludes with a synopsis of related issues that are addressed in PRC articles such as the current state of military ethics training, "military technology ethics" 军事技术伦理, and the need for

domain-specific military ethics (e.g. nuclear, space).

(19) “The Moral Dimension of Chinese Foreign Policy”

REN Xiao

Fudan University

Abstract: Examining one of the sources of China’s international behavior, this paper will focus on the issue of morality as a factor impacting on Chinese foreign policy. The topic has received far less worthwhile work than is needed. This paper will first discuss the tension between moral desirability and the pursuit of practical national interest, and then deal with the issue of responsibility, before going on to consider the ethical factor in China’s approach to domestic actions and international negotiations.

(20) “New Means and Method of Warfare v. the Martens Clause

Hongsheng SHENG

Shanghai University of Political Science and Law, China

Abstract: It is noteworthy that new scientific and technological advancement have imposed prominent impact upon military technology since the beginning of the 21st century and a variety of weapons of state-of-art have emerged as a consequence of the former. These new trends include but are not limited to separation of weapons from operators, autonomous weapons, drones, cyber warfare and so on. It is true that inventors and operators of new weapons could claim that the introduction of those new means and method can help upgrade ethic standard and has made war more humane. Whilst new weapons have uplifted precision of attacking and reduced accidental injury, it could still be argued that, however, these new means and method of warfare have also lessened feeling of guilty of related operators and have caused tremendous killing and injury by mistake. Another challenge has arisen from attribution of violation of international humanitarian law, who should be accountable for those unlawful acts, state concerned, armed force or individual soldiers (operators)? Under these particular circumstances, the Martens Clause representing public conscience and human reason would be the ultimate bottom line to regulate those new means and method of warfare when international law *lex lata* seems to be lagged behind and insufficient to impose constraints on war and protect victims of armed conflict.

(21) “Mao Zedong’s Military Ethics?”

Sumner B. TWISS

Florida State University

Abstract: It is generally acknowledged that Mao used the language of “just war” in connection with the aims of the civil war between the Communists and the Kuomintang. This acknowledgment, however, is generally restricted to Mao’s concern with “just cause” on behalf of overcoming the oppression of the people, and little mention is made of other *jus ad bellum* criteria such as, for example, legitimate authority, last resort, and reasonable hope of success. Moreover, it is not commonly recognized that Mao arguably articulated other norms that we would associate with *jus in bello* concerns. In this paper I want to offer a slightly more charitable reading of Mao’s military ethics—while leaving open the question of whether Mao had distinctively moral, as contrasted with prudential, motivations—by doing three things: (1) discussing what he has to say about “command virtues” such as courage, sagacity, prudence, diligence, constant examination of self and the other, flexibility, and respect; (2) discussing what he has to say about *ad bellum* concerns (beyond simply “just cause”) in connection with both phases of the civil war (1926-37 and 1945-49) and the “interregnum” period of the Sino-Japanese War (1937-45); and (3) discussing what are arguably *in bello* norms regarding, for example, proper relations within the People’s Army, proper relations between the army and civilians, and proper treatment of captives or prisoners of war. In fact, Mao’s military writings appear to display a remarkable consistency over time with respect to the latter norms—at least rhetorically. With regard to internal relations within the army, Mao speaks of, for example, a basic attitude of mutual respect and equal treatment as well as freedom of speech; with regard to interactions between the army and civilians, he proposes strict rules of discipline such as prohibition of civilian harm and infrastructure (except for the landlord “petty tyrant” class whose land is expropriated and then distributed to the underclass in equal shares); and with regard to POWs, he mandates respectful treatment (including medical) and the offer of either freedom or the opportunity to join the People’s Army. It must be emphasized that this paper focuses solely on Mao’s normative military writings and not on the question of what happened in practice.

(22) “The Ethics of Neuro-enhancement in a Military Context”

David WHETHAM

King’s College London/UK Defence Academy

Abstract: The military science fiction image of the biotechnologically enhanced soldier has permeated popular culture throughout the latter half of the 20th and into the 21st century. Over the past decade the notion of using emerging technologies to enhance human performance, and in particular cognitive, affective and sensory capacities has attracted a great deal of academic attention. However, there is a surprising lack of engagement with the people who will actually be most affected by this range of new technologies – military personnel themselves.

Based on research conducted at three workshops held with mid ranking military personnel at the UK’s Joint Services Command and Staff College to discuss the ethical

dimensions of neuro-enhancement in the military, the research team from Oxford, LSE and KCL used the robust set of "rules" set out in Lin et al's hybrid framework as an analytic guide in order to illustrate and explore the attitudes and experiences of military personnel in the context of a recent, well articulated ethical framework.

Our analyses demonstrated strong resonance with the hybrid framework's rules, but also suggests that these rules might need expanded interpretation or modification, in light of military officers' experiences and professional knowledge, in order for the framework to be considered both useful and acceptable in a military context.

(23) "Statecraft and Warfare: Wei Yuan's Configurations of Confucianism and Daoism on Proactive Military Defense in the Late Qing"

Ellen Y. ZHANG

Hong Kong Baptist University

Abstract: Wei Yuan 魏源 (1794–1856), a philosopher, historian, and political reformer, was one of the leading thinkers of the Statecraft School or the "New Text School" in the late Qing Dynasty. He was well-known as the compiler of *An Anthology of Qing Dynasty Writings on Statecraft Illustrated Treatise on Sea Countries* and *Records of Military Conquest*. Wei was among early Chinese scholar-officials who were concerned with the growing power gap between China and the West. His writings center on the question of how to help China to regain its lost economic wealth and military power. Meanwhile, Wei is also known for his commentary notes on the *Laozi* 老子 (aka, *Daodejing*), the most important work of the Daoist tradition as well as on the *Sunzi* (Sun-tzu)'s *Art of the War* (*Sunzi bingfa*) and *Wuzi* (Wu-tzu)'s *Art of the War* (*Wuzi bingfa*), two representative works of the School of Military. What Wei attempted to do was to use the earlier classics to validate his argument for an institutional reform when China faced the challenge of modernity.

In this paper, I will first focus the analysis on Wei Yuan's arguments on "proactive defense" in his writings to show how he used military defense in light of the tributary hierarchical order as a political strategy to respond to the increasing problem concerning the Inner Asia and navy defense. I will then explicate his view of statecraft and warfare in conjunction with his re-interpretation of Confucian and Daoist ethical principles. I will finally discuss the contemporary relevancy of Wei's political and military thought and its connection to the concept of the "China Dream" (including the territorial disputes in South China Sea) today, as Wei's advocate of political/military reform has a long-lasting impact on modern Chinese revolutionary visions since the late Qing and early Republic periods.