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**Richard McKeon** /

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## Philosophy as an Agent of Civilization

The relations between philosophy and civilization are relations among facts and among conceptions, not in the sense of facts conceived as objects of thoughts or of conceptions presented as comprehensions of facts, but in the sense of thoughts perceived and treated factually and of facts constituted and ordered conceptually. Civilizations are recognized and described by discovering and relating the facts which characterize them. Among these facts are the philosophies which organize and qualify communities as ways of living together, or cultures, or civilizations. Civilizations are produced by men conditioned by particular circumstances occasioning common needs and wants, and by particular actions taken to relate individuals to each other in societies for common actions to satisfy needs and to achieve ends. Civilizations come into contact with other civilizations, by which they are influenced and which in turn they influence. Facts are recognized to be characteristics of civilizations, and civilizations are recognized by facts which define them, and they are related to one another, and to the individuals who form them and are formed by them, in inquiry and knowledge, by use of a conception of civilization applied to relate facts and to define civilizations. Philosophies and civilizations characterize and condition each other reflexively.

There are as many philosophies and kinds of philosophy as men think there are and construct in organizing the facts of experience, the arts of expression and communication, the activities and policies of association and community, and the schemata and symbols of systems of thought. Philosophies are related to one another and to their subjects and circumstances by a conception of philosophy which differentiates issues and relates presuppositions, consequences, and conclusions. A plurality of civilizations, simple and complex, primitive and advanced, old and new, provides the materials and forms the structures from which a single conception of civilization is formed and used in a plurality of applications. A plurality of philosophies, thought or lived, provides the in-

stances and distinctions from which a single philosophy emerges used in the oppositions and the reconciliations of philosophies, but assimilated to one of the opposed philosophies in any statement of the multiplicity of modes of philosophical statement.

The operational interrelations between philosophy and civilization have two dimensions. There are perpendicular relations between civilizations and the individual members of civilizations who are at once operative parts and cognizant agents. There are horizontal relations among civilizations which have contacts with one another in various guises and on various levels, reported and recorded in accounts of travellers, adventurers, and explorers, of commercial transactions, military conflicts, political and diplomatic negotiations, cultural influences by arts and sciences, and structures of philosophical speculation and argumentation. Philosophy is the connecting link in the operation and characterization of the various levels of civilization and of kinds of civilizations.

Philosophy is usually thought of primarily as a doctrinal or intellectual or verbal construct—an inclusive or architectonic structure of thought and expression, formulated and defended by schools and successions of schools in controversial opposition. That structure of rigor and precision in thought and expression usually has little connection with philosophy conceived as an order and quality of individual or communal life, and the human and civil arts seldom have direct connections with the heuristic and demonstrative discursive arts. They may nonetheless share the names of the liberal arts, any one of which may, in any one of their forms, theoretic, practical, or productive, assume priority over the others, and wisdom may take the form of prudence, art, or science. Philosophy may also be expressed in culture by the fine rather than the liberal or applied arts—by poetry, literature, history, the visual arts, and music. We characterize civilizations by their cultures, and culture in turn, like philosophy, ranges through all human activities and human ends—agriculture and the culture of domesticated animals, the culture of souls and minds, and the cult of the divine. Philosophy is a *characteristic of civilizations* because philosophy is an operative agent in the formation of civilizations and has therefore left its imprint not only in the plurality of philosophies which characterize and distinguish civilizations but also in pluralities of humanisms and civilities and cultures. Philosophy is an *agent of civilization* in each civilization and in the contacts of civilizations.

## I

In ancient civilizations, philosophies, in explicit statement, were pronouncements of wisdom, but ancient sages or wise men were also statesmen, prophets, poets, saints, and physicians. Philosophical civilities, humanisms, and cultures took many forms, but in each tradition of philosophical operation contacts of civilizations were recorded as dialogues between different cultures. The tradition of Western philosophy is a long sequence of such dialogues in which a representative of Western civilization and philosophy discusses and disputes

with a succession of representatives of other cultures. Ancient Greeks differed concerning the origin of philosophy, some tracing it back to contacts with the older barbarian cultures of the Egyptians, the Persians, the Babylonians, the Indians, the Gauls, the Phoenicians, Thracians, or Lybians, and some arguing that the origin of philosophy, and the invention of the word, was Greek. Sometimes the beginning of philosophy was made to coincide with the beginning of the human race: Hephaestus was the son of the Nile, and philosophy began with him and was expounded by priests and prophets; Linus was the son of Hermes and the Muse Urania, and he wrote a poem on the creation and evolution of the world, the first line of which, "Time was when all things grew up at once," is said to have influenced Anaxagoras.<sup>1</sup> For centuries the Romans adapted Greek philosophy and rhetoric to Roman education and culture, and from time to time banished teachers of philosophy and rhetoric in order to preserve the purity of Roman culture. Christians used Greek philosophy in the formulation of Christian doctrines and beliefs, or opposed and condemned Greek philosophical doctrines as sources of error. Justin Martyr and the pseudo-Clement examined other philosophies and religions before choosing and preaching Christianity; Hippolytus found the origin of all heresies in Greek philosophies; and some sects and heresies, like the Manichaeans and the Nestorians, moved from East to West and from West to East. In the tradition of the monotheistic religions, dialogues between a Jew, a Christian, and a Muslim became a frequently used literary genre, in which the victory might be won by any one of the three disputants depending on the convictions of the author of the account. All three religious traditions borrowed from Greek philosophy, yet Latin Christian philosophers learned about Greek science and about the writings of Aristotle from translations of Arabic works of medicine and philosophy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Within cultures, branches of knowledge developed at the same time and in contact with each other, as philosophy, medicine, and astronomy flourished in Ionia in the fifth century B.c.; in the Roman Empire in the second century A.D. in the works of Ptolemy and Galen; in the Middle Ages in the Arabic and Hebrew traditions in which a philosopher was often also a physician and jurist, and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the Latin tradition in the schools of Salerno, where medical works translated by Constantine the African were studied, and of Chartres, whose students traveled to Spain and to the Orient to translate works of cosmology and philosophy. Philosophy entered into like relations with the new sciences of mathematics and mechanics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, building a new philosophy on science and setting religious doctrines in opposition to new scientific discoveries. In the same period the Jesuits contributed to the formation of scholarly techniques for the study of ancient Chinese and Indian philosophy and brought back to Europe Eastern philosophical ideas which profoundly influenced Western educational procedures and examination techniques and democratic political philosophy.

1. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers* i. 1-11.

At the end of the eighteenth century Kant was part of what one of his disciples called a Copernican turn or revolution in philosophy from dogmatic metaphysics to a critical philosophy which ushered in a variety of idealisms and of common sense, utilitarian, and positivistic philosophies in the nineteenth century; and the study of cultures took new turns which gave the study of civilization new scopes of meaning.

Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary*, in 1772, restricts "culture" and "civilization" to limited senses: "culture" is the act of cultivation or tilling the ground, and the art of improvement and melioration; "civilization" is a law, or act of justice, or judgment, which renders a criminal process civil. But "civility" has three definitions: freedom from barbarity, politeness, and rule of decency. The new history in the nineteenth century turned to accounting for civilizations. Burckhart's *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, published in 1860, was translated into English under the title *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. In 1888 Mathew Arnold wrote a book on *Civilization in the United States*. James Harvey Robinson stressed the importance of studying the sociology of peoples and their achievements in the arts and sciences in *The New History* in 1911 and presented the trends of that development in *The Ordeal of Civilization* in 1926. The new anthropology did not seek culture among the achievements of civilization: all peoples are characterized by their particular cultures in as much as they use language and symbols, have a learned social heritage, and operate in societies whose forms of organization are peculiarly and particularly human, and civilization is that kind of culture which includes the use of writing, the presence of cities and wide political organization, and the development of occupational specialization.

Western philosophy began the twentieth century with a series of revolts from idealisms and psychologisms to varieties of realisms, naturalisms, pragmatisms, neo-Thomisms, phenomenologies, existentialisms, logical positivisms, analytical, linguistic, structuralistic, marxistic, and anarchistic philosophies. These revolts began the century in the classrooms of philosophy departments of universities or in the learned journals published by professors of philosophy. By the middle of the century the revolts were taken to the streets by students and were transformed into revolts against the philosophies of the classrooms. In earlier periods universities were not the prime and proper sites for the teaching of philosophy or for revolutions in philosophy. When Socrates revolted against the naturalistic and mathematical tendencies of Ionian and Italian philosophers and brought philosophy down from the skies to dwell in the homes and lives of men, Athenian youths learned philosophy from their elders in the streets and baths of Athens and from visiting paid professors of philosophy, the Sophists. In the Hellenistic kingdoms the teaching of philosophy moved from its central position in Athens to the cities of Asia Minor, Africa, and Europe and underwent a revolution in which it became learned and bookish, deriving its materials for study and teaching from the libraries of Alexandria and Pergamon. Roman youths learned philosophy in schools of rhetoric designed on the teachings of Cicero and Quintilian to reunite eloquence and wisdom, rhetoric and philosophy.

The teaching of philosophy moved into the universities when they were founded in the Middle Ages, but there were no departments of philosophy or courses in philosophy in medieval universities. In collegiate courses preparing for the baccalaureate, philosophy was the body of the seven liberal arts and students mastered philosophy by learning the arts of words and the arts of things. In the graduate faculties of theology, law, and medicine, philosophy was the organizing principle of the program of study, and in the treatment of the substantive and professional problems of those schools many of the problems which became the body of philosophy were initiated and formulated. Modern philosophies were constituted from selections of problems treated by medieval graduate schools of theology, law, and medicine, or "physics," and from selections of methods taught in undergraduate schools of liberal arts, from the verbal arts of dialectic, logic, rhetoric, or grammar and from the real or mathematical arts of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, or music. In the revolution of the Renaissance, philosophy became a humanity; in the revolution of the seventeenth century, philosophy became a science; and in the revolution of the nineteenth century, with the emergence of the social sciences, philosophy became a social science, or to use Comte's word, a sociology.

These structures and oppositions of philosophies were introduced into university courses taught in India and Japan, setting up philosophies and departments of philosophy distinct from or in opposition to the philosophies oriented to the traditional wisdom or religion of those countries, which were frequently taught in different departments. After the October Revolution of 1916, that structure of philosophy was reduced to the status of capitalistic ideologies, and philosophy was oriented in a new stage of the history of society and the history of science to problems of production, relations of production, and ownership of instruments of production in the hegemony of the Soviet Union and to an aphoristic philosophy, similar to that cultivated in the West during the Renaissance, and opposed to the philosophy of Confucius, in China. In the West, John Dewey returned after the first World War from his teaching in China and Japan to turn the revolt of pragmatism, in *Reconstruction in Philosophy*, to the reestablishment of philosophy in the problems of life, community, and civilization, the French existentialists like Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, and Merleau-Ponty, found the expression of philosophy in dramas and novels and tracts on rights of minorities, with Marxist tendencies and oppositions, as well as in traditional philosophical treatises and journals. The European structure of philosophies had been introduced into colonies and dependencies in Latin America, Asia, and Africa and was made the basis for the opposition in revolts by which new nations were established in Latin America in the nineteenth century, and in Asia and Africa at the end of the second World War. In the Americas there was little philosophical communication between North America and Latin America: North America borrowed from the idealisms and empiricisms of Europe during the nineteenth century, while Mexico and the South American countries were strongly influenced by positivism; in the twentieth century one

form of the revolt against idealism in the United States turned to neopositivism, at a time when the revolt against positivism in Latin America took its forms from phenomenology and existentialism. The young in the United States, educated in forms of the opposed philosophies, have revolted against the established structure by imitating or adapting forms of transcendental meditation oriented to Eastern wisdom or forms of Marxist philosophies, Western or Eastern, oriented to liberation from the constraints of political and economic power structures.

Since the end of the nineteenth century, philosophers have sought to increase the contacts of philosophies and to make use of them for the advancement of philosophy by meeting together in International or World Congresses of Philosophy. Such meetings have taken many forms. They are sometimes organized according to an accepted structure of philosophy and of its parts and are conducted as enlarged national or regional associations of philosophy. They are sometimes organized to characterize and relate the different philosophies of the world, East and West, North and South, as understood and expounded by adherents and by external observers and students. They are sometimes organized to promote international discussion of some branch of philosophy—metaphysics, logic, esthetics, morals, political philosophy, the philosophy of science, of religion, or of history. They are sometimes organized to examine a concept and its use in the different philosophies of the world—the idea of reality, of the individual, of law, of God—or to compare and contrast the treatment of common problems in the different philosophies of the world—the problem of knowledge, of argumentation, of existence, of human rights, of philosophy, and civilization. The present Afro-Asian Conference on Philosophy and Civilization falls into that pattern: representatives of the various cultures present, in turn, philosophy and civilization in their respective regions and cultures. They are distributed in groups and subdivisions: (1) philosophy and civilization in the Far East and "subadjacent" philosophy in Japan, (2) philosophy and civilization in the Indian subcontinent and "subadjacent" philosophy in the civilization of Pakistan, (3) philosophy and civilization in the Middle East and "subadjacent" philosophy in the civilization of Iran and the Middle East, (4) civilization without philosophy and the rise of philosophical thought in Black Africa, and (5) philosophy and the Mediterranean civilization and "subadjacent" philosophy in North Africa and the Mediterranean basin. It is a conference on *Philosophy and Civilization* organized according to the philosophies characteristic of civilizations of different regions of the world and convened in order that proponents of regional philosophies might use philosophy as an agent of civilization to unite parts of the world and their distinctive philosophies in a world philosophy of cooperation, communication, and common understanding. Such discussions raise questions about, and reflect, the impact of civilizations on the exercise of philosophy and the influence of philosophy on the development of civilization.

In this conference, as in other dialogues between representatives of civilizations or cultures, there is a balance between the use of philosophy as a charac-



teristic and as an agent. Philosophical dialogues have been of two kinds: disputations among philosophical positions and discussions of philosophical problems. In dialogues of disputation, philosophy is used descriptively to identify the positions of the disputants, and it operates as an agent therefore in the arguments by which one of the disputants establishes his position and refutes the opposed positions of others. In dialogues of discussion, the differences are examined and characterized, and philosophy operates as an agent to provide a social and cultural structure in which the variety of philosophies are preserved and continue to function as philosophies and as agents of civilization. This combination of the use of philosophies as characteristics of civilizations and of philosophy as an agent of civilization may be a needed new form among the numerous dialogues in which civilizations are now engaged, by moving from controversy and disputation to adjustment and discussion, from the representation and judgment of civilizations and philosophies to the promotion and advancement of civilization and philosophy. To facilitate this step, the history of the ways in which philosophy has functioned as an agent of civilization should be examined to discover ways to extend those functionings to the formation of a world philosophy; and the descriptions of the kinds of civilizations which find themselves in confrontation in the world today should be examined to discover ways in which philosophies function among the characteristics of civilizations and might be joined in the recognition and advancement of a world civilization.

## II

Philosophy has manifested itself and, in so doing, has functioned as an agent of civilization in a variety of ways: in forms of humanism relevant to the formation of human virtues and arts, in forms of civility relevant to justice and law in the associations of men, in forms of culture relevant to the ends and preferences of men and communities, and in forms of statements relevant to insights and reasons embodied and expressed in what men have made, and done, and thought. In each of these forms the manifestation and function of philosophy may be extended to contribute to the formation and diversification of world order.

1. *World Humanism.* Wisdom is expressed in human thought, statement, and action, and is evoked as a guide in living. Philosophy, the love of wisdom, seeks wisdom in human arts and science, mores, and politics, and in the structure of the cosmos and the attributes of divinity. The Romans ordered and schematized the arts which the Greeks had invented as the human or liberal arts, and drew up the cycle of learning, the *enkyklios paideia* or encyclopedia. They laid the foundations of what were to become the humanities in *humanitas*. During the Middle Ages the liberal arts were extended from human letters to divine letters, and the humanities and human arts were cultivated as propaedeutic to theology. The revolt against the formalism or aridity of the medieval arts in the Renaissance was given body by relating the liberal arts to the revived study of

ancient fine arts, and the liberal arts took a philological turn in a context of developing studies of history, philosophy, and the sciences. Philosophers, historians, critics, and poets built on reinterpreted ancient sources a humanistic conviction, which later philosophers and poets enlarged, that the arts provide a unique means of communication and understanding among men of different cultures, convictions, and classes. The motions of music have an immediate impact on the motions of the body and soul; the visual arts present forms of beauty and sublimity to the senses, imagination, and emotions without intrusion of nonsensuous meanings and symbolisms; the literary arts communicate thoughts and emotions, cognized feelings and felt cognitions. The separation of the humanities from the domination of theology constituted the humanities as an independent study of the *beaux arts* and *belles lettres*. Since the Renaissance the natural sciences, and later the social sciences, were separated from the domination of the humanities and turned from the interpretation of classical doctrines to the investigation of nature and of human actions and associations. The separation was so complete that fears were expressed that the humanities and the natural sciences had set up two worlds between which there was no communication and hopes that the social sciences might succeed in constructing an explanation of the circumstances, methods, and presumptions of the arts and sciences in times and places, cultures and civilizations.

There has been a succession of humanisms based on renaissances in Western civilizations, from the Carolingian renaissance of the eighth century to the New Humanism of the twentieth century, in which new arts and sciences have been initiated to break away from accepted positions and accustomed procedures by renewed study of ancient accomplishments and problems. Humanisms have promoted understanding of the human accomplishments of other civilizations and have prepared the way for world humanism which becomes operative when acquaintance with the characteristic accomplishments of alien civilizations is transformed into an agent of appreciation and promotion of common accomplishments of humanity. World humanism contributes to the formation of world philosophy as it returns from segregations and specializations to ancient wisdom as the basis and aspiration of philosophy in which the humanities, the study of human accomplishments, is not limited to what men have made in the fine arts but is extended to human achievements in what men have said and done, and felt and known, in religion and science, institutions and associations, civilizations and cultures. The human arts are arts of perception, judgment, and appreciation. They are humane and liberal, practical and theoretical; they are arts which form man and free him, which guide him in action and knowledge. The humanities, broadly conceived as the study of humanity, are the products and the sources of human achievement: they consist of the creations of individual men which attain and express values common to all men. World humanism is the realization and expression of men and of civilizations, of humanity and of the humanities of statement, thought, and action, of man and mankind.

2. *World Civility.* Humanity is a characteristic of men and of mankind; civility is a characteristic of men relative to each other and of associations which bring men together. In individuals, civility ranges from good behavior to justice, from legality to equality. In societies, civility ranges from conventions and laws formed and recognized by societies to a common natural structure of needs and resources which underlie the varieties of political constitutions framed to adapt private interests to a common good. Men cooperate and form societies, and societies shape the characters and actions of men. Justice forms the relation between individuals and societies: it is a virtue in men and a bond in societies. It is a virtue distinct from other virtues, but it is also the source of all virtues, since men acquire virtue by living in conformity with the laws and customs of the societies in which they live. Aristotle distinguished the particular justice by which men assume their places and functions in the state from the universal justice by which states determine the forms of individual virtues to relate moral and intellectual virtues as parts of ethics and to relate ethical virtues and political institutions as parts of politics.<sup>2</sup> Virtues are relative to individuals, but they are governed by common principles of art, prudence, and wisdom. There are as many kinds of justice as there are kinds of states, but they function in accordance with common principles of justice.

A world civility has begun to emerge from the relations of societies to societies and to individuals. The United Nations and regional organizations of nations prepare the way for the formation and strengthening of a world community and justice under world law. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the advances of people and groups in securing rights prepare the way for the establishment of world justice of law to protect and extend universal justice of equality. Aristotle used Athens and Persia as instances of different systems of legal justice in which a common natural justice functions much as fire burns both in Athens and in Persia.<sup>3</sup> He might have found natural justice in the differing justices of Athens and Sparta when he turned from the Persian wars to a later conflict, and the discussion and solutions of international problems today turn on considerations which transcend national interest in a natural justice which functions, much as fire burns, in the Union of Soviet Republics and in the United States of America, in China and in the Soviet Union, in the United States, the Soviet Union and the African states, in Israel and in the Arabic states, and in the Arabic countries and in the Palestinian Liberation Organization. Nations enter into confederations like the United Nations to preserve and advance their own interests and values, or Specialized Agencies of the United Nations to advance common interests in education, science, culture, food, agriculture, health, labor, communication, economic and financial stability, or regional organizations or special interest associations. The civility of such *confederations* may prepare the way for a world *federation* in which the administration of the common good is separated from the protection and ad-

2. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* v. 1–2.

3. *Ibid.*, v. 7.

vancement of particular interests. Justice is a balance of laws and rights in distributive justice and in retributive justice. In the contacts of formed societies organized according to recognized codes of distributive justice, philosophers have found a balance and interplay of human laws with eternal laws, divine laws, and natural laws. In the contacts of nations in process of formation and of underprivileged groups within nations retributive justice takes precedence to rectify the inequities of established forms of distributive justice. Underprivileged communities and people must first achieve unification, recognition, and dignity before they can take their places as actively functioning parts of more inclusive societies and states and in world civilization and civility. The inclusive legal justice of a world community and the undifferentiated equal justice of universal rights are the signs and objectives of world civility.

3. *World culture.* Men have cultivated fields and flocks; they have cultivated themselves and the arts and the sciences; they have cultivated the amenities and the pleasures of home and associations, of privacy and community; they have cultivated wisdom and divinity. They have cultivated preferences and have molded their preferences on the cultivation of values. When Aristotle inquired into the nature of wisdom at the beginning of the book which was later called *Metaphysics*, but which he called First Philosophy, or Wisdom, or Theology, he found its first manifestation in the arts.<sup>4</sup> When he defined wisdom as an intellectual virtue in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, he generalized from the wisdom he found in the excellence of great artists to wisdom in general, not limited to any particular field of ability or action, and he distinguished excellence in the practical arts of politics and prudence from wisdom as knowledge of the highest objects, which is the source of the governing principles of other arts and sciences.<sup>5</sup> The productive, the fine, and the practical arts are forms of knowledge. They are based on sensation, memory, and experience, but they are acquired as arts by habituation, learning, and cultivation. The productive applied arts of agriculture and husbandry cultivate means of satisfying needs and wants, and as arts they are cultivated in the minds of men. The practical arts of prudence and politics cultivate means of satisfying desires and aspirations by use of deliberation and choice, and in their cultivation they form virtues in men. The productive fine arts of poetry, music, and the dance cultivate their proper distinctive pleasures, and as arts they are cultivated, in creation and appreciation, in the tastes and judgments of men. Once the arts and sciences which are directed to utility and pleasure had been invented, men had leisure to turn their attention from arts of use and satisfaction to arts of knowledge and understanding. It was for this reason, Aristotle concluded that mathematical arts were initiated in Egypt where priests were allowed to be at *leisure*.<sup>6</sup>

Leisure (*scholē*) is the school for the cultivation of wisdom and the arts. In contacts of cultures technologies are exchanged, both technologies in the sense

4. Aristotle, *Metaphysics* i. 1. 981<sup>b</sup>13–20.

5. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, v. 7.

6. *Metaphysics* i. 1. 981<sup>b</sup>20–25.

of the application of arts and sciences to production, and technologies in the older sense of books expounding liberal and critical arts of interpreting and understanding the arts and sciences and their applications and products.<sup>7</sup> World culture is an extension and ordering of the contacts of cultures in which the technological applications of the sciences and the artistic achievements of all cultures are made available and accessible to all men and in which new ways are opened up to new cultural developments in the arts of life, perception, and appreciation. World culture is the cultivation of communication, innovation, and expression.

4. *World philosophy.* Philosophy is manifested in humanism, civility, and culture. Philosophy is pursued in inquiry concerning the nature of man, his associations, and values. Arts are skills acquired and used, known and directed. Architects, or mastercraftsmen, direct the work of craftsmen, and architectonic arts order and relate arts and sciences. Philosophy in its various forms—theoretical, practical, and productive—is an architectonic art relating and directing arts, sciences, and actions by principles. The oppositions, reconciliations, reductions, and assimilations of philosophies do not exhaust the contacts of philosophies. Philosophies also influence one another by borrowings and modifications of terminology, problems, methods of thought and statement, and presuppositions used as beginnings, consequences, and ends. The contacts of philosophies are formulated in discussions as well as in debates. They yield insights as well as refutations.

World philosophy will never be, as it has never been, a single systematic and literal expression of thoughts acceptable to all men. There will always be a plurality of conceptions and of expositions of philosophy, but different philosophies need not always be related to each other only ambiguously or controversially, and agreements and refutations need not always take the facile form of bending other philosophies in interpretation to one's own presuppositions and definitions. The coming world philosophy will be marked by the development of a philosophic sense, a *sensus communis philosophicus*, to relate the varieties of philosophy by adapting them to changes of discussion rather than fixing them by attack and defense in disputation. Discussion may take the practical turn of deliberation, or the productive turn of invention, or the theoretical turn of inquiry. In any of these forms, discussion will promote development and enrichment of each of the many philosophies and discovery of and insight into new possibilities and new problems opened up in the interactions of philosophies. The operation of a world philosophy should be manifested in new philosophies, new cultures, new civilities, and new humanisms, in the development and use of new arts of thought and understanding, new arts of communication and expression, new arts of action and cooperation, and new arts of self-realization and fulfillment.

7. The author of the treatise *On the Sublime*, attributed to Longinus, sets down the two requisites of a technology in criticism of Cecilius' treatise: the author must define his subject and he must show us how and by what means we may reach the goal he sets. *On the Sublime*, 1.

### III

States are characterized by their political structures, economic resources, military powers, social values, and ideological commitments—by their laws, their wealth, their arms, their objectives, and their philosophies. These various descriptions are closely interrelated in the civilizations of nations—they are all powers, and goods, and possessions, and rights. The relation of philosophy, in all the ways in which it operates as an agent of civilization, to other descriptions of civilizations is brought vividly to our attention by the emergence recently of the "third world." The third world consists of the numerous nations which acquired political autonomy during the decades since the end of the second world war, and which have faced, with their autonomy, new forms of characteristic political, economic, military, social, and philosophic problems. It is an oversimplification to suppose that they constitute a third world in contrast to a capitalistic world, in which they had been political colonies or economic or military dependencies, and to a communistic world, which had provided them at the close of the first world war with a model of revolt against the oppressions of capitalism. A political account of the emergence of the third world is no less an oversimplification than the economic account, that the new nations were constituted as democracies faced with the choice between two forms, democracies in which citizens exercised their rights and freedoms by political equality as a means of establishing economic and social equality, and democracies in which citizens acquired economic equality in the common possession of property and the means of production as a step to making the coercions of law and political states unnecessary. The new states constitute a third world, despite their need of economic, technological, and military aid, by their persistent efforts to remain independent of the first and second worlds, by their resistance to nascent new forms of imperialism, and by their efforts to preserve the almost forgotten values of a fourth world, in which civilization was not based on the production, distribution, possession, and use of property, but on the pursuit and cultivation of wisdom. A more plausible account of the relations of civilizations, and of the four worlds, today may be given by considering the philosophies by which they are characterized and the ways in which philosophy may function as an agent in producing a world civilization and a world philosophy.

The philosophy of the first world is the direct outgrowth of the history of Western philosophy from Greece to Europe and the Americas today. It began with the wisdom of the sages and the gods, broadened out to include and foster human arts and sciences, and in the transition from paganism to the three great monotheistic religions—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—related human wisdom to divine wisdom, philosophy to theology, and the city of man to the city of God. With the coming of modern science philosophy was adapted to the truths and methods of a succession of sciences. In some philosophies, science engaged in a warfare with religion, and philosophy was liberated from religion. In other philosophies, it was later liberated from the domination of science or itself became a strict science. Self-evident truths, or truths adequate to guide

action and inquiry, were recognized in common opinions universally accepted as well as in unique insights persuasively, authoritatively, or prophetically pronounced. "Philosophy" has come to mean the philosophy which has been taught in universities which are a few hundred years old. It has a subject matter which is divided into traditional parts which have undergone additions and shifts and changes in assumptions and methods, and have been related to matters treated in arts and sciences, in politics, morals, business, and religion. There is a plurality of philosophies, most of which discover and prove a unique truth, while some espouse and develop a pluralism of interacting truths. Philosophers form regional and national associations of philosophy, and associations of metaphysics, logic, aesthetics, and philosophy of science. They meet in national and international congresses. Philosophy is no longer connected closely with religion, and in any case God has died and worshippers have been reborn. It is not thought to have much direct effectiveness in life or politics, and its attractiveness in education to students fluctuates with changing common opinion concerning its relevance, utility, and reliability. The young sometimes form associations and schools to turn from the philosophy of the schools of the first world to the philosophy of the second, or the third, or the fourth world—to the active philosophy of Marx and Lenin or Mao, to the liberating philosophy of the rights of the dispossessed and underprivileged, or to the transcendental philosophy of meditation on things unthinkable and inexpressible.

The history of philosophy is marked periodically by philosophies of skepticism which question the validity of all philosophies. The philosophy of the second world is the development of such a skepticism in the nineteenth century which reduced the philosophies of the capitalistic world to ideologies. Marx inverted the philosophy of Hegel by substituting matter for spirit. Hegel in the *Phenomenology of Spirit* had made the liberation of spirit from the alienations of irrational experience a propaedeutic to the philosophy of spirit. The alienation of property under capitalism makes philosophy an expression of the circumstances of its proponents, not an examination of the nature of things. Liberation from the alienations of property is propaedeutic to the philosophy of matter. The history of society conditions the history of science. In a classless society there is one true philosophy. It is a scientific philosophy: its truths are established by the methods of science, and it contributes to the advance of science. It will be the world philosophy in a world society of equal men. It prepares for a freedom which is free from the constraints of laws and of state, and it liberates men from the drugging superstitions of religion. The philosophies of the two worlds advocate the extension and protection of human rights, and each provides reasons for criticizing the other for threatening and destroying the rights of man. Philosophers and statesmen of the first world argue that political equality and freedom of thought and expression are essential prerequisites to the attainment of economic and social rights. Philosophers and statesmen of the second world point out that political rights and freedom of expression cannot be exercised by men who have not yet acquired economic and social rights

and equality. Young philosophers adhere to Marxism but expound a variety of Marxisms, and dissident artists, scientists, and philosophers seek asylum in the pluralisms of the first world.

The philosophies of the third world are embodied in the new communities and states which form the third world. They are based on traditional wisdom and mythical history, adapted in verbal statement to the vocabularies and subject matters of the philosophies of the first and second worlds. The philosophies of civility and of humanism of the third world are formed in the communities and moralities which they have established, but the new civilizations have encountered political and military adversaries and economic and technological inadequacies, and they have been proffered aid by the older two worlds, aid which tends to modify or manipulate their civilities, humanisms, and philosophies. They seek to preserve philosophies which characterize them and distinguish them from each other and from other civilizations and their characteristic philosophies, and relate them to other civilizations in familial and regional civilizations and in world civilization.

The philosophy of the fourth world is a pursuit and cultivation of wisdom. It is the most ancient and most widespread form of philosophy. It is a philosophy of hierarchies of being, knowledge, and love, and it has been dogged in all times and in all civilizations by skepticisms and dogmatisms which cut the hierarchies down and reduce them to bases in nothing or in matter. The philosophies of the first world and of the second world have grown from philosophy as love of wisdom, and scholars and historians of those worlds have found in it a pluralism of philosophies and a community of possession and liberation from coercion. Its continuity through times and places testifies to its efficacy in preserving some notion of wisdom through the degradations of philosophies and in preserving some hope in the communicability of wisdom among men in its affective intelligibility to all men.

This Afro-Asian Philosophy Conference is organized to center attention on the characteristics of the philosophies and civilizations of the third and fourth worlds. The shadow of the unrepresented and unrepresented philosophies of the first world is cast by the use of terms like "civilization" and "ideology" in conjunction with "philosophy" in framing questions about the impact of sciences, tradition, and revolution on civilization and philosophy, and about the impact of civilization on the exercise of philosophy, and about philosophy as an agent of civilization. The oppositions of the philosophies of the first world and the philosophy of the second world appear at the close of the conference in two papers, one on reasons for a unique philosophy, the other on reasons for a pluralistic philosophy in a world of tomorrow. These questions imported from the first and second worlds, are treated in this conference in papers by representatives of FISP, the International Federation of Philosophical Societies, which was established after the second world war to organize international congresses of philosophy. It is an organization, not of philosophers, but of philosophical societies, and the first post-war international congresses were meetings of phi-



losophers who taught philosophy in universities of the first world and universities in the fourth world in which philosophies of the first world were taught. In 1973 a world congress was convened for the first time in the second world, and the president of FISP at this conference is a citizen of that world and an adherent to its philosophy. It has been more difficult to extend world congresses of philosophy to include the philosophers of the third world who are not characteristically organized in philosophical societies, scientific academies, or university departments.

The problem of organizing world congresses is not merely to extend them from the first world to include the other three worlds. The more significant problem which underlies the problem of including the philosophies of all civilizations of the world is the problem of returning philosophy to its function as an agent of civilization. Philosophy as taught in the first world has all but lost its functions as a humanism, as a civility and as a culture, functions which it still retains in some form in the philosophies of the second, third, and fourth worlds. The philosophies of the civilizations of the world have much to learn from each other. We meet in world congresses today to discuss a plurality of new philosophies which profess to destroy old errors or to reanimate old truths; and we use new and old philosophies to establish and propagate civility, morality, humanity, and culture in new communities, new rights, new arts, and new values. It would be a mistake to limit philosophical discussion of world philosophy to one of these forms and manifestations of philosophy or to think of one civilization as the unique or prime professor and promoter of philosophy. A world philosophy can come to life and function effectively only as it gains insight into and develops the varieties of philosophy in comprehensible and consequential discussion, and a world civilization will emerge in operation, recognition, and appreciation only as it provides places and incentives for the cultivation of the values of the varieties of civilizations in the realization of the potentialities and ideals of men and mankind.

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