Front Pages

Athens Journal of Philosophy

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The *Athens Journal of Philosophy (AJPHI)* is an Open Access quarterly double-blind peer reviewed journal and considers papers from all areas of sports and related sciences. Many of the papers in this journal have been presented at the various conferences sponsored by Philosophy Unit of the Athens Institute for Education and Research (ATINER). All papers are subject to ATINER's Publication Ethical Policy and Statement.

President᾽s Message

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The current issue is the fourth of the first volume of the *Athens Journal of Philosophy (AJPHI),* published by the published by the Philosophy Unit of ATINER

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Gregory T. Papanikos
President
ATINER

Athens Institute for Education and Research
A World Association of Academics and Researchers

18th Annual International Conference on Philosophy
22-25 May 2023, Athens, Greece

The Philosophy Unit of ATINER organizes its **18th Annual International Conference on Philosophy, 22-25 May 2023, Athens, Greece** sponsored by the Athens Journal of Humanities & Arts. The aim of the conference is to bring together academics and researchers of all areas of philosophy and other related disciplines. You may participate as stream leader, presenter of one paper, chair a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (https://www.atiner.gr/2023/FORM-PHI.doc).

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- **Dr. Patricia Hann**a, Vice President of Academic Affairs, ATINER, ex-Dean & Professor Emerita, University of Utah, USA.
- **Dr. Philip Matthews**, Head, Philosophy Unit, ATINER & Adjunct Professor, University of Notre Dame, Australia.

Important Dates
- Abstract Submission: **21 February 2023**
- Acceptance of Abstract: **4 Weeks after Submission**
- Submission of Paper: **24 April 2023**

Social and Educational Program
The Social Program Emphasizes the Educational Aspect of the Academic Meetings of Atiner.
- Greek Night Entertainment (This is the official dinner of the conference)
- Athens Sightseeing: Old and New-An Educational Urban Walk
- Social Dinner
- Mycenae Visit
- Exploration of the Aegean Islands
- Delphi Visit
- Ancient Corinth and Cape Sounion

Conference Fees
Conference fees vary from 400€ to 2000€
Details can be found at: https://www.atiner.gr/fees

Athens Institute for Education and Research
A World Association of Academics and Researchers

8ᵗʰ Annual International Symposium on Religion & Theology
22-25 May 2023, Athens, Greece

The Humanities & Education Division of ATINER is organizing its **8ᵗʰ Annual International Symposium on Religion & Theology, 22-25 May 2023, Athens, Greece**. The aim of the conference is to bring together academics and researchers of Religion, Theology and other related disciplines. You may participate as stream leader, presenter of one paper, chair of a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (https://www.atiner.gr/2023/FORM-REL.doc).

Academic Member Responsible for the Conference
- **Dr. William O'Meara,** Academic Member, ATINER & Professor, Department of Philosophy and Religion, James Madison University, USA.

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Community Engagement as an Ubuntu Transformative Undertaking for Higher Education Institutions

By Angelo Nicolaides[*] & Adelaine Candice Austin[±]

Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) stand at the junction of increasing social and economic challenges in a pandemic era. The focus of this study is to substantiate to an extent what CE implies and what HEIs can and should do. A probing question is whether HEIs can effectively respond to needs identified within the communities in which they operate? The purpose is to interrogate how CE by HEIs can shape and be shaped by its role-players. A qualitative literature study and an interpretivistic paradigm were utilised in this study to deliberate upon the debate on Community Engagement (CE) in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in South Africa. It is a global truth that a university has an important role to play in responding to a range of societal needs. In South African universities, this is also the case, but the notion and practice of community engagement by Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in general, is a persistent transformational requirement. What is meant by the term Community Engagement (CE) may differ from institution to institution but broadly speaking it relates to how an institution interacts with a community in which it operates in ways that result in a win-win situation for all parties involved and positively influence the quality of life within society in general. Viewed from a South African Higher Education milieu, it is clear that CE is an instrument through which transformation is supported through social responsiveness and it is thus in essence far more than mere community service or outreach as in most universities abroad. Having CE engaged universities is vital for a strong social and economic South Africa. CEs role is then to promote skills and knowledge to those alienated during the apartheid era. For a higher education institution, the benefits accrued would most likely be in inter alia joint projects, research initiatives and teaching opportunities to help redress past evils. Although community engagement often brings with it a range of challenges, it remains a fundamental role required of HEIs in South Africa and beyond. This article thus presents a brief overview on inter-alia, the direction and theoretical development of CE practices and suggests some possible aspects to consider applying to CE. A desktop literature review methodology and an interpretivistic paradigm were used in this brief study.

Keywords: *community engagement, higher education, South Africa, transformation, ethical duty*

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Introduction

The character of this brief study is that of a generally philosophical discussion paper which explores and builds upon the concept of Community Engagement (CE) in a South African context. We start our study with the important aspect of defining what CE means in the context of Higher Education (HE) in South Africa. Essentially, the term 'community engagement' is defined as: "Initiatives and processes through which the expertise of the HE institution in the areas of teaching and research are applied to address issues relevant to its community. Furthermore, it is argued that community engagement, as a scholarly activity, is of critical importance both in shaping our students and future citizens and in producing knowledge that is the most relevant and useful to the South African context" (CHE 2004). Furthermore, it may also assume diverse guises including "…distance education, community-based research, participatory action research, professional community service and service-learning. In its fullest sense, community engagement is the combination and integration of service with teaching and learning (e.g., service-learning), professional community service by academic staff and participatory action research applied simultaneously to identified community development priorities" (CHE 2004). CE is also defined as nurturing reciprocally advantageous connections between HEIs and diverse peripheral stakeholders or communities.

The objective of CE is normative and it is intended to support and thus advance sustainable development by HEIs working in tandem with local communities. It is thus commonly implicit that CE is to be striven for. This process should invariably include good cooperation and the exchange of resources at all levels in society (Carnegie Foundation 2006). HEIs have a civic role in the regional development of South Africa and should of necessity enhance their relations by concentrating on the many prevailing local socio-economic needs. Johnson (2020) suggests that in South Africa, several terms are used when speaking of CE, these include inter alia "volunteerism", "service learning" and "engaged scholarship". She states that in all cases however, the common thread is a university extending itself beyond its "…internal community to its external non-university communities for various purposes and in a variety of different ways".

University community engagement is not to be viewed as being philanthropic but rather is critically important because all HEIs are called upon to be progressively concerned primarily with persuasive socio-economic issues as core business. First and foremost are the vexing problems of unemployment and alleviating dire poverty. There are of course numerous other challenges to be considered such as inter-alia health issues and enabling local community economic development. The challenges posed can best be faced through collaboration with other HEIs in order for extensive developments to be effected.

Driscoll and Sandmann (2016) explain that CE is a process via which HEI association with the community receives consideration and it is an engagement process and practices in which numerous people co-operate to achieve set objectives through their commitment to a shared set of values, principles and

criteria. CE can also be motivated by epistemological advances, and a changing socio-historical context in which an HEI finds itself. For example, shifts in the local political landscape in 1994 created space for CE that was more integrated into HEIs modus operandi. Before this period, CE was viewed as an outreach and extension service programme in HEIs. The idea was that academics would in some or other manner seek to support communities with the plethora of social, economic and political needs but not in any direct partnership sense.

Initial Drivers of CE

At the outset we should state that CE essentially supports the Brundtland Commission findings, wherein it is stated that there is a dire need to contemplate the important "… needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given" (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987, Ch. 2, §1). The White Paper on the Transformation of Higher Education (1997) set the tone for CE becoming a fully-fledged operational feature in higher education institutions and student awareness of their role in social and economic development would thereby be bolstered via designated community service programmes (Netshandama and Mahlomaholo 2010). In addition, in 1998 the Joint Education Trust carried out a survey of community service in South African HEIs which led to the unveiling in 1999 of a Community Higher Education Service Partnership (CHESP) project (JET Education Services and Community Higher Education Service Partnerships 2004) with the objective of contributing to "the reconstruction of South African society through the development of a socially accountable model for higher education. Central to this model is the development of partnerships between communities, higher education institutions and the service sectors to address national development priorities (Hall 2010).

However, little was realized beyond the CHESP programme because there was no funding allocated to support academics to extend community engagement work in the same manner in which research and teaching and learning were funded" (Netshandama and Mahlomaholo 2010). The South African Higher Education Community Engagement Forum (SAHECEF), was initiated in 2009 (Botman 2010), and Community - Higher Education Service Partnerships, was launched in 1999, as a response to the call of the White Paper on the Transformation of Higher Education of 1997 (Lazarus et al. 2008). The latter laid the foundations for CE becoming a fundamental part of higher education. It was to inter-alia promote and develop social responsibility and awareness among students through community service programmes all aimed at augmenting equity and a democratic ethos. Empowering policies, effective funding, expertise and solid preparations are needed for CE to flourish remain sustainable.

Since then numerous HEIs have firm policies and strategies in place relating to CE activities. Some HEIs remain apprehensive about the value of CE from an academic perspective (Hall 2008). The primary function of HEIs is teaching research end service to a community and they should be interrelated and essentially shaping each other. The curricula of HEIs and the courses offered

should be organized in such a manner that once students graduate they will immediately understand the service they will be able to offer to the local community and beyond. This means that students need to understand from the outset what the problems are that beset the community and these should be reflected in the courses presented as well as in any research that is undertaken by them. It is it is the duty of universities to support the communities and this service should be expressed in the entire corpus of university endeavour.

Lyons and McIlrath (2011, p. 6) demarcated CE as being a "mutually beneficial knowledge based collaboration between the higher education institutions, its staff and students, with the wider community, through community campus partnerships and including the activities of service learning/community based learning, community engaged research, volunteering, community/economic regeneration, capacity building and access/widening participation". Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff (2000) explain a triple helix approach that includes local government, industry, and HEIs as engaging collaboratively with communities. This should also be demonstrated by permeability in university boundaries which can promote a spirit of entrepreneurship between an HEI and a community (Etzkowitz 2012). The National Plan for Higher Education established CE to be a requirement and the Higher Education Quality Committee also required explicit reporting on CE through institutional audits. It is also a HEI's obligation to make meaningful contributions to the development of the local communities in which they operate and this must be carried out via the integration of teaching, learning and research (Walters and Openjuru 2014).

How HEIs Tackle CE

In Higher Education, CE thus invariably relates to a transformative approach of forging sustainable networks or, partnerships with local communities that have for the most part been marginalized through the repressive historical past that has left indelible scars. CE is thus in part an attempt to redress some past wrongs in society by HEIs engaging in a wide range of activities in communities at both the local and national levels. There are of course cases where some HEIs indulge in CE on regional and international levels. The United Nations' Organisation drive to support and attain the 2030 Sustainable Development Goal 4 of Quality Education, is mounting (https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/education/). Owens (2017) states that it is essential for HEIs in particular, to realize the fundamentally important and socially responsible role that they have to play in the communities in which they operate. Additionally, Waghid (1999) asserts that HEIs have not been all-encompassing partners. However, in all fairness, HEIs in the post-apartheid era have had a myriad of additional transitional challenges to deal with and many continue to have a rough time as the seek to prepare graduates with the necessary skills for employment in South Africa and the globalised world. Hall et al. (2017) emphasize that CE must be considered to be a public good when looked at by HEIs and that also argue that HEIs are morally

and ethically duty-bound to humankind and thus communities through supplying useful and transformative scholarship, research, and other social accountability.

It is often the case that HEIs do not have any well-thought-out dialogue with their communities which is critical for CE. The communication aspect is crucial to consider (Habermas 1984). HEIs and their communities need to have meaningful dialogue from which a common understanding is arrived at which is totally inclusive and which results in a win-win situation for both parties (Netshandama and Mahlomaholo 2010). HEIs can of course cooperate with local communities in different ways. The key issue is to have collaboration that ultimately results in partnerships that add value and from which emanates knowledge transfer and exchange, as well as commercialization of intellectual property, the formation of supplementary companies, and joint undertakings between the university and community partners (Hoy and Johnson 2013). HEIs have online repositories and resources which empower them to share material with communities and communities provide employees for HEIs. Community engagement thus offers a space for the comprehensive interchange and co-working between HEIs and their communities working together. Thus, we maintain that any advances in knowledge development *per se,* in HEIs is then intrinsically at the nexus of the divide which exists between HEIs and communities they serve. We need to put aside the notion that scientific knowledge can only be produced by academics, scientists, or theorists and realise that communities too have knowledge to impart (Zuber-Skerritt 2015).

Van Eeden et al. (2021) state that "Community engagement research in South Africa is relatively new compared to, for example, the Americas. However, South Africa is viewed as a leader in the field in Africa...Currently, HEIs show effort in embracing the needs of communities with whom they form a reciprocal partnership of mutual benefit." There exists an obligation for HEIs to dynamically participate in research relating to the communities in which they operate and beyond in order to mitigate for example, social decline (Erasmus et al. 2015). Bender (2013) points out that HEIs support CE not only in partnership with community entities but also via the curriculum. An ASHE Higher Education Report (2014, p. 48) asserts that HEIs are habitually a critically important role-player part in communities. Community engagement should not only encompass a range of projects, or sharing of some facilities or other support, but should be reflected in relevant teaching, learning and research by the university in and for a community.

Naidu (2019) demonstrates that CE is but one of three fundamental responsibilities of a HEI in conjunction with teaching and research. Community engagement in HE should be regarded as a stage for networking and amalgamating where apposite, forms of indigenous and global knowledge in a community of practice. In a global context there are of course numerous barriers to traverse for universities. In some HEIs the approach to CE was a one-way street in which there was knowledge dissemination from an institution to the community (Johnson 2020). The current modus operandi suggest that there is now a far greater consideration of addressing societal needs in a two-way approach in which there is inter-connectedness and solid engagement on issues dealt with between HEIs and communities (Weerts and Sandmann 2008). CE must be a

two-way relationship (Weerts and Sandmann 2008) and have mutual interchanges (Hammersley 2017). Johnson (2020) refers to this as "interconnectedness". Community engagement, research and innovation, as well as teaching and learning, are critical in Higher Education (Duke 2008, Lazarus et al. 2008). Welch states that engagement is part of the original purpose of HEIs and that there are many opportunities for them to engage with the community.

Goddard (2007) states that it has become conventional for yearly evaluations of faculty to contain a review community service and students are also required in some HEIs to participate in regular CE projects. Bender (2013) opines that HEIs have always to an extent integrated CE and need not do anything new in their approaches towards it. Awuzie and Emuze (2017) argue that CE gives HEIs somewhat of a competitive edge as they are thus involved in sustainable development.

In real terms, the core responsibility of HEIs is to address at least some of the myriad of developmental, socioeconomic, and environmental needs existing within the communities in which they operate (Welch 2016). Ogunsanya and Govender (2019) maintain that a community can denote various entities including "…governments (both national and local), businesses, non-governmental organisations, cultural organisations, social entrepreneurial enterprises, schools, and other citizens including community leaders." Invariably communities deprived of needed resources and those with inadequate skills and other constraints are targeted. Faculty of urban and rural universities consider wide ranges of actions and prospects to contribute to the greater wellbeing of their contiguous communities. This invariably involves engaging in a range of formal and informal activities within communities including inter-alia collaboration in projects of mutual interest, creation of firm relationships, research initiatives, business partnership, and conferencing. In numerous countries, it is now commonplace for faculty in HEIs to be evaluated on community engagement activities in annual appraisals. Even students are called upon to be involved in community engagement in some HEIs (Jacob et al. 2015).

What is required are a series of equitable partnerships between HEIs and communities which result in long-term commitments from researchers and communities and the development of co-learning which nurtures capacity building and sustainable development (Smith et al. 2015). The modern global and knowledge society, promotes the notion that research with community stakeholders can in some way or other help to mitigate socio-economic issues and challenges impacting adversely upon communities. Community engagement has a participatory nature which is advantageous for bottom-up initiatives especially in areas including innovation and sustainability, technology transfer and local or global connectivity (Dumova 2015). The extent of CE diverges substantively between various HEIs. There are HEIs that place a great stress on CE and there are even some that maintain that CE transpires organically as academics are engage with the community through their research initiatives. There are of course numerous universities with sound and effective CE reputations and solid networks within a wide range of communities (Goddard and Puukka 2008, Goddard and Vallance 2011). Daniels et al. (2013) asserts that

CE should must be connected to discernible needs of HEIs and the communities where they operate. Calhoun (2006, p. 19) argues: "Public support for universities is based on the effort to educate citizens in general, to share knowledge, to distribute it as widely as possible in accord with publically articulated purposes".

Ubuntu and Community

In traditional African society and thought systems, communities tend to play a very important part and there are normally expectations from the community that entities will be supportive. In essence there is a metaphysical question to answer. Can a person be self-sufficient or must he or she depend on relationships with others? African culture has a very strong communitarian ethos. Menkiti (1984) suggests that a community defines individuals and Mbiti (1970) asserts "I am, because we are; and since we are, therefore I am". Thus a communal existence must of necessity take precedence over individuals, so that CE for example, has a natural role to play. People are intrinsically communal entities within a social relationship context in which where is a need for interdependence. HEIs as entities need to then not live in isolation from persons in their communities but should naturally be inclined towards them. The pursuit of the common good is the key objective of shared relationships such as CE between HEIs and the community, and this should take precedence over individualistic preferences. HEIs that do not involve themselves in their communities could be viewed as detracting from the desired common good postulated by Ubuntu. Wiredu (1992) has argued that the community must of necessity be the locus of deontology and this implies that the community should always be a strong reference point in teaching, research and engagement initiatives that are undertaken in HEIs. If CE is to drive sustainable development in any way at all, it needs to augment and stimulate scholarship via solid win-win partnerships with HEIs (Daniels et al. 2013). There is a need for solid knowledge creation with communities by HEIs (Scull and Cuthill 2010). Nonetheless, all university - community collaborations and projects should involve the community as learners and teachers so that solutions can be found (Bhagwan 2017). It is also evident that communities are generally distinctive and each has diverse needs and challenges. This implies that HEIs need to tailor their CE initiatives to meet a variety of needs in a spirit of solidarity and partnership. HEIs should strive to work with communities to discover reciprocally beneficial solutions. Freire (2007) states in his work the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* that our ontological calling is to seek to transform the world and serve ourselves and the collective.

A Reflection on Examples of Some Current Effective HEI in Community Engagement

The Grassroots Collective publishes an online Community Engagement training module in which one is able to glean a comprehensive understanding of proficient Community Engagement and the development of effective projects. In

the 2nd module of the course – it delivers the concept of situational analysis. The module outlines Situational Analysis in a five-step process (Grassroots Collective 2022).

In the first step of the process, it advises that a general understanding of the context of the community is an essential preliminary step. What this entails is a genuine examination of the circumstances and demographics of the community in which the project will take place. Before a project begins there are various factors that need considering for example – what is the population profile of the area, how are the literacy and education levels, what is the economic situation of the community, what kind of landscape and environmental conditions does the community exist, it is important to take note of the cultural values, cultural conflicts, political alignments and trust in political structures. Once the circumstances of a community can be understood in this way, a project can be uniquely adapted to suit and service said community.

The second step of the process is identifying the overarching problems or challenges for that particular community. This is an important part of the process as often very good ideas for Community Projects do not work, because broad root problems or challenges were not addressed and instead the project was in a sense foisted on a community who did not necessarily need that type of intervention. It is necessary to engage the community itself in the identification of challenges that they feel bear on the community. A point to take note of is that even if the project designers hail from a certain discipline, a broader scope of identification of challenges that extends beyond the discipline is encouraged. Once the challenges are identified – the investigation into the specifics of the challenge may be developed further.

Step three involves examining the human resource availability, skills capacity and of the proposed community project developers in the effort to locate the best way in which the organisation may help the community based on the developing organisations expertise.

Once step two is completed, then the identification of step 3 goals will lead to assist the organisation in determining which of broad challenges it is most suited to address, thereby increasing the efficacy of the engagement. Thus step four is about selecting a broad project goal that is efficiently aligned with the capacity of the organisation.

Finally step five – once the broad goal of the project is identified. Then it becomes necessary to revisit the situation in reference to the broad problem. It is at this stage that you can interrogate more targeted information to understand the problem better (Grassroots Collective 2022).

South African HEI's are rising to the challenge of incorporating meaningful Community Engagement endeavours within their structures (Muller 2010). Higher Education institutions in South Africa have an interesting array of Community Engagement initiatives – what follows is a description of the ones that we found very well-articulated and captivating in nature.

The University of Pretoria sees Community Engagement as synonymous with social responsibility. They have publicly committed to aligning their

curriculum, knowledge, skills and research in a concentrated effort to problem-solve and address the more pressing social needs within their communities.

In terms of the United Nations Goals for sustainable development they have selected four areas in which they will concentrate their focus. These include Zero Hunger, Good Health and Well Being, Quality Education and Life on Land.

UP is involved in designing projects to achieve food security, to improve the quality of nutrition and to develop sustainable agriculture. Their greater goal is to achieve an end to hunger. One of their notable community engagement projects is the success of their Reliable House Project. This was an endeavour where the University of Pretoria identified an area close to their campus that had a notorious reputation of being associated with drug-users, criminality and prostitution and the idea that the homeless who lived there were somewhat unsavoury.

In 2016, the University of Pretoria identified an area in Hatfield that had a negative reputation of being troublesome area. Part of the complaints about the area was that it was a crime ridden area frequented by drug-users and prostitutes. The University of Pretoria regarded the spot as one in which through their community engagement efforts could turn the space from something that was viewed as disreputable into something that would have more reputable value.

Their approach to raising the value and reputation by incorporating multi-disciplinary bodies and community partners in consultation with community occupancy of the area is an exemplary instance in where an HEI's Community Engagement is expertly applied.

Historically, in cases such as this where the intention was to raise the value of a space occupied by individuals of which the society deemed undesirable, the default approach is to employ strong coercion to enforce evictions. Chastisement of these individuals was done so publicly, in a way that further disempowered the individuals, stripping them of their dignity and further abandoning these most vulnerable members of the society. Typically, post-eviction no real attempt is made to follow-up on where these individuals have gone, and whether they have done anything to ensure that the motley-crew of vulnerable societal undesirables is not going to set up s camp somewhere else. As we can appreciate – this doesn't effectively solve problems.

The University of Pretoria's Unit for Community engagement's approach was innovative and comprehensive in terms of addressing multiple issues in a way that held value for all members of the community and created viable solutions that eradicated the problems at the root. The approach was not to rid the area of its homeless, its drug-users and its prostitutes, but to work together with to them to find solutions to the problems they experience and that they had experienced that had put them in the positions they were in. This more effectively addresses

The area was cleared and cleaned a clinic, a sickbay and a training centre were installed, and ablution block was repaired and renovated. Nine transitional wendy-houses were erected to serve as transitional housing. Various academic structures of the University of Pretoria worked together to provide support and service the needs of that community.

The focus of University of Pretoria's Community Engagement was to address the community needs. Right at the outset what is evident is that there is clear indication of actual community engagement. The intention expressed was not to denigrate the members of this community but to engage them in a way that their root problems were addressed in addition to providing a solution in which a viable sustainability of problem-resolution could be achieved and maintained.

What took place was that multiple disciplines of the University of Pretoria including Mission-Theology, Psychology, Social Work, Health Sciences, Civil-Engineering as well as Skills training collaborated as a community to "develop" the previously negatively implicated area. That community together with the engagement of the occupant community of the area itself, the development took the tangible form of clearing and cleaning up the area and it was transformed into a transitional support and rehabilitation centre. The rehabilitation centre that was directly accessible to the members of this particular community and beyond to a wider community of this sort that required help of this sort with great success. Members of this community renamed the space 'Reliable House' and renamed themselves "change makers". Community Engagement in this instance involved dignity and hope and met the real needs of the members of the community who needed the most help from the community.

In addition to the immediate stakeholder community, the project engaged community partners such as Community partners such as Community Support Structure for people using drugs, Narcotics Anonymous, Alcoholics Anonymous, Religious Institutions and a Peace Force Security company. The project as described above is an exemplary citadel of complete and comprehensive Community Engagement, that engaged, included and involved all communities working together to address pressing social needs.

Other community engagement endeavours that are more discipline specific at the University of Pretoria include an animal health clinic in which first year students of the BSc intending to apply for the Veterinary Science programme volunteer at the clinic which offers affordable veterinary services including vaccination and sterilisation of animals in the areas of Mamelodi, Eersterust, and Nellmapius. In this example, we see the engagement of the student community, and the engagement of an often-neglected community of animal caretakers.

What is notable here is that such an endeavour has a positive outcome for wider community at large. Running a veterinary clinic contributes to the wellbeing of the community. Often the lack of purpose and meaning in an individual creates a bleak and boredom-filled outlook for the individual. Individuals with bleak outlooks tend to engage in anti-social behaviours. There is also a correlate between lack of purpose and addiction or anti-social behaviours. Taylor writes

> "…without a sense of purpose, we are more vulnerable to becoming depressed in response to negative events. We become more susceptible to psychological discord—to boredom, frustration and pessimism. We are more liable to feel the residual pain of trauma from the past (and traumatic past experiences in themselves have also been linked to addiction). Drugs and alcohol are therefore appealing as a way of escaping the psychological problems caused by a lack of purpose. But addiction can also be seen as an attempt to find a purpose" (Taylor 2022).

Recognising the need that communities might need in terms of companionship, affection, loyalty, one can appreciate how this may be alleviated by the expression of care for animals. Once the individual feels more loved, grounded and purpose-driven, this has an effect of creating or fostering calm, emotionally fulfilled psyches within a community, realizes a more content and peaceful wider community.

A way to introduce this kind of fulfilment mentioned above is to adopt or care for a pet. In various prisons in the United States of America programmes have been introduced in which long-term inmates with a bleak outlook have been paired with animals as their caretakers and trainers. The approach departs from an underlying idea that giving men a dignified purpose would psychologically reconcile them to themselves as worthy human beings and in turn rehabilitate the men into productive, peaceful members of society. One such example is the Paws for Life programme in California State Prison in Los Angeles county - a men's maximum-security prison). The programme has yielded phenomenally positive results for both the long-term prisoners and the dogs who demonstrated high transformative levels of rehabilitative socialization. Previous inmates in the programme have in some instances demonstrated such a radical transformation that they have had their sentences commuted and have gone on to organise, facilitate and run various programmes of similar sort in their communities. This type of approach of pairing animals with persons has also been applied in the treatment of post-traumatic stress disorder for veterans (Paws for Life K9 Rescue 2022).

In communities where there is a marked level of social trauma, poverty, and disillusionment there is most certainly a bleak outlook for the individuals within. In this sort of instance, where life itself is kind of dismal prison, it will not be a stretch to assume that many individuals wish to escape their desolate circumstances, it may not be a stretch to assume that in encountering grim conditions of existence that individuals harbour an appreciable level of post-traumatic stress. We can also imagine that a lot of the undesirable and damaging elements in communities have arisen out of such conditions. In such communities or spaces – a programme of a similar ilk like Paws for Life, that introduces the expression of care for animals with community members and this may comport itself to the alleviation of despair and tedium as well as impart a sense of purposefulness, value and self-worth to persons. When person achieves an emotional or psychological state of purposefulness, responsibility and has a useful role to fulfil, one can appreciate that they are not tempted to find escape and belonging in more destructive behaviours. This was evident in the Paws for Life Prison programmes mentioned above.

So what might be the problem? Why might it be difficult for individuals within a community to just adopt a pet? What would be the biggest barrier in committing to a pet? Well, if one thinks about the cost of maintaining a pet, that might be a restraining factor. Animals however require medical care and private care is expensive. People might be hesitant to acquire a pet for the reason that they wouldn't be able to afford its care.

So it somewhat follows that any community engagement project that could offer services to help mitigate such challenges would be a holistically wholesome and multi-pronged intervention.

University of Pretoria's offering of veterinary clinic services is a great example of the kind of multi-pronged problem-resolution that could ultimately address multi-faceted community needs. In engaging the community and making the service available to the community. Not only are they providing fundamental health services for animals in the community that might pose a risk to the communities for example rabies and over-population which could lead to violent mistreatment of addressing over-population of street strays etc., they provide directly accessible and affordable veterinary services, the need for human emotional fulfilment, and also the wider need for communities wellbeing – as expressed in the concept mentioned above – I am because we are.

The University of the Free State runs a "Kopanang le fodise - Unite to heal programme". This project is an initiative that focusses on community-centered partnership. The goals the programme hopes to achieve include healthcare that is sustainable and holistic while incorporating it into community-based, multidisciplinary and inter-professional groups. In addition to running a mobile health clinic, offering various health screening tests, there is a participatory action learning project. There is a Community Youth Leadership development, and an early childhood development programme. Fourth Year students in the Faculty of Health Science are involved in a service learning module that caters to the community in primary healthcare facilities. The project also collaborates with various faculties at the Central University of Technology (EDCM 2022).

The Creative Change Lab out of the University of Cape Town is an innovative long-term engaged Community intervention in which teams of about 20 young people are given the freedom to creatively experiment beyond the confines of conventional methods to solve problems in their community. The extraordinary feature of this endeavour is that students are able to design their interventions at their creative will and test their original prototypes. This is a novel, creative step adeptly spirited in the ideals of decolonialising education (University of Cape Town 2022).

HEI's Struggles with Effective CE – Some Thoughts

- Translating Community Engagement through HEIs bureaucratic systems is not effective and very often counterproductive. The procedure is long, tedious, and invariably involves a lot of transliteration and it is thereby neutered and given up on.
- The spirit of the idea and service are lost in the long, drawn out mechanics of registering research proposals – which by nature are different to the spirit of a community engagement project.
- Where CE is effectively in place, the dissemination of research results to the broader society is critically important.

- There is a need for CE collaboration with other HEIs especially in areas where there are huge societal issues.
- HEIs need to take care in calling some activities CE initiatives when they are not engagement activities.
- There is often adequate financing and this impedes higher education's capacity to conduct required research, or appoint suitable faculty.
- Some creative freedom with regard to how projects are formulated and implemented could get many more, useful, edifying, sustainable projects off the ground, instead of having to go through the system of burdensome academic administration.
- Reflexive research is often constrained by the prevailing discourse in teaching and research at many HEIs and there needs to be a drive to seek novel ways of knowledge production and new theories are needed to help mitigate problems facing society.
- Greater co-ordination is required between diverse stakeholders in the research relating to CE and this should include all stakeholders including the public and private sectors.
- It is invariably the case that rural communities bear a lopsided burden of societal problems and are plagued by poverty, disease, deficiency and marginalisation.
- HEIs must design curricula that support CE engagement so that socially responsive graduates will enter the workplace.
- We should not assume that academics know what CE means, but rather provide suitable training for effective pursuit of quality CE.
- All institutional engagement with the local and broader community via CE should be formalised and approved via a HEIs quality management policies and procedures.

Conclusions

HEIs should collaborate on CE in order to address the myriad of social and economic challenges and thus more effectively promote the idea of a just social order. HEIs are invariably part of a community of practice. To effectively face the challenges posed by poverty and in order to drive sustainable development, they are morally obliged to serve their communities, first and foremost. HEIs are in many ways places in which the many problems faced in communities can be surmounted through adopting global practices and learnings which can be used to alleviate local community difficulties. We should equally remember that local communities too often possess knowledge and proficiency that HEIs can utilise. African scholarship must be located within indigenous African philosophies so that CE should be viewed as a communitarian activity. A truly dedicated HEI that is cognisant of its role in society will strive to be dynamically involved with a community in its ambit and should fashion its identity and on an Ubuntu approach. It needs to be accountable to an extent of course, but always transparent in all dealings with communities. HEI policies and practices must of necessity inspire

engagement with a focus on an ethic of care for communities. HEIs that do not align with the notion of CE should transform so as to be of true value to society. CE is then a stage for interrelated academic knowledge and that which is evidenced in communities. There is a paucity of research on the subject of CE by HEIs in South Africa, which presents somewhat of a challenge. There is a necessity for a far greater national higher education policy on CE, which can be easily transformed into general policy guidelines for HEIs and hold them accountable as stated by Walters and Openjuru (2014). Nonetheless as stated earlier, HEIs ought to integrate teaching, research, and CE within society so as to enhance it and mitigate socio-economic negative impacts. Of course, there is also a need for HEIs to garner support from private and public entities, and especially Multi-National Corporations, but that is a though for another study. Currently there is also a distinct need to further research how or whether CE informs an emerging epistemology, is gaining acceptance if at all, and whether it is indeed truly embraced by HEIs. CE is a complex and challenging aspect of education that is sorely needed.

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A Stinging Citizen:
Socrates "the Gadfly" as a Political Model

By Elisa Ravasio[*]

In Arendt's proposal, Eichmann is the perfect performer: he does not think of the consequences of his actions and obeys orders without questioning the correctness of the values on which they are based. Eichmann and Socrates are perfect opposites. The latter is depicted as a model not only for the ancient but also for the contemporary political life too: unlike Plato's philosopher who focuses only on speculation, Socrates succeeds in harmonizing the two conflicting passions of thinking and acting. Arendt maintains that only a thinking activity based on the two principles of the Gorgias could prevent people from obeying impositions without questioning rulers' proposals: those are 'living without contradicting oneself' and 'to suffer an injustice rather than to commit'. Consequently, Socrates is the perfect thinker and the correct citizen: he does not want to damage his fellows and tries to improve their shared values to achieve the common good. He examines his fellow citizens' opinions to rebuke them for scorning what is worthless and to exhort them to look after justice and values useful for the civil life. On the contrary, Eichmann is the perfect a-political person, since he only executes orders without inquiring the correctness of the values which found them.

Keywords: *thinking, Socrates, Eichmann, dialogue, values*

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to highlight the importance of Socrates as a political model in Arendt's philosophical thought comparing him, by contrast, with Eichmann, the banality of evil in person, as she defined him. During his trial, what shocked Arendt about him was his *normality*: when he answered the questions of the prosecutor or he had to defend himself from the accusations, he seems foreign to the facts, especially from the Auschwitz issue and the murder of such a high number of people (Arendt 1965, Young-Bruehl 2006, pp. 374–377)[1]. He was so calm and detached from what was happening to him and from what he had helped to make during the Nazis regime. Eichmann's trial urged Arendt to re-discuss the role of critical thinking as a mean to improve politics, namely the realm in which people are equal and try to collaborate in order to make others' lives better. She found the origin of this peculiar kind of thinking ability and this kind of politics in the ancient thought and practices: Socrates is the perfect ethical model, who prefers to be harmed rather than to hurt someone, and the ideal political realm is the Athenian democracy. The principle of the *Gorgias* embodied by Socrates is

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[1]For a different account on the relation between rulers and the people they govern in Plato's philosophy, see Farrar (1988, pp. 267–269).

fundamental because if some people would harm others, this person would prevent others from joining the political life. Therefore, according to Arendt, the world would be deprived of viewpoints that could enhance the perspective from which observing the same event; of more viewpoints with which to critically analyse ethical, civil, political issues. In addition, it is important to stress that this moral tenet expressed in the *Gorgias* would allow people to actively participate to the civic life respecting others.

Likewise, it should be stressed that is a difficult position to support, more precisely because Arendt believes that this principle should underpin political actions which aim at improving social life and they hope that all people participating in political life will rationally come to accept this same principle. Unfortunately, not always happens that those who participate in civil life live in full compliance with others, so it will be worth analysing referring to Plato's dialogical method to enrich her position.

So, in her main works, she tried to revive these models for the contemporary political life, since she believed that the risk of falling again in a totalitarian regime is always possible and they can help to prevent this relapse. This return could be possible since people often live without questioning the rules they are given by their rulers, and without respecting different points of view from their own. Moreover, ancient democracy is a model of a participatory politics which has disappeared throughout modern times (Farrar 1988): currently, citizens are accustomed to fully delegate their power to a small and selected group of people who will decide for them what is of most value, giving away their opportunity to actively participate in political decisions (Arendt 1973).

It is worth saying that this elitist choice could lead to an unjust government if the small group doesn't act for the citizens' good, so Arendt tries to propose an example of participatory politics to sensitise especially people in modern times to deeply reflect on the values they practice.

To sum up, the analysis in this paper will show how, according to Arendt's interpretation of ancient politics and some ethical models, contemporary people would avoid a relapse into a totalitarian or authoritarian perspective on politics and could revaluate their active participation to politics.

Methodology and Materials

My analysis will go through some of Arendt's considerations about totalitarianism and ancient philosophy trying to highlight the main features of what originated one of the most tragic periods of contemporary history, and also the main means Arendt thinks can help to avoid a relapse into it.

This paper will consider some of her main works in which she points out the main causes of totalitarian regimes in the XX century. I will, also, analyse the legacy of Ancients in her proposal, especially, the focus will be on the Periclean democracy, Aristotle's philosophy and the Socratic dialogue as positive models for contemporary politics. Even if, there are some critical positions about Socrates

as a political model, the paper will focus on the positive aspects of his ethics and its positive impact on politics (Nietzsche 1966, 2021, Mihre 2006)[2].

Conversely, in Arendt's view, Plato's political philosophy will be considered as one of the main causes which had led people to forget how the most democratic and respectful way to inter-act in politics would be.

It should be noticed, she is not the only one who discuss the role of democracy in antiquity or the retrieval of ancient philosophy in modern times, but the choice of analysing her main works and the ancient models she deals with falls on specific issues. When she published some of her masterpieces, as *The Origin of Totalitarianism* or *The Human Condition*, her reflections on totalitarianism were the first to be so in-depth and the ones with which historiography and philosophy would have confronted in the years to come. The need to refound the culture and political education of her contemporary citizens in a critical and democratic perspective drew Arendt's attention to models of active participation to civic life by all people and to moral models of coherence between ethical principles and political actions[3].

It should, of course, be remembered that other intellectuals were also concerned with a contemporary reinterpretation of ancient democracy and philosophers as Socrates, but this reinterpretation took place at an ethical rather than a political level (see, e.g., *the Virtue Ethics* or Bernard Williams' works)[4].

Results

The route between the past and the present would have two aims: the former will be to underline the importance of ancient models in Arendt's thought, especially, since she believes they could help contemporary citizens to avoid a relapse into a totalitarian attitude in political and social issues. The latter would be

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[2]Mihre critically analysis Socrates figure and his relationship with Athenian political life. He emphasises the difficulty of discussing the figure of Socrates as a political model because many philosophers including Hegel, Rousseau, some contemporaries including Voegelin, Arendt, Vlastos emphasise his importance for civic life starting from an analysis of his moral principles. Conversely, Mihre is convinced that there is a more than shadow in the Socratic civil life, especially referring to the independence of the democratic realm from his philosophical enquiry. 'The setting for the emergence of philosophy is then a non-philosophical setting, one that is whole without the insights brought on by sustained reflection. This is what we meant when we noted that the city is self-sufficient; the city as city grows out of the need men have for one another, both in an erotic and spirited way' (p. 357). See also Castoriadis 1993 (pp. 109–110), who emphasises the role of active participation in the Athenian democratic life.

[3]It should be noticed that she warrants slavery and female isolation in ancient democracy for the good of the city: for men to practise virtue, slaves and women must keep their social status. For a critique of this aspect of Arendt's reflections, see Butler and Spivak (2009, pp. 32–34). Regarding these concerns, it is not possible to uphold Arendt's position: what it could be done is to critically take note of the fact that in order to guarantee the full freedom of people to actively participate in politics, she does not openly criticise what should be corrected about Athenian democracy in the context of equality she advocates. See also Vegetti (1987): the author underlines the main differences between man and women's virtues in Aristotle philosophy.

[4]Some of the Virtue Ethics' most important representatives are, for example, M. Nussbaum, G. Von Wright, P. Foot, I. Murdoch, N. Sherman, D. Wiggins, e A. MacIntyre.

to understand if, currently, that legacy could be useful for our ethical and political realm. Especially, if some of these classic thoughts could actually be applied to some of our daily issues, above all when we are asked to act with other people sharing the same situations and the same common world. To summarize, the paper aim at underline if ancient philosophical models urge people in modern times to reflect on the importance of being coherent to their system of good moral values and show the possibility of not using violence to interact in civic life.

Discussion

The Origin of Arendt's Philosophical Thought

According to Arendt, people should critically think before acting with others and this can prevent them to illegally behave or to be accessories of some crimes, as it widely happened during the '30s in Europe, namely during totalitarian regimes.

During her life, she experienced Nazis' persecution and she was forced to leave her own country, Germany, because of her Jewish origins. She was imprisoned in a French concentration camp, but fortunately she managed to escape thanks to a clandestine group which rescued her and her husband. When she reached the USA in 1941, she was still a stateless person because of a Nazis law which deprived Jewish people of their civil rights in 1933. She was stateless until 1951, when she became an American citizen (Young-Bruehl 2006). Her life was too tough, but she always tried to have a critical glance on politics, trying to turn it into better. Her works highlight the importance of being involved in what is happening in political life and the role played by one's critical activity of thinking to enhance the world shared with other people.

In *The Origin of Totalitarianism* (Arendt 1973), she underlines the main factors which occurred in Europe and brought about Communism and Nazism. Imperialism and Antisemitism were the main factors determining totalitarianism, as well as pan-movements. All these features create a sort of hierarchy among human people mercilessly exploited by totalitarian regimes to impose their ideologies.

Imperialism was responsible for the violence against African and Asian people colonized by Europeans during the XIX century, and also among Europeans between each other: for example, she refers to Boers against Hottentot and to the English-Boer war. In the former case, Boers brutally murdered these tribes; in the latter, English people built some concentration camps for other white people, for other Europeans (Arendt 1973). Reading her thoughts on these facts shows how much she is shocked and incredulous about such a truculent violence committed against people's fellows.

Moreover, according to Arendt, during the XIX and XX centuries, Antisemitism was spread in all European countries not only in Germany, as we could be led to think: the iconic symbol of what she maintains is the Dreyfus-*affair* (1973, pp. 89–109) which showed that even in France there was a latent but deep aggressiveness against who was considered different, especially against Jewish people.

According to her, also pan-movements contributed to the rise of totalitarian regimes, especially pan-Germanism and pan-Slavism. These movements evoke a shared past, language and culture of German and Slavic people spread all over various countries, as it already was for Jewish people. Their aim was to create a community of shared values thanks to some common cultural elements. As Arendt underlines, these pan-movements tried to describe the group they represent as the new and more modern "chosen people": this feature was of more interest for those who believe in the possibility to unify all German and Slavic people in one ideal and transnational State, as Jewish already have been for centuries. However, unlike the Jews, they aimed to exclude from their ideal nation all people who are different.

If the *Origin of Totalitarianism* focused on the main historical, cultural, political main causes of the totalitarianism itself, *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (Arendt 1963) marked a new path in her thinking, since she concentrates also on individuals who acted during the Nazis' ages. She described Eichmann as a person who has no ability of thinking about the consequences of his actions, namely he doesn't have a conscience and he never feel guilty about his heinous actions (Arendt 1965). Arendt followed his trial in Israel in 1961 as *The New Yorker*'s correspondent and she was astonished by his answers to some prosecution questions, especially when he tried to justify his unjust actions and the murder of so many people defining himself as a tool of a bigger machine. He seemed to be at peace with his conscience, therefore nothing could have undermined his coherence to the principles of Nazis regime. According to Arendt's view, this person was the perfect performer unable to critically think, he was the personification of what she called "the banality of evil". Eichmann was unable to understand his actions' seriousness and he was convinced that what he had done, to transfer many people to Auschwitz condemning them to death, was simply what he *had to do*. He seemed to be truly convinced that if he wouldn't have obeyed, someone else would have complied: during the trial, even if the actions he committed were clearly unprincipled, unjust and harmful, nonetheless he had never questioned them and he was proud of what he had done for his country.

After this experience, Arendt tried to identify a more conscious model of action. If Eichmann is an example of how a person ought never to act, she proposes some alternatives: those who want to participate to the political realm must critically think to what can improve the life of their fellows, as it happened during the Periclean democracy in Athens during the V century BC or as it was for Socrates.

Ancient Models for a New Political Path: Plato

Even if Arendt tries to find out some political models for the contemporary citizens in the ancient democracy of Pericles, nonetheless she is aware of the role played by Plato's political philosophy in removing people from their responsibility to govern and, more in general, to take care of their political realm.

Especially, she refers to the myth of the cave in the VII book of the *Republic*.

The gulf between philosophy and politics opened historically with the trial and condemnation of Socrates, which history of political thought plays the same role of a turning point that the trial and condemnation of Jesus plays in the history of religion. Our tradition of political thought began when the death of Socrates made Plato despair of polis life and, at the same time, doubt certain fundamentals of Socrates' teachings' (Arendt 1990, p. 73)[5].

Socrates accusation by the restored democracy led Plato to a distrust in this kind of regime, more in general, to a distrust in people ability to properly govern, as it is stated in *VII Letter* (325e-326b):

I was filled with an ardent desire to engage in public affairs, when I considered all this and saw how things were shifting about anyhow in all directions, I finally became dizzy; and although I continued to consider by what means some betterment could be brought about not only in these matters but also in the government as a whole, yet as regards political action I kept constantly waiting for an opportune moment; until, finally, looking at all the States which now exist, I perceived that one and all they are badly governed; for the state of their laws is such as to be almost incurable without some marvelous overhauling and good-luck to boot. So in my praise of the right philosophy, I was compelled to declare that by it one is enabled to discern all forms of justice both political and individual. Wherefore the classes of mankind (I said) will have no cessation from evils until either the class of those who are right and true philosophers attains political supremacy, or else the class of those who hold power in the States becomes, by some dispensation of Heaven, really philosophic[6].

According to her analysis of the myth of the cave, Arendt highlights how men are not described in terms of *lexis* and *praxis* – according to her, the two essential characteristics of a man conceived as a z*ôon politikon*[7]. Conversely, the slaves are looking (*apoblepein*) at something. The inhabitants of the cave are all staring at the images of the reality reflected on the wall in front of them. Even the philosopher, when he comes back after having seen the sun outside the cave, he is unable to make other people understanding what he had seen. No one speaks, no one shares with others his own view about their shared world; no one relies on the company of his fellows.

Arendt points out that people in the cave, in the human world, do not speak, do not have any relation, except when the philosopher returns to explain to them the truth he now knows: the cave is a silent space, because in Arendt's interpretation, Plato believes that a dialogue based on opinions is not suitable for the political realm. Opinions (*doxai*) that characterized Athenian democracy proved themselves ineffective since they were used to make false accusation against Socrates, who was not able to convince the jury of his innocence: according to Plato, opinions were not enough persuasive, not as much as truth is.

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[5]For a critical analysis of the mith of the cave in Arendt's proposal, see Abensour (2007).

[6]The translation of the Platonic dialogue came from http://www.perseus.tufts.edu. For these passages, I referred to, see http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0164%3Aletter%3D7%3Asection%3D326b.

[7]For a different account of Plato's political Philosophy, see Trabattoni (2001): he tries to show the importance of political realm and human life in Plato's philosophy.

Moreover, the idea of the described in the VI book of the *Republic* is something visible only by the philosopher: all the others who live the public realm ignore how to put this good into practice, how to properly behave. Through the contemplative activity, only the philosopher-rulers can see it and to find the common good for their fellow citizens.

Arendt also points out that the philosopher's knowledge is mute because it is the knowledge of the contemplation: what the wise man sees outside the cave is so amazing that it cannot be told to others.

In the *Theaetetus* (155d) and in the *VII Letter* (341c), Plato deals with the astonishment (*thaumazein*) felt when a person knows and sees the truth but – Arendt states – he proposed to indefinitely lengthen a moment which leaves people speechless, conversely to what happens in politics where people should be accustomed to dialogue, to exchange their opinions. As she argues, philosophers took refuge in the world of contemplation without taking any part to the life of the community, however they impose their view about how turn into better the life of their fellows.

According to her, Plato was the philosopher who introduced uniformity into the complex and various life of Greek polis and the philosopher who made citizens unbale to deal with public affairs[8]. Precisely, he introduced the idea of a selected group able to conceive reality from a single and true perspective: these people can select the right actions to practice better than others, so they twisted the public realm into the sovereignty of truth on opinions between equals, namely the sovereignty of political philosophy on the Athenian democratic life. Considering different historical periods, Arendt is worried about applying this kind of elitism in politics, since this small group of people could be guided by racist, violent and prevaricating moral principles. If these people will take over the control of the power they will overrule others, prevaricating them. Sometimes, as it was during the totalitarian regimes, some of those who collaborate with the government did not even find out that their actions were unjust, because they were convinced that those in power have the correct view of how politics and social life should be.

Ancient Models for a New Political Path: Aristotle

Unlike Plato's philosopher, a suitable political model is the man who exercises the ethical virtues described by Aristotle. According to Arendt, Aristotle seized some useful aspects to describe what is the actual good for people: on the contrary, some previous scholars haven't succeeded, as he shows in his critique of Plato's

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[8]It is worth saying, that Plato allows women to participate in his Academy and in some dialogues, as it is the *Republic*, they are as able as men to govern the city. The presence of female figures in Plato's dialogues is well known, as is their probable attendance in the Academy: think of Diotima in the *Symposium*, the women philosophers and warriors in the *Republic*, and women present in the Academy such as Axiothea of Phlius and Lastenia of Mantinea. So, when Arendt harshly criticizes Plato, she forgets to mention also some positive aspect of his philosophy that make his thought more inclusive and respectful of differences than she would have us believe. For further considerations concerning Plato and the role of women in his philosophy, see also Lesser (1979).

idea of the good (*NE*, I 6-7, 1096a 10-1097a 14 and VI 7, 1141b 4-8)[9]: discussing Thales and Anaxagoras' philosophical proposals, Aristotle points out they were wise but they concentrated on something useless for people life (*ta anthropina pragmata*).

In *Philosophy and Politics* (1990), Arendt quotes only some of these Aristotelian statements, but it is interesting to fully discuss them because he emphasizes that some intellectuals do not possess that practical wisdom (*phronêsis*) which is typical of those who virtuously act in the political realm. Some of these philosophers lacked the ability to deliberate about what is good for people because they are like Plato's one, namely they only focused on what is wonderful and divine, without taking care of human good. They are an example in the flesh of how thought is disconnected from action, of how contemplative life is radically separated from the one of the city. Plato believes that only those who see the truth can have the right to express their own judgments about what is correct or wrong in public life, namely they are the only one who have the right to rule. But, according to Arendt, this is not the right way to conceive politics. Indeed, as she states: "the philosopher can have the experience of the eternal, which to Plato was *arrêthon* (the 'unspeakable') and to Aristotle *aneu logou* ('without word') [...] but this can occur only outside the realm of human affairs and outside the plurality of men", but in this way the main features of the public and democratic debate suddenly disappear (Arendt 1998, p. 20).

Arendt's analysis of Ancients mainly aims at re-evaluating the political realm, as she conceives it, namely as an open exchange of opinions between free citizens: the active life it is never conditioned by the contemplative one as it was in Plato's philosophy (Zerilli 2002, p. 544).

The men described by Aristotle is a more suitable model for political life, according to Arendt, since she critically underlines that him preferred the contemplative life as the best one to achieve the true good life. Despite of some problematic Aristotle's reflections, he suggests some significant considerations about the common dimension in general: for Arendt, the main feature which defines the human condition is to actively and freely participate in the public sphere, and the Aristotelian *bios politikos* and ethical virtues perfectly describe that condition: human affairs are undefined and, to enhance the public life, it is necessary to discuss together the kind of measures people should adopt every single time (*NE*, V 10-11, 1137b 29 ff.)[10].

This kind of behavior, namely find the right solution on each occasion, can link individual actions and thoughts to the – so called by Arendt– being together in the public life: the Aristotelian *spudaios* is the person she considers suitable for political life, unlike Plato's philosopher stuck by the contemplation of truth.

In Arendt's view, Aristotle grasped some useful aspects to describe what is the actual and human good and he also criticized those people (*sophoi*) who had not been able to point out it, as he showed in his critique of Plato and his idea of the good (*NE*, I 6). According to Aristotelian definition of "man", all people could

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[9]English version of the *Nicomachean Ethics* is drawn from http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper /text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0054.

[10]See also Vegetti (2005): he illustrates in detail the main differences between ancient ethics.

be conceived as a *zôon politikon* and a *zôon logon echon* which means to be free from practical duties and participate to the public life, deciding what means and ends are needed to put practice the public good.

It is worth saying that Arendt's reflections on Aristotle are linked with those about the democratic Greek *polis*, considered as a space in which each action (*praxis*) and words (*lexis*) could appear on public scene: one person is really free from the limits imposed by the *oikia*, so that he can actively participate, dialoguing and acting, to the life of the community. Moreover, thanks to these speeches and contributions, it could be possible to politically interact without using violence, and this is what Arendt considers the most relevant aspect of the political actions. In this way, the public space could be a place where everything is decided thanks to the dialogue and persuasion rather than power and violence (Arendt 1998, p. 22).

It is worth to underline Arendt referrers to the Greek *polis* because ancient political life was the opposite of the unconditional domination of the head of household (the father, the husband) who, at home, exercises this kind of full power over other people (p. 24). In the public sphere one person is truly free to express their opinions, and equality seems to be the true essence of liberty: according to Arendt, this human condition is what makes life worth living[11].

Ancient Models for a New Political Path: Socrates

As well as considering the main features of public life using Plato and Aristotle's considerations, Arendt also focuses on the ethical side of political issues. She suggests a new way of behaving in politics, namely grounding the thinking activity on some moral principles. Those who want to contribute to the civic life must correctly think and judge events and people, as Socrates did and unlike Eichmann behaved (Arendt 1978, p. 166 ff). The *thinking activity* deletes all the prejudices and false beliefs. The main ability of the good politician is the skill at deeply analyse the importance of some values which can produce a moral improvement of the political realm (p. 168).

Socrates is chosen as a model of the perfect citizen because he teaches nothing to others. He declares himself ignorant, namely he does not want to make other people wiser than they already are: he does not possess some eternal truth to transmit. Referring to a *Meno*'s passage (80c), Arendt points out that Socrates doubted and taught others to do so, because he was convinced this was the only way to correctly think and the only way this activity could be taught (Arendt 2003, p. 170).

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[11]See also Castoriadis (1983, pp. 95–98): the philosopher underlines that men do not know the truth so the exchange of opinions which characterizes Greek democracy could be effective, since people try to find together what just, good, correctness are. Unlike Arendt, he strongly disapproves the exclusion of women and slaves in Athenian democracy. Castoriadis also criticizes Plato's philosophy and his seek of one unique truth, as Arendt did: 'the operative postulate that there is a total and "rational" (and therefore "meaningful") order in the world, along with the necessary implication that there is an order of human affairs linked to the order of the world-what one could call unitary ontology-has plagued political philosophy from Plato through modern liberalism and Marxism' (ibid).

In addition to that, Arendt finds in Plato's *Gorgias* (482b-c) the two principles which ground such as a correct *thinking* (p. 82): "I […] should rather choose to have my lyre […] out of tune […] or to have any number of people disagreeing with me and contradicting me, than that I should have internal discord and contradiction in my own single self (*ena onta emē emautō*)"[12], and "doing wrong is fouler than suffering it" (e.g., 475b-c and 508c). In Arendt's view, the latter principle grounds the former.

Moreover, the two principles of the *Gorgias* which the thinking activity is based on make a person able to understand which system of values is more suitable to apply to the public shared space, that is to say that people will choose the more correct set of beliefs to practice without harming anyone.

To explain more in depth these reflections, Arendt analyzes the discussion with Callicles and she points out that Socrates does not convince him to correctly behave, and indeed Callicles argues that a real man would ever behave as Socrates has done in his entire life: the philosopher is like a slave, his condition is that of a person for whom it would be better to be dead rather than to suffer such a deprivation of liberty (*Gorgias*, 474b, 483a-b).

The verbal clash with Callicles is also important because the young man is convinced that he will not fell ashamed (482e-483a) – so he won't contradict himself – dialoguing with Socrates ("so that if a man is ashamed and dares not say what he thinks, he is forced to contradict himself"). The impetuous and overbearing Callicles is an excellent touchstone for Socrates, precisely because, from his point of view, he impersonate a certain kind of justice, even if his idea of it diametrically opposes to the one proposed by Plato's teacher: in this conversation Socrates is committed to refute an ethical and political proposal which conrasts to the one it seems to be the most plausible, according to the philosopher. Indeed, for Callicles there is a clear distinction between what happens according to nature (*physei*) and what is established by the law, namely between justice and injustice: the strongest people deserve to have more and they are also able to subdue others, so that they will be the happiest people (*Gorgias*, 483d):

> but nature, in my opinion, herself proclaims the fact that it is right for the better to have advantage of the worse, and the abler of the feebler. It is obvious in many cases that this is so, not only in the animal world, but in the states and races, collectively, of men—that right has been decided to consist in the sway and advantage of the stronger over the weaker.

The actual politics – and specifically Callicles is referring to Athenian democracy – contradicts this natural law because it shows that, thanks to the laws, the weakest people have the right to govern and to keep under their control the strongest (483e-484a):

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[12]Elsewhere, Plato describes this type of dialogue as the dialogue between two persons (e.g., *Theaetetus*, 190a5-7, *Sophist*, 263e3-8, *Philebus*, 38e1-4). For the relevance of the dialogue as a philosophical method, the relationship between the internal dialogue and the dialogue with the interlocutors in Plato's thought, cf. Dixsaut (1997).

Why, surely these men follow nature—the nature of right—in acting thus; yes, on my soul, and follow the law of nature—though not that, I dare say, which is made by us; we mold the best and strongest amongst us, taking them from their infancy like young lions, and utterly enthrall them by our spells and witchcraft, telling them the while that they must have but their equal share, and that this is what is fair and just. But, I fancy, when some man arises with a nature of sufficient force, he shakes off all that we have taught him, bursts his bonds, and breaks free […].

The second part of Callicles' speech is a critique of the philosophical life proposed and portraited by Socrates himself. Callicles strongly reminds Socrates that philosophy must be practiced only during childhood, because after being grown up one person must devote himself to rhetorical life, namely to politics: only this way they could be actually happy. Philosophy can't help those who live according to its principles, and it does not make them able to protect themselves in a debate. Ominously, the interlocutor of Socrates states "and when you came up in court, though your accuser might be ever so paltry a rascal, you would have to die if he chose to claim death as your penalty" (486a2-4), foretelling Socrates trial and death. Callicles repeatedly tries to demonstrate the importance of rhetoric to overpower others in public and individual debates; to always win in the political arena and, following his argument, to be unjust in order to be happy. The just person described thanks to Callicles' words has the ability to violently take (*bia*) what belongs to the weakest and, therefore, to get richer and richer at the expense of those who do not have the strength to react. Conversely, according to the young man, philosophical life is the one of stones, of losers and he believes that Socrates must abandon his positions because he is becoming ridiculous ("but when a man already advancing in years continues in its pursuit, the affair, Socrates, becomes ridiculous", 485a).

It worth saying that Arendt analyses these passages of the *Gorgias* because she wants to discuss the topic of political and ethical justice. Concerning this topic, what Arendt wants to underline thanks to these lines is that Socrates has accurately understood that, more in general, an injustice to someone has been committed and something unjust occurred depriving the world of some positive values.

However, Arendt points out that the two proposals would be equivalent, if we consider them only from an individual point of view: for Callicles it would be better to commit injustice, for Socrates to suffer it (489a) (Arendt 2003, pp. 83–87). Conversely, from the point of view of the world, she states, the question becomes crucial, because looking at their conversation from the political realm's perspective, to violently act against someone means depriving the world, namely the plurality of actions and discourses, of someone's peculiar and unique thoughts or points of view. So, according to Arendt, as citizens we must prevent injustices, because it is of much interest for our shared world that citizens can peacefully live, act and dialogue.

Moreover, Socrates is the example of those who can help others to improve their ethical perspectives to collaborate in politics because of his coherence with *Gorgias*' principles. He never claims to improve his fellows with his teachings, but he simply invites them to reflect, to seek what kind of principles make their and others life good. He makes the thinking activity visible thanks to the dialogue

with Athenian citizens and he urges people to criticize their values, also political and social events (p. 271).

In Arendt's proposal, the Socratic dialogue mirrored the typical exchange of opinions of a democratic system, since he always seeks, with the help of interlocutors, some universal principles to find out which model could be the more suitable to apply to specific cases. The constant exchange of opinions of the Athenian democracy is reflected in the Socratic dialogical method with his interlocutors or with himself. Eichmann showed how banal – namely superficial and ordinary – evil could be: he wasn't aware of other people's worthiness in enriching his own world, his own experiences, while Socrates showed how deeply-rooted the good corroborated by consistency to good morality and sense of justice towards the political community is, as it is highlighted in the dialogue of the philosopher with the prosopopoeia of Athenian laws in Plato's *Crito* (50a-c). Ordinary people as Eichmann were able to commit such heinous crimes by considering morality to be nothing more than a common system of habits uncritically learnt. Conversely, Socrates is the personification of a respectful, just and good life. He is the model of an ethical system able to actively and positively contribute to the public realm (pp. 126–127)[13].

Thinking and Judging

According to Arendt, when Socrates proposes his values to other citizens and when he dialogues with them, he is always aware of the importance of his fellows' points of view. If necessary, he is critical about their systems, but never imposes his own values since he is able to think how they reached their moral and political positions, namely he is able to understand the path which led them to their ethical considerations. He is respectful of them, and he considers the dialogical method the only mean thanks to which interact with his fellows to improve the values they could share. In Arendt's opinion, *thinking* is the most political ability a person could have, even because it grounds another kind of activity, namely judging, to express one's thoughtful opinions.

Judging "concerns matters that are absent, […] but in contradistinction to the thinking activity, which deals with the invisible in all experiences and always tends to generalize, they always deals with particulars and in this respect are much closer to the world of appearances" (Arendt 1989, p. 213). Thinking activity assumes political importance thanks to the ability to judge, because we can vividly express what we have previously pondered dialoguing with ourselves. "Judgment deals with particulars, and when the thinking ego moving among generalities emerges from its withdrawal and returns to the world of particular appearances, it turns out that mind needs a new "gift" to deal with them" (p. 215). Thinking and judging help people to plumb their convictions to their system of values even measuring them with those of other citizens.

People have to thoroughly imagine what is happening in the world of appearances – as Arendt called the political realm (p. 187) – then they have to

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[13]For a critical analysis of the faculty of judgment in Arendt and its connection and relation with the thinking activity see also Palazzi (2015, pp. 10–13). See also Steinberger (1990).

judge the systems of ethical principles rulers are proposing them considering their correctness or not, especially if they are respectful of other fellows or not. They are given the task to sweep away any prejudice and they should try to assume different points of view thanks to which analyse moral and political situations, then choosing the more suitable for a just public life.

According to Arendt, the more useful faculty that allows people to reach this aim is imagination: it can help achieving impartiality, which is the specific virtue of judgment because if there are private factors that affect us, imagination and reflection "allow to get rid of them (free ourselves) and to achieve that relative impartiality which is the specific virtue of judgment" (p. 164). This impartiality is reached when we can consider how other system of values can be applied and what will be their consequences in the political realm: if applied, they will make people hurt each other, they must be excluded. Conversely, we could consider them as effectively relevant.

In the dialogue with oneself, namely the Socratic two-in-one, everyone should try to find those values can make the civic life more just. This system of principles allows a person to find a new and stable foundation to politics, such as freedom, esteem, justice. In order to avoid that any axiological system – even unjust and disrespectful systems – would be promoted at community level, Arendt suggests some criteria which allow us to select what values can be actually considered correct: these criteria are the same as those proposed in the *Gorgias* by Socrates, namely the settled belief that it is preferable to suffer an injustice rather than to commit it (*Gorgias*, 479e6) and always maintain an agreement with oneself with respect to the system of right values one professes (482c).

Conclusions: Ancient Remedies?

According to Arendt's interpretation of ancient thought and political behaviour, we can draw a conclusion about what she thinks in general about politics and what she is worried about in the case of totalitarianism: in her view, the political world is the world of plurality, namely where some people meet other people and exchange opinions about the common good. The political realm is not a violent place but the one where peace reigns, where people respect each other, they act according to just moral values, and they are correct towards their fellows.

Conversely, the totalitarian regimes create a world where all people seem to be tangled by a shared ideology, but actually they are lonely: therefore, people *only seem* to stand together for a great future that is about to come, but they are no way related with others, they always are suspicious and untrustful.

> Totalitarian government, like all tyrannies, certainly could not exist without destroying the public realm of life, that is, without destroying, by isolating men, their political capacities. But totalitarian domination as a form of government is new in that it is not content with this isolation and destroys private life as well. It bases itself on loneliness, on the experience of not belonging to the world at all, which is among the most radical and desperate experiences of man (Arendt 1973, p. 475).

Arendt highlights that, even if the thinking activity happens when people are in solitude, nonetheless this isolated activity is so different from the loneliness that the totalitarian systems produce in the mass society. The isolation in which people live in a totalitarianism provides that people live close to each other, but they are unable to communicate and freely share their opinions, as it happens in Plato's myth of the cave: all the slaves are very close, but they are also speechless, and they don't communicate each other at all. According to Arendt, isolation is the distinctive feature of all human actions, but it necessarily needs to go back to the world, to that shared world where people communicate their thoughts to others to devise, as much as possible, a just political realm together. As Arendt remind us: "what makes loneliness so unbearable is the loss of one's own self which can be realized in solitude but confirmed in its identity only by the trusting and trustworthy company of my equals" (p. 477).

According to Arendt, as showed thanks to Socrates' two-in-one dialogue and the principles of the *Gorgias*, those people who want to take part to politics must think in solitude and judge considering some different points of view. So, for her, it is important to withdraw from the world to find within oneself the values a person wants to practice and share with other people. Eventually, however, after a person has critically thought about the values, they consider most correct, the dialogue with those who take part in political life becomes the only mean of confrontation that should be used to improve the community life.

According to Arendt, these kinds of activities make people just citizen, so when they will act, they will be able to collaborate without overpowering others. Conversely, a person could be evil since they have always preferred to act only obeying to rulers' orders, without questioning their correctness, without thinking to the actual consequences of the values put into practice in the actual world. From her point of view and the ancient philosophers she refers to, politics is something which deeply concerns everyone and not only government or rulers. So, we are called to properly reflect on the principles we believe in, and the ones proposed by our rulers, especially when we are challenged to act in tragic historical situations, as it happened in the '30 in Europe during the XX century.

Never stop thinking in a critical way without harming other people, as Socrates did, must be the only one remedy to an unjust government of politics, to collaborate together to aim at the same good and just life.

It should be emphasized that these considerations imply a very optimistic anthropological and ethical view, precisely because Arendt assumes that those who think also have the courage to renounce violent actions when they are supposed to behave with others. Moreover, she does not clearly explain what might happen, in contrast, to a just person who faces someone willing to commit injustice or use violence as political instruments of interaction.

Undoubtedly, her reflections on Socrates are chequered, especially when she referrers to him as an ethical model: she uses the philosopher to reflect on how people might review their thoughts and moral values, when they act in a difficult historical-political context, especially when it implies to make decisions that also affect others. According to Arendt, Socrates' ethical integrity is what of more interest, even if she is aware this integrity is not costless; since such a stature may

require a rift with the civic life. Thus, there might arise the problem of the gulf between philosophy and the city as it was for Plato, because even the intellectualistic model does not seem to be actual effective in social life (Ober 2003, p. 3)[14]. Nevertheless, Arendt very high esteems Socrates precisely because he did not compromise. His integrity and his respect for a just life are the crucial points to reflect on in order to review the value system within which people should orient their thoughts before acting.

What is interesting about these above-mentioned reflections, as well as the reference made to the *Gorgias* and the dialogue between Socrates and Callicles, is that Arendt, Socrates, Plato and even Callicles himself are dialoguing, are employing a non-violent measure to discuss their ethical systems. From the conversation between Callicles and Socrates, the philosopher probably did not completely convince the young man to change his lifestyle: what emerges from the conversation, however, and what Plato wants to emphasize, is that probably dialogue is the only method thanks to which discuss what kind of values deserve to be practiced civically and socially at the community level.

The Athenian democracy as well as the dialogue between citizens mentioned by Arendt refer to small social dimensions, so it is difficult to apply the model on a large scale, but this does not mean that the suggestion given should not be successfully taken up and effectively used as a model of active participation to the civic life. What it should be considered is the possibility given to each person to be visible with their own ideas and moral values.

In its peculiarity, Callicles may also represent a figure to reflect on, above all because he is an example of a system of values implying prevarication and arrogance, but he decides to discuss these positions in a dialogue with a person who might also prove their ineffectiveness. The Aristotelian perspective of the 'slave by nature' deprives other people of their visibility, reducing them to the private or domestic sphere, namely to an invisible realm. Conversely, the dialogical dynamic could propose an alternative to this invisibility: the staged views are discussed by the interlocutors. They show several alternative perspectives from which an ethical and a political question could be examined.

If, according to Arendt, these perspectives should appear only if they are reasoned, thoughtful, and only if those who participate in politics are able to imagine different situations or alternative system of correct values and always bearing in mind the two Socratic criteria, Plato succeeds in grasping perhaps a further important issue, namely the merit of the dialogical method between even radical and provocative positions.

Both, Arendt and Plato, are seeking a solution to a problem concerning the public and individual dimension that excludes violence and force, that tries to very avoid hierarchies between those who participate in it.

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[14]The author underlines that Socrates "has proved that his own political convictions are drastically at odds with popular views, and that his irritating, idiosyncratic everyday practice of examining his fellow Athenians (and finding them painfully wanting in wisdom), followed necessarily from his convictions". Ober underlines that Socrates' values are more about individual ethics than politics or useful to keep a stable social order. Socrates seems to stand alone against the entire city attitude in youth education.

These considerations probably allow us to formulate a further consideration on the value of these two philosophical reflections. Indeed, a philosophical enquiry should always be critical towards historical, political and cultural systems and it should also try to think of possible alternatives which don't provide for hierarchization or discrimination as Arendt attempts to do identifying the practice of thought and dialogue as the fundamental basis for the political participation. Furthermore, the philosophical ideal should try not to lose his connection with the concrete situations it wants to criticize, thus by it shouldn't remain ineffective. On the contrary, it should help in proposing plausible theorical alternatives useful to some practices.

The role of these philosophical reflections, namely of Arendt, Socrates, and Plato, is that to be possible examples, possible alternatives to more violent way of acting. Even if these models seems unattainable or inapplicable, they nonetheless invites us to critically think of possible alternatives to our ethical-political praxis in order to improve our lives and the one of other people who shares the same public space with us.

To conclude, it is worth arguing that a democracy in which all citizens actively and consciously participate will probably never be realised, but the models of ethical behaviour suggested by these philosophers could urge people to deeply think of the priceless value of the dialogue and critical thinking for a more democratic and less violent politics to be possible. In Arendt's view, ancient thinkers have something to teach to people in modern times: some of them demonstrate their strict coherence with their moral principles. In her opinion, this coherence and allegiance to good moral values could also help contemporaries to reflect on their own way of being and of conceiving active participation in public life[15].

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[15]For a different account from which analyze the Athenian democracy and ancient models, see Farrar (1988, pp. 277–278): the author focuses his attention on Thucydides and Pericles, addressing them as who helped in combining the 'external from the internal perspective, spectator from agent', nor 'privilege one at the expense of the other'. They were the two main Athenians who helped in harmonizing people's good and the opportunity to live politics without excluding anyone. See also Castoriadis (1983, pp. 81–82): the author considers Greece and its politics as a germ for the contemporary one. He points out the importance of not losing sight of some issues related to a specific society within which certain institutions are born and formalised. However, despite the specificity of certain practices relating to individual societies, there is always the possibility of understanding them by giving a meaning that can be understood by different cultures than the one whose practices are being analysed. He further adds that the idealisation of some human groups may not make one understand certain issues which are present in specific practices. For example, this might be what happens to Arendt when she neglects to criticise slavery and the role of women in Athenian democracy.

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Metaphysics: Intelligible Questions and the Explicable World of Intentionality

By Tennyson Samraj[*]

Metaphysics deals with the intelligible world of questions and the explicable world of intentionality. Metaphysics is explicable, and its explicability is connected to questions related to what there is to know about the nature of reality. While physics deals with what is and what else there is, metaphysics deals with the nature of reality and what else there is to know about the nature of reality. If the content of metaphysics is considered as "answers" to questions related to cosmology and consciousness, then metaphysical claims must be understood in the context of the questions that necessitate such claims. For without understanding the relevance of the questions, we cannot establish the 'truth' or 'falsity' of metaphysical claims. The relevance of the questions is the basis for establishing the veracity of the metaphysical distinctions. Hence, all metaphysical distinctions are a non-reductive explanation of what is considered as being reductive. The content of consciousness or intentionality deals with the following metaphysical distinctions, namely, the matter/mind, the essence/ existence, the space/time, the concrete/abstract, the particular/universal, and the contingent/necessary distinctions. These distinctions are made possible because of the questions raised by the intelligent mind. Two questions that connect physics and metaphysics are-- what is there and the nature of what is there. Two further questions that promote our interest in physics and metaphysics are: what else is there to know, and what else is there to know about the nature of reality. Reality and the nature of reality are the same. However, because the mind makes this distinction, we can state that what is physical is an empirical given, and what is metaphysical is a phenomenological or an existential given.

Keywords: *metaphysics, intentionality, subjectivity, creativity, freedom and time*

Introduction: Questions Related to Ontology/Metaphysics: Understanding what is Physical and what is Phenomenological

The two famous questions that necessitate the relationship between physics and metaphysics are Leibniz's question -- *why is there something instead of nothing* (Leibnitz 1890, p. 213) and Quine's question *on what there is?* (Quine 1948, p. 38). These two questions are related to two other questions raised in this paper—what else there is to know, and what else is there to know about the nature of what is? What is fundamental to the continued pursuit of metaphysics is the question: what else is there to know about the nature of reality. Because reality and nature of reality are inseparable, the following metaphysical distinctions are made in this paper; namely, the mind/matter, the essence/existence, the space/time; the particular/universal, the concrete/abstract, the contingent/necessary distinctions help us understand the relationship between matter, mind, and metaphysics. So

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this paper intends to discuss the questions that initiate metaphysical distinctions to better understand the nature of reality, for "all consciousness is consciousness about something" (Sartre 1977, p. 11) and its nature.

Ontology deals with what is reductive. What is reductive is basically the 118 elements in the universe. Fundamental to each element is the atom. And for over 2000 years, it was believed that the atom was the smallest part of reality and was indivisible[1]. We are now aware that atoms are divisible in that fundamental to atoms are electrons, protons, and neutrons. And what is fundamental to protons and neutrons are quarks. We also know that atoms exist in the context of time/ space, gravity, electromagnetic force, fields, and energy. However, everything associated with matter has its beginning with matter (Weinberg 1977, p. 147). Time, space, gravity, electromagnetic force, quantum fields, and mathematics do not have a special beginning, but have their beginning with the beginning of matter (Nicholson 1999, p. 235). Observing the universe, the following scientists have made four fundamental or significant discoveries: (1) Emilie Du Chatelet purported that energy cannot be created or destroyed (Hagenruber 2011). (2) Antoine Lavoisier purported that mass cannot be increased or decreased.[2] (3) Einstein argued that mass and energy are interchangeable (Serway et al. 2013). (4) Higgs argued that everything exists in quantum fields[3].

Metaphysics deals with the non-physical/non-reductive phenomena of what is reductive. The content of intentionality is the content of metaphysics (Brentano 2002). The single characteristic of metaphysics is the non-reductive description of its content, for all metaphysical distinctions and assertions are a non-reductive account of a reductive given. The two inseparable aspects of reality, namely physics and metaphysics, are fundamental aspects of the same reality (Wald 1990, p. 74), though one is a reductive or an empirical given and the other a non-reductive or phenomenological given. In understanding the nature of matter, the mind provides the basis for all the distinctions that are fundamental to the study of reality. If the assertion of property dualism that physical phenomena and mental phenomena are a phenomenological given, then physics and metaphysics are inseparable (Priccirillo 2010). Reality and the awareness of reality are inseparable. "Consciousness and matter are different aspects of the same reality" reality (Wald 1990, p.74). For "all consciousness is consciousness of something." It is one thing to argue that consciousness requires a neural base but another to argue that the brain alone can cause consciousness, for we know that temperature, pressure, oxygen, and nutrients also play a role in the actualization of consciousness. Consciousness could be a fundamental aspect of reality. However, the essential property of consciousness, namely, intentionality and subjectivity can only be a phenomenological or existential given. What separates us from animals is metaphysics. While animals are aware of reality, we aware of the nature of reality.

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[1]Dalton understanding of the Atom, until J.J. Thomas discovered the electron which redefined the atom as being divisible.

[2]American Chemical Society International Historic Chemical Landmarks. Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier: The Chemical Revolution. http://www.acs.org/content/acs/en/education/whatischemistry/landmarks/lavoisier.html

[3]Sean Carroll, What is the Higgs Boson? Sean Carroll Discusses the God Particle. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wCZr8mUsJ2s.

As such, humans are metaphysicians, for no animal can be a metaphysician for animals can never understand the nature of reality.

Consciousness and the content of consciousness are distinct. One is a reductive given, and the other is a non-reductive given. The reductive understanding of consciousness establishes the relationship of causation, contingency, and correlation of mental states to brain states; that is why we understand mental states as a neural state (Smart 2011 p. 119) an emergent property (Searle 2011, p. 703), or quantum phenomena[4]. The non-reductive understanding of consciousness establishes intentionality (Chalmers 2002, pp. 473–479), subjectivity, and creativity as a phenomenological given which will always be subject to change or revision. That is why while MRI (Magnetic Resonance Imaging) reading can establish whether one is conscious or not—alive or dead, we cannot confirm who or what one is conscious of. However, the causation, contingency, and correlation of mental states to brain states cannot explain the following: (1) how a material brain can generate an immaterial self, (2) how a determinate matter creates an indeterminate mind, (3) how insentient atoms in the brain can generate intentionality, subjectivity, and creativity[5], (4) how a sense-receptory brain that processes sense–evident data can generate a mind that creates and processes self-evident truths—such as mathematics, morals, and metaphysics, (5) why it takes a brain that is made of insentient atoms or neurons to create a mind to define what an atom or neuron is, or (6) how reductive matter can generate non-reductive metaphysics.

Methodology

The phenomenological method is employed to investigate metaphysical claims in the context of the questions that necessitate metaphysical assertions. However, while questions relate to what is reductive or physical, metaphysical claims relate to what is non-reductive or phenomenological. When we extrapolate Leibniz's and Quine's questions, we can raise questions related to the concrete, namely, specificity, temporality, contingency, and existence, or make metaphysical claims related to the abstract, namely, identity, immortality, necessity, and essence. Once we accept that there is something and want to know the nature of reality, it results in the content of intentionality or metaphysics. This paper intends to establish the link between consciousness and the content of metaphysics along with the questions that initiate metaphysics.

Understanding the content of metaphysics in the context of the questions that initiate metaphysics makes the explicability of metaphysics *palatable*. Just as what a hypothesis is to science, the relevance of questions is to metaphysics. Only in the context of the significance of the question can we establish the truth or veracity of metaphysical claims. While ontology deals with what is, metaphysics deals with the nature of what is. Matter and awareness of matter or consciousness have to be

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[4]S Hameroff, Anesthetic action links consciousness to quantum vibrations - - 6/11/2018 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VG8_hlnFdWM.

[5]Giuiio Tononi "Why is consciousness so baffling" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dK72pPa_gSE.

related, for consciousness and matter are different aspects of the same reality (Wald 2011, p. 74) or better, what 'is' and the 'nature of what is are the same. However, what is physical is reductive, and what is metaphysical is non-reductive. Reality and awareness of reality are intertwined because of the mind, "To be and to be known—existence and its recognition" (Wald 2011, p. 68) are the same. Both reality and the nature of reality are the same (Wald 2011, p. 74), but the mind makes the metaphysical distinction-- one as being concrete and the other as abstract. One is an empirical given, the other being a phenomenological or existential given.

Consciousness and Content of Consciousness: A Phenomenological or Existential Given

Consciousness is a brain process (Chalmers 2002, pp. 56–57) hence reductive, but the content of consciousness, namely the content of intentionality (Chalmers 2002, pp. 473–479) along with subjectivity, is non-reductive. As such, there are two ways we can define what consciousness is (1) the reductive understanding of consciousness is to explain the relationship between causation, contingency, and correlation of mental states to brain states. That is why we can understand mental states as a neural state, an emergent property, or a quantum phenomena. (2) the non-reductive understanding of consciousness is to explain the content of consciousness as the content of intentionality and subjectivity[6]. The essential features of consciousness, namely intentionality, subjectivity, and creativity, are to be understood as a non-reductive or phenomenological given. In the paper, we shall discuss the content of consciousness or intentionality in the context of the questions that necessitated such claims because of the non-reductive nature of metaphysics. All metaphysical distinctions entail a reductive given and a non-reductive explanation for what is reductive. The content of consciousness is limited to discussing metaphysical distinctions in the context of understanding the nature of reality and the questions that necessitate metaphysics.

Matter/Mind Distinction

The first metaphysical distinction that has both a reductive and a non-reductive aspect to it, is the matter/mind distinction. What is reductive are the basic elements in the brain and what is non-reductive is the metaphysics associated with the mind. We know what there is in the universe. From Democritus' times to the present, we have become aware of the basic elements in the universe[7]--their atomic structure, mass, weight, and the structure of the subatomic or the quantum world. First, we thought that atoms were the smallest unit of being and were

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[6]S Hameroff, Anesthetic action links consciousness to quantum vibrations - - 6/11/2018 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VG8_hlnFdWM.

[7]How to find the number of protons, neutrons and electrons from the periodic table https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JjozjUCsSaU.

indivisible, then we discovered that atoms were divisible and consisted of protons, neutrons, and electrons; later, we found out that each proton and electron is made of quarks--(Proton having two up quarks and one down quark and the neutron has two down quarks and one up quark) [8], and now we have discovered the Boson (Baggott 2013, pp. 89, 181) or the "God particle."[9] Further, we realized that what we call particles are actually fields[10] in that there are many electrons, many photons, and many bosons, each in their respective fields, namely the electron field, the electromagnetic field, and the Higgs field. Atoms were first considered as the smallest unit of matter that could not be cut; then came Einstein, who argued that atoms could be spilt, which introduced us to the quantum theory. Quantum theory or particle physics[11] purports that there are two types of particles, one having mass and the other being massless[12] such as Fermions and Bosons (Baggott 2013, pp. 89, 181). Now we further know that there are two forces at work in the quantum world—the strong nuclear force and the weak nuclear force. The strong nuclear force is the attractive force between protons and neutrons that keep the nuclei together, and the weak nuclear force is the radioactive decay of certain nuclei.[13] So there are only three basic particles now called fields in the universe, namely electrons, up quarks, and down quarks (what protons and electors are made up of), surrounded by four forces, namely, gravitational, electromagnetic, strong, and weak nuclear forces[14].

The first atoms that came into existence in the first few minutes after the big bang were hydrogen and helium (Weinberg 1977, p. 113). And after the birth of stars, science tells us that carbon and oxygen, along with a few others atoms, came into existence in the universe. And after the supernovas (Weinberg 1977, p. 18) or the death of stars the rest of the elements in the periodic table came into being. What is interesting about the periodic chart is that we have found all the types of atoms in the universe that is represented in the periodic table. Based on the number of protons in each element, we have numbered the 118 elements in the periodic table[15]. Everything that exists has atoms; humans are no exception. For instance, humans are basically water which is made of two hydrogen atoms and one oxygen

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[8]What Happened At The Beginning of Time-with Dan Hooper, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dB7d89-YHjM.

[9]Attributed to Physicist Leon Lederman-- was meant to poke fun at how difficult it was to detect the Higgs. The Title of Lederman's book was "The Goddam particle" was changed to "The God Particle" when the publishers weren't pleased with the phrasing.

[10]Sean Carroll, What is the Higgs Boson? Sean Carroll Discusses the God Particle. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wCZr8mUsJ2s.

[11]The Map of Particle Physics | The Standard Model Explained. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mYcLuWHzfmE.

[12]Why do some particles like gluons not have mass? https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eqwgDzJlkoY.

[13]https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/themes/forces/#:~:text=The%20Strong%20Nuclear%20Force%20is,two%20forces%20differed%20a%20lot. (Lars Brink "Forces").

[14]Beyond the Higgs: What's Next for the LHC?-With Harry Cliff. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=edvdzh9Pggg.

[15]Elements-Defined by their Numbers of protons. https://chem.libretexts.org/Courses/College_of_Marin/CHEM_114%3A_Introductory_Chemistry/04%3A_Atoms_and_Elements/4.05%3A_Elements-_Defined_by_Their_Numbers_of_Protons.

atom. But since the mass of oxygen is 16, mass-wise humans are 65% oxygen, 18% carbon, 9.5% hydrogen[16], and nitrogen 3.3%. (Remaining 4 percent is made up of other metals—like calcium, Potassium, Lithium copper, and iron. Every atom that exists was created in the beginning, as such each atom in the human is as old as the universe itself.

What is the brain? The brain is a neural organ composed of insentient matter, yet the neural brain is the basis for the sentient mind. However, it is hard to establish whether the brain is a necessary condition or a sufficient condition for consciousness. For we can be certain that the brain alone cannot cause consciousness because we know there are other factors like temperature, pressure, oxygen, and nutrients, without which we cannot have consciousness. So unless we know what role temperature, pressure, oxygen, and nutrients play, we cannot be sure whether the basis for consciousness is the brain alone. We know that there is a relationship between the brain and the mind. As such, we can establish the correlation of mental states to brain states (Chalmers 2002 p. 248); we can establish the causal nature of mental states to brain states; we can also establish the contingency of mental states to brain states. The question is, can establishing the relationship of brain states and mental states and correlates of mental states to brain states squeeze consciousness from the brain[17].

What is consciousness"? What makes brains conscious?[18] The mind is irreversibly dependent with the brain[19]. ". . . mind and matter could be seen as a complementary aspect of the same reality" (Wald 2011, p. 74). Consciousness is a brain process (Chalmers 2002, pp. 56–57, but the question is, does the brain cause consciousness? What is the relationship between mental states and brain states? What are mental states? In the ancient world, the mind or the soul was understood as being immortal and that the soul is the user of the body (Goller 2012). The soul is eternal, and death is not the death of anything but merely the separation of the soul from the body[20]. Again the ancient world defined that either the soul is in the body or the body is in the soul (Goller 2012, p. 5). Contemporary theorists like (1) the Identity theorist argue that mental states are identical to brain states (Hirst 2011)--in that consciousness is a brain process (Chalmers 2002, pp. 56-57). (2) Reductive materialists argue that there are mental states, but they can be reduced to brain states (Heil 2011, p. 119). (3) Non-reductive materialists argue that there are mental states, but they cannot be reduced to brain states (Heil 2011, p. 703). (4) Eliminative materialists argue that there are no mental states; all states are brain states. (5) Behaviorists argue that there are mental states, but they are behavioral

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[16]Ruchi Shah, "Elements That keep Us Alive Also Give Color To Fireworks" https://biobeat.Nig ms.nih.gov/2015/07/elements-that-keep-us-alive-also-give-color-to-fireworks/.

[17]Giuiio Tononi, Why is Consciousness so Baffling? https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dK72pPa _gSE.

[18]Christof Koch, What makes brains conscious? Episode 706 Closure to Truth https://www.youtu be.com/watch?v=3qjgvMtTKhI.

[19]David Eagleman, Are the Brain and Mind the same thing. Episode 1005 Closer to Truth https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2i9UPTDUFJo.

[20]Olshewsky TM "The Relations of Soul to Body in Plato and Aristotle". Project MUSE Scholarly journals on line, 391 https://web.stanford.edu/~mvr2j/ucsccourse/soulolshe wsky.pdf.

dispositions (Putnam 2011b, p. 100). (6) Functionalists argue that there are mental states but mental states are functional states (Putnam 2011a, p. 162).

Modern theories such as (1) Emergence theory of the mind suggest that consciousness is a neural emergence (Heil 2011, p. 703), (2) Supervenience theory of the mind suggests that mental states supervene on brain states, in that there can be no changes in mental states without changes to brain states[21]. The mind is contingent on the brain for its presence (McGinn 1989, p. 353). (4) The Computational theory of the mind suggests that the brain is a computer with a programmer inside it—the self, which interprets the information from the transducers as metaphysics.   Is the brain the producer of consciousness, or is it a receptor like a radio or TV[22]? If it is understood as a receptor, it does not produce anything; it only transmits what is transmitted. To argue that the brain causes consciousness is like arguing that the radio causes music when in reality, the radio is only a receptor[23]. And if the brain is understood as a conduit of the soul, then each self can represent a different frequency. What is common in each of us is the soul (intentionality), and what is distinct in each is the self (subjectivity). If we argue that intentionality and subjectivity are an essential property of consciousness (and neural emergence is one way, not the only way in which consciousness can be actualized), then we can explicate consciousness as being an inseparable part of matter or the universe.

Current studies in neuroscience put emphasis on understanding consciousness as a quantum phenomenon. If consciousness is a quantum phenomenon, then it is a result of quantum collapse[24], and the cellular structures called microtubules associated with collective pi resonance quantum oscillations[25] are critical to consciousness. The Penrose-Hameroff theory of quantum consciousness argues that microtubules are structured in a fractal pattern which would enable quantum processes to occur.[26] Quantum fractals could provide the basis as to whether consciousness is a classical or quantum phenomenon.[27] If anesthetics can temporally[28] suspend consciousness, then consciousness cannot be understood independent of neurons. We are aware that under anesthetics, consciousness can be suspended[29]. Further, we know that sleep can temporally shut out our

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[21]https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/supervenience/ "there cannot be a A-difference without a B-difference.

[22]Sam Parnia "What is consciousness" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NcCDlxFkAcY.

[23]David, Eagleman, Are the Brain and Mind the same thing. Episode 1005 Closer to Truth -https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2i9UPTDUFJo.

[24]David, Eagleman, Are the Brain and Mind the same thing. Episode 1005 Closer to Truth -https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2i9UPTDUFJo.

[25]Anesthetic action links consciousness to quantum vibrations - S. Hameroff - 6/11/2018 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VG8_hlnFdWM.

[26]Christiane de Morais Smith, Can Consciousness be explained by Quantum physics. https://singularityhub.com/2021/07/25/can-consciousness-be-explained-by-quantum-physics-new-re search/.

[27]Christiane de Morais Smith, Can Consciousness be explained by Quantum physics. https://singularityhub.com/2021/07/25/can-consciousness-be-explained-by-quantum-physics-new-re search/.

[28]Anesthetics actions links consciousness to quantum vibrations (1846 gas anesthetics introduced). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VG8_hlnFdWM.

[29]Anesthetics and consciousness, Stuart Hammeroff https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N0hU6CZok34.

consciousness. We are also aware of what distinguishes us from animals, namely the phenomena of intentionality and subjectivity, present only as part of human nature or condition. The generation/genesis of consciousness or cognitive states is and will always remain a mystery. The brain is about 80% water, and for water to turn into consciousness is a miracle (McGinn 1989, p. 349).

If energy and mass are interchangeable, then energy is either an intrinsic part of matter or matter is an intrinsic part of energy. Similarly, the mind is either an intrinsic part of matter or matter is an intrinsic part of the mind, "consciousness and matter are different aspects of the same reality" (Wald 1990, p. 74); as such, mind and matter can also be interchangeable. However, what we want to know is whether consciousness is an essential property of matter or an accidental property of matter. If consciousness requires a neural base, then only what is neural can be considered as consciousness. This would imply that if there is a God, then God would have to have a neural basis for consciousness. However, if the brain is understood as a sufficient condition, then it is possible to envision a non-neural basis for consciousness in the universe.

So there are two ways in which we can explain what consciousness is. The reductive explanation of consciousness is to define consciousness as it relates to what is physical, in that consciousness can be understood as a reductive given, an emergent property or a quantum phenomenon. The non-reductive explanation of consciousness is to define consciousness as it relates to what is metaphysical, in that consciousness can be understood in terms of its essence, namely intentionality, subjectivity, and intelligibility. So we can either explicate the reductive property of consciousness or the non-reductive essence of consciousness. What is the essence of consciousness? The essence of consciousness is (1) intentionality --what is common to each one of us, (2) subjectivity or the self --what is unique in each one of us. What is common in each one of us is intentionality, for all consciousness is consciousness about something". What is distinct in each one of us is the self or subjectivity along with qualia.

Essence/Existence Distinction

The second metaphysical distinction that has a reductive and a non-reductive aspect to it is the essence/existence distinction. What is reductive is the 'is' of identity or existence. What is non-reductive is its essence. Everything that exists, exists with essence. So when we see something, we are aware of either its existence or its essence. Most people observe the essence of what exists. For essence implies existence but seeing the existence of something does not imply one knows its essence. Essence//existence distinction is possible only if its existence has a beginning. If an existent does not have a beginning, then the essence of an existent would be inexplicable. However, if an existent has a beginning, then we not only can make an ontological distinction between essence and existence, we can also say that essence precedes existence, if there is an intelligent cause for its existence. The metaphysical distinction between essence and existence can be traced to

Plato[30]. The world of Ideality defined the world for a long time and still does. The question is can we separate essence from existence? What is common in everything that exists is existence, but when we ask what exists, then it separates one entity from everything else? Are essence and existence distinct? When are they separable/inseparable? What does "essence precedes existence" mean? Are there beings whose essence and existence are inseparable? Who defines essence? Is essence part of existence? Can we talk about essence independent of existence? When we begin to observe the world, what captures our attention is either the existence of objects or the essence of objects. In either scenario, we have to address the question which comes first. For either essence precedes existence or existence precedes essence. To Plato, the world of essence precedes the world of objects. In fact, to Plato, the world of objects are mere copies of the world of essence. Reality at its best is the world of essence or ideas. But to Sartre existence precedes essence (Sartre 1949, p. 28). If the universe is without a beginning, without cause or essence as Sartre would argue then it is almost impossible to define essence (Sartre 1977, p. 725). That is why Quine argued for the inexplicability of essence (Quine 2013, pp. 23–72). Unless one is the creator of something, then it is expected to be able to define the essence of something.

The physical eye can registrar the 'is' of existence, but the rational or metaphysical eye is required to establish the 'is' of the essence. The 'is' of identity or the 'is' of composition (water is H20) establishes the 'is' of existence, but can the 'is' of identity or composition establish the 'is' of the essence? What establishes the 'is' the essence. What role does the 'is' of composition play in establishing the 'is' of essence. Does the essential properties of an object define the existence of the object or the essence of the object? Essence is elusive. Quine (2013, pp. 23–72). When we look at a table, how much of the 'is' of composition determines the essence of the table? The table could be made of wood, metal, or stone and still be a table. Similarly, we know that consciousness has a neural base supported by the right temperature, pressure, oxygen, and nutrients. The question is how much of its neural base is the basis for intentionality and subjectivity. With reference to mental states, we see that the existence of mental states can be traced to a neural base, but when we look at the essence of consciousness, we notice that what is essential to consciousness, namely intentionality and subjectivity, are not a property of any particular neuron. We cannot say that the brain causes consciousness because consciousness is dependent on other entities that sustain life –such as temperature, pressure, oxygen, and nutrients, so the brain alone cannot cause consciousness. So emergence, supervenience, and quantum phenomena are terms attributed to explain how consciousness comes into being.

Concrete/Abstract Distinction

The third metaphysical distinction that has both a reductive and a non-reductive aspect to it is the concrete/abstract distinction. Both the concrete and the

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[30]David Macintoch, Plato: A Theory of Forms. (In Plato's *Republic –The dividing line)* (https://philosophynow.org/issues/90/Plato_A_Theory_of_Forms).

abstract objects can be reductive; however, our understanding of what is concrete and abstract is non-reductive. In understanding the relationship between matter, mind, and metaphysics, we realize the concrete/abstract distinction further explicates the nature of reality. The concrete/abstract distinction defines how the mind categorizes reality. There are concrete objects (trees or shrubs) and abstract objects (like mathematics or morals). All reality, both concrete and abstract, has its beginning with the beginning of matter. However, abstract realities such as mathematics have their beginning related to matter only if we first accept that matter cannot be separated from the mind, nor can the mind be separated from matter. If this is accepted, then both concrete and abstract realities have their beginning with the beginning of matter. The mind gets information from the world of matter which is filled with shapes, sizes, and designs. This information is processed as mathematics in mind. As such, space, time, and mathematics all come together with the beginning of matter because we cannot separate matter from the mind, nor can we separate mind from matter. Matter and mind are not only interconnected but interchangeable because they are different aspects of the same reality (Wald 1990, p. 75). It is the mind that defines this metaphysical distinction. While laws of physics have their beginning along with the beginning of matter, the laws of mathematics seem to have no beginning[31]. However, mathematics also has its beginning with matter. The world of matter implicitly projects mathematics. We cannot separate matter from mathematics. If we connect matter with the mathematics, then it is easy to connect mathematics to the mind.

Without minds, there can be no mathematical truths, yet its truth is not of our making (Dummett 1993, p. 218). Is 2+2=4 true because we say so, or do we say so because it is true? It is not true because we say so, nor do we say so because it is true. We say 2+2=4 because of how the mind understands the world of matter.   At first glance, it seems there seems to be no reason to project the need for a beginning for mathematical truths—in that they seem to be ageless and timeless. However, realities such as mathematics begin with the beginning of matter, and by the information, the world of matter provides the mind through the transducers. It is the information from the world of matter that the mind interprets and understands as mathematics. If metaphysics deals with the nature of reality, then mathematics is metaphysics at its best. Mathematics is in every nook and corner of the world of matter or universe. Another way of looking at mathematics is to liken it to secondary qualities. Just like the transductions from the transducers are interpreted as color, smell, and sound; similarly, all the information the transducers generate is interpreted by the mind as shapes, numerals, and sets –or mathematics. While sound, smell, and sight (color) are considered as visible secondary qualities, mathematics can be considered as comprehendible secondary qualities. So just like we do not create color, sound, or smell, we do not create mathematics—it is simply how the mind interprets transductions sent by transducers to the brain. There is no place nor location for color out there or in your mind; similarly, there is no particular place or location for mathematics out there or reductively in mind.

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[31]Max Tegmark - Is Mathematics Invented or Discovered? https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ybIxWQKZss822.

We do not talk about the birth and death of triangles like we talk about the birth and death of stars[32] because the birth of the universe entails the birth of mathematics. It also means that matter and mind are necessary before one can talk about the realities of mathematics. Mathematics does not have an independent existence. It is an assertion the mind makes, yet it is not created by the mind; it is because of the way the mind understands the world of matter. Plato argued for an immortal mind for eternal realities such as triangles and circles do not have a beginning, but can be known only because of an eternal mind. However, in this paper, it is argued that all realities, including mathematics, have their beginning with the beginning of matter. The birth and death of stars create both the world of matter and mathematics.

There are both concrete and abstract objects, and we can understand the nature of both concrete and abstract objects. The question is, what gets our attention first—is it the objects or the nature of objects? Metaphysics deals with both the nature of the concrete and the abstract objects. But what is interesting about objects and the nature of objects, is that objects are visible, but the nature of objects is invisible. We can see circles but we have to comprehend the notion of circularity. It is in the understanding alone. One is out there, and the other is in one's mind. One has a place and location outside the mind; the other does not have a place nor location anywhere.

What do we understand when we hear the word 'one'? Do we see numerals (example: Roman numerals), or do we think of numbers? What do we see when we see a clock? Do we see the time of the day or think of the notion of temporality or eternity? When we see something circular, do we see a circle, or do we think of the concept of circularity? Similarly, what do we see when we see things --do we see the existence of objects, or do we understand the essence of the objects. What we see and understand of reality is the basis for defining reality. When we see a red object, do we see the color red, or do we comprehend the concept of redness. Metaphysics deals with the abstract, but the abstract is about our understanding of what exists. We do not have access to reality as is; we only have access to how we understand reality. That is why the analytical and questioning mind plays an important role in what is known about reality. Discussing the content of metaphysics in the context of the questions that initiate metaphysics provides the basis for the explicability of the nature of reality. Since metaphysics is our understanding of reality, there is no place and location for it outside our minds or inside our minds.

Space/Time Distinction

The fourth metaphysical distinction that has both a reductive and a non-reductive aspect to it is the space/time distinction. Particular space and temporal time can be understood as being reductive. But the concepts of space and time are non-reductive when we understand that matter cannot be actualized independent of

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[32]The platonic view is that triangles and circles are eternal and since we require a mind to know such realties then there must be an eternal mind in whose mind such realties exist.

space and time. As such, time and space begin together, and its beginning is tied up with the beginning of matter (Nicholson 1999, p. 235). The beginnings of matter simultaneously necessitate space and time. When matter had its beginning, space and time can either be understood as being a necessary aspect of being or can be understood as an emergent aspect. We cannot have matter without space and time—for all matter occupies space in time. Space and time have a beginning, but it begins with the beginning of matter. (We cannot see space nor time but without it there would be no matter or life).

As such, all beings that have a beginning have their beginning in the beginning. All atoms that exist now had their beginning in the beginning. All beings share three space-related dimensions, namely length, breadth, and height. But when we begin to observe objects, we soon realize that we are missing something—the temporal dimension. Space and time are emergent properties with every existent. All matter/life exists in the context of space and time. A paradigm shift was required when space and time were considered fundamental to reality. Further, until recent times space and time were understood as two separate aspects of reality. But Einstein argued that they are inseparable and argued that they must be understood together, hence the space-time notion (Nicholson 1999, p. 63). Space and time begin with the beginning of beings. Time, like space, becomes a reality with the beginning of matter. The beginning of space and time can be traced back to the beginning of matter.

If (1) gravity wraps time and space (Nicholson 1999, p. 63), (2) if quantum mechanics is serious when it argues that an atom can be in two places at the same time[33], and (3) if traveling at the speed of light stops time[34], then the string theory can purport a theoretical possibility of a time machine that can go into the future or into our past[35]. The theory of relativity purports that time dilates because of gravity—the atomic clock registrars' time dilation. Time goes faster the farther away you are from the earth's surface compared to the time on the surface of the earth. This effect is known as "gravitational time dilation."[36] While time begins to tick faster or slower once beings come into existence, consciousness is aware of how time passes one moment at a time and aware of timeless/abstract truths like mathematics and temporal truths such as aging. However, what must be noted is not only the relationship between matter, space, and time but the two important aspects of matter, namely gravity and the laws of physics. Gravity and laws of physics do not come before or after the existence of matter; it comes with the existence of matter. Gravity and the laws of physics cannot be understood independently of the physical world. Gravity and the laws of physics are an integral part of the physical world.

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[33]How does Time stop, https://usm.maine.edu/planet/how-does-time-stop.

[34]How does Time stop, https://usm.maine.edu/planet/how-does-time-stop.

[35]"Time Machines", Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ti me-machine/.

[36]Time Dilation—Einstein's Theory of Relativity Explained. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yuD34tEpRFw.

Particular and Universal (Properties)

The fifth metaphysical distinction that has both a reductive and a non-reductive aspect to it is the particular/universal distinction. Here the particular is reductive, and the universal is not. Understanding the relationship of matter, mind, and metaphysics is to understand the particular/universal distinction. When we observe the world, we either see things as particulars or as universals. The particular/universal metaphysical distinctions can be traced back to how the mind processes what we perceive in understanding the nature of reality. When we see a red object, what do we see, the color red or the property redness? If we see a red object, then it deals with the particular, but if we see redness, then we are dealing with the universal. The question that necessitates the particular/universal distinction is to ask whether we see the color red or the property of redness? We cannot separate the particular from the universal. Seeing red is also understanding redness. Seeing a red object is different than seeing one red object among many red objects. How many objects are there that are red? If the answer is many, then the shared property becomes obvious. We either see specific things, or we see them as one among many objects it represents. Similarly, when we see a dog, we can see either a dog or one dog among many dogs. Other questions that necessitate such distinction--similarities and dissimilarities project the need to classify and distinguish one from the other. Specificity is the basis for identity, but properties (sameness) are the basis for what is universal. Universals are abstract concepts/properties and do not require space or shape (Cacullo 1984, p. 533), though they can be instantiated intangible objects in space and time. As such, what is universal can, unlike what is particular, be in two locations at the same time—because it is only a 'property (Ehring 2003, p. 327). Universals are properties that are shared by many objects, which is why they do not have to have a particular location. The mind can distinguish those properties in things and understand them by adding "ness" to the ends of words—such as redness. One distinctive distinction is that while what is considered as particular has a place and location in time, what is universal has no (particular) place or location in time. As such, unlike objects which cannot be in two places at the same time, universals can be in two places at the same time. Further, while objects are visible, what is considered as the nature of the objects is invisible.

One feature of the particular is identity, which can be defined as having either numerical identity or qualitative identity. Numerical identity speaks about remaining the same, yesterday, today, and tomorrow.[37] There can be no changes due to time. The clock is a good example of numerically being the same now and five minutes later—even though the time now is different than earlier. Qualitative identity speaks about the state of being the same in nature or quality (two pieces of chalk). The properties or qualities are the same[38]. However, just because

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[37]Oliver Black, London, "Personal Identity, Numerical and qualitative" http://sammelpunkt.philo.at /id/eprint/2853/1/black.pdf.

[38]"Numerical identity does not require Qualitative identity" http://www.rightreason.org/2009/nume rical-identity-does-not-require-qualitative-identity/.

something is the same, it does not mean it is one and the same. Being exactly the same does not imply being one and the same.

Contingent/Necessary Distinction

The sixth metaphysical distinction that has both a reductive and a non-reductive aspect to it is the contingent/necessary distinction. What is contingent can be reductive and what is non-contingent is understood as being non-reductive. In understanding the relationship between matter, mind, and metaphysics, we realize that certain existents are contingent, and certain existents are necessary. The mind is aware that concrete and abstract objects either have a beginning or do not have a beginning. Either they are dependent or not dependent; true in a given world or true in all possible worlds. As such, all beings are either contingent or necessary. Being contingent implies-- having a beginning, being dependent, which could have been otherwise, and being true or false in a given world. Being necessary implies --having no beginning, being non-contingent, cannot be otherwise, and is being true in all possible worlds. Necessity can further be understood as being factual/existential; physical/ nomic, metaphysical/logical, Logical or metaphysical necessity can be explained by laws of thought (Nolan 2011, p. 321), physical or nomic necessity can be explained by laws of physics (Roberts 2021), Factual or existential cannot be explained because we cannot explain factual necessity or brute facts—not because we don't know its explanation but because there isn't an explanation (Ehring 2003). Why anything exists or necessarily exists cannot be explained. Logical necessity purports that its negation involves a contradiction; metaphysical necessity purports that its non-existence is impossible—it cannot be otherwise. Physical necessity purports that what is, is what it is. Water is H20—it is what it is. As such, what is, is explicable but why it is what it is, is inexplicable. That is why while physical necessity is explicable, factual necessity is inexplicable.

What is the relationship between the three types of necessity? Metaphysical necessity sits between logical and physical necessity[39]. Logical necessity entails metaphysical necessity, not vice versa; metaphysical necessity entails physical necessity, but not vice versa.[40] Necessity displays itself in human understanding in many ways. Necessity is the property of existing necessarily—non-contingently. A further distinction can be made between *a priori necessity* and *a posterior necessity*. Until 1980 only *a prior* necessity was defined as being true in all possible world. But Kripke argued that once we discovered that water is H20, then only what is H20 can be called water, and can be called water in all possible worlds (Kripke 1980, pp. 116, 128). All we can say is state what there is in the universe and how the universe exists, but we will never be able to explain why things exist or why anything exists.[41]

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[39]Metaphysical necessity, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Metaphysical_necessity.
[40]Metaphysical necessity, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Metaphysical_necessity.
[41]The Map of Particle Physics | The Standard Model Explained https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mYcLuWHzfmE.

Conclusion

The single characteristic of metaphysics is the non-reductive account of its content, for all metaphysical distinctions and assertions are a non-reductive description of a reductive given. Consciousness and the content of consciousness/ metaphysics are distinct. One is neural or reductive, and the other is non-neural or non-reductive. Because the content of consciousness is non-reductive, we can establish the truth of metaphysical claims only in the context of the questions that necessities such assertions. While reality and the nature of reality are the same, the mind makes this metaphysical distinction in defining the nature of reality. The questions associated with understanding the nature and relationship between matter, mind, and metaphysics allow us to make the following metaphysical assertions related to the concrete or abstract objects: (1) Matter, space, fields, time along with mathematics, have their origin together. Mathematics like space and time do not have a special beginning. Space, time, and mathematics have their beginning with the beginning of matter (not before or after). (2) Mass cannot be increased or decreased; energy cannot be created or destroyed; mass and energy are interchangeable (3) Consciousness is a brain process hence reductive, but the content of consciousness, namely the content of intentionality or subjectivity, is non-reductive. While the physical eye can establish the 'is' of existence or what is reductive, the metaphysical eye establishes the 'is' of the essence, which can be considered either as an essential or emergent property of matter.

Because property dualism purports that there is only one substance with two properties, namely the physical and the mental phenomena, we can argue that matter and mind are inseparable. When consciousness is understood as a reductive given, it can be understood as a neural state, an emergent property, or a quantum phenomenon. When consciousness is understood as a non-reductive given, the content of intentionality, subjectivity/qualia, and creativity can be understood as a phenomenological or existential given. The reductive aspect of consciousness can only establish whether one is alive or dead. It cannot establish who is alive or consciousness's content. The non-reductive explanation of consciousness establishes who is alive and can explicate the content of consciousness or intentionality. However, what will always remain a mystery is (1) how a material brain can generate an immaterial self, (2) how the determinate world can create an indeterminate mind, (3) how insentient atoms can generate sentient intentionality, subjectivity, creativity, (4) how a sense-receptory brain that processes sense– evident data generate a mind that creates or processes self-evident truths—such as mathematics, morals, and metaphysics, (5) why it takes a brain that is made of insentient atoms or neurons to create a mind that defines what an atom or neuron is.

The reductive world of physics becomes the non-reductive world of metaphysics because of how the mind understands the world of matter based on the questions the mind entertains. While what is physical remains the same, what is metaphysical is subject to constant change and revision because questions related to the nature of reality are always in flux. The ontological acceptance of both the physical and mental phenomena as an empirical and a phenomenological given is the basis for why physics and metaphysics are inseparable. When the

essence of consciousness, namely intentionality and subjectivity, are considered as an essential property of matter and not an accidental property of matter, intentionality or metaphysics can be understood as a phenomenological given. Reality and the nature of reality are the same; one is an empirical given, the other being a phenomenological or existential given.

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One Country, Two Systems:
Understand the Paradox of the Last Hong Kong Crisis

By António dos Santos Queirós[*]

This essay analyses the Historical Evolution of Hong Kong, from the colonial period to the return to China sovereignty in 1997, according to the political philosophy of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, and the principle "one country, two systems", which means that Hong Kong is part of China and enjoys a high degree of autonomy, except in foreign and defence policy, as stipulated by the Basic Law of The Hong Kong Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China. The political system implemented in HKSAR corresponds to the matrix of the People's Republic of China, but its economic base and legal system remained untouched in essence; an extreme model of liberal capitalism, deregulated and functioning on the margins of international law, with deep social inequalities, millions of new poor (workers and students in a situation of necessity) and a serious problem of access to housing. This essay analyses the political nature of the conflict around the extraction laws, distinguishing internal causes, and external interferences. At least, this essay analyses the system of political representation of HKSAR, the government program to overcome crisis and the new legislation after crisis.

Keywords: *history, one country, two systems, paradox, HKSAR, fallacies*

Introduction and the Heuristic Development

This essay, focused on the last HKSAR crises and the youth revolt, proposes to research the concepts of political philosophy from modern China, using a critical perspective to the dominant standpoint that reduces this issue to a single kind of thought, departing from an emotionally conditioned approach that considers and judges other societies by Western culture's criteria only.

Our perspective of research wants to be scientific, not apologetic, and not ethnocentric, covering all philosophical streams.

If People's Republic of China represents a new historical experience of democracy and socialism, the Western conceptual framework of political hermeneutics is not convenient to understand the modern Chinese way. In this research paper we will use the two methodological routes pointed by Lakatos, the negative heuristics, which let to reject the propositions already denied and a positive heuristic, which together build a new core of scientific propositions not falsifiable (Lakatos 1970).

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Origin and Historical Evolution of British Colonization

The British East India Company established a factory in the nearby town of Guangzhou.

The England of the XIX century, the leader of the second Industrial Revolution, in the demand for more raw materials at low prices and consumer markets for their industrialized products, occupied India but, in China, she used military force to open the port of Guangzhou.

The economy of this country was not only self-sufficient, but it exported to the West tea, silk, and porcelain, which ensured a high surplus in trade, so that its GDP exceeded eight times that of the English power.

This imperial power, and then with all the other powers of the time, resorted, first, to the illegal export of opium to the Chinese market, which became a national calamity, and then, through two wars led by its Navy, forced the opening to drug trade at the ports of Fuzhou, Xiamen, Ningbo, and Shanghai.

In addition, he occupied Hong Kong and, later, other 50 ports, taking possession of the secrets of tea production, and send them to other colonies, for competing with what China had to offer.

During the Opium War (1839-1842), Hong Kong was occupied by the United Kingdom and in 1898 imposed its delivery to China by 99 years one of the "hateful treaties" that benefited western powers. The Chinese economy fell into ruin and all social classes suffered severely, initiating political movements that knocked down the imperial system and founded the Democratic Republic in 1912

A period of internal civil war followed against military warlords and large owners in North and Northeast China and other remote regions, such as Tibet, which survived the fall of its emperor, the period calling the Revolution Democratic, led by the Kuomintang party, which in its democratic and nationalist phase congregate communists and other democratic tendencies (until 1927).

After 1912 Chinese nationalism was hostile to occupying powers. Between 1925 and 1927 the nationalist government banned English ships from accessing ports in Southern China.

When Japan, one of the foreign powers installed in colonial concessions, occupies the Manchuria region (1931), China was in the midst of civil war, now confronting communists and democratic forces with the new Kuomintang, anti-communist but also anti-liberal, which had joined many of the warlords and made the People's Liberation Army, his Agrarian Reform and New Democracy program for China, the main enemy.

The Political Framework of World War II

The Japanese occupation of the provinces of East China, on the border with the Soviet Union, rich in raw materials indispensable to the strategy of expansion and preparation of the war by Japan, opening the period of the World War II, first in 1931, with the founding of the Puppet Republic of Manchuria and then in 1935, advancing to the South along the railways and the coast, to conquer all of China.

The policy of neutrality of the other occupying powers, was equivalent to that with which they sought a compromise with Nazi Germany, in the expectation of the confrontation with the USSR.

During World War II, the Japanese occupation took 3 years and 8 months. With the unconditional surrender of Japan (1945), the British reoccupied the territory and resumed their strategic function as a major shopping center for Asia.

The Cold War Period and the Myth of the Hong Kong Citizens Autonomous Identity

During the Korean War in 1950/1953, the United States boycotted trade with China, affecting the colony's commercial activity.

The British government then began a strong textile-based industrialization, using cheap labor, recruited, without any respect to worker's rights, from where millions of workers emigrated, especially from neighboring Canton Province (Guangdong).

Hong Kong has become the world's largest commodity port and extremely important, deregulated and low-tax financial center, one of the first tax havens that anticipated current globalization.

British colonial politics, from its Labour or Conservative governments, had developed an extreme model of economic liberalism, along the 1960s and 1970s, and a fabulous new private real estate business emerged, becoming speculative, concentrating soil ownership and creating a chronic problem of access to housing, for working families and middle-class families.[1]

In Hong Kong, the first democratic rights were conquered only in the 1960s and 1970s, by the Chinese population, after massive strikes and violent riots, which forced colonial authorities to pass labor legislation, create some social housing and invest more in public works.[2]

But the people of Hong Kong, composed of about 95% of Chinese from the continent, representing China's diverse nationalities, continued having no political rights recognized or most of the social rights enjoyed by British citizens.

The fallacy of the identity of the people of Hong Kong in conflict with their Chinese nationality is unfounded in the history of the region and does not have a credible scientific basis. It is a creation of propaganda against the reunification of the Chinese People's Republic _CPR.

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[1]Housing: The distribution of the land-based non-institutional population of Hong Kong by type of housing for 2014 was as follows: Type of housing population: Public rental housing 29.3. Subsidized home ownership housing 16.6. Private permanent housing 53.5. Temporary housing 0.6. Quoted from the Information Services Department, Census and Statistics Department. https://www.gov.hk/en/about/abouthk/factsheets/docs/statistics.pdf.

[2]During 1967 rebellion and according to the colonial HK government, 832 people are injured, 51 dead and 1936 arrested. Other source, from the protesters, account 4.939 people was arrested and 1936 convicted. It was a new episode of the continuous opposition of the Chinese people against British colonialism, but the most significant after the 1956 revolt, and many residents sold their properties and migrated overseas (Cheung 2009, p. 123).

After returning to China, the territory received another one million and two hundred thousand compatriots, surpassing 7 million residents, opening out the arrival of other Asian migrants, which today will be about 5%.[3]

Hong Kong peoples are Chinese and in conformity with Chinese culture, they never forget their ancestral and every year turn they eyes to the mother land, enlarging the long march to homeland celebrations of the lunar new year and spring festivals. All the people? No, from the elite create in the last period of English colonialism, emerged a minority of young people accultured, but that occupy key battle stations in the land of ideological combat: education, social media, enterprises… Teachers of this group will have an important role in the HK 2014 and 2019 crises.

The Legislative Council_ Legco, only at the end of the colonial regime incorporated some Chinese peoples and rehearsed the first elections of some of its members.

Only at the end of the colonial regime (in 1997), England, in an act inconsequential and therefore of true political cynicism, extended the electoral college to 1/3 of the citizens and created a double passport and nationality for its elite support, 200,000 residents, seeking to leave behind a fifth column, a real "Trojan horse operation" (The main criterion for the assignment of the passport was the place occupied in the social hierarchy).

The Extradition Laws, Fallacy, and Reality

Can we talk about an opposition, or are there different forces in presence? Is there really an organized movement, as the Western press says, pro-democracy? Does this movement or movements present an economic and political program? A common or diverse program?

In February 2019, the government proposed change the two extradition laws _ the Fugitive Offenders and the Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters ordinances _in the context of the case of odious murder of a young woman, five months pregnant, murdered and robbed by her boyfriend in Taiwan, as reported by the CNN journalist. The political process that followed will be a missed opportunity to take a step further in favor of combating organized and violent, international crime.

In the context of demonstrations against the extradition laws, West media and the West political propaganda transformed the declarations of some student activists in a program of a global and united movement pro-democracy (the liberal democracy), and transformed those peoples in leaders of the people of HK, and glued circumstantial slogans in a formal political program_ the direct elections for the govern of Hong Kong, …however, was silenced the claims of the new poor peoples: the low salaries of workers, short students' subventions, the difficult access

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[3]Non-Chinese comprise just 4% of Hong Kong's population in 2001. See the survey commissioned by the Home Affairs Bureau and the Census and Statistics Department on Hong Kong's ethnic minorities, that was conducted by a private consultant. https://www.censtatd.gov.hk/press_release/ pressReleaseDetail.jsp?charsetID=1&pressRID=-2429.

to families houses, small business and enterprises survival…that came from the colonial regime of HK.[4]

Politicians, governments, and the media in the West, justify the refusal of legislative reform against international crime, ignoring that the killer, in the light of current legislation, only could be arrested and sentenced to jail a few months: not for murder, only by use in HK the credit cards subtracted from the victim! Because he is a citizen of HK and committed the crime in Taiwan. As CNN correspondent testifies, Chinese authorities were forced to release him in October 2019.

The business community was the first opposition against the extradition laws, obtaining the removal of Lam's proposed amendments in the case of extradition for economic crimes, so-called white-collar crimes.

After street demonstrations and violence, the suspension of the bill indefinitely can be understood as a Lam government's tactical and political decision, to weaken the demagogy of extremists and western media, which justifies impunity for the most heinous crimes with the accusation that China's judicial system is neither independent nor fair. Taiwan's also is not, nor in the opinion of these Western politicians and academics, because extradition in the case was between HKSAR and Taiwan!

As it would not be fair in the justice systems of most countries in the world, if we accept the preceding arguments, because the international cooperation and extradition agreements that Hong Kong has subscribed do not exceed two dozen!

Despite the constraints of the HK Basic Law, its government, with the support of the PRC and its national political institutions, has sought to integrate this Special Autonomous Region in the field of international law.

In the context of judicial cooperation and the issue of the extradition of suspected of crimes, there is an agreement with Portugal and some other countries, but not on regional and global level. The projects of extradition laws copy the model that already was signed with Portugal and the other countries.

We quote the agreement made with Portugal, to understand if the accusations against the PRC truth or they was demagogic and fallacy:

> "The Government of the Portuguese Republic and the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR), having been duly authorized by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China to conclude this Agreement, wishing to define how the reciprocal delivery of infringers on the run, agreed on:
> .../...
> Article 6
> Mandatory reasons for refusal
> 1–An infringer on the run shall not be delivered if the requested Party has reason to believe that:

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[4]Hong Kong was one of the most densely populated places in the world. The land population density as at mid-2014 stood at 6,690 persons per square kilometer, and Kwun Tong, with 57,250 persons per square kilometer, was the most densely populated district among the District Council districts.

(a) The infringement by virtue of which the person is accused or found guilty is a political infraction

(b) the application for delivery (although allegedly submitted because of a criminal offence by virtue of which the surrender may be granted) is, in fact, presented in order to persecute or punish a person on the grounds of their race, religion, nationality or political convictions; or

c) That the person may, if surrendered, be harmed in the trial, or punished, detained or suffered a private restriction of his or her freedom for reasons which are committed to race, religion, nationality or political convictions."[5]

Article 2 clearly defines the crimes against physical integrity and property

We must stress that this agreement was signed by HK on behalf of the People's Republic of China and its government, which authorized it. Conclusions: The accusations are fake news; many peoples are mobilized with a real lie! But this fact does not can justify why hundred thousand of young people's take the streets.

The reason is that they had other justifications. We must distinguish the majority of young people from the radical political groups, that cannot be characterized by age, but by a strategy of confrontation, disorder, and looting, by the aim to bring HK to great economic loses and near the chaos, with the objective to provoke a violent response of authorities![6] And, consequently, a new cycle of violence, economic loses, international condemnation and sanctions, that could be transformed in more discontentment, loss of deputies by the forces that support government of HKSAR, and, in the end, block Hong Kong's Legislative Council_ Legqo.[7]

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[5]Agreement between the government of the Portuguese Republic and the government of the special administrative region of Hong Kong, of the People's Republic of China, on the delivery of infringers on the run. http://gddc.ministeriopublico.pt/sites/default/files/documentos/instrumentos/ acordo_portugal_hong_kong_china_entrega_infractores_fuga.pdf.

[6]What accompanied the violence was extensive destruction across the city. Rioters targeted different social institutions, including the city's Legislative Council Complex, government bodies, police stations and courts. On July 1, rioters stormed the Leg-Co Complex and caused mass destruction, forcing it to shut down two weeks before summer recess. Besides a repair cost of HK$40 million ($5.1 million), it also led to the delays in numerous livelihood-related bills and funding requests. Over the past months, the emblem of the SAR and the national emblem have been defaced, with national flags trampled, burned, and thrown into the sea. There has also been a far-reaching effect on people's lives. Traffic has ground to a halt, with the special administrative region's airport forced to shut down operations and the subway system paralyzed. By the end of November, at least 147 of the 161 subway stations had been damaged. The havoc also extended to campuses. In November, radical protesters had turned the Chinese University of Hong Kong and the Hong Kong Polytechnic University into their strongholds and had pitched battles with the police near campus entrances. There was also extensive damage to the city's public facilities. Nearly 21,000 square meters of paving blocks from footpaths have been ripped up and used as weapons to attack police. The HKSAR's government predicted that Hong Kong's economy would contract by 1.3 percent in 2019, marking the first year of recession since the global financial crisis 10 years ago. Latest data showed Hong Kong's unemployment rate had risen to 3.2 percent by the end of November, the highest level since 2017.

[7]We will see in this test, later, how the government of HKSAR and the government of PRC solve the dilemma, and the connection of that strategy of confrontation, assumed by the radical groups is linked with the new legislation after 2019.

There is a double lie, that includes the manipulation of the history of the crime. However, it was not the case of the journalist James Griffiths.   The following text is quoted from Hong Kong CNN correspondent, James Griffiths.

> "Murder suspect whose alleged crime sparked Hong Kong protests walks free!"
> Updated 1356 GMT (2156 HKT) October 23, 2019
> …/…
> "But as the global consequences of almost four months of unprecedented unrest continue to be felt, the story that started it all has slipped from the headlines. On Wednesday, one of the central players in that story walked free from a Hong Kong prison on minor charges, after authorities say he confessed to killing his girlfriend but, so far, avoided prosecution for it.
> Chan Tong-kai was sentenced to prison by a judge in April 2019. Just over one year earlier, authorities say the then 19-year-old admitted to killing his girlfriend, 20-year-old Poon Hiu-wing, while the pair were in Taiwan. Poon would have been about 15 weeks pregnant at the time.
> Though Chan was arrested in March 2018 and soon confessed to the killing, according to police, that wasn't why he was before a judge in April. Because Hong Kong and Taiwan have no extradition agreement, and do not usually provide cross-border legal assistance -- and because they could not prove the alleged murder was planned in Hong Kong beforehand -- prosecutors in the city were unable to charge Chan with murder. Instead, he was charged with the more minor offense of money laundering, in relation to cash and other valuables he stole from Poon after allegedly killing her.
> …/…
> In February 2019, the government proposed to amend the city's two extradition laws _ the Fugitive Offenders and the Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters ordinances _ in a bid to enable Hong Kong to surrender fugitive offenders on a case-by-case basis to other jurisdictions that have no formal long-term agreements with the SAR."

Internal Causes and Foreign Interference

The Diffusion of Liberal Ideology in the Educational System and the Omission of History of New China

The British system of education in the colonial period, formed an elite of teachers with the values of liberal capitalism and from a sectary vision about the people's Republic of China. The colonial education regulations stipulated that teachers and students were not allowed to use words such as "motherland" and "nationality". History curriculum was focused on the ancient period of China's history and avoided the struggle against feudalism, war, and occupation by imperial countries, and the historical conditions that conduct to the New Democracy: The People's Republic of China confiscated the ownership of the monopolists_ the bureaucratic capital of the "four families", ended the privileges of foreign capital that took over three-quarters of China's industry and transport, reversed the requisitions, occupations and expropriations that the Japanese invasion imposed on businessmen and landowners and abolished feudal exploitation in the countryside. The Agrarian Reform takes the land to 350,000 peasants.

When HK return to the motherland 1997, they are the majority of the teachers in an open system, private and public, with liberal guidelines. As citizens, they are accultured persons, from the mainland and its history and culture. They controlled the Syndicate with 90,000 members, the Hong Kong Professional Teachers' Union,

"Liberal studies" is a compulsory subject in the Diploma of Secondary Education (DSE) curriculum, composed by six modules - personal development and interpersonal relationships, Hong Kong today, modern China, globalization, public health, and energy technology and the environment. Its textbooks are published by different publishers locally, and schools can choose whichever textbooks they prefer.

Unlike those for the other three compulsory subjects - Chinese, English and Mathematics - textbooks of "liberal studies" do not need approval from the Education Bureau of KHSAR.

Those teachers profited from this free choice, to choose the textbooks that correspond with their own political preferences. Two episodes can support this fact.

In 2012, the campaign against the proposed introduction of the Moral and National Education curriculum in our schools. The curriculum had been proposed by former chief executive Donald Tsang Yam-kuen in his 2010 Policy Address. Yet the publication of the booklet Teaching Manual of the China Model for Understanding China immediately caused a tumult of protests: Critics said it was political propaganda intended to brainwash students and did not offer a balanced view of China. The government proposed to include parents and teachers in the committee set up to analyse the text but withdrawn Moral and National Education curriculum from schools.

In 2019, in the West media, everyone could see, during the demonstrations, groups of very young peoples with the USA flag, appealing to the Trump government as a symbol of the defense of Human Rights!

USA Aggressive Strategy

If the protest demonstration in 2014 were a decisive battle between the government and opposition forces in Hong Kong, the riots in 2019 have an international strategic dimension, confronting the Chinese Socialism strategy for a New Age and anti-China forces, associated with the U.S. Strategy of The United States And the U.S. National Defense Strategy, on which the battlefield is Hong Kong.

The National Security Strategy, ESN [National Security Strategy (NSS)] of the Trump government states that "China and Russia defy the power, influence, and interests of the U.S., trying to erode U.S. security and prosperity."

The Trump government's National Defense Strategy, EDN [National Defense Strategy (EDN)] states that China "seeks regional hegemony in the Indo-Pacific in the short term".

It is no longer about the propaganda defense of the values of the West or the free world, slogans of the cold war, but of American hegemonic interests, in the

direct language of the Pentagon, which in the two Chambers of U.S. power are covered with the diaphanous mantle of democracy and human rights.[8]

China accused the last U.S. government to search for to degrade the image of the People's Republic of China in the world and thus block the development of Chinese proposals for a New Era of International Relations based on a fairer trading system, peaceful cooperation and the right of each nation to choose its own path to progress, democracy and socialism, as are the BRICS projects, the political reconfiguration of ASEAN, the New Silk Road for Peace and more recently of South-South Cooperation, expanded in Africa and into the American Continent, that Monroe doctrine consider private domain of US.

And difficult or even block China's peaceful unification, once again fostering Taiwan's tendencies of secession, to which UN resolutions put the end.

The theorists of World War III, seated in Trump's administration, place the South China Sea as one of the epicenters of this threatening conflict.

The danger of evolving from the current economic and political disputes to a military probe was also signaled at the recent conference of old Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in Beijing.[9]

The last act of U.S. interference in the sovereignty of the PRC, after several student leaders (who commonly have their passage through Western universities) were received as if they were representatives of the people of Hong Kong, was the approval of a Hong Kong Law adopted by the House of Representatives by 417 votes against one, the day after the Senate unanimously vote, without any distinction between peaceful movements and violent and xenophobic actions against individuals and property. Those laws threaten to withdraw HK's special status in trade with the U.S. and exercise reprisals over its authorities. This almost unanimity demonstrates that the policies of the two parties that monopolize the government of the great American nation are not true opposite, when the denominate American interests or opposition to socialism are in the political equation.

An inauspicious Human Rights Watch_ create, with other name, to win the Cold War, balancing the USA politic, wrote in the WORLD REPORT 2021:

> "In recent decades, the arrival of each new White House resident has brought wild oscillations in US human rights policy. George W. Bush's "global war on terror," with its systematic torture and Guantanamo detentions without charge, was an earlier nadir. Barack Obama rejected important parts of it, although he maintained and even expanded such elements as unlawful drone attacks, intrusive surveillance, and arms sales to unsavory autocrats…"(Roth 2021, p. 1).

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[8]"…The Trump administration did impose targeted sanctions and other punishments on the Chinese government and corporate entities for their involvement in human rights violations, but its own weak record on human rights, its evident mixed motives in criticizing Beijing, and Trump's scapegoating of China for his own pandemic failings left these interventions anything but principled, making working with allies difficult" (Roth 2021, p. 1).
[9]Kissinger said during the opening session of the Bloomberg New Economy Forum, adding that military technologies available today would make such a crisis "even more difficult to control" than those of earlier eras. The veteran diplomat said that the two sides should "agree that whatever other conflict they have, they will not resort to military conflict."

In contrast to the fundamental line of the Chinese strategy, which, by the voice of Xi Jinping, states: "Only with the progress of developing countries and the least developed countries in the world, can China grow. Only with the prosperity of developing countries, can China be more prosperous" (19th CPC Congress).

Although HKSAR's internal conflict is mainly due to the paradox of a socialist country having committed itself to maintaining a part of its territory for 50 years under an extreme and antisocial capitalist economic regime, Taiwan's influence is equally evident.

Taiwan Interference

Media reports that dozens of Hong Kong violent protesters fly to Taiwan and are protected by Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan, who have not denied that it wants to discredit the principle of "one country, two systems". Ma Xiaoguang, spokesman for the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council of PRC, warned the Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan to stop harboring violent Hong Kong activists fleeing arrest.

"They also openly claimed to shelter criminals and make Taiwan a 'safe haven' for lawbreakers", denouncing the double intention of that island's leader, Tsai Ing-wen, and other authorities that have recently said that "humanitarian assistance" should be given to some Hong Kong residents. The case is that Cho Jung-tai, the DPP chairman, slander the principle of "one country, two systems", "He was trying to stir up trouble in Hong Kong. He also wanted to smear the mainland and the principle of 'one country, two systems' so as to gain votes for the coming election. Such attempts are doomed to fail," Ma added.

The Political and Economic Regime, One Country, Two Systems

The territory, composited by 1,104 km² of area (1,054 km² of land and 50 km² of water) consists principally of Hong Kong Island, Lantau, Kowloon Peninsula, and the New Territories, as well as about 260 other islands.

The postcolonial Chinese government legally protected 60% of this land, with the status of parks of nature and ecological reserves. 25% were already urbanized. The rest stay in possession of a small number of private homeowners and real estate speculators, who enriched it with a new China deal.

"Hong Kong returned to China in 1997, under the principle of 'one country, two systems', which means Hong Kong is part of China and enjoys a high degree of autonomy, except in foreign and defense affairs, as stipulated by Hong Kong's Basic Law."

The implemented political system corresponds to the matrix of the People's Republic, but its economic base and legal system remained untouched in essence, a model of extreme liberal capitalism.

The People's Republic of China claims to be a new-type democracy born from China's modern history, by the struggle, sacrifice, and hard work of its people, with 56 nationalities: neither a new capitalist state, nor a semi-democratic hybrid system, as Western journalists, politicians, and academics!

PRC rejects that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights impose one single model of democracy, the liberal democracy, and quote the Article, 21º, UDHR who postulate that each nation can choose its own path to progress and configure its democratic state.[10]

The Chinese Constitution define "…socialist democracy: the system of people's congresses, the system of multiparty cooperation and political consultation, the system of regional ethnic autonomy, and the system of self-governance at the primary level of society…"

How Hong Kong's Legislative Council Evolved

Let's characterize the pathway from a Legislative Council under the dominance of a colonial governor to a real Legislative Council.

The colonial times. From its establishment in 1843… to the first partial elections, on October 30, 1985, 24 members of Legco were returned by indirect elections. Twelve were returned by 12 electoral college constituencies – comprising members of District Boards, Urban Council, and the Provisional Regional Council. The other 12 were returned by functional constituencies made up of various professions.

Chinese language was used for the first time in Legco, with simultaneous interpretation, on October 18, 1972.

1991 marked the first time in the city's history Legco members were returned by direct elections. Eighteen members were elected by the public in nine geographical constituencies. The first female legislator is directly elected.

Legco in the last of colonial era. In 1995, among the 60 members, 30 were from functional constituencies, 20 were returned by direct elections in geographical constituencies, and 10 were elected by the election committee constituency.

The last governor declared 2.7 million voters (from a population of a 6,6 million of Chinese peoples), that never could exercise their vote to cast a ballot in 150 years of colonial dependency. This was a generous offer in the end of the mandate to a minority of HK Chinese people that had done nothing concerning effective political rights for the people.

People's Republic of China set up a Provisional Legislative Council. Sixty members were elected by a 400-member selection committee on December 21, 1996. Hong Kong's first chief executive, Tung Chee-hwa, was elected on the same day.

The first meeting of the Provisional Legislative Council convened on January 25, 1997, to elect its first president, Rita Fan Hsu Lai-tai. She was also the first woman to hold the office.

The Provisional Legislative Council operated from July 1, 1997 to July 2, 1998. Elections for the first post-colonial Legco were held on May 24, 1998.

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[10]The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the UN on 10 December 1948 (A/ RES/217). Drafted mainly by J. P. Humphrey of Canada, it had in Dr. P.C. Chang, representative of the single-front government of China (later government of the People's Republic of China) and representative of the positions of the Asian countries, the main mediator of the consensus established in its principles and 30 articles.

The size of the number of geographical constituency legislators increased in subsequent Legco sessions: from 20 in 1998, to 24 in 2000, to 30 in 2004.

An electoral reform package was passed on June 25, 2010, increasing the size of the legislature to 70 members by adding five geographical constituencies and five functional constituencies.

The five functional constituency are elected by district councilors and eligible to run by being elected by district council members. The winners were then to be elected by Hong Kong's entire voter base. The Universal suffrage arrived at the Chinese people of HK.

The seats are called "super seats" as candidates stand for election before many voters and hence command a more significant mandate than other Legco member.

Enlarging Democracy, a Mixed System of Direct Participation and Representation

Uninterrupted expansion of electoral democracy, based on universal suffrage and representative democracy, based on the direct election of representatives from all HK social sectors and multi-party consultation and cooperation.

Already in 2007, 28 constituencies were established with the power to elect the Legislative Assembly, (one more, which represents the Districts Councils Second) composed of approximately 226,000 representative voters (a kind of great elector), for a total of about 7 million inhabitants. That number includes near 210,000 individual representatives and near 16.000 board representatives.

Hong Kong's leader, the chief executive, is currently elected by a 1,200-member election committee (2010, Amend), state:

1. The Election Committee to elect the fourth term Chief Executive in 2012 shall be composed of 1200 members from the following sectors:
Industrial, commercial, and financial sectors 300
The professions 300
Labour, social services, religious and other sectors 300
Members of the Legislative Council, representatives of members of the District Councils, representatives of the Heung Yee Kuk ("Rural Assembly" is a statutory advisory body representing the indigenous or rural inhabitants of Hong's New Territories), Hong Kong deputies to the National People's Congress, and representatives of Hong Kong members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference 300
The term of office of the Election Committee shall be five years.
2. Candidates for the office of Chief Executive may be nominated jointly by not less than 150 members of the Election Committee. Each member may nominate only one candidate.

With the Electoral Reform implemented at the SARHK in 2010, the Legislative Council was composed of 70 members, 35 elected by direct suffrage and 35 elected by indirect suffrage.

On another hand, all citizens (individuals) voters of Hong Kong also have the right to vote in direct elections for the "District Assemblies", electing 452 members.

With the support of only 10 voters, any HK citizen can run for district deputy.

In 2016, in compliance with the precept of progressively increasing the democratic representation prescribed in the HK Fundamental Law, the Legislative Assembly with 70 members, 35 elected by direct suffrage and 35 elected by indirect suffrage, represent all the social sectors of Hong Kong,

This reality contradicts the false thesis widely disseminated in the media to the West, that after the 2014 incidents, the HK government restricted democracy in electoral processes and its parliamentary representation.

These 35 elected by all community sectors, from the University to Business and Trade Federations, are a new model of participatory/ representative democracy, which allows these different social sectors to choose, to control and to evaluate its deputies during the mandate, or even replace them in the case of serious infringement of their political duties. This means that parties do not have the exclusivity of representation, as they complain in the West the new democratic movements! (What a paradox!)

A model certainly more democratic than that we currently have in Portugal (and in European Union), in which members are chosen by the head of their party and negotiated only with their barons. We, Portuguese citizens militants or without party, do not vote for members committed to defending our direct interests and have no control over their activity. And we, European citizens, when vote for our on-deputy circle, have no right to choose the man or the woman, and let in the party the decisive authority for balance their mandate.

But if we are American citizens and don't constitute a part of the 100 million of US citizens excluded from all elections, we can legally buy our place in a political carrier, given the correspondent donative to the respective party ballot or reserve a place, with a millionaire gift, in the top of the administration, up to the presidential staff.

The Basic Law of HK states that the ultimate aims are the selection of the Chief Executive by universal suffrage upon nomination by a broadly representative nominating committee in accordance with democratic procedures, and the election of all the members of the Legislative Council by universal suffrage_ the "dual universal suffrage".

The Political-electoral Map of Hong Kong

Since the 2016 elections in HK, the constitutional field (identified with the Constitution of the PRC and the Basic Law of HKSAR) is usually represented by about 40 elected members, half of which have been elected by direct suffrage. They are parties very different from the mainland democratic parties and, obviously, from the Communist Party, as the DAB. The Centre-Left or the Business and Professionals Alliance for Hong Kong _ BPA, the Centre-right.

In 2007, 28 constituencies were entailed with approximately 212,000 representative voters for a total of about 7 million inhabitants. Moreover, among these voters, 210,000 are individual representatives from 17 social sectors (Rural Assembly, Education, Financial Services...), elected directly by their peers to represent them as great voters, but the remaining 16,000 voters are collective entities + individual representatives, elected by other sectors (e.g., Textiles and Garment are represented

by 3,579 large corporate voters and 130 by individual ones), which makes the process more complex but also more Representative. The list does not include District Council (Second) Functional Constituency, which consisted of all other individual registered electors do not belong to one of the other 28 functional constituencies.

But this scheme is only a simplified way for approaching the diverse and complex reality of parties and political groups of HK. In the post-colonial era we can identify many political acronyms having in common the word democracy, representing parties and alliances, with representation in the Legislative Council and District Councils, where a great number of independents win the sets.

Evolution of Hong Kong's electoral map reveals the growing loss of electoral weight of political forces that have historically been the support and opposition of the government, well proved by the electoral evolution of the two largest parties, the DAB and the Democratic Party (oppositionist) in the main elections, for the Legislative Council: The DAB went from 25% of the vote in 1998 to 16% in 2016 and the Democratic Party (opposition) from 42% to 9% in the same period.

And, consequently, the proliferation of ever-changing political parties and forces.

In the November 24 poll to the District Councils, western press connects with the opposition around 50 political acronyms, including parties and other associations, traditional parties, and new political association - and dozens more were presented as supporting the government.

The same west press associates with the opposition 1 million votes in independent candidates, without demonstration of these connections. Consulting the registration of the pool, could find in large majority, independent young people, without program or ideology.

National Peoples' Conference_ NPC and HKSAR Political Representation

Hong Kong is represented in the national institutions of the People's Republic of China, the People's Congress, and the Chinese People's Consultative Policy Conference, with a weight of electoral representation proportionally much higher than its number of citizens.

The PRC has a population of 1.360 million, to HK's 7.8 million Chinese.

2,980 Members of National Peoples 'Conference_ NPC; 175 Members of NPCSC (The Standing Committee).

Hong Kong's contingent to the country's legislature, the National People's Congress: Some 49 candidates ran in the small-circle election to be among the chosen 36 delegates who represent the city in the legislature.

Electoral method:

Article 21 of the Hong Kong Basic Law stipulates:

Chinese citizens who are residents of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall be entitled to participate in the management of state affairs according to law. In accordance with the assigned number of seats and the selection method specified by the National People's Congress, the Chinese citizens among the residents of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall locally elect

deputies of the Region to the National People's Congress to participate in the work of the highest organ of state power.

A 1,989 strong electoral college composed of the following:

Members of the previous electoral college that had elected the Hong Kong deputies to the National People's Congress.
Hong Kong delegates of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee (CPPCC);
Members of the Election Committee (which elects the Chief Executive) who are Chinese nationals, except those who opt out; and
The Chief Executive of the SARHK.
Result by party
DAB (5) _ Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong (DAB)
FTU (2) NCF (1) Roundtable (1)

The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and HKSAR Political Representation

"The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, a broadly based representative organization of the united front which has played a significant historical role, will play a still more important role in the country's political and social life, in promoting friendship with other countries and in the struggle for socialist modernization and for the reunification and unity of the country. The system of the multi-party cooperation and political consultation led by the Communist Party of China will exist and develop for a long time to come." Preamble of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China

Some 200 delegates from Hong Kong are on the 2,158-strong member list for the 13th National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference /2016), the country's top political advisory body...

Invited Hong Kong Dignitaries (124)
Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong (25)
Business and Professionals Alliance for Hong Kong (4)
Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions (2)
Liberal Party (Hong Kong) (4)
New Century Forum (1)
New Territories Association of Societies (2)

HK Electoral Changes to Ensure "One Country, Two Systems" and Safeguard "Patriots Governing HK"

Remember Trojan Horse operation!

The National People's Congress, China's top legislature, adopted a decision on Feb 3 2021 on improving the electoral system of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. The decision has the following nine articles (condensed):

1. Improving the electoral system of the HKSAR must fully and faithfully implement the policy of "one country, two systems"…and safeguard the right to vote and the right to stand for election of permanent residents of the HKSAR.
2. The HKSAR shall establish an Election Committee which is broadly representative, suited to the HKSAR's realities and representative of the overall interests of its society. The Election Committee shall be responsible for electing the chief executive designate and part of the members of the Legislative Council. The Election Committee shall also be responsible for nominating candidates for the chief executive and Leg-Co members as well as for other matters. The Election Committee shall be composed of 1,500 members from the following five sectors: industrial, commercial, and financial sectors; the professions; grassroots, labor, religious and other sectors; Leg-Co members and representatives of district organizations; and Hong Kong deputies to the NPC, Hong Kong members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and representatives of Hong Kong members of related national organizations.
3. The chief executive shall be elected by the Election Committee and appointed by the Central People's Government. Candidates for the office of the chief executive shall be nominated jointly by not less than 188 members of the Election Committee…
4. The LegCo of the HKSAR shall be composed of 90 members in each term. Members of the LegCo shall include members returned by the Election Committee, those returned by functional constituencies and those by geographical constituencies through direct elections.
5. A candidate qualification review committee of the HKSAR shall be established. The committee shall be responsible for reviewing and confirming the qualifications of candidates for the Election Committee members, the chief executive and the LegCo members...
6. The NPC Standing Committee is authorized to, in accordance with the decision on improving the electoral system of the HKSAR…
7. In accordance with the decision and the Basic Law's Annex I and Annex II amended by the NPC Standing Committee, the HKSAR shall amend relevant local laws and organize and regulate election activities accordingly.
8. The chief executive of the HKSAR shall submit in a timely manner reports to the Central People's Government on relevant important situations

> including the institutional arrangements for elections of the HKSAR and the organization of the elections.
9. …

Youth and Revolts: HKSAR Government Program to Overcome Crisis

> "Hong Kong residents, including those who have made mistakes, are not our enemies"

Carrie Lam's government, despite the progress made in several areas, Hong Kong's ecological environment in creative technology has been continuously improved under the great support of the SAR government and such as the unemployment rate, which is reduced to 2.9%, sub estimate the problems and complaints of the people, especially young people.

It did not advance sufficiently in the democratization of Hong Kong's economy. It displayed the general numbers and did not take due account of the antisocial nature of HK capitalism.

But his stance of self-criticism and the containment of violence deserves applause, as does the democratic reform program, she announced:

> "Hong Kong residents, including those who have made mistakes, are not our enemies." This is the official position of the HK government and also the government of the PRC.

The Hong Kong government has announced a program of democratic reforms, unprecedented in the last 20 years: The Hong Kong government has announced extra budget measures valued at HK\$19.1 billion (\$2.4 billion), including relief for small businesses, more student subsidies and benefits for low-income households. Land supply for public housing, "About 700 acres of private land will be resumed, of which some 400 hectares is expected to be resumed in the next five years _ significantly more than the 20 hectares resumed in the past five years," she said.

raise the minimum wage

Lam proposed raising all payment rates of the working family allowance. "There will be a 16.7 percent to 25 percent increase in the working-hour-linked household allowance under the program, while the child allowance will be raised substantially by 40 percent," she said.

And create more well-paying jobs to improve social mobility for young people.

Integrate itself into the national innovation system and explore the innovation-driven development models cooperated with other cities in the Greater Bay Area.

Other government adviser suggest increasing taxes on millionaires and property transactions and that the government can also consider raising taxes on those making HK\$2 million a year or more and increasing taxes on property transactions valued at HK\$10 million or more.

These measures removed from the streets the large masses of discontent and left the extremists isolated. They chose to endure intense violent activity, with fires and destruction of establishments, public services, communication axes and even the University, attacking the police with lethal weapons, bleeding and burning other Chinese citizens, harassing, and intimidating students from other countries, emerging in trained groups, and equipped for urban guerrilla. Continuing to drag same groups of young and young people to violent clashes.[11]

The Elections of November 24 and the Meaning of its Results

The president of the government of the Hong Kong Special Autonomous Region said in her first public statement that she accepts the results of the elections to the District Assemblies, which were clearly unfavorable to her, and she hope that the people of Hong Kong can continue to express their views in a peaceful manner.

"The HKSAR government will listen to the opinions of members of the public humbly, and seriously reflect (on its performance)," conclude Lam. The first note is that if the government loses elections so largely, it is because, after all, in Hong Kong there are free and democratic elections, contrary to what has been intensely stated in the West.

The BBC and the Western press soon talk of a wide victory for the "pro-democracy" movement, as if these candidates represented an organized and united political front with a program and a common structure.

Candidates for the seats of District Council elections, were able to participate in the polls based on a one-name list signed by only 10 HK citizens, a legal provision granting a democratic, participatory, and plural dimension to these elections and to these elected officials, which has nothing to be compared with the schematic and biased view of a homogeneous political movement.

Analyzing the last pool emphasizing that pro-democracy movement win the streets and after poll 17 of 18 districts or saying that political forces that support government only have a reduced percent of the 452 seats, is an intentional deflection to induce in error the public opinion.

The defeated candidates were not only those representing the oldest and diverse democratic parties and social forces supporters of HKSAR government, but also other independent citizens and old opposite parties, who together show us that the consignment of philosophy China's classic politics, taken up by Mao, remains alive in the People's Republic of China and is favored by its electoral laws: "Let a hundred flowers bloom; let a hundred schools of thought contend".

Now we can measure the dimension of the defeat of government without associate them to the victory of an inexistent electoral platform or united front of opposition. From an electoral framework compared between the two elections

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[11]Police records show that among the hundreds of people arrested for taking part in violent protests have been under the age of 16. Among the over 6,000 arrested in the anti-government protests, many are university students. Police records show that some 40 percent of those detained are students, with more than 900 suspects underaged. Charges include rioting, possession of offensive weapons, assaulting police officers and taking part in unlawful assemblies.

2015/2019, with an electoral turnout of 47% of voters against the current 71% (2.9 million out of a total of 4.1 million), DAB went from 118 to 21, BPA fall from 19 to 3 and the FTU from 30 to 7. This framework shows an overall drop from 169 to 31 among these parties and political forces that support Lam govern and regularly present themselves to these elections, but at the same time, that already in the last elections 2015, most elected candidates have not party affiliation or there are representants of traditional so-called democratic parties.

The Winner's: Pluralism, Diversity, and Independents

In common, these candidates and especially these voters criticize the HK government policy, based on the same claims that brought to the streets the first democratic movements of their Chinese citizens in the 1960s and 1970s in the midst of colonial era: poverty wages of workers and their families, the terrible housing shortages in a mega city subject to private housing concentration and speculation, insufficient support for students and promising jobs, small business owners' difficulties in a business sea where they hunt without control the great sharks.

We can better understand the evolution from the past colonial period to the Hong Kong administration of "one country, two systems", from a standing testify of a senior research fellow at Pan Sutong Shanghai-Hong Kong Economic Policy Research Institute at Lingnan University, Professor Lok-sang (2019a):

> "Hong Kong people have struggled through difficult times. During the 1950s and early 1960s, most Hong Kong people were struggling to make ends meet. Many of us were living in subdivided flats in very crowded conditions. Many lived in unsafe squatter camps that were not only unhygienic but also dangerous. Corruption was rampant, as were robberies. There was no democracy to speak of. English was the only official language even though very few Hong Kong people at the time could speak or understand English…
>
> Hong Kong people did not enjoy free compulsory primary education until 1971. It was in 1978 that Hong Kong started to have nine years of free compulsory education and also the Home Ownership Scheme. It was not until 1991 that Hong Kong had a third university. The old-age allowance, when it was first introduced in 1973, was available only for those aged 75 or above.
>
> While the percentage of low-income earners, defined as making HK$10,000 ($1,280) or less a month at 2018 prices, among young people aged 21-25, had risen for the cohorts born after 1980, a recent study by me and a scholar at the Education University found that for those born in 1991-95, an unprecedentedly low 12 percent was poor. Even for those born in 1986-90, the percentage of low-income earners dropped from 36.3 percent to 5.3 percent by the time they reached 26-30!"…The fact is, under "one country, two systems", life is actually getting better in Hong Kong. Not only are we economically better off than our forefathers, but we are having more democracy, less corruption, fewer crimes, a higher rule-of-law rating, and even the top life expectancy ranking in the world." Ho Lok-sang, concludes.

The defeat parties and other political forces are not the emanation of the government politics or from China mainland, they are genuine creation of the

diversity of political choices of the HK Chinese Peoples' in different historical contexts, agree and disagree frequently with the political orientation and measures of Lam government (a story about that disagree of DBA leader opposition face to Lam decision of retreat extradition laws, run in HK public opinion), defending in common the Basic Law of HKSAR..

Once again, West press says nothing about their origin, political program, and social composition.

DAB: The Centre-left for a Virtuous Democracy

Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong _ DAB was founded in the end of colonial period, 1992, only with 56 members defining themselves as "a cross-sectoral party" and in 1997, when HK return to the motherland, establish a political program that wanted to correspond to the main aspirations and needs of the common people and all the social classes, believing that "…the common interest of all sectors of the society is to implement One Country, Two Systems, Hong Kong people Administering Hong Kong and a high degree of autonomy, to maintain Hong Kong's stability and prosperity while continuously improving our resident's quality of life."

It was a program with concrete measures, that reacts against to the dark side of the colonial heritage, but defends a moderate way to reform the capitalism of HK:

Business and Professionals Alliance for Hong Kong _ BPA, the Centre-right

BPA will be classified in the West as a Centre-right party, representing since 2012 the business world. Defends the primacy of private economy, the responsibility of the government to create a competitive environment for business and to promote welfare and well-being of middle-class and assistance for the disadvantaged.

Federation of Trade Unions

The Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions (HKFTU) was founded in 1948. HKFTU represents a total of 251 affiliated and associated unions, covering a wide spectrum of sectors, including all means of transport (land, sea and air), government organizations, public utilities, clericals and professionals, tourism, catering and retailing industries, service industry, manufacturing, shipbuilding and machinery manufacturing, and construction, etc. With a membership of over 410,000 (as of December 2016), HKFTU is the largest labor organization in Hong Kong.

Epilogue

The Western press and its political scientist (or propagandist?) omit and try to forget that the political principle of "one country, two systems", forces the government of SARHK and the People's Republic of China to maintain for 50 years which it was one of the most antisocial capitalist regimes of our time_ a colonial regime, tax haven for the landless capital, realm of real estate speculators, refuge from international white-collar crimes or even the most hateful blood crimes committed by the worst of its citizens, which the Chinese authorities have gradually and peacefully reforming, following the principle of "one country, two systems" and in the fulfilment of the strategic political contract signed by Hong Kong's Basic Law.

The program that Carrie Lam recently presented it is a program of democratic reforms that respond to peoples' claims, which, of course, arrive late, but paradoxically will be reinforced with these results.

On other hand, the Greater Bay Area Plan reinforce the key to innovation. Is based on agglomeration economies from the city cluster and on the access to great ports of Guangdong, Macau, and Hong Kong, involving policy makers of 11 cities in the area. Its design shows that it does not go against market forces but instead works with them, creating diversity, new jobs and sustainability. The difficulties caused by the three different market, with different legal systems will be remove or at least alleviate, with a synergic and solidary process of integration, based in high technologies, ecological transition and open up to the world.

Hong Kong Security Law, approved by unanimity by the Committee Permanent of National People Assembly, is resumed by BBC in four points: "It criminalizes any act of:

> secession - breaking away from the country
> subversion - undermining the power or authority of the central government
> terrorism - using violence or intimidation against people
> collusion with foreign or external forces."[12]

All the sovereign states have a similar Law. But BBC use a new argument: !It gives Beijing powers to shape life in Hong Kong it has never had before."

Analyzing the accusation against China about the violation of the agreement with London for the handover and the Basic Law, the French diplomat Lionel Vairon, says:

> Yet, in Article 23, this Basic Law, which at the time had not aroused any indignation, already stated that "The R.A.S. of Hong Kong must adopt its own laws to prohibit any act of treason, secession, sedition, subversion against the Central People's government, or the theft of state secrets, prohibiting any political activity in the Region of foreign organizations or organizations. , and prohibit political organizations or organizations in the Region from establishing links with foreign political organizations or organizations" (Vairon 2020).

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[12]https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-52765838.

The principle of "One country, two systems" would be rendered null and void by the vote by the Beijing People's Assembly of the National Security Act. Washington has announced its decision to no longer recognize Hong Kong's special status, a decision that will penalize U.S. companies and investors in the first place.

However, Leonel Vairon arrives at an opposite conclusion:

Hong Kong is merely a pretext for the United States, supported by a European Union too follows in this case, to increase the pressure on China (trade war, "laws" of congress on Xinjiang, Hong Kong, refusal of visas for Chinese students, etc.) and try, in a last desperate effort, to contain the emergence of China in the international order and preserve a rapid decline in American hegemony (Vairon 2020).

The National People's Congress, China's top legislature, adopted a decision on Feb 3 2021 on improving the electoral system of the Hong Kong Special Administrative to ensure "one country, two systems" and safeguard "patriots governing HK".

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