Post-liberal Peacebuilding as Intercultural Philosophy: A Buddhist Critical Appraisal of Liberal Peace for Holistic Peace Model

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Abstract

Following the critique of liberal peacebuilding that predominated global peacebuilding enterprise in the post-Cold War era, post-liberal peacebuilding has been proposed that bridges liberal peace and cultural peace. However, revolving around Eurocentrism that believes the West's historical, cultural, political, economic and intellectual distinctiveness in shaping the whole picture of global political and economic structures, epistemic and structural asymmetric relations between the West and non-West need to be addressed. This research seeks to examine how we can overcome asymmetric relationship between the liberal West and non-West, especially epistemic injustice, that is a situation in which liberal West enjoys an unfair privileged status to produce theories and knowledge that many are supposed to rely on as a reference point to engage research, education and policy making. To address intellectual and socio-political and economic asymmetries between the liberal West and non-West, intercultural philosophy is proposed. It is a process to be liberated from any form of centrism that posits a philosophy represents itself for a whole humanity. As an exemplar of intercultural philosophy approach to post-liberal peacebuilding, a critical appraisal of liberal peace from a Buddhist perspective

is made, which allows this paper to produce holistic peace model combining the elements of Buddhist and liberal peace critically reformulated in Buddhist peace context.

Keywords: Post-liberal peace, Eurocentrism, Intercultural Philosophy, Buddhism, Holistic Peace

Introduction

Though liberal peacebuilding has predominated peacebuilding in the post-Cold War era, the critique of liberal peacebuilding required us to create a peace model that connects liberal peace and non-Western one, which is called post-liberal peacebuilding. However, the critical challenge is how we can address the asymmetric relation between the liberal West and non-West. Without overcoming their asymmetric and hierarchical relationship, the dialogical and equal relationship to build a sustainable peace would be impossible. This research seeks to examine how we can overcome asymmetric relationship between the liberal West and non-West, especially epistemic injustice, that is a situation in which liberal West enjoys an unfair privileged status to build theories and knowledge that many are supposed to rely on as a reference point to engage research, education and policy making. Especially, critical appraisal of liberal peace from a Buddhist perspective and a holistic peace model founded upon Buddhist inner peace and the spirits of liberal peace reformulated according to Buddhist context will be examined.

First, the basic features of post-liberal peacebuilding will be presented. Second, Eurocentrism will be raised as the core of asymmetric relations in global socio-political and economic structures and intellectual enterprise between the West and non-West. Then, intercultural philosophy approach will be proposed as a key to address Eurocentrism. Practice of intercultural philosophy sharpens our epistemological, methodological, ethical and cultural modesty to enrich better understanding and communication among multiple cultures and philosophies and reforms the asymmetry between the West and

non-West in order to consolidate conditions for dialogue to tackle global challenges including peacebuilding. As an exemplar of intercultural philosophy approach to post-liberal peace, a critical appraisal of the key components of liberal peace from a Buddhist peace perspective will be made. By making a critical appraisal of liberal peace in Buddhist peace context, a holistic peace thesis based on Western liberal peace and Buddhist one will be finally demonstrated.

1.   On Post-liberal Peacebuilding

a.   The Problem with Liberal Peacebuilding

Since 1990s, liberal peacebuilding has played the core role in peacebuilding and its theoretical foundation is the liberal peace. Liberal peace thesis posits that democracy and free-trade economic interdependence consolidate both national and international order and stability.[1] Facing the challenge to reconstruct the failed or failing states that emerged in the post-Cold War era, international community managed mainly by liberal states has connected peace and security with market-oriented development, democracy, rule of law, human rights, and a vigorous civil society in a modern state framework.[2] The promotion of democracy, market-oriented economy, and human rights principles have been enacted as a package to build a sustainable peace

However, liberal peacebuilding has invited growing criticism. The main critique is that liberal peacebuilding tends to downplay local engagement and consultation with local actors.[3] In liberal peacebuilding, it has been assumed that external actors such as the United Nations, other international

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[1] See Richmond, O. P. *Peace: A Very Short Introduction.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

[2] See Richmond, O. P. *The Transformation of Peace*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

[3] See Newman, E., Paris, R., and Richmond, O. P. "Introduction" in *New Perspectives on Liberal Peacebuilding*, Newman, E., Paris, R., and Richmond, O. P. (eds), 2009, pp. 3-25, Tokyo: United Nations University Press.

organizations, nongovernmental organizations and donor countries should play the central role in the enterprise. This belief derives from that liberal democratic peace thesis has been deeply embedded in contemporary international framework of peace in many states' constitutions, international law, the UN, International Nongovernmental Organizations (INGOs) and International Financial Institutions (IFIs) like World Bank.[4] As the thesis becomes the foundation for international peacebuilding, liberal peacebuilding has disguised itself as standardizing, universalistic framework applicable to any peacebuilding and failed to appreciate cultural practices in conflict resolution.[5]

Liberal peacebuilding is also criticized for its romanticization of the local and culture, that is, the idea that local actors, cultures and practices are inferior and an obstacle to the liberal and rational governance.[6] Rather than reflecting local preferences and needs, the process of liberal peacebuilding is seen as the promotion of an external, hegemonic agenda that integrates peripheral areas into global norms of politics and economics, which provides powerful international actors with self-righteousness of direct or subtle forms of interventions and colonialism.[7]

For instance, the US and its coalition intervention in Iraq in 2003 would be a good example. In March 2003, the US and its coalition partners launched an ambitious project to transform Iraq under the Saddam Hussein reign into a democracy country. In carrying out the intervention for humanitarian purposes, the US and its partners had three mutually interconnected goals in mind: to overthrow Saddam Hussein regime and bring peace and stability to people in Iraq; to replace the autocracy of the Baathist regime led by Hussein with the Western liberal model

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[4] Richmond, 2014.

[5] See Selby, J. "The Myth of Liberal Peace-building" in *Conflict, Security & Development*, vol. 13 no. 1, 2013, pp. 57-86.

[6] See Newman, E. "Liberal' Peacebuilding Debates" in *New Perspectives on Liberal Peacebuilding*, Newman, E., Paris, R., and Richmond, O. P. (eds), 2009, pp. 26-54, Tokyo: United Nations University Press.

[7] Richmond, 2014.

of democracy; and to transform Iraq into a prosperous state governed by a free-market economy.[8]

After Saddam regime was toppled, the series of election and referendum were organized in 2005. The positive side of the implementation of election and referendum was that millions of Iraqi people – Sunni, Shia, Kurd, Arab, Christian, etc., - risked their lives to vote. That showed the political determination of the Iraqi people and their embracement of democracy as the step towards new Iraq. However, the big problem with the vote is that many Iraqi people voted along ethno-religious sectarian lines and splitting among three major communities – Sunni, Shia, and Kurd.[9] The voting resulted in the failure of Iraq's key political parties to build and implement a vision for a united and mutually prosperous Iraq. Rather, deep division along ethno-religious lines between majority Shia dominating government power after the collapse of the Hussein regime and minority Sunni group marginalized and disenfranchised since 2003 led Iraq to descending into complex political upheaval and violence between coalition forces, rival Iraqi groups and terrorist organizations that exploited the Iraq's internal chaos.[10]

In rushing to build a liberal democratic post-Hussein Iraq, inter-communal dialogue and reconciliation to facilitate the establishment of an inclusive social and political order were never enacted.

Another instance would be Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka emerged itself as a mix of neoliberal and ethno-nationalist with little opportunity for inter-ethnic toleration and reconciliation.[11] The layered co-constitution since the colonial time of evolving liberal and nationalist power has produced a majoritarian governmental nexus tying together state, territory and

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[8] See Isakhan, B. "Introduction: The Iraq Legacies – Intervention, Occupation, Withdrawal and Beyond" in *The Legacy of Iraq: From the 2003 War to the Islamic State*, Isakhan, B. (ed), 2015, pp. 1-18, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] See Richmond, O. P. *Peace Formation and Political Order in Conflict Affected Societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

population as a Sinhala-Buddhist geo-body encompassing politics, economy and society and culture and hierarchical frontiers of inclusion and exclusion.[12] And the international community has celebrated and engaged with multi-ethic liberal democracy with proper institutions and a market economy for peace.[13]

Colonial and international practices pursuing liberal social transformation through frameworks of democracy, market economy, security, and ethnic harmony, rather than creating a sustainable peace, ended up with reproducing a majoritarian state and social order in which asymmetric relationship between Sinhala-Buddhists, Tamils, Muslims and others remains un-addressed.[14] The diffusion of Sinhala nationalist governmentality through a century of interwoven international and liberal state discourses and practice has not only failed to build inclusive social order, but produced both intra-group elite contestation and resistance by Tamils and Muslims in the midst of a territorialized and hierarchical majoritarian social complex.[15] Social justice for all and inter-ethnic dialogue for long-term cooperation and reconciliation to construct society revolving around unity in diversity seems to have been marginalized.

b. Basic Feature of Post-liberal Peacebuilding

Responding to the critiques of liberal peacebuilding, post-liberal peacebuilding has raised its profile. Based on the belief in multiple and contextual realties and truths, cultural orientation has been proposed as one of main hallmarks of post-liberal peacebuilding. In post-liberal peacebuilding, peacebuilding is a cultural phenomenon in which a culturally shared set of values and beliefs are reflected in the perception of conflict and its

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[12] See Nadarajah, S. and Rampton, D. "The limits of hybridity and the crisis of liberal peace" in *Review of International Studies*, vol. 41 no. 1, 2015, pp. 49-72.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

resolution.[16] Cultural wisdom, knowledge and processes are valuable to a sustainable peace.

However, post-liberal peacebuilding does not mean cultural orientation is a panacea to resolve conflict as the local is not necessarily free from exclusionary or oppressive power games. The conceptualization of peacebuilding within a cultural sphere is more complex, incoherent, and fragmented according to distinct local individuals and groups.[17] Actors and discourses in a culture are highly contested, making it difficult to decide on which discourse and policies are to be trusted to contribute to a stable peace.[18] An exclusive emphasis on indigenous institutions and local ownership leads to wrong results since they are contested arena wherein certain voices and interests of specific actors are reflected at the expense of others.[19] While cultural orientation must be respected, neither liberal peace nor culturally built peace framework can achieve a sustainable peace alone. Rather, post-liberal peace needs both internal and external commitments.

c.   The Need for Breaking Eurocentrism for Post-liberal Peace

However, a critical challenge in post-liberal peacebuilding is how the asymmetric relation between the liberal West and non-West is overcome in order to build their authentically dialogical and cooperative relationship. The asymmetric relation here refers to global socio-political and economic injustice in which the Western liberal framework informs what peace means, and what ideal political system is to achieve the peace envisioned by the West.

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[16] See Fry, D. P., and Fry, B.C. "Culture and Conflict-Resolution Models: Exploring Alternatives to Violence," in *Cultural Variation in Conflict Resolution: Alternatives to Violence*, Fry, D. and Bjorkqvist, K. (eds), 1997, pp. 9-23, Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

[17] See Simons, C. and Zanker, F. "Questioning the Local in Peacebuilding", from https://lost-research-group.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/SPP1448_WP10_Simons_Zanker.pdf, 2014, (Accessed December 21, 2016).

[18] Ibid.

[19] Newman et al, 2009.

Further, existing global socio-political and economic injustice is underpinned by epistemic injustice, that is a situation in which the powerful liberal West still enjoys an unfair advantage in constructing theories and knowledge that come to be accepted as a reference point everyone is supposed to rely on for research, education and policy making.[20] The unequal access to knowledge and theory building has allowed the West to approach global problems exclusively from a Western perspective and marginalized non-Western epistemologies and their understandings of peace as equal values as Westerners'.[21]

This can be illustrated if we look into how the mainstream IR and Peace and Conflict Studies are researched. Although IR and Peace and Conflict Studies are global intellectual activities, they remain massively dominated by Western thinking[22] The origin of most mainstream international theory and peace and conflict studies is rooted in Western philosophy and political theory.[23] Actually, almost all mainstream theories framing IR and Peace and Conflict Studies including Realism, Liberalism, Marxism, the English School, Constructivism, Postmodernism, globalization, etc., have their intellectual roots in Western thinkers ranging from Hobbes, Kant and Marx to Derrida, Habermas and Foucault,[24] making almost no room for non-Western philosophies and ideas to develop their theories and knowledge to develop IR and Peace and Conflict Studies.

Further, it should be added that the critiques of the liberal peace literature in IR and Peace and Conflict Studies have been framed within the purview of Western philosophies. For instance, many liberal critics' use of Foucauldian paradigm has ended up bypassing of non-Western subjects in frameworks of

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[20] See Schepen, R. and Graness, A. "Heinz Kimmerle's intercultural philosophy and the quest for epistemic justice" in *The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa*, vol. 15 no. 1, 2019.

[21] See Mungwini, P. "The Question of Epistemic Justice: Polemics, Contestations and Dialogue" in *Phronimon*, vol. 19, 2018, pp. 1-13.

[22] See Acharya, A. and Buzan, B. "Why is there no non-Western international relations theory? An introduction" in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, vol. 7, 2007, pp. 287-312.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

peacebuilding enterprise in both liberal and post-liberal peace.[25] Even in highly influential and important works of David Chandler,[26] Mark Duffield,[27] Oliver Richmond,[28] to name a few, the exclusive focus on the West as an imperial and interventionary actor has excluded any analysis of the non-Western agency within peacebuilding mission.[29] Both the promotion and critiques of liberal peace have been argued and researched within the Western philosophical frameworks and consequently how the existing IR and Peace and Conflict Studies can transcend the Western frameworks to learn from non-Western philosophies to enrich those disciplines as a truly global or cosmopolitan enterprise has been almost ignored. Consequently, in Western IR and Peace and Conflict Research, a methodological bypassing of non-Western subjects in research and an ontology of cultural Otherness via the liberal/local divide remain unresolved.[30]

At the core of asymmetric relations in global structure and intellectual enterprise between the West and non-West lies Eurocentrism. Eurocentrism posits the ontological difference between the West and non-West. Eurocentric vision is framed by the belief in the existence of an unbridgeable cultural-historical divide between the West and non-West.[31] In Eurocentric view, the West has been historically, economically, culturally, politically and intellectually distinctive in ways that build and determine the overall character and picture of global political and economic structure.[32] The problem with Eurocentrism is its tendency to enact its frame of reference as universal.

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[25] See Hobson, J. M. and Sajed, A. "Navigating Beyond the Eurofetishist Frontier of Critical IR Theory: Exploring the Complex Landscapes of Non-Western Agency" in *International Studies Review*, vol. 19, 2017, pp-547-572.

[26] Chandler, D. *International Statebuilding*. London: Routledge, 2010

[27] Duffield, M. *Development, Security, and Unending War*. Cambridge: Polity, 2007.

[28] Richmond, O. P. *A Post-Liberal Peace*. London: Routledge, 2011.

[29] Hobson and Sajed, 2017.

[30] See Sabaratnam, M. "Avatars of Eurocentrism in the Critique of the Liberal Peace" in *Security Dialogue*, vol. 44. no. 3, 2013, pp. 259-278.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

Absoluteness and completeness of Eurocentric view causes the West to be predominated by the dualistic thought. Dualistic thinking is enacted by the principle of the excluded middle.[33] As the dichotomous view becomes sharpened, an imbalanced attitude invested by extreme self-interest and desire is favored and promoted at the expense of others. The sense of West disconnectedness from non-West due to dichotomous thought promotes self-righteousness that the West has been entrusted to design the framework of peace that is universal.

Sedimented ways of approaching the complex reality with fixed perspectives through dualistic thought confines the patterns of awareness and limits the capacity for meaningful commitments.[34] The constrained thought impedes a constructive communication between the West and non-West to address complex global and local problems including conflict from multiple perspectives and insights, which leads to a paradox of liberal peace: Western liberal peace is seen as a source of the problem in peacebuilding enterprise but also implicitly assumed as the only true source of emancipation of people in conflict.[35] To make post-liberal peace authentic, how the Eurocentric thought can be overcome needs to be integrated into peace/building research agenda.

d. Intercultural Philosophy for Post-liberal Peace Approach

Intercultural philosophy is a philosophical attitude that no one philosophy is the philosophy for the whole humanity.[36] Intercultural philosophy is a process of emancipation from all kinds of centrism to reflect critically and empathically our own philosophical framework from the point of view of another and

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[33] See Nicolescu, B."Transdisiplinarity – Past, Present and Future", from http://www.movingworldviews.net/Downloads/Papers/Nicolescu.pdf,   2006 (Accessed August 15, 2014).

[34] See Hershock, P. D. *Buddhism in the Public Sphere: Reorienting Global Interdependence.* London: Routledge, 2006.

[35] Sabaratnam, 2013.

[36] See Mall, R. A. *Intercultural Philosophy*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000.

vice versa.[37] By criticizing that any attempt to understand and enact culture as closed system is philosophically and methodologically untenable and unsound, intercultural philosophy seeks to overcome the asymmetry between the West and non-West in order to build and consolidate conditions for a common global discourse and dialogue of humanity beyond the narrow limits of the East-West dichotomy.[38]

Intercultural philosophy aims to sharpen insight into the epistemological, methodological, ethical and cultural modesty of our own approach to enhance better understanding and communication among multiple cultures and philosophies.[39] And dualistic "either-or" logic or the principle of contradiction is not well suited to promote intercultural philosophy as approach to address asymmetric relations between the West and non-West and build a dialogical relation. Post-liberal peace based on intercultural philosophy needs to practice non-dualistic thinking and knowing as its foundation.

With non-dualistic thinking, we understand the interdependent nature of different conceptual or linguistic thoughts that present distinct views of out reality. While the principle of excluded middle fixates differences, non-dualistic thought approaches them as relational and contingent phenomena,[40] whereby opposing views are not understood as fixed part of opposites but as inter-relational constructs. This does not mean the denial of differences. It means to transform the way we see differences and oppositions beyond the excluded middle ground.

To practice non-dualistic thought is to realize the interminable conflict in conceptual frame of reference claiming its universal status and acknowledge that a harmony of oppositions and contradiction is the foundation for the harmony of the world. The practice of non-dualistic thinking does not

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[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] See Hershock, P. D. *Valuing Diversity: Buddhist Reflection on Realizing a More Equitable Global Future.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2012.

mean the rejection of the principle of the excluded middle. What needs to be recognized is that dualistic "either-or" thinking, though important in some circumstances, is only one mode of human thinking and post-liberal peace/building based on intercultural philosophy requires non-dualistic thinking in order to overcome Eurocentrism and create a dialogical and transformative relationship between the West and non-West.

What peace/building as intercultural philosophy implies for post-liberal peace/building is that every tradition or cultural or religious wisdom is equally entitled to introduce ideas, concepts and theories to contribute to expanding the purview of the understanding of global issues.[41] It also implies to examine what non-West can learn from the Western liberal peace and what the Western liberal peace can learn from non-Western cultures, religions and philosophies to broaden its view of peace and transform itself to engage peacebuilding enterprise. And as an exemplar, a critical appraisal of liberal peace from a Buddhist perspective will be made and a holistic peace thesis that interconnects Buddhist peace thesis and the spirits of liberal peace that are reformulated in Buddhist peace context will be proposed.

2. Buddhist Critical Appraisal of Liberal Peace

a. Buddhist Inner Peace

Introduction to Buddhism: Human Mind on Focus

Liberal peace tends to focus on socio-political and economic structure in promoting peace. The main theme of Buddhism is human internal dynamics in causing human suffering including conflict or violence and liberation from the suffering, which involves the achievement of inner peace.

The Buddhist focus on human mind is stated in the Dhamapada[42]: "All experience is preceded by mind, led by mind,

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[41] Schepen and Graness, 2019.
[42] Dhamapada is a collection of sayings of the Buddha.

made by mind."[43] Further, the Surangama Sutra[44] states, "The Tathagata has always said that all phenomena are manifestations of mind and that all causes and effects including (all things from) the world to its dust, take shape because of the mind."[45] These statements do not deny the existence of objects. Rather, the qualities and attributes of things and objects are dependent upon and made up of mind.[46]

As the condition of our mind shapes the state of our reality, the root cause of problems facing us is to be attributed to our minds as stated in the Dhamapada: "Speak or act with a corrupted mind, and suffering follows as the wagon wheel follows the hoof of the ox."[47] However, when we overcome the cause of suffering in our mind, we can achieve inner serenity and well-being: "Speak or act with a peaceful mind, and happiness follows like a never-departing shadow."[48] It is crucial to Buddhism to make a critical analysis of the nature of our mind or the principles of epistemic function to delve into internal dynamics of suffering. Buddhist philosophy is a critical study of the structure of human thinking process: knowing, first of all, reality as a human-thought construct, critically examining how thought construction turns into the root cause of suffering and contemplating and enacting the way to resolve it constitute the core of Buddhist philosophy.[49] How our way of understanding

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[43] See Fronsdal, G. *The Dhammapada: A New Translation of the Buddhist Classic with Annotations*. Boston: Shambala, 2005.

[44] Surangama Sutra is a sutra in Mahayana Buddhism. Especially it has been influential in Chinese Chan Buddhist school.

[45] See Luk, C. *The Surangama Sutra.* New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 2001.

[46] See Lai, W. "The Meaning of "Mind-Only" (Wei-Hsin): An Analysis of a Sinitic Mahayana Phenomenon" in *Philosophy East and West*, vol. 27 no. 1, 1977, pp. 65-83.

[47] Fronsdal, 2005.

[48] Ibid.

[49] See Matsuo, H. *The Logic of Unity: The Discovery of Zero and Emptiness in Prajnaparamita Thought.* (Translated by Inada Kenneth). Tokyo: Hokuju Shuppan, 1981.

the world influences dynamics of conflict and peace is the main focus of Buddhist philosophy.

Buddhist View of Conflict Dynamics

The analysis of Buddhist internal or epistemological dynamics of conflict and peace does not aim to downplay socio-political and economic structural dimensions of conflict and peace. However, exclusive analysis of external conditions or causes blocks us from deepening the understanding of our problems. Analysis of epistemological aspect of conflict dynamics and internal dimension of peace allows us to broaden our understanding of peace and conflict.

Though conflict involves variety of causes and factors, one of them is to believe and enact certain value, worldview or perspective as universal and complete. From time immemorial, human beings have developed conceptual thought or linguistic knowledge to make sense of the world and to communicate with fellow human beings.[50] We inhabit socially constructed and historically evolved life-worlds forming cultural patterns— identities, beliefs, values and norms—as scaffolding for meaningful experience.[51] We build and accept certain frame of reference—pattern of worldviews, cultural values, political orientations and ideologies, religious doctrines, moral-ethical norms and paradigms in intellectual enterprise—to construct reality to lead a meaningful life.[52]

However, the fundamental problem with building frame of reference is our propensity to privileging ours as absolute or universal, reifying our understanding of reality and objectifying the other. When we build thought and claim universality and completeness for the perspective created, it causes us to be dogmatic and exclusive of other views or thoughts. Once frame

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[50] See Ichimura, S. "Contemporary Significance of Chinese Buddhist Philosophy" in *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. 24, 1997, pp. 75-106.

[51] See Reysen, S. and Iva K-M. "Intentional Worlds and Global Citizenship" in *Journal of Global Citizenship and Equity Education*, vol. 3 no. 1, 2013, pp. 34-52.

[52] See Mezirow, J. "Transformative Learning as Discourse" in *Journal of Transformative Education*, vol. 1 no. 1, 2003, pp. 58-63.

of reference socially conditioning us is seen as complete, we are prone to feel threat, anger, or hatred to others with distinct frames of reference, which provides us with self-serving justification for discrimination and impedes constructive communication with those having different views and perspectives.

Buddhist Inner Peace

As the belief in absolute status of frame of reference constitutes the conflict or violence, it is critical to control our internal dynamics and address extreme attachment to a particular frame of reference.

The first component of inner peace is reflective awareness. It is to examine our pattern of thought, values and logics shaping our experience.[53] With reflective awareness, we can recognize that our thinking and knowing are contextually constructed and consequently contingent. Practicing the awareness empowers us to realize that alternative ways of thinking are available and to appreciate others' views to jointly construct more inclusive ones. We can be capable of simultaneously holding multiple perspectives and patterns of thought that depend on an awareness that embraces all perspectives without adhering to a position in any form as complete to approach the reality.[54]The practice of reflective awareness transforms existing worldview as it allows the revision of our model of the world.[55] By accommodating reflective awareness in our intellectual and practical aspect of peace, we can transcend the attachment to

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[53] See Park, J. Y. *Buddhism and Postmodernity: Zen, Huayan, and the Possibility of Buddhist Postmodern Ethics.* Plymouth, United Kingdom: Lexington Books, 2008.

[54] See Hart, T., Peter L. N., and Kaisa P. "Introduction," in *Transpersonal Knowing: Exploring the Horizon of Consciousness*, Hart, T., Peter, L. N., and Kaisa, P. (eds), 2000, pp. 1-9, Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.

[55] See Schlitz, M. M., Cassandra, V., and Elizabeth, M. "Worldview Transformation and the Development of Social Consciousness" in *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, vol. 17, 2010, pp. 18-36.

any form of particular belief system and approach phenomenal world from multiple angles.

The second component is compassion. It is an acknowledgement of shared humanity and the commonalities in both suffering and aspiration among those having different identities.[56] It is to feel others' pain, sorrow, despair or suffering as our own as well as to have clear awareness of interdependent origination of phenomenon of any kind.[57] Compassionate mind inspires the development of a quality of loving kindness, a universal and unselfish love that extends to ourselves, to friends and family, and ultimately to all people.[58] Compassion is also to practice unity worldview. It is the awareness of the oneness of humanity.[59] It is the recognition that our well-being and others' are interpenetrating. It means that our peace cannot be achieved unless we consider and act to promote others'. It is overcome self-centered and divisive in-group and out-group process to consciousness of fundamental interconnected relationship.

Knowing fundamental interconnected nature of any form of human relationship does not ignore individuality of each person. It is a qualitative transformation of viewing the nature of identity. Instead of seeing our identity as independent and fixed entity with firm boundary, it is to understand it as the interconnected web of life with no fixed nature. Realizing identity as an open and dynamic living system within a larger interdependent and interconnected system inspires us to see that we cannot discriminate ourselves from the inter-relational web of life without damaging both others and ourselves.[60] With the recognition of interconnected human relation, we can act to

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[56] See Pruitt, I. T., and McCollum, E. E. "Voices of Experienced Meditators: The Impact of Meditation Practice on Intimate Relationships" in *Contemporary Family Therapy,* vol. 32, 2010, pp. 135-154.

[57] See Hoyt, M. "Engaging Bodhisattva Compassion in Pedagogical Aporias" in *Paideusis*, vol. 21 no. 2, 2014, pp. 24-31.

[58] Pruitt and McCollum, 2010.

[59] See Danesh, H. B. "Towards an Integrative Theory of Peace Education" in *Journal of Peace Education*, vol. 3 no. 1, 2006, pp. 55-78.

[60] See Loy, D. "Indra's Postmodern Net" in *Philosophy East and West*, vol. 43 no. 3, 1993, pp. 481-510.

promote basic needs beyond group boundaries and enhance justice for all.[61]

Buddhist inner peace is to hone multiple functions of mind with a holistic view of reality. On this view, conflict resolution and achieving sustainable peace requires us to practice self-critique and transformation to understand conflict of any kind and peace as an interdependent and interpenetrating phenomenon.

b. Buddhist Critique of Liberal Peace Elements

As presented, the main feature of Buddhist peace is to empower human beings to practice multiple functions of mind to enact self-transformation and active and creative co-construction of new values and goals with others having different or opposing views. Increase of individuals capable of exercising multiple ways of thinking and compassionate mind would lead to filling the society with critical citizens who can contribute to creating change in necessity.

However, presenting Buddhist inner peace is not to claim the superiority of Buddhist peace model to liberal peace. Rather, to embody post-liberal peace as intercultural philosophy dialogue, the following part will make a critical appraisal of liberal peace. Especially, three core components of liberal peace – human rights, democracy and market-oriented economy – will be on focus. By delving into how they can be understood and reformulated from a Buddhist peace perspective, a holistic peace thesis based upon the ethos of liberal peace and internal peace will be constructed.

Buddhism and Human Rights

Inherent human equality and dignity form the core of human rights.[62] Enhancing human rights means to consolidate

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[61] Daneth, 2006.

[62] See Donnelly, J. *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013.

the human dignity and value that inhere in all human beings, which is essential to build favorable environment for human development.[63]

Buddhist teachings do not mention ideas of human rights in contemporary terms directly. However, Buddhist teachings imply the compatibility with modern human rights. One of them is the Buddha-nature. The doctrine preaches that all people beyond social categories has the Buddhahood, that is, the potential to realize what the Buddha was awakened to be emancipated from suffering and disseminate the wisdom and compassion to humanity.[64] As widely acknowledged, the historical Buddha critiqued the social discrimination and caste system of his age,[65] which is posited in Suttanipata[66]: "People are not born base. Nor are they born Brahmins. By their actions they become base, and by their actions they become Brahmins." On the doctrine, all human beings possess potential for self-realization even though the way for self-actualization is will not necessarily be identical.[67] That all human beings possess Buddha-nature is to be understood as the ethical foundation for Buddhist support for human rights.

Compatibility and complementarity between human rights and inner peace can be also argued in practical terms. As discussed, the main feature of inner peace is to hone multiple aspects of human mind and a holistic understanding of reality. It refers to physiological, psychological, intellectual and spiritual development. However, internal enrichment needs a proper social environment. According to Keown, human rights can be categorized mainly into five areas to secure wide range of rights and freedoms: rights of the person (life, liberty, and freedom of

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[63] See Tanabe, J. "Buddhism and post-liberal peacebuilding: building a holistic peace model by interconnecting liberal peace and Buddhist peace" in *Eubios Journal of Asian and International Bioethics*, vol. 29 no. 2, 2019, pp. 46-53.

[64] Ibid.

[65] See Shiotsu, T. "Mahayana Buddhism and Human Rights: Focusing on Methods for Interpretation" in *Journal of Oriental Studies*, vol. 11, 2001, pp. 141-155.

[66] Suttanipata is a Buddhist scripture, the fifth book of the Khuddaka Nikaya of the Pali Canon of Theravada Buddhism.

[67] Shiotsu, 2001.

religion); rights before the law (equality before the law); political rights (freedom of assembly and the right to vote); economic and social rights (social security and employment rights); and the community and groups rights (protection against genocide and discrimination and violence of any form).[68] Persistence of socio-political and economic injustice, repression, and discrimination give rise to negative states of mind and human rights become critical to dispel those negative defilement as a step toward internally enriched human beings.[69]

To strengthen human rights principles can consolidate social environment wherein human beings sharpen the capabilities to exercise multiple ways of thinking and compassion promote unity in diversity. Under the favorable social conditions in which citizens enjoy basic human rights, they can be empowered to become critical and transformative agents who extend human rights more widely not only for themselves but for other as well in order to achieve interconnected and interdependent human relationship. The attribution of human rights in various fields is an expression of a deep human ability to recognize the other as like ourselves, to experience empathy for the others' needs and sufferings and to feel joy in helping others achieve others' human capacities and well-being.[70] .

Buddhism and Democracy

The principles of democracy are the dignity and liberty of the citizens, the equality before the law, and pluralism,[71] which is acknowledged by Buddhism. For the Buddha, Buddhist community accommodated all people beyond different statuses,

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[68] See Keown, D. (2018) "Human Rights" in *The Oxford Handbook of Buddhist Ethics*, Cozort, D. and Shields, J. (eds), 2018, pp. 1-35, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

[71] See Crick, B. *Democracy: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

classes, ethnic backgrounds and gender.[72] The Buddhist teaching of dependent origination or interdependent nature of any form of human relationship undergirds the horizontal relationships between people with different social and cultural identities.

However, though it recognizes democracy's role for sustainable peace, Buddhism criticizes liberal democracy. The critique does not present the Buddhist categorical denial of liberal democracy itself. Rather, achievements made by liberal democracy need to be appreciated. The rise of liberal democracy in Western world realized the liberation of human beings from external or heteronomous constraints and made the flourishing of individual freedom, liberty and selfhood.[73] What Buddhism critiques is liberal democracy's tendency to emphasize competitive elections and majoritarianism. Pertinent to this is the assumption that individuals are mostly motivated by self-interest. Liberal democracy's degeneration into atomist individualism and self-centeredness is a prominent concern.[74] Despite its contribution to the development of individual freedom and liberty, liberal democracy has created the problem of excessive egocentrism, that is, the predominance of self-enclosure of individuals that shut out civic interaction and interdependence for promoting common good.[75]

Though voting, majoritarianism and seeking or maximizing self-interest are important to democracy, democracy cannot be identified with them. It entails multi-faceted aspects including not only respect for voting and its results, the protection of liberty and freedom but also free discussion, and public reasoning.[76] Democracy is a relational practice and not a form of unilateral domination or control.[77] In democracy, individuals are

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[72] Hershock, 2012.

[73] See Dallmayr, F. *Post-Liberalism: Recovering a Shared World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid.

[76] See Sen, A. "Democracy as a Universal Value" in *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 10 no. 3, 1999, pp. 3-17.

[77] See Dallmayr, F. *The Promise of Democracy*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2010.

gradually emancipated from the attachment to narrow and immediate self-interest in favor of an openness towards others.[78] Democracy must help individuals go beyond excessive individualism and self-centeredness and participate in relational dynamics wherein they extend equal respect and empathy to all other participants in their political, social, and cultural differences and co-construct common good.[79] And deliberative democracy comes to the fore.

Deliberative democracy began as a critique of liberal democracy for its emphasis on individual rights and competitive elections.[80] Deliberative democracy places public reasoning and other types of inter-human communication at the center.[81] Buddhism agrees with deliberative democracy as it consolidates dialogical interaction between those having different backgrounds and values as equal participants. Engagement in deliberative democracy requires citizens to construct dialogue that appeal to the common good instead of seeking pre-determined personal preferences. It means to accept the change of our perspectives and add new aspects to our existing frames of reference and socio-political goals.

While acknowledging deliberative democracy as a promising model for democracy, what is missing or underdeveloped in Western deliberative democracy argument is the correlation between human internal enrichment and intersubjective deliberative process.[82] A Buddhist model of

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[78] Ibid.

[79] Dallmayr, 2019.

[80] See Curato, N., Hammond, M., and Min, J. B. *Power in Deliberative Democracy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Hershock, 2012. It should be also mentioned that while Dallmayr, one of the leading proponents of dialogical democracy in the West, has elaborated the dynamics of dialogue between citizens with different or opposing perspectives and values in public spheres, he has never developed the analysis of how human internal aspects influence the dialogical dynamics in public intersubjective places. Despite his insightful analysis of dialogical intersubjective dynamics for positive transformation, how positively the practice of reflective awareness, compassionate mind-set and holistic view of reality or fundamental interdependent and interpenetrating relationship of conceptual thought or linguistic knowledge that

empowered citizens able to practice multiple aspects of mind and appreciate complex view of social dynamics can assume a critical role in enhancing qualitatively deliberative democracy as creative dialogue revolving around diversity of values and virtue of transformation. Constructive and creative dialogue in public spaces demands citizens to transcend their confinement. In order to make public dialogue free and constructive, citizens need to go beyond the purview of any form of position as absolute or complete. Empowered citizens with reflective self-awareness, compassion and a holistic view of reality can play a critical and transformative role in dialogue by addressing the propensity to think and behave without critiquing the existing views and standpoints as given.

The capacity to enact critical and transformative action in democracy and sharpen constructive relational dynamics between people with different perspectives and views relies upon the cognitive, ethical and reflective capacities of citizens.[83] Internally empowered citizens with reflective and compassionate mind can perceive wider range of the dynamic inter-relationship of diversity of values and interests, recognize inherent dignity of all citizens and practice moral inclusion and more complex and dialectical forms of reasoning. Rather than

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creates different or even opposing views of reality, which empowers us to realize the ultimate unreality to claim for the universality or completeness of any specific value or goal, can affect intersubjective dynamics has been left out. Phrased different, in Dallmayr's analysis of dialogical and transformative democracy, qualitative exploration of the potential of individual person has never been developed. It seems that despite the critique of rationalism by many postmodernists, post-structuralists, or social constructionists, the West has yet developed the potential and quality of human internal dimension in the similar way Buddhist philosophy has. However, the critique does not mean to denigrate his research on democracy and dialogue and Western approaches to deliberative democracy as a whole. Rather, as this paper repeatedly emphasizes, when the human internal enrichment and maturity of intersubjective dialogue in public spheres are achieved in an integrative manner, more sustainable and creative dialogical dynamics can be unfolded.

[83] See Reardon, B. A., and Dale T. S. "Reflective Pedagogy, Cosmopolitanism, and Critical Peace Education for Political Efficacy: A Discussion of Betty A. Reardon's Assessment of the Field" in *Journal of Peace Education and Social Justice*, vol. 5 no. 1, 2011, pp. 1-14.

suppressing   differences   or   disagreements,   internally
empowered citizens with multiple functions of mind will be
ready to respond to different situational dynamics positively and
creatively, without referring to fixed views to enhance mutual
appreciation of those distinct and even opposing standpoints
and goals.[84]

What this part wants to illustrate is a complementary
relation between Western deliberative democracy and a
Buddhist model of internally empowered citizens. The key
component for deliberative democracy is the public sphere. The
public sphere in deliberative democracy is an empty space.
Emptiness here does not mean a sheer vacuum or void.[85] Rather,
it means a place for possibility or potentiality – an open-ended
process to make room for a different or not-yet world without
closure.[86] However, to participate in such uncertain, contingent
and yet generative inter-subjective sphere necessitates the
capacity and skills of citizens to accommodate and hold multiple
discourses without attaching to any of them as absolute or
complete. In a Buddhist view, such ability can be honed through
the practice of reflective self-awareness and a holistic view or
reality. The Buddhist model of internally empowered human
beings can resonate with the maturity of inter-subjective public
sphere. The ability to make full use of multiple internal functions
– reflection, compassion, and multi-perspectival eyes – would
strengthen dialogical and transformative democracy.

A Buddhist View of Market-Oriented Economy

At   first,   it   should   be   emphasized   that   Buddhism
appreciates economic activity itself. Individuals need a proper
economic circumstance for spiritual development.[87]Deprivation
of economic opportunity to gratify basic needs will prevent any

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[84] Herschock, 2012.

[85] Dallmayr, 2019.

[86] Ibid.

[87] See Mosler, C. "Can Buddhism Inform the Contemporary Western Liberal
Debate on the Distribution of Wealth?" in *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, vol. 18,
2011, pp. 322-355.

individual from sustaining bodily function and enhancing psychological health and realizing intellectual and spiritual maturity.

However, Buddhism shows critical attitude towards market-oriented economy liberal peace tries to develop. Though market-oriented economy brings about profit and develop macro economy, it creates a multiplicity of interests of people and social competition and exacerbates the clash of distinct stakes among people, which tends to cause inequality and social injustice in many forms. In his spiritual journey, the Buddha critiqued and tried to transform the unjust social order and structure into the one founded upon compassion, equality and solidarity.[88] The Buddha did not object to economic activity as long as it does not cause human miseries and sufferings for the self and others. The purpose of Buddhist practice including economic one is to realize joy, harmony and equanimity not only for the self but for all people.[89] Economic system that downgrades peoples' dignity and deprives their equal opportunity for a holistic self-fulfillment cannot be recognized as authentic and legitimate.

In critiquing market-oriented economy advocated by liberal peace, it would be noteworthy to understand the differences of the view of human beings and the aims of economic activity between and the West and Buddhism. In principle, in the western discourse, human beings are assumed to be rational and self-interested beings or homo economicus who are prepared to act justly but who are also limited in their social and altruistic motivations.[90] Human beings are understood as atomistic individuals who are instrumental

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[88] See Badge, U. "Essential elements of human rights in Buddhism" in *Journal of Law and Conflict Resolution*, vol. 6 no. 2, 2014, pp. 32-38.

[89] See Shi, J. "Buddhist Economics: A Cultural Alternative" in *The Kyoto Manifesto for Global Economics: The Platform of Community, Humanity, and Spirituality*, Yamashita, S., Yagi, T., & Hill, S. (eds), 2018, pp. 417-436, Switzerland: Springer.

[90] Mosler, 2011.

rationality, calculate choices of comparable values or profits.[91] Human beings are believed to be motivated to achieve material well-being for their own sake by evaluating the benefits and costs of their prospective actions.[92] Though social justice and equality have been discussed in the West, mainstream economic discourse emphasizes self-regard as opposed to regard for others and places little value on relational virtues with others. Buddhism perceives human beings as potentially compassionate and empathetic individuals[93] with an insight into reality including human relationship, that is, mutual interdependence and interpenetration to exercise restraint on excessive self-centered view of profit and interest as it causes human suffering. And the aim of Buddhist economic activity is to facilitate the development of human potential and contribute to people's overall well-being – mental well-being and inner freedom as well as basic material security for all people.

Buddhism claims that we need to differentiate between needs and wants. While the former is essential to holistic human development, the latter leads to greed and lust, which causes violence and conflict. The provisioning of basic needs – food, shelter, clothing, and medicine – is essential for spiritual advancement.[94] However, excessive aspiration for redundant material profit, self-interest, or luxury would end up with vicious cycle of unending greed, lust and even hatred towards others. The true value of economy is determined by an individual behavior, which in turn is governed by the mind.[95] If we indulge ourselves in economic activity to satisfy material desires without considering their possible harmful effects, that will not contribute to our authentic well-being.[96] As long as we are

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[91] See Essen, J. "Sufficiency Economy and Santi Asoke: Buddhist Economic Ethics for a Just and Sustainable World" in *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, vol. 17, 2010, pp. 70-99.

[92] See Tomer, J. F. "Why Buddhist economics is needed: Overcoming large scale biophysical and socio-economic dysfunctions" in *Real-World Economics Review*, no. 82, 2017, pp. 143-158.

[93] Essen, 2010.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Shi, 2018.

[96] Tomer, 2017.

controlled by cravings, greed and attachment to material gains, that will create negative consequences for us and the whole society.[97] By orienting economy to the well-being of whole society and each citizen's intellectual and spiritual growth based on the exercise of self-restraint, compassionate mind, we could avoid overconsumption and unending desires to maximize material satisfaction.

Buddhism suggests sense of sufficiency in engaging in economic activity. The question of what is sufficient – not only to meet basic needs but to achieve holistic well-being – needs to be continually re-evaluated by each individual with distinct backgrounds and at different levels of philosophical and spiritual maturity.[98] However, it would be worthwhile to mention the UNDP Thailand Human Development Report 2007. Titled *Sufficiency Economy and Human Development*, the report presented the need to practice the Buddhist thoughts in economic activity. The main points are: moderation – signifying not too much and not too little or frugality; reasonableness – analyzing reasons and potential actions and grasping the immediate and distant consequences of those actions; self-immunity – self-discipline or the ability to withstand externa shocks and cope with uncontrollable events; and integrity – virtuous or ethical behavior including honesty, diligence and non-exploitation.[99] The report emphasizes mental development as a critical component of sustainable economy.[100] If each individual engages economic activity based on the doctrine interdependence and interpenetration of all living beings, the consciousness of the danger and harms of seeking material gains at the expense of others and the recognition of a holistic human

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[97] See Konecki, K. T. "Contemplation For Economists: Towards A Social Economy Based On Empathy and Compassion" in *Economics and Sociology*, vol. 10 no. 3, 2017, pp. 11-24.

[98] Essen, 2010.

[99] For more details, see United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) *Thailand Human Development Report 2007: Sufficiency Economy and Human Development*. Bangkok.
At: HDR-C EN (undp.org)

[100] Essen, 2010.

development in physiological, mental, intellectual and spiritual terms as the true objective of economy, that will reverberate positively throughout our social spheres and global arenas.

Holistic Peace Model based on Critical Appraisal of the Spirits of Liberal Peace

As argued, while liberal peace focuses on socio-political and economic aspects of peace, Buddhism emphasizes human internal dynamics. In Buddhist view, socio-political and economic structures and systems are made up of human minds and their internal empowerment will bring about structural and system transformation in a positive direction. However, critical appraisal of liberal peace has revealed a complementary relationship between them and builds a holistic peace model that integrates socio-political and economic and human internal dimensions of peace.

As the Figure 1 below illustrates, four elements constitute holistic peace model. The first element is human rights underpinned by the doctrine of Buddha-nature. As discussed, the fundamental human dignity, freedom and equality – the foundations of contemporary human rights – are undergirded by the doctrine. Besides, socio-political and economic human rights are also critical for Buddhists to develop and practice inner peace. The second element is deliberative democracy supported by internally empowered citizens who perform multiple functions of mind. Deliberative democracy is an intersubjective phenomenon in which people having different or opposing views and interests engage dialogue to co-create common good and new goals they can share. As argued, in deliberative democracy, the public sphere needs to be enacted as creative and transformative process in which something new is produced from among multiple discourses. And internally empowered citizens can become a foundation for such generative and dynamic public sphere.

The third element is economic activity founded upon sufficiency. As explained, though material well-being is needed to lead a stable life, Buddhism understands well-being beyond

the purview of material dimensions. The desire for material well-being would never be satisfied. Rather, the exclusive seeking for material achievement will get us into the cycle of lust and greed. By achieving a comprehensive human fulfilment as the ultimate goal of economy, we can build a sustainable and harmonious society and human relationship. The fourth element is the enrichment of internal dimension that exercises reflective awareness and compassion to embody interdependent and interpenetrating relationship between those having different views and values. Through the internal empowerment, we will realize the limits of dichotomous and self-centered view, understand and enact conflict resolution and peace as self-critique and transformation. These four components form a complementary relation to strengthen each other to build a sustainable society and human relationships. Approaching peace holistically on physiological, socio-political, economic, philosophical, and spiritual levels will enable us to exert our potential to become a proactive and creative agent for a lasting peace.
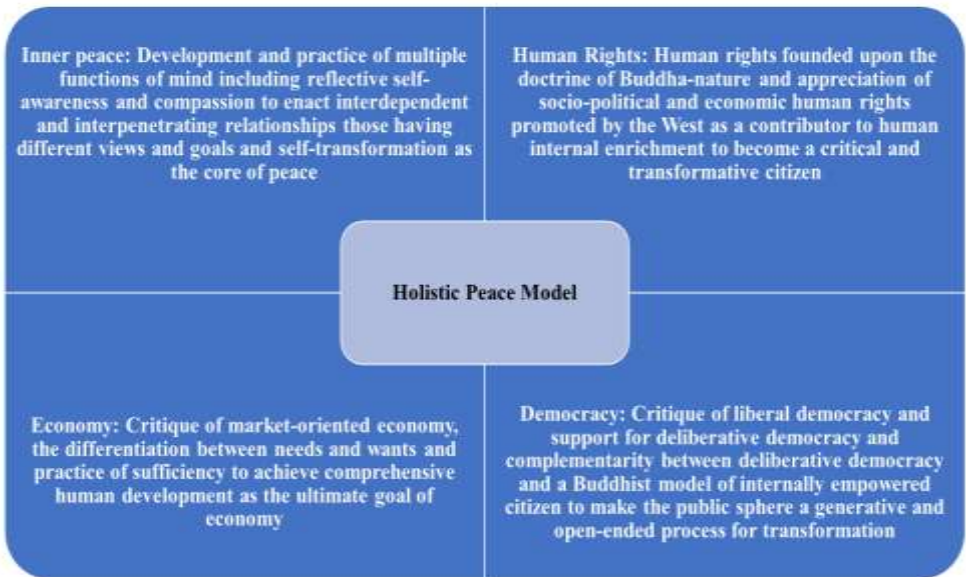
Inner peace: Development and practice of multiple functions of mind including reflective self-awareness and compassion to enact interdependent and interpenetrating relationships those having different views and goals and self-transformation as the core of peace

Human Rights: Human rights founded upon the doctrine of Buddha-nature and appreciation of socio-political and economic human rights promoted by the West as a contributor to human internal enrichment to become a critical and transformative citizen

Holistic Peace Model

Economy: Critique of market-oriented economy, the differentiation between needs and wants and practice of sufficiency to achieve comprehensive human development as the ultimate goal of economy

Democracy: Critique of liberal democracy and support for deliberative democracy and complementarity between deliberative democracy and a Buddhist model of internally empowered citizen to make the public sphere a generative and open-ended process for transformation

Figure 1: Peace model based on Buddhist critical appraisal of liberal peace

Finally, though it is a hypothetical trial, how a holistic peace model can be practiced in a conflict setting will be discussed. Here, the application to Sri Lanka will be examined. Despite inter-ethnic violence and their asymmetric relations, historically, peace in Sri Lanka has been based on the respect and accommodation of diversity in politics and identity and therefore, majoritarianism can never be seen as a driving force for peace in the long term.[101] Sri Lanka peace would have to formulate a discourse of inter-ethnic reconciliation, equity, fundamental humanity of all and social justice.[102]

While human rights of all citizens in Sri Lanka need to be secured and protected, deliberative or dialogical democracy needs to be promoted even though it will not be easily employed given the long history of enmity and animosity between majority Sinhalese and other ethnic groups. However, to build a reconciliatory and constructive inter-ethnic relationship on various levels, listening to and respecting narratives of other groups and working to get different voices reflected in political, social and economic policies are essential. Here enacting a dialogical politics not only on inter-communal levels but on national levels would assume the central role in enhancing unity in diversity for peace.

Analysis of how empowered citizens with multiple functions of mind can also contribute to building a harmonious society in Sri Lanka in the long run is also critical. During the conflict, Buddhist monks preached to soldiers how they should engage in combat.[103] However, in order to achieve a lasting harmonious peace, inner transformation would be needed. The proposed inner peace characterized as reflective awareness, compassion and an insight into reality, that is, interdependent and interpenetrating relationships between/among differences and people having distinct identities can be of help in

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[101] Richmond, 2016.
[102] Ibid.
[103] See Kent, D. W. "Onward Buddhist Soldiers: Preaching on the Sri Lankan Army" in *Buddhist Warfare*, Jerryson, M. K. and Juergensmeyer, M. (eds), 2010, pp. 157-177, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

empowering citizens in Sri Lanka as majority is Sinhala Buddhists.

Though distinct cultural and social contexts of Sri Lanka need to be respected, the proposed inner peace model as one of the components of holistic peace thesis is worth being discussed critically and studied by Sri Lankan people and Buddhist monks. At least if majority Sinhala people work hard to practice inner peace to show respect other ethnic groups, the path for reconciliation and dialogical relationship could be built. How each citizen beyond ethnic lines can develop enriched mind with multi-perspectival views as an individual person but without dismissing group identity needs to be explored. Of course, it is not easy to transfer a holistic peace model into current Sri Lanka situations given its long history of inter-ethnic violence and asymmetric relations. Nevertheless, a complex and multifaceted feature of conflict would require a holistic peace approach that contains physiological, psychological, dialogical, spiritual dimensions so that people in Sri Lanka can pave the way for internal empowerment and constructive and creative intersubjective relationships in the long run. Especially, despite its involvement in conflict and violence, Buddhist spirits of compassion, the practice of mindfulness, and wisdom or an insight into reality, that is interdependence should remain intact. And so, when majority Sinhala Buddhists take efforts to put them into practice within the purview of the proposed holistic peace thesis, the path towards a lasting peace could be opened.

Conclusion

This paper has examined how post-liberal peace as intercultural philosophy dialogue can be unfolded. As illustrated, the presentation of Buddhist inner peace and critical appraisal of liberal peace has allowed us to build a holistic peace model that integrates outer-inner dimensions of peace.

This research is just one of the examples of critical appraisal of liberal peace to examine how the spirits of liberal peace and non-Western approaches to peace can learn from

each other to co-create contextually oriented but also transformative peace. More critical appraisals of liberal peace by variety of non-Western cultures and philosophies need to be made to promote post-liberal peace/building that revolves around dialogue and mutual self-transformation by those engaged in peace enterprise.

In order for the West to participate in post-liberal peace – both intellectually and practically – as intercultural philosophy, Western liberals need to appreciate multiple epistemologies developed in various cultures, religions and philosophies. Liberal peace/building is founded upon Western Enlightenment epistemological framework. Enlightenment epistemology stresses the power of reason, especially the instrumental reason to discover the absolute forms of knowledge[104] and its aim is to discover the objective truth that applies universally and explains phenomenon systematically.[105]   Enlightenment epistemology posits that the application of rationalistic thought leads to unearthing the universal rules or structures that underlay the surface features of the world, which allows us to produce overarching theories and methods to understand and address social and global problems facing humanity. Founded upon rationalistic thought, liberal peace has been enacted as a universal and complete approach to peace.

However, in an increasingly globalized and interconnected world, approaching global problems purely from a Western perspective is neither effective nor justified.[106] Rather, non-Western epistemologies including spiritual and culturally-developed ones need to be acknowledged as valid contributors to expanding the purview of our view of peace and peacebuilding. The discourse established on a particular epistemological viewpoint tends to be intra-paradigmatic and avoid engagement with alternative epistemological and

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[104] See Crotty, M. T*he Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*. London: SAGE, 1998.
[105] See Gray, D. E. *Doing Research in the Real World*. London: SAGE, 2004.
[106] Schepen and Graness, 2019.

theoretical formulations.[107] It does not mean to deny Enlightenment epistemology and liberal peace shaped by it. However, new perspectives, new theories, and even novel empirical information, which are proposed by exploring and accepting new epistemologies, can enable us to see and understand how things can be different from the ways they are. When the Western liberal peace intellectuals and even practitioners courageously examine their embedded liberal view of peace from non-Western epistemological perspectives, that would empower them to take a step toward overcoming epistemic and structural asymmetric relationships with the non-West. That would not be an easy endeavor for the West. Nevertheless, one of the enduring and everlasting challenges for intellectual enterprise is "to go beyond the affirmation and reconstitution of the familiar world to recognize other possibilities."[108]

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[107] See Jarvis, D. S. L. *International Relations and the Challenge of Postmodernism: Defining the Discipline*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2000.

[108] See Calhoun, C. "Social Theory and the Public Sphere" in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Theory (Second edition)*, Turner, B. (ed), 2000, pp. 504-544, Oxford: Blackwell.

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