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Examining Holistic Peace Thesis in Complex Global Society

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Abstract

Peace is a dynamic and complex process. We are in a complex global era wherein a variety of social and global problems threaten human existence beyond boundaries. Besides, despite efforts by many actors including international organizations, states, non-state organizations, and individuals, it seems that we have shown little progress in resolving them. Acknowledging such complex and uncertain moments, this research will examine a holistic peace thesis. The research will discuss a holistic peace thesis in the nexus of empowerment of citizens, its connection with socio-political and economic aspects of peace, the critique of existing asymmetric and confrontational global politics, and the necessity of the discussion of self-critique and transformation of the West. First, the holistic empowerment of citizens will be argued. Here, the gratification of basic human needs and internal intellectual and spiritual maturity will be analyzed. Second, socio-political and economic aspects of peace will be discussed. Specifically, democracy and economy and its relations with internally mature citizens will be examined. Third, the global dimension of peace will be discussed. The idea of transformative global politics will be examined. Taking an anti-essentialist view of the public place, transformative global politics as а relational transformation in the direction of unprecedented coordination among actors having different, opposing, or even prima facie antithetical

© 2024 JUICHIRO TANABE ISSN: 2546-1885 values, norms, or interests will be proposed. Arguing that developing transformative global politics requires an epistemological, cognitive, and behavioral transformation of the actors involved in the global dynamics, especially, the West, intercultural philosophy-oriented International Relations education and research will be analyzed.

Keywords: Holistic Peace, Holistic Human Empowerment, Democracy, Economy, Transformative Global Politics

Introduction

In a complex global era, humanity is experiencing various global problems that threaten human existence beyond boundaries. This research will examine a holistic peace thesis in a complex global society. The research will develop a holistic peace thesis in the nexus of the empowerment of citizens, its connection with socio-political and economic aspects of peace, the critique of existing asymmetric and confrontational global politics, and the necessity of self-critique and transformation of the West.

The first section will present the basic features of peace. Following that, a holistic peace thesis will be discussed. First, human aspects of peace will be examined. The gratification of the basic needs of citizens and their internal enrichment will be analyzed. Second, socio-political aspects of peace will be examined. The analysis will focus on an ideal view of democracy and a sustainable economy. co-contributory Complementary and relationships between deliberative democracy. sustainable economy, and internally empowered citizens will be discussed.

Third, global dimensions of peace will be analyzed. An idea of transformative global politics will be examined. Taking the antiessentialist view of the public place, transformative global politics as a relational transformation in the direction of unprecedented coordination among actors having opposed or antithetical values, norms, or interests will be proposed. Arguing that developing such transformative global political dynamics requires the epistemological, cognitive, and behavioral transformation of the actors involved in the global dynamics, especially, the West, intercultural philosophyoriented International Relations education and research will be suggested. It is to incorporate non-Western philosophical and religious wisdom into existing International Relations. It will be claimed that continuous practice of such intercultural philosophyoriented International Relations would empower the West to expand the purview of how they understand peace and global dynamics and enhance dialogical attitudes towards the non-West in approaching global challenges.

Methodological considerations

This research seeks to contribute to the theoretical development of peace based on the critical literature reviews of peace and fields pertinent to peace. Practical approaches to peace including conflict resolution, conflict transformation, and peacebuilding are informed by theoretical frameworks. Critiquing existing peace theories and offering new ones will allow us to expand the purview of what peace means and eventually build new perspectives and practical methods for a more humane society and globe. Though this is theoretical research, the ultimate end is, by offering a holistic peace thesis, to contribute to paving the way for building new approaches to peace and global dynamics beyond the existing confrontational ones in the long run.

Basic features of peace

Peace is a dynamic concept. There is no ontologically predetermined peace; rather it is a contested concept with no single fixed meaning.¹ Different societies, cultures, and eras would require distinct views of peace.

Since the 1990s onwards, the liberal peace thesis has assumed the core role in peacebuilding.² The thesis posits that the promotion of liberal democracy and global free trade will build national and international stability.³ The international community managed mainly by liberal states has connected peace and security with a neoliberal

¹ See P.O. Richmond, *Peace in International Relations* (Abingdon Oxon: Routledge, 2008).

² See E. Newman, R. Paris, and P.O. Richmond, "Introduction" in *New Perspectives on Liberal Peacebuilding*, eds. E. Newman, R. Paris, and P.O. Richmond (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2009), 3-25.

³ See P.O Richmond, *Peace: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

economy, liberal democracy, and human rights in a modern state framework.⁴ However, liberal states show distrust in non-liberal states and the intervention of Iraq in 2003 would be a good instance.⁵ The confrontational relationships between the US and Iran, or the US and Russia, and the lack of coordination in global society over the Ukraine war that started on February 24, 2022, would also be understood in similar contexts. Though it appreciates liberal peace, this research seeks to develop a holistic peace thesis in response to the complex global society moment. The following sections will develop a holistic peace thesis.

Holistic Peace 1: Human Aspects of Peace Gratification of basic human needs

The holistic peace thesis claims that though the state assumes an important role in national and global politics, human beings must also be empowered for a more peaceful society and globe. The thesis starts with the belief that potential power inheres in each human agency to contribute to transforming the social and global situations filled with complex challenges into more harmonious and sustainable ones.

The first aspect of the empowerment of human beings is the gratification of basic human needs. All human beings have basic needs including optimum food requirements, clean water, safe shelter, access to basic health and welfare services, and enjoyment of quality education.⁶ It also means respect for each individual's dignity and the construction of a social environment that allows them to enjoy a stable and harmonious life with others.⁷ The argument for the satisfaction of basic needs illustrates that the dangers to each human citizen's safety and survival caused by chronicle poverty, public health hazards, and human rights abuses must be considered as a global challenge since

⁴ See P.O. Richmond, *The Transformation of Peace* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ See A.T. Ariyaratne, "Sarvodaya Shramadana's Approach to Peacebuilding" in *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. D. Chappell (Boston: Wisdom Publications), 69-77.

⁷ See S. Tadjbakhsh and A.M. Chenoy, *Human Security: Concepts and implications* (London: Routledge, 2007).

such situations cause social and national instability, the rise of violence and crime, and even war. 8

Putting basic needs at the center of security discourse refers to a progressive move away from the traditional wisdom of international relations assuming the state as the central actor.⁹ The incorporation of basic needs means that the well-being, quality of public health, and dignity of the individual are the ultimate goals of the state and political systems.¹⁰ Though national security is important, the manner of operations of the national and international levels of organization relies on the participation or consent of the individual persons whose aggregate behavior forms organized actions.¹¹ The status of the individual is not consubstantial to the state but an equal subject in international relations.¹² Social, national, and global stability depends upon the gratification of the basic needs of each citizen and their empowerment as an active agent to make society, the state, and the globe more humane and open to diversity.

Human internal enrichment

Apart from the satisfaction of basic human needs, human internal enrichment is also crucial to building a more harmonious society and globe. Though intellectual and spiritual empowerment of human beings would take time, empowerment of individuals and social and global transformation are interconnected since our ideas, visions, and feelings shape how we relate with others, and how we frame our socio-political and economic realities.¹³ The fundamental resource for building a culture of peace is the people themselves.¹⁴

⁸ See B.H. Gunaratna, "The Happiness of Peace" in *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. D. Chappell (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999), 165-173.

⁹ See D. Dunn, "Articulating an alternative: the contribution of John Burton" in *Review of International Studies* 21 (1995): 197-208.

¹⁰ Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy, 2007.

¹¹ See B. Wedge, "The Individual, the Group and War" in *Conflict: Readings in Management and Resolution*, eds. J. Burton and F. Dukes (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990), 101-116.

¹² Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy, 2007.

¹³ See L. Navarro-Castro and J. Nario-Galace, *Peace Education: A Pathway to a Culture of Peace* (Quezon City, Philippines: Center for Peace Education, Miriam College, 2008).

The reason to discuss internal enrichment is that human interaction in any public place entails epistemological, ontological, and ethical questions: How we should treat and interact with others having different backgrounds, views, and values in a public place; How we should approach different and opposing views, perspectives, visions, and interests on a fundamental level; and How we should examine and understand socio-political and economic structures and systems for more humane and sustainable ones. The following section will develop the internal enrichment of citizens.

The first component of internal enrichment is reflective selfawareness. We build a certain frame of reference—a pattern of worldviews, cultural values, political orientations, religious doctrines, and moral-ethical norms — to lead a meaningful life.¹⁵ However, when people judge others having different values, views, or interests negatively without deep consideration, it can lead to discrimination, violence, or conflict. Managing reactive and impulsive interactions with others is important. Reflective self-awareness is to practice stepping back from our current frame of reference to critically examine our pattern of thought, values, and logic shaping our experience.¹⁶ Reflective self-awareness involves many things including simple awareness of an object, event, or state, and awareness of a perception, thought, feeling, disposition, and action.¹⁷

Since our speech and actions are derived from our own mind state, we need to control our own minds to act and speak in positive and harmonious ways.¹⁸ Negative attitudes towards others would cause antagonistic speech and behavior. Divisive or malicious speech and behavior will end up creating a cycle of mutually divisive and antagonistic relationships. However, if we become aware of that cycle through the practice of reflective self-awareness, we can, even if temporarily, stop the cycle and make room to change the direction of interaction from a negative and divisive one to a neutral and eventually constructive one.

¹⁵ See J. Mezirow, "Transformative Learning as Discourse," in *Journal of Transformative Education* 1 no. 1 (2003):58-63.

¹⁶ See J.Y. Park, *Buddhism and Postmodernity: Zen, Huayan, and the Possibility of Buddhist Postmodern Ethics* (Plymouth, United Kingdom: Lexington Books, 2008).

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ See Venerable Kosan Sunim. "My Way of Pilgrimage to Peace" in *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. D.W. Chappell (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999), 121-128.

Constructive communication between peoples requires two things - mindfulness of respective historical and cultural differences and the willingness to listen to one another without rushing into judgment.¹⁹ The practice of reflective self-awareness helps us to recognize that our existing beliefs, values, and norms are conditioned by socio-political, economic, and cultural environments.²⁰ Honing reflective self-awareness empowers us to sharpen flexible mind-state with thoughts and to be open to others' views, and values, and consequently enhance active listening skills. Α deepened understanding of the human-constructed nature of values, norms, and perspectives brought to the public sphere helps us to see others with no judgment and explore new visions, goals, and values together with them.²¹ Mindful disengagement enlarges attentiveness to broader dimensions of how the mind can work by going beyond sedimented habits of thinking and knowing.²²

The second element is non-dualistic thinking. It means to recognize that opposing or antithetical ideas and values are not fixed opposites but are complementary and practice synthetic ideas and values.²³ Though developing conceptual thought or linguistic knowledge is essential to human beings, the fundamental problem is our propensity to believe our frame of reference as absolute or universal, reifying our view of reality, which causes us to be dogmatic and exclusive of other views or thoughts.²⁴ Becoming conditioned by a socio-political, cultural, or religious frame is fundamentally of a dualistic nature of thought and divides the world into in-groups and out-groups.²⁵ Dualistic thought is informed by the principle of the excluded middle and as the dichotomous relationship between in-

¹⁹ See F. Dallmayr, *Mindfulness and Letting Be: On Engaged Thinking and Acting* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014).

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ See M.M. Schlitz, C. Vieten, C., and E.M. Miller, "Worldview Transformation and the Development of Social Consciousness" in *Journal of Consciousness Studies* 17, no. 7-8 (2010): 18-36.

²² See T. Hart, "Teaching for wisdom," in *Encounter; Education for Meaning and Social Justice* 14, no. 2 (2001): 3-16.

²³ See M.A. Max-Neef, "Foundations of Transdisciplinarity," in *Ecological Economics* 53 (2005): 5-16.

²⁴ See V. Ramanan, *Nagarjuna's Philosophy As Presented in the Maha-Prajnaparamita-Sutra* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978).

²⁵ See J. Wade, *Changing of Mind: A Holonomic Theory of the Evolution of Consciousness* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1996).

group and out-group becomes deeply embedded, extreme in-group self-interests are pursued at the expense of others.²⁶

The Cold War, rising tensions between the US and China, and the Russian invasion of Ukraine are political, military, and economic confrontations. However, at the bottom of those conflicts and wars lies the confrontation of absolutized ideas and values that are mutually negative in a dualistic manner. Forming the habitual ways of seeing the complex reality with fixed perspectives in a dualistic manner restricts the patterns of awareness and limits our intentional range and capacity for meaning-making commitments.²⁷ Therefore, it is crucial to approach different and opposing values, norms, ideologies, and ideas beyond the dualistic mode.

For example, Buddhist philosophy presents the fundamental interdependent nature of conceptual thought that frames our reality. The central approach of the Buddhist revelation of the unreality to build any form of conceptual thought as the independent and absolute view is to expose all views or systems of thought to "bi-negation."²⁸ It is the fundamental contradiction of any form of conceptualization: while one concept needs the other that opposes it, the latter needs the former to make sense. However, the former itself requires the latter and eventually infinite regress continues without end, which leads to the recognition of the ultimate unreality of conceptual thought of any form including nihilism to exist as independent.²⁹ Knowing dependence on any conceptual framework enables us to understand that any value, norm, or view that shapes dichotomous human relations cannot be seen as existing outside of the purview of interdependency.³⁰ The interdependent nature of opposing views or values does not deny the differences but advocates a reformulation of dualistic thinking and the practice of non-dualistic thinking.

While the logic of the excluded middle fixates on differences or oppositions, non-dualistic thinking sees them as dynamic relationality

²⁶ See S. Nagatomo, "The Logic of the Diamond Sutra: A is not A, therefore it is A," in *Asian Philosophy* 10, no. 3, 2000, pp. 213-244.

²⁷ See P.D. Hershock, *Buddhism in the Public Sphere: Reorienting Global Interdependence* (London: Routledge, 2006).

²⁸ See P. Kakol, "A general theory of worldviews based on Madhyamika and process philosophies," in *Philosophy East and West* 52, no. 2 (2002): 207-223.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ See P.D. Hershock, *Valuing Diversity: Buddhist Reflection on Realizing a More Equitable Global Future* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2012).

and temporal phenomena.³¹ In dualistic thinking, opposing views or perspectives are seen as fixed pairs of opposites. For instance, capitalism and communism were understood as totally antithetical. However, in non-dualistic thinking, both need each other to make sense. Even though they fought each other in human history, their respective standpoints need the opposite to be established. Any form of opposing views or thoughts is relative and interdependent upon the opposite. The knowledge of the ultimate untenability of any view or value as absolute and complete allows us to recognize their fundamental insubstantiality and to reach a state of unknowing.³² The state of unknowing, rather than a negative state, is liberating as an immeasurable creative springboard for possibilities for new ideas and visions.³³

Developing non-dualistic thinking is the enhancement of the capacity for synthetic thinking as the difference is not a static absence of identity but the dynamic presence of conditions for mutual contribution to co-creating something new with no closure.³⁴ To practice philosophical contemplation on how we should understand and approach prima facie opposing or antithetical views, values, and ideas on a deeper level is not easy. However, since our thinking is at the base of human behavior, it is crucial to develop a critical eye on how we think.³⁵ A transformation of our fundamental way of thinking about and seeing the world is of great importance in order to manage the tendency to fall into binary thinking in a complex reality filled with diverse views, values, and norms.³⁶

The third component of human internal enrichment is compassion. Compassion is an acknowledgment of shared humanity beyond borders and the commonalities in both suffering and

³¹ Ibid.

³² See J.M. Tirad, "The Buddhist Notion of Emptiness and its Potential Contribution to Psychology and Psychotherapy," in *International Journal of Transpersonal Studies* 27 (2008): 74-79.

³³ See Dallmayr, 2014.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ See Thich Nhat Hahn, "Ahinsa: The Path of Harmlessness" in *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*, ed. D.W. Chappell (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999), 155-164.

³⁶ See J.L. Garfield, *Buddhist Ethics: A Philosophical Exploration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022).

aspirations among people with different identities.³⁷ Practicing compassion enhances the consciousness of the oneness of humanity in the middle of diversity.³⁸ It means a conscious transition from self-centeredness and dichotomous views of in-group and out-group relations as fixed boundaries to an all-inclusive state of awareness of human fundamental interconnection. The awareness of the fundamental interdependence of humanity does not deny the individuality or uniqueness of each person or group; rather it transforms how we understand human identity. Instead of seeing identity as an independent and fixed entity with immutable boundaries, it is to understand it as an open and dynamic living system within a larger inter-relational web of life.³⁹

Seeing identity as the larger interdependent web of a system beyond but including distinct social identities affects global justice. Justice means to act with a sense of fairness towards others, uphold the principle of equality in terms of dignity and rights, and reject all forms of exploitation and oppression.⁴⁰ Social and global justice requires the power of imagination and the courage to go beyond the existing patterns of current individuality and various boundaries.⁴¹ With compassion, we become aware that our own well-being and that of others are inseparable.⁴² Human beings are embedded in a complex fabric of experience or in a domain of human inter-being, wherein people having distinct identities respect the integral quality of fellow beings and help each other discover their own potential to contribute to mutual well-being. The practice of compassion inspires people to embody social freedom and participation in the social life of a community of solidarity in which they are sympathetic and help each other to realize each other's justified needs in an interdependent context.

³⁷ Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace, 2008.

³⁸ See H.B. Daneth, "Towards an integrative theory of peace education" in *Journal of Peace Education* 3, no. 1 (2006): 55-78.

³⁹ See D. Loy, "Indra's Postmodern Net" in *Philosophy East and West* 43, no. 3 (1993): 481-510.

⁴⁰ Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace, 2008.

⁴¹ A. Adarkar and D. Lee Keiser, "The Buddha in the Classroom: Toward a Critical Spiritual Pedagogy," in *Journal of Transformative Education* 5, no. 3 (2007): 246-261.

⁴² See F. Vaughan, "What is Spiritual Intelligence?" in *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* 42, no. 2 (2002): 16-33.

Holistic Peace 2: Socio-political and economic aspects of peace Interconnection between democracy and sustainable economy and internally empowered citizens

How we behave and live our lives are shaped by larger sociopolitical and economic circumstances in which we are embedded.⁴³ Human holistic development – the satisfaction of basic human needs and intellectual or philosophical and spiritual development – and socio-political and economic components of peace are co-constitutive and strengthen each other. Recognition of all citizens as moral equals amid difference, fairness or impartial treatment and respect for all persons, and inclusion of all persons as possessing equal standing in the moral and political community constitute social justice in terms of equal participation in politics and economy.⁴⁴ This section will unfold critical inquiry into democracy and economy.

On Democracy

The principles of democracy are the dignity and liberty of the citizens, equality before the law, and pluralism.⁴⁵ Liberal democracy in the Western world liberated human beings from various external constraints and enhanced freedom and liberty.⁴⁶ The problem with liberal democracy is its tendency to stress competitive elections and majoritarianism, which often can end up with divisive relationships between/among those having different or opposing values, views, and

⁴³ See E.F. Dukes, "Structural Forces in Conflict and Conflict Resolution in Democratic Society" in *Conflict Resolution: Dynamics, Process and Structure*, ed. H.W.Jeong (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 155-171.

⁴⁴ See B. A. Reardon and D. T. Snauwaert, "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* 5, no. 1 (2011): 1-14.

⁴⁵ See B. Crick, Democracy: *A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁴⁶ See F. Dallmayr, *Post-Liberalism: Recovering a Shared World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

interests.⁴⁷ To overcome such a problem, deliberative democracy was proposed.

As the talk-centric view of democracy stresses inter-human communication, deliberative democracy places primary emphasis on the free and open interactive engagement among human beings.⁴⁸ The deliberative process seeks to facilitate the discovery of broader interests beyond one's own and integrate diverse perspectives on complex social problems in a community, region, etc. It requires human beings to construct arguments that acknowledge the diversity of values, perspectives, and interests as well as appeal to the common good that they can agree on.⁴⁹

The holistic peace thesis interconnects the internal enrichment of citizens and the constructive deliberative process. Free and sincere dialogue requires its participants to be capable of transcending their positional confinement, which is dependent upon the cognitive, ethical, and self-reflective capacities of citizens.⁵⁰ Internally empowered citizens with reflective and compassionate minds facilitate perception of the wider scope of the systemic and dynamic inter-relationship of the diversity of values, and interests, acknowledge the dignity of all participants, and enact more complex and integrative forms of discourse. By recognizing the fluid nature of value, view, and interest, we can engage in dialogical interaction as an open-ended process to keep creating new values and visions with those having different or opposing visions and goals.⁵¹

In a holistic peace view, deliberative democracy is a transformative learning that requires citizens to embark on the ongoing transformation in terms of their self-definition and their self-centering to appreciate the demands of otherness.⁵² Deliberative democracy is not a predetermined product but a continuous process that demands the constant openness of all participants to new learning experiences, new boundary-crossings, and the sharpening of

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ See N. Curato, M. Hammond, and J. B. Min, *Power in Deliberative Democracy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

⁴⁹ See F. Dallmayr, *The Promise of Democracy* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2010).

⁵⁰ Reardon and Snauwaert, 2011.

⁵¹ Hershock, 2012.

⁵² See F. Dallmayr, *Achieving Our World: Toward a Global and Plural Democracy* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001).

ethical sensibilities capable of fostering the common good that is new to all of them.⁵³

The deliberative process is a dynamic process in which minds engaged in deliberation themselves are challenged and transformed, leading to the recognition of untapped human potential for infinite creativity.⁵⁴ Enacting deliberative democracy as a transformative process founded upon the practice of multiple abilities of mind including reflective self-awareness, compassion, and non-dualistic thinking would allow citizens to experience the continuous cocreation of provisional solutions to any subjects delivered.

It would not be easy to develop deliberative democracy based on the participation of internally empowered citizens in order to achieve reciprocally strengthening political practice. However, one of the critical challenges for current democracy is the deepening split between governance and people's political engagement.⁵⁵ For instance, Maboloc's insightful book analyzing the Philippines' democracy would epitomize that. One of the core problems with the Philippine democracy is that those in power have failed to listen to the citizens who have entrusted power and marginalized or alienated them, which allowed the rise of Duterte into power.⁵⁶ However, Maboloc acknowledges that while radical democracy appears to be promising in a way, it is filled with many uncertainties and instabilities.⁵⁷ Therefore, it is of great importance to make efforts to transform Philippine society by sharpening its democratic processes that entail the active participation of citizens.⁵⁸

Governing institutions of any kind are dependent upon people. One of the key points for democracy is how citizens and those in power can build an alliance based upon trust and norms of reciprocity so that governing bodies reflect the voices of citizens and put the needs of citizens at the center of policies. Creating and consolidating such relationships requires the development of the critical eyes of

⁵³ See F. Dallmayr, *Horizons of Difference: Engaging with Others* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2020).

⁵⁴ Dallmayr, 2010

⁵⁵ Dallmayr, 2019.

⁵⁶ See C. R. Maboloc, *Radical Democracy in the Time of Duterte* (Cotabato City, Philippines: ElziStyle Bookshop, 2022).

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

citizens participating in democracy. Internally enriched citizens must create and cultivate competent, caring, and compassionate politicians.

It would take time for citizens including those in the Philippines to become intellectually, philosophically, and spiritually mature. Nevertheless, promoting internal enrichment and deliberative democracy on par will help us build a culture of trust, reciprocity, and mutual learning between citizens and sharpen critical eyes upon politicians and public officials. When society or state becomes filled with intellectually, philosophically, and spiritually empowered citizens, a solidarity between public officials and politicians and citizens will be nurtured in the long run.

On economy

Though the economy is essential to human beings, the holistic peace thesis takes a cautionary stance toward the neoliberal economy. Neoliberalism sees the world as a potentially free global market wherein the exchange of goods for profit overrides other dimensions of cross-border relations.⁵⁹ A neoliberal economy tries to maintain the economic power that resides in capitalist production and transactions to develop new areas for investment and gain benefit from the variety of goods for consumption.⁶⁰ While uplifting many out of absolute poverty, neoliberalism has caused inequality in wealth as well as environmental deregulation and cultural deterioration.⁶¹

Neoliberal belief in the liberating power of the free market has been founded upon unmitigated greed as an engine of economic prosperity.⁶² While neoliberal economic behavior is motivated by individuals' desires for material satisfaction, the incessant striving to get as much as they can for themselves hardly seems conducive to the contentment that has been conventionally associated with

⁵⁹ See M. Freeden, *Liberalism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Sulak, Sivaraksa, *The Wisdom of Sustainability: Buddhist Economics for the* 21st Century (Asheville, North Carolina: Chiron Publications, 2016).

⁶² See S. M. Emmanuel, "How much is enough? Greed, Prosperity, the Economic Problem of Happiness: A Comparative Perspective" in *Philosophy's Big Questions: Comparing Buddhist and Western Approaches*, ed. Emmanuel (New York: Columbia University Press, 2021), 205-249.

happiness.⁶³ The greed-driven striving for material wealth fails to bring human beings any ultimate satisfaction as they are obsessed with the notion that neoliberal life is fundamentally a competitive struggle among human beings and the losers become alienated and marginalized and yet the winners cannot relax in contentment since they feel that they must keep seeking material wealth.⁶⁴

In a holistic peace thesis, we need to differentiate between needs and wants. While the former is essential to us, the latter causes greed and lust. Satisfaction of basic needs is essential for internal maturity. However, excessive aspiration for redundant material profit would create a cycle of unending greed, lust, and even hatred towards others.⁶⁵ Indulgence in economic activity to satisfy material desires without considering possible harmful effects will not contribute to our authentic well-being.⁶⁶ Cravings and attachment to material gains at the expense of others will lead to negative consequences for the whole society including the rise of conflict.⁶⁷

In addressing the desire for excessive material gains, for instance, the idea of a sufficiency economy is proposed. Though the question of what is sufficient – not only to meet basic needs but to achieve holistic well-being – needs to be continually reevaluated by everyone with a distinct background,⁶⁸ the UNDP Thailand Human Development Report 2007 deserves to be mentioned. Titled *Sufficiency Economy and Human Development*, the report presented the need for Buddhist mental and spiritual practices in engaging in economic activities. 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

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ See J. Shi, "Buddhist Economics: A Cultural Alternative," in *The Kyoto Manifesto for Global Economics: The Platform of Community, Humanity, and Spirituality,* eds. S. Yamashita, T. Yagi, T., S. and Hill (Switzerland: Springer, 2018, 417-436).

⁶⁶ See J. F. Tomer, "Why Buddhist economics is needed: Overcoming large scale biophysical and socio-economic dysfunctions," in *Real-World Economics Review* 82 (2017): 143-158.

⁶⁷ See K. T. Konecki, "Contemplation for Economists: Towards A Social Economy Based on Empathy and Compassion," in *Economics and Sociology* 10, no. 3 (2017): 11-24.

⁶⁸ J. See Essen, "Sufficiency Economy and Santi Asoke: Buddhist Economic Ethics for a Just and Sustainable World," in *Journal of Buddhist Ethics* 17 (2010): 70-99.

consequences of those actions; self-immunity—self-discipline or the ability to withstand external shocks and cope with uncontrollable events; and integrity—virtuous behaviors including honesty, diligence and non-exploitation.⁶⁹ The report presents human inner development as a critical component of a sustainable economy.⁷⁰

Members of the Bor Kul sub-district community in Songkla province in southern Thailand make a living by fishing and enjoy supplementary income from palm trees. In cooperation with a local NGO, the Bor Kul community built the Bor Kul Social Investment Fund and lent money not only to their community members but to other communities with no interest.⁷¹ The fund also provides advice to help any community to create and run their own businesses.⁷² The fund's fundamental ethos is that they cannot achieve quintessential happiness and well-being if their neighbors and other communities remain in difficult situations.⁷³ Their economic enterprise revolves around the Buddhist thought that people need to make efforts to achieve quality of life and consider society's needs beyond narrow self-interests, as well as work with contentment rather than seeking unlimited material gains.⁷⁴ The case implies that authentic happiness grows in proportion to the enhancement of our ability to control our greed and build the socio-economic conditions that extend generosity and compassion to anyone beyond boundaries.75

In the Western neoliberal discourse, human beings are assumed to be rational and self-interested beings prepared to act justly but also limited in their social and altruistic motivation.⁷⁶ Human beings are understood as atomistic individuals who are instrumentally oriented, calculating choices of comparable values or

⁶⁹ The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) *Thailand Human Development Report 2007: Sufficiency Economy and Human Development.* Bangkok. At: <u>HDR-C EN (undp.org)</u>

⁷⁰ Essen, 2010.

⁷¹ See W. Prayukvong, "A Buddhist Economic Approach to the Development of Community Enterprises: A Case Study from Southern Thailand," in *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 29 (2005): 1171-1185.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Emmanuel, 2021.

⁷⁶ See C. Mosler, "Can Buddhism Inform the Contemporary Western Liberal Debate on the Distribution of Wealth?" in *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, 18 (2011): 321-355.

profits.⁷⁷ Many Westerners take a sort of ontological and axiological individualism for granted.⁷⁸ Though social justice is discussed in the West, mainstream neoliberal economic discourse emphasizes self-regard as opposed to regard for others and places little value on relational virtues with others as atomistic individual self tends to presuppose that her/his interests and happiness are independent of those of others.⁷⁹

While the Western view of independent and self-autonomous human beings is appreciated, human beings can also be understood as potentially relational and compassionate individuals embodying mutual interdependence to exercise restraint on excessive selfcentered views of profit and interest. For instance, Buddhist ethics seeks to correct our tendency to see and experience ourselves as standing as fixated independent agents at the center of a moral universe who take their benefit and welfare as the most rational basis for action, and others as of secondary interest.⁸⁰ Human beings can practice a non-egocentric experience of ourselves as part of an interdependent world between those having different identities and interests.⁸¹ The aim of economic activity based on non-egocentric and relational self is to realize human spiritual potential and contribute to people's overall well-being—mental well-being, inner freedom, as well as basic material security for people beyond ethnic, cultural and religious boundaries.82

Economic development in holistic peace thesis must be founded upon variety of branches of knowledge and ethical principles.⁸³ Developing mutual trust, social capital and social solidarity across boundaries, spiritual maturity and emotional intelligence with which to manage self-centered greed and caring for environmental integrity would be the goal of economy.⁸⁴ Given the prevalence of poverty and other human miseries around the world, it is not easy to empower citizens to understand and practice economy in a transdisciplinary way. However, promoting holistic vision of

⁷⁷ Essen, 2010.
⁷⁸ Garfield, 2022.
⁷⁹ Ibid.
⁸⁰ Garfield, 2022.
⁸¹ Ibid.
⁸² Ibid.
⁸³ Sivaraksa, 2016.
⁸⁴ Ibid.

economy will contribute to balancing socio-economic systems to be fair and sustainable within individual countries and on a global level in the long run.

Holistic Peace 3: Global aspects of peace

The previous section examined holistic human development and its connection with democracy and the economy. However, a holistic peace thesis needs to include the argument of how the global arena should be transformed into a more humane and creative one.

A critical problem with the liberal peace thesis has been its failure to take into serious account the historical co-constitution of the global, national, and communal dynamics and the asymmetric power relations.⁸⁵ There was the belief that there exists a socio-political and cultural-historical divide between the West and the non-West.⁸⁶ The West has put itself at the geographical center and justified its presumed right to order the world.⁸⁷ However, complex global society situations require us to critique the existing global politics to make it more inclusive and dialogical between the West and the non-West and among big powers.

Transformative global politics

The promotion of transformative global politics takes an antiessentialist attitude towards the public sphere of any kind. The dynamics of the public place reflect human epistemologies or conceptual thought constructions as it is an intersubjective place wherein people bring different and opposing values, norms, views, or interests. The negative or confrontational event in a public place is the confrontation of different or opposing values, norms, ideologies, and interests.

We need to acknowledge that any kind of constructed values, views, and interests brought into the public place cannot dominate the

⁸⁵ See S. Nadarajah and D. Rampton, "The limits of hybridity and the crisis of liberal peace," in *Review of International Studies* 41, no. 1 (2015): 49-72.

⁸⁶ See M. Sabaratnam, "Postcolonial and decolonial approaches" in *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, eds. J. Baylis, S. Smith, and P. Owens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 160-176.

⁸⁷ See S. Coutinho, "Mutual Openness and Global Justice: Learning from Ancient Chinese Philosophy," in *Journal of World Philosophies* 6 (2021): pp. 105-117.

public place as absolute or complete.⁸⁸ Rather, the public place including a global one should be understood as an emptied and openended process. Emptiness here does not refer to a vacuum but infinite potential as generative power producing new values, visions, ideas, and common interests.⁸⁹ What is commonly taken to be immutable including socio-political institutions or any other public places are historically dynamic processes subject to change.⁹⁰

The challenge is to engage dialogical dynamics in which multiple thoughts, values, and alternative ways of knowing are celebrated. As we are in a contingent and interpenetrating world in which we must develop shared responses to unpredictable challenges, conventional politics of power need to be transformed into a politics of strength – a politics of mutual contribution rather than ideologically driven exercises of control.⁹¹ Founded upon the acknowledgment of the limits of dualistic 'either-or' thoughts in complex global situations. it is to value creativity from within the clash of different values, norms, and visions to embody continuous relational transformation in the direction of unprecedented and vet meaningful commitments to appreciative coordination among those having different or opposing views.⁹² It is a process of gradually initiating transformative relational dynamics, bringing differing people and their values and visions into new and systematic relationships without appealing to any fixed views and principles.93

In conventional dichotomous global politics, it would be ridiculed as a utopian thinking that the US, China, Russia, or other emerging powers take steps to dialogical and mutually transformative processes to resolve global challenges. However, since the global public place is an open place wherein no single political ideology or value can resolve global problems alone, global politics needs to be enacted as a process of transforming different elements into novel and mutually contributory relationships.⁹⁴

94 Ibid.

⁸⁸ Dallmayr, 2019.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Hershock, 2012.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ See P. D. Hershock, *Buddhism and Intelligence Technology: Toward a more Humane Future.* London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021.

Many wars, conflicts, or other global problems including Syria, Yemen, Ukraine, and so forth are not merely physically visible problems. They are conditioned by opposing or prima facie antithetical values, norms, visions, and interests. As widely acknowledged, many civil wars and conflicts including Syria, Yemen, and Israel-Palestine, to name a few, have been influenced by external big powers – whether global or regional – such as the US, Russia, China, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and others with distinct values, norms, thoughts, and interests.⁹⁵ Unless attachment to those values, norms, or interests they possess are critiqued and transformed, it would be almost impossible to resolve the wars and conflicts. Internal actors – both state and non-state ones – are responsible for the instabilities, wars, and conflict. However, external actors and their belief in mutually antithetical values, norms, and interests need to be critiqued as one of the core causes of wars and conflicts.

In the transformative global politics view, opposing or antithetical values including those of the US, China, Russia, and various regional powers are ontologically unstable and non-fixated. Conventional global politics has been practiced in a dichotomous way as if it were natural. However, its limits must be acknowledged more openly. The practical interdependence between the West and the non-West cannot be engaged adequately so long as they remain wedded to the belief in ontological divide and epistemological incompatibility founded upon the 'either-or' dualistic principle.⁹⁶ Changing values, norms, and narrow self-interests, though not easy, needs to be considered to embody gradual but continuous relational expansion and interdependence-enhancing improvisation to address global challenges including war and peace.⁹⁷

Self-critique and transformation of the West

A vision of transformative global politics has been proposed. Developing such global political dynamics requires the

⁹⁵ For example, Azar contributed to the analysis of conflict dynamics in the nexus between communal and national dynamics of conflict states or regions and the impacts of international political and economic dynamics including Sri Lanka, Palestine-Israel, and so on. Regarding the details, see E. Azar, *The Management of Protracted Social Conflict: Theory and Practice* (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1990).

⁹⁶ Hershock, 2021.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

epistemological, cognitive, and behavioral transformation of the actors involved, especially, the West that has assumed the core role in global politics. It means that the West needs to hone its self-critical and transformative mindset. One of the approaches would be to develop intercultural oriented International Relations education and research.

Existing Western-oriented International Relations has failed to show significant regard for theoretical insights from non-Western backgrounds.⁹⁸ Inter-paradigmatic debates including those between neo-liberals and neo-realists, or between positivists and postpositivists have been developed; however, they fail to appreciate the contributions of the non-West.⁹⁹ Despite the development of a variety of epistemic and ontological frameworks, the purview of theories of International Relations has been confined to the Western ones. To break through this confinement, non-Western philosophical and religious wisdom needs to be incorporated into International Relations.

For example, the incorporation of Buddhist philosophy into existing Western-oriented International Relations would contribute to expanding the purview of International Relations in terms of intellectual and educational terms. The core of Buddhist philosophy is the inherent interdependent nature of different and opposing theories and knowledge as all kinds of opposing or antithetical views and values are logically dependent on opposing views. The upshot of Buddhist philosophy is, rather than denying view or theory, to achieve the freedom from attachment to any pattern of thought as complete even when we are engaged in it.¹⁰⁰

Enacting non-reliance and the relinquishing of all fixed theories and perspectives of global dynamics and peace would empower the West to engage in constant critique of their assumptions and contribute to the creative production of new theories and knowledge of peace, which have not yet emerged, by combining different philosophical frameworks that are normally considered as mutually opposing. For example, an integrative approach between

⁹⁸ See A. Acharya, "Ethnocentrism and Emancipatory IR Theory" in *Disciplining Security*, eds. S. Arnold and J. Bier (Toronto: Centre for International and Security Studies, York University, 2000), 1-18.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ See D. Loy, "Mu and Its Implications," in *Zen Buddhism Today* 3 (1985): 108-124.

Realism and Liberalism, Liberalism and Critical Theory, and Liberalism and Post-structuralism, would not be irrational. Besides, the mixture of the non-Western views of peace and global dynamics and the variety of Western theories of International Relations including Buddhism and Critical Theory, Buddhism and Postcolonialism, Islam and Liberalism, and Islam and Post-structuralism, to name but a few, would empower Western-oriented International Relations research and education to be more intercultural and dialogical beyond the West and the non-West boundaries.

Such an intercultural philosophical approach to International Relations is not easy and would not bear fruit in the short run. However, continuous practice of International Relations founded upon the non-duality of theories and examination of the integrative approaches to different theories would empower the West to expand the purview of how they understand peace and global dynamics. Such practice would help the West become open to deconstruction of any form of provisional solution to peace and conflict to engage an unending process of adaptation and innovation with others having different cultural and religious values.

Self-critique of the West in a holistic peace thesis context means knowing the relative nature of Western-oriented theories of International Relations and the ultimate unreality to exist as independent knowledge to produce the complete vision of global dynamics and peace. Based on self-critique, self-transformation means enacting a transcendental approach to any view of peace and global dynamics and showing more flexible and improvising attitudes towards different religious and cultural contexts in approaching peace. In honing such a self-transformative mindset, the West would be empowered to explore diverse meanings of human rights, democracy or ideal politics, and peace according to distinct cultural and religious environments. When the self-critical and transformative abilities and mindset are sharpened, the West can become more open to approaching global dynamics beyond dichotomous and divisive ways with the non-West and emerging powers.

Conclusion

This research has examined a holistic peace thesis in a complex global society. Given the global situation, people might show

pessimistic prospects for the future. However, human beings shape the direction of society, nation, and globe. We need to construct a peace thesis that interconnects individuals, communities, nations, and the globe since they are co-constitutive and complement each other. What needs to be acknowledged is that both global structures and dynamics and human intellectual enterprise are not fixed substances; rather they are non-fixated processes. It does not mean downplaying the reality of global situations and the existing intellectual enterprise of International Relations. Nevertheless, the world is in the throes of an epochal change.¹⁰¹ While they perceive global problems facing themselves, humanity also witnesses the limits of how to address those problems effectively and creatively. A holistic peace thesis that places a holistic human empowerment and transformative process of public place of any form including global one would be of help to explore a more humane and sustainable future.

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¹⁰¹ See S. Western, *Leadership: A Critical Text* (London: SAGE, 2019).

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