

Post-liberal peacebuilding as intercultural philosophy: 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 raised its profile to build a hybrid peace that bridges liberal peace and culturally oriented 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 liberal West and non-West remain to be addressed in post-liberal peacebuilding. Without overcoming their asymmetric and hierarchical relationships, 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 Western liberals 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 centrisms that posits a philosophy represents itself for a whole humanity. Practice of intercultural philosophy hones our epistemological, methodological, ethical and cultural modesty for 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 peacebuilding, a critical appraisal of liberal peace from a Buddhist perspective is made, which allows this research to propose a holistic peace model.]

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

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Introduction

While liberal peacebuilding has played the central role in peacebuilding enterprise in the post-Cold War era, the critique of liberal peacebuilding required us to create a hybrid peace approach that connects liberal peace and non-Western peace, which is called post-liberal peacebuilding. However, the critical problem with existing post-liberal peacebuilding is that the asymmetric relationship – epistemic and structural asymmetries – remains un-addressed. While many would welcome a complementary relationship between the Western liberal peace and culturally oriented peace, without overcoming their asymmetric and hierarchical relationship, 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 Western liberals 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.

The first section presents the basic features of liberal peacebuilding, its critiques and post-liberal peacebuilding. The second section claims that Eurocentrism lies at the core of asymmetric relations in global socio-political and economic structures and intellectual enterprise between the West and non-West. Eurocentrism assumes the ontological divide between the West and non-West and West's historical, cultural, political, economic and intellectual distinctiveness in shaping the whole picture of global political and economic structures. The third section proposes intercultural philosophy as a key to address Eurocentrism. Intercultural philosophy is a process to be liberated from any form of centrisms that posits a philosophy represents itself for a whole humanity. 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 to consolidate conditions for dialogue to tackle global challenges including peacebuilding. As an exemplar of intercultural philosophy approach to post-liberal peacebuilding, the fourth section makes a critical appraisal of the key components of liberal peace from a Buddhist perspective. By critically examining how the spirits of liberal peace in Buddhist peace context are reformulated, the section presents a holistic peace model.

1 On post-liberal peacebuilding

1-1 Problem with liberal peacebuilding

Since 1990s, liberal peacebuilding has played the core role in peacebuilding enterprise (Newman et al, 2009) and its theoretical foundation is the liberal peace. Liberal peace posits that democracy and free-trade economic interdependence consolidate both national, regional and international order and stability (Richmond, 2014). 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 (Richmond, 2005). Consequently, the promotion of democracy, market-oriented economy, and human rights principles have been enacted as a package for lasting peace

However, liberal peacebuilding has invited growing criticism. The main critique is that liberal peacebuilding tends to ignore local engagement and lack consultation with local actors (Newman et al, 2009). In liberal peacebuilding, it has been assumed that external actors such as the United Nations, other international organizations, nongovernmental organizations and donor countries should play the central role in building peace. 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 (Richmond, 2014). As the thesis becomes the foundation for international peacebuilding enterprise, liberal peacebuilding has disguised itself as standardizing, universalistic framework applicable to any peacebuilding and failed to engage with local cultural practices of peacemaking and conflict resolution (Selby, 2013).

Liberal peacebuilding is also criticized for its the 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 (Newman, 2009). Rather than reflecting local preferences and needs, the process of liberal peacebuilding is seen as the promotion or imposition 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 (Richmond, 2011).

1-2 Basic feature of post-liberal peacebuilding

Based on the belief in multiple and contextual realities and truths, culturally and locally oriented peacebuilding is proposed as one of main hallmarks of post-liberal peacebuilding. In post-liberal peacebuilding, peacebuilding is considered as a cultural phenomenon in which a culturally shared set of values and beliefs are reflected in the perception of conflict and its resolution (Fry and Fry, 1997). Achievement of stable peace relies on local community initiatives and commitment to local institutions, customs and norms to give free expression of local voices, needs and forms of politics (Newman, 2009).

However, culturally-oriented 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 and views of peace within a cultural local sphere are more complex, incoherent, and fragmented according to distinct local individuals and groups (Simons and Zanker, 2014). 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 at the local level (Simons and Zanker, 2014). 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' (Newman et al, 2009).

While cultural orientation must be respected, post-liberal peace enterprise needs both internal and external commitments: international actors, local actors and constituencies cannot operate effectively without each other (Richmond, 2011).

2 Eurocentrism and limits of existing post-liberal peace

However, while many would agree that post-liberal peace/building requires the West and non-West to work together, what is missing in existing post-liberal peace argument is how the conventional asymmetric relationship between the liberal West and non-West is overcome to build a 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.

Global socio-political and economic injustice is underpinned by epistemic injustice, that is a situation in which the powerful liberal West 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 (Schepen and Graness, 2019). The

unequal access to knowledge and theory building has allowed the West to approach global problems exclusively from a Western perspective and silenced and marginalized non-Western epistemologies and their understandings of peace as equal values as Westerners' (Mungwini, 2018).

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 a basic and unbridgeable cultural-historical divide between the West and non-West (Sabaratnam, 2013). 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 (Sabaratnam, 2013). The problem with Eurocentrism is its propensity to privilege its frame of reference as absolute and complete and the reification of understanding of reality and the objectification of the other. The belief in the universality and completeness for its frame of reference causes the West to be dogmatic and exclusive of other views and thoughts (Ramanan, 1978).

Absoluteness and completeness of Eurocentric view causes the West to be predominated by the dualistic thought. Dualistic thought is informed by the principle of the excluded middle (Nicolescu, 2006) or "either-or" stance (Nagatomo, 2000). When the West becomes disconnected from non-West as a result of dualistic or dichotomous thought, it becomes easier for the West to project negative qualities upon the outside, which promotes self-righteousness that the West has been entrusted to design the framework of peace that is universal. The dualistic stance swings from extreme to extreme, and sticks to dead-ends, whereby values, ideas, or norms of the West are not understood as one of many alternatives, but the only right one.

Forming sedimented ways of seeing the dynamic and complex reality with fixed perspectives founded upon dualistic thought mode restricts the patterns of awareness and limits intentional range and capacity for meaningful commitments (Hershock, 2006). 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 (Nicolescu, 2006), 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 (Sabaratnam, 2013). As many in the West are used to thinking of the world and problems including conflict through Eurocentric perspectives, possibilities for alternative responses to

conflict, poverty, political crisis and sustainable peace different to liberal peace are circumscribed.

Though the emergence of post-liberal peace/building reflects the limits of liberal peace, the deep and fundamental problems of Eurocentrism and dualistic thought underpinning how we think, and research peace and peacebuilding remain. Post-liberal hybrid approach reproduces the Eurocentrism, dualism and hierarchies inherent to the relationship between the West and non-West (Nadarajah and Rampton, 2015). To make post-liberal peace authentic, how Eurocentric thought can be addressed needs to be integrated into peace/building research agenda.

3 Intercultural philosophy for post-liberal peace approach

Intercultural philosophy is a philosophical attitude that no one philosophy is the philosophy for the whole humanity (Mall, 2000). It is a process of emancipation from all kinds of centrisms to view and reflect critically and empathically our own philosophical tradition from the point of view of another and vice versa (Mall, 2000). 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 to build and consolidate conditions for a common global discourse and dialogue of humanity beyond the narrow limits of the East-West dichotomy (Mall, 2000).

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 (Mall, 2000). And dualistic “either-or” logic or the principle of contradiction is not well suited to promote intercultural philosophy as approach to overcome asymmetric relations between the West and non-West and build a dialogical relation. Post-liberal peace based on intercultural philosophy needs to enact non-dualistic thinking and knowing as its foundation.

It means to understand the interdependent and interpenetrating nature of different frames of reference presenting distinct understandings of reality. While the logic of excluded middle staticizes and fixates differences or oppositions, non-dualistic thinking and knowing sees them as dynamic relationality and temporal phenomena (Hershock, 2012), whereby *prima facie* opposing or incompatible views are not seen as hard and fixed part of opposites but as inter-relational and interpenetrating constructs. This refers to neither erasure of differences nor demise of all distinctions into all-frozen

sameness. Rather, it means to transform how we understand differences and oppositions beyond dualistic mode.

Based on the interdependent nature of conceptual or linguistic frames of reference forming different view of reality, we learn to understand that any form of symbolic knowledge shaping dichotomous relationship cannot be seen as existing outside the purview of interdependency (Muller, 1998). Non-dualistic thinking and knowing is the recognition of the total and interminable conflict in conceptual or linguistic frame of reference claiming its absolute and complete status and the acknowledgement that the harmony of the world is a harmony of opposites and contradiction. The transcendence of dualistic thought helps us understand the opposite of a deep truth is another deep truth and hold multiplex and complementary both/and thinking (Braud and Anderson, 1998).

Undergirded by non-dualistic thinking, peace in intercultural philosophy involves continuous, relationally-expanding and interdependent-enriching improvisation, which allows us to experience differences or even oppositions as an opportunity to mutual insight and inspiration to explore something new. It is the lived enacted activity of being different in the world (Hershock, 2012) and the ongoing development of new views and meanings from within things as they have come to be. It is not the abandonment of social and cultural values, worldviews or norms each culture develops and accepts. It is their meaningful revision and reorientation in differing contexts so that we can draw inspiration from those having different or opposing ideas or norms.

What peace/building as intercultural philosophy based on non-dualistic thinking implies for post-liberal peace/building is to embody the dialogical interconnectedness and mutual co-constitutive relations between West and non-West. It means 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 (Schepen and Graness, 2019). It also implies to examine what non-West can learn from the Western liberal peace and what the West can learn from non-Western cultures, religions and philosophies to broaden its view of peace and transform itself to engage peacebuilding enterprise.

4 Buddhist critical appraisal of liberal peace

4-1 Buddhist inner peace

4-1-1 Introduction to Buddhism: Human mind on focus

Liberal peace focuses 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 focus of Buddhism is human mind, which is stated in the Dhamapada¹: “All experience is preceded by mind, led by mind, made by mind” (Fronsdal, 2005: 1). Further, the Surangama Sutra² 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” (Luk, 2001: 16). Though these statements do not deny the existence of objects outside our minds, the qualities and attributes of things and objects are dependent upon and made up of mind (Lai, 1977). The state of the world around us reflects the condition of our minds (Ramanan, 1978).

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” (Fronsdal, 2005: 1). 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” (Fronsdal, 2005: 1). 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 (Matsuo, 1981). The main focus of Buddhist philosophy is epistemological, that is, how our way of knowing and understanding the world or more specifically, conceptual thought or frame of reference shaping our reality affects peace and conflict dynamics.

4-1-2 Buddhist view of conflict dynamics

In a Buddhist view, the main cause of our problems is internal. The analysis of Buddhist internal or epistemological dynamics of conflict and peace does not aim to deny 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. Critical analysis of human epistemology and development of inner peace

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1. Dhamapada is a collection of sayings of the Buddha.
 2. Surangama Sutra is a sutra in Mahayana Buddhism. Especially it has been influential in Chinese Chan Buddhist school.

theory allows us to broaden the purview of our understanding of peace and conflict.

Though conflict or violence involves variety of causes and factors, one of them is our belief and enactment of our value, worldview or perspective as absolute or complete. We inhabit socially constructed and historically evolved life-worlds that form certain cultural patterns—identities, beliefs, values and norms—as scaffolding for meaningful experience (Reysen and Katzarska-Miller, 2013). Getting our minds socially conditioned means that 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 conceptually framed reality to lead a meaningful life (Mezirow, 2003).

However, the fundamental problem with building frame of reference is our propensity to privileging our frame of reference as absolute or universal, reifying our understanding of reality and objectifying the other (Zajonc, 2006). 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 (Ramanan, 1978). Once frame 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 (Der-lan, 2006).

4-1-3 Buddhist inner peace

As the mixture of the belief in absolute status of frame of reference constitutes the conflict and violence, the path to inner peace is to control our own mind dynamics and overcome extreme attachment to certain thought or frame of reference.

The first aspect of Buddhist inner peace is the practice of reflective self-awareness. Reflective self-awareness is the practice to step back from our current frame of reference to critically examine our pattern of thought, values and logics that shape our experience (Park, 2008). Due to the claim for the completeness of certain frame of reference, we become dogmatic and exclude other views or thoughts.

Reflective self-awareness helps us to recognize that all ways of thinking and knowing are constructed, contextual and contingent. Through the awareness, we learn to know that alternative ways of thinking and knowing are available and to be open to others' views, values and norms to explore more inclusive ones. The development of self-knowledge through reflective self-critique generates pliability and flexibility with thoughts

(Schlitz et al, 2010). We can sharpen the capacity to simultaneously hold multiple perspectives and patterns of thought that depends on an awareness that embraces all perspectives without adhering to a position in any form as complete to approach the reality (Hart et al, 2000). The practice of meta-cognitive awareness like reflective self-awareness stimulates worldview transformation since it can bring us back to square one, from which revision of our model of the world becomes possible (Schlitz et al, 2010). By integrating reflective self-awareness into our intellectual and practical enterprise of peace for constant critique of our values and assumptions, the possibility of transcending a particular belief system and approaching phenomenal world from multiple perspectives will be a viable reality.

The second aspect is the practice of compassion. Originating from the Latin *co-suffering*, compassion is an acknowledgement of shared humanity and the commonalities in both suffering and aspiration among those having different identities (Pruitt and McCollum, 2010). 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 (Hoyt, 2014). 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 (Pruitt and McCollum, 2010).

The practice of compassion also refers to the practice of unity-based worldview. The unity-based worldview is the consciousness of the oneness of humanity (Daneth, 2006). It is an awareness that our well-being and others are interdependent and interpenetrating: Our own peace of any kind would be impossible to achieve without considering and acting to promote others'. It is a transition from self-centered and dichotomous tensions of in-group and out-group process to an all-inclusive state of awareness of our fundamental interconnection.

The awareness of our fundamental interdependence does not deny the uniqueness or individuality of each of us. 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 make a perspectival shift 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 (Loy, 1993). The recognition of fundamental interconnected nature of human relation arouses a sense of responsibility to act in interdependent and interconnected relations and drives us to make an effort to gratify basic needs of all beyond group boundaries and promote justice for others as well as for ourselves (Daneth,

2006). This does not mean that all of us achieve qualitatively same well-being, basic needs and justice. It rather emphasizes that we become conscious of interdependent and interpenetrating nature of different ideas and goals of peace, basic needs and justice and make a mutual contribution to help achieve each other's ideas of peace.

As represented by reflective self-awareness and compassion, the essence of Buddhist inner peace is the development and practice of multiple functions of mind beyond but including cultural purview of thinking and knowing with a holistic view of reality. At the core of conflict resolution or transformation and peace lies the practice of mutual self-critique and transformation by those in conflict as conflict is understood as an interdependent and interpenetrating phenomenon.

Valuing diversity and participating in mutually transformative activities beyond the social and cultural framework would not be easy. However, since nothing is absolutely destined or fated to be, there is no warrant to claim any situation in which we find ourselves to be intractable (Park, 2008). Rather, human beings and socio-cultural frame of reference are complex system that keeps incorporating the histories of their constitutive dynamics into the continuously ongoing process of their own environment and contextually responsive self-transformation and evolution (Hershock, 2012).

4-2 Buddhist critique of libera peace elements

The main feature of Buddhist inner peace is the empowerment of human beings with multiple functions of mind so that they can become a critical and transformative agent to practice peace as interdependence and transformation with others. Increasing the number of citizens empowered with skills and abilities of multiple ways of thinking and compassionate and emphatic mind would help society be filled with self-conscious citizens capable of creating positive change in necessity.

However, the proposal of inner peace does not deny socio-political and economic aspects of peace. Inner peace presented here could neither be appreciated nor applied to those without appropriate food, clothing, and shelter as well as those with no access to basic social services such as education and health care (Hershock, 2006). Further, unless humanity and dignity of citizens are secured and protected and political system that invites anybody having different views and goals to discuss social and communal issues in a symmetric environment, it would be difficult to cultivate the skills and abilities to practice multiple functions of mind. Therefore, the following section will make a Buddhist critical appraisal of liberal peace and examine how critically appraised spirits of liberal peace can be incorporated into Buddhist peace.

4-2-1 Buddhism and human rights

Human rights is the right that everyone equally has because she/he is a human being. (Donnelly, 2013). At the core of human rights lies the ideal of inherent human equality and dignity. The promotion of human rights means the promotion of the human equality, dignity, and worth inherent in all human beings, which enhances positive conditions for human development (Jeong, 2000).

Though Buddhist sutras or holy texts do not have direct links to contemporary ideas of human rights, certain ideals in Buddhist teaching show the spirits of modern human rights. One of the most conspicuous ideals would be the doctrine of inherent Buddha-nature. The teaching of the Buddha-nature means that all people regardless of social status has the Buddhahood or divinity or precious nature and the potential to embody what the Buddha, the Gautama, was awakened to liberate himself from suffering and spread the wisdom and compassion to the society. It is widely acknowledged that the historical Buddha criticized the social discrimination and caste system of his age (Shiotsu, 2001), which is stated in Suttanipata³: “People are not born base. Nor are they born Brahmins. By their actions they become base, and by their actions they become Brahmins.” The doctrine of Buddha-nature implies the natural rights concept of people being born free and equal. Being born free and equal, the Buddha-nature doctrine claims that all human beings have equal potential for self-realization even though the way to achieve self-actualization is manifested will not necessarily be identical (Shiotsu, 2001). The ethos of human rights underpinned by the principle of inherent equality and dignity of all human being beyond but including diversity of human characters is to be found in Buddhism.

The enhancement of human rights helps to develop Buddhist inner peace. It is qualitatively enriched human development not only physiologically, and psychologically, but philosophically and spiritually. However, without a proper external environment, it would be impossible for us to internally enrich ourselves.

The role of human rights is to secure the conditions that undergird the possibility of human flourishing and fulfillment (McCarthy, 2001). The promotion of human rights can create social conditions that help us sharpen the skills and abilities for multiple ways of thinking and knowing and compassionate mind that appreciates the unity in diversity. Human rights

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

and Buddhist inner peace form a virtuous cycle of building a harmonious and sustainable society. To guarantee human rights principles and social environment in which citizens can enrich their minds holistically would contribute to increasing self-reflective and transformative agents who further human rights more widely, which becomes a foundation for sustainable society. Thus, human rights principles are to be understood and enacted as an intercultural value between the Western liberal peace and Buddhist peace.

4-2-2 Buddhism and democracy

The main focus of the Buddhist analysis of democracy would be on the human internal dimension and its impact on the dynamics of democracy. In line with human rights, the foundations of democracy are the equal dignity and liberty of the citizens, the equality before the law, and pluralism (Crick, 2002) and Buddhism acknowledges them. The early Buddhist community was open to all people beyond caste, class, ethnicity, culture and gender and its emancipatory and compassionate philosophy excluded none (Hershock, 2012). The Buddhist doctrine of dependent origination, that is, the teaching of interdependent and interpenetrating relationship also underpins the horizontal and symbiotic relationships between people having different backgrounds, values and views.

However, while it recognizes democracy as a critical element for a sustainable peace, Buddhism criticizes liberal democracy. The liberal democracy emphasizes competitive elections and majoritarianism (Curato et al, 2019). As Sen claims, democracy cannot be identified with majority rule and voting (1999). It entails multi-faceted demands, which include voting and respect for election result but also the protection of liberties and freedoms, respect for legal entitlements, and securing free discussion (Sen, 1999). Public reasoning is the core of democracy. In short, deliberative democracy that places public reasoning and other types of inter-human communication at the core (Curato et al, 2019) would play the crucial role to build a constructive and creative human relationship. And Buddhism agrees with deliberative democracy as it consolidates dialogical interaction between people having different backgrounds and values as equal participants. Democracy means to give citizens an opportunity to learn from each other and contribute to the construction of social values and priorities. Engagement in dialogue and accepting the change of one's viewpoint or adding new perspectives to one's original values and goals constitute the core of democracy.

In a Buddhist view, what is in Western deliberative or dialogical democracy is human internal dynamics. Buddhist approach to

empowerment of individual citizens with multiple functions of mind and complex view of reality can be of help in enacting deliberative democracy as public discussion based on value diversity and appreciation of change. What needs to be avoided in deliberation is the attachment to any form of extreme position and belief in dualistic thinking as absolute. And free and constructive public dialogue requires its participants to possess the capability to transcend their positional confinement: for public dialogue to freely and creatively occur, there is a need for citizens to be capable of going beyond the limitations or the purview of one's positional perspective (Snauwaert, 2010). Empowered citizens with reflective self-awareness and compassionate mind can become a critical agent in a collaborative and dialogical context by overcoming the tendency to think and act uncritically on the established ideas and views of others as fixed.

Political efficacy in democracy, that is, the capacity to engage in critical and transformative political action, is dependent upon the cognitive, ethical and self-reflective capacities of citizens (Reardon and Snauwaert, 2011). Internally empowered citizens with reflective and compassionate mind facilitates perception of wider scope of the systemic and dynamic inter-relationship of diversity of values, and interests, which creates space for the recognition of human dignity of all participants and moral inclusion beyond differences and more complex and integrative forms of reasoning. Beyond simple majoritarianism and balloting, dialogical democracy means to accord with differing situational dynamics, responding without exclusive reliance on fixed views and principles to amplify and boost relationally mutual appreciation (Hershock, 2012).

Valuing diversity and participating in public reasoning for mutual transformation is not an easy task as we are not totally free of the influence of the social and political environment. However, a critical aspect of deliberative democracy is the enhancement of the ability of individual citizens to engage critical evaluation of existing knowledge and values and creation of new ones (Feucht, 2010). The achievement of such ability emerges out of the practice of reflective self-critique and analysis of views and values from multiple perspectives. Maturity of internal competencies of individual citizens reflects the maturity of democracy. The sharpened ability to exploit multiple functions of mind – reflective, compassionate and multi-perspectival eyes – will contribute to strengthening dialogical and transformative dimensions of democracy.

4-2-3 A Buddhist view of market-oriented economy

Buddhism does not deny economic activity itself. In Buddhist teaching of dependent origination, human beings need to be understood as a holistic

being. The doctrine teaches that physiological, psychological, intellectual and spiritual dimension are interdependent and interpenetrating each other for the full maturity of human beings. Accordingly, individuals need a proper economic circumstance to satisfy basic needs and achieve spiritual development (Mosler, 2011). Deprivation of economic opportunity to gratify basic needs will prevent any individual from being able to sustain bodily functions (Mosler, 2011) in order to enhance psychological health and realize intellectual and spiritual maturity. A minimum economic well-being needs to be secured to realize internal maturity to be empowered as a critical and transformative agent.

However, Buddhism takes a cautionary stance towards market-oriented economy that liberal peace advocates. While Western model of market-oriented economy creates certain profit and boost macro economy, it opens up the system to a multiplicity of interests and encourage social competition and can exacerbate the clash of different stakes without accommodating those differences. Excessive reliance on market-economy would lead to inequality and social injustice. In his religious journey, the Buddha started his mission to reform the unjust social order based on loving-kindness, equality and solidarity (Badge, 2014). Economic activity or system that degrades human dignity and deprives citizens of their opportunity for a holistic self-fulfillment cannot be acknowledged as a legitimate system.

The mainstream Western model of market-oriented economy puts the achievement of material wellbeing for its own sake (Essen, 2010). Meanwhile, what Buddhism seeks to achieve through economic activity is spiritual maturity as well as minimum material fulfillment to gratify basic needs (Mosler, 2011). The difference derives from their differing views of human being. In principle, in the Western discourse, human beings are assumed to be rational, self-interested beings who are prepared to act justly but who are more prone to seek their interests regarding the wealth (Mosler, 2011). Human beings are understood as atomistic individuals who use instrumental or means-to-ends rationality, calculate choices of comparable values to reach the optimal outcome or maximization of personal self-interests/profit (Essen, 2010). In Buddhism, human beings are perceived as potentially compassionate individuals who have an insight into reality including human relationships as mutually interdependent and exercise restraint on excessive self-centered view of profit and interest. Founded upon the understanding of human relationship as interdependent and interpenetrating, and compassionate mind-set that inspires us to respond to others with empathy, respect and care and to be committed to promote and enact dignity of all and spiritual fulfillment, Buddhism envisions an economic system that sustains and promotes social justice and equity.

Buddhism claims that we need to differentiate between needs and wants. While the former is essential to human holistic development – physiological, psychological, intellectual and spiritual fulfillment, the latter leads to greed and lust, which causes violence or conflict. The provisioning of basic human needs – food, shelter, clothing, and medicine – is critical as the foundation for human spiritual advancement (Essen, 2010). However, excessive aspiration for redundant material profit, self-interest or luxury would end up with vicious cycle of unending greed, lust and even hatred toward others. The Buddha did not forbid wealth as long as human beings could exercise self-restraint and practice compassionate mind and interdependent and interpenetrating human relationship in which people beyond social and economic status can help each other by utilizing wealth without attachment to the accumulation of wealth. Buddhism would show compatibility with the development of human security as the core of economic system for sustainable society and human relationship. In human security view, human fulfillment or self-actualization is affected by economic opportunities, political liberties, social powers or networks, high quality public health, and stable access to basic education and higher education (Sen, 1999). Human security means a holistic approach to human development. Stated otherwise, by understanding human being as a holistic being, human security seeks to promote physiological, psychological, socio-political and economic, intellectual and spiritual maturity of all human beings.

Buddhist does not deny individuals working for their own self-interest since spiritual development needs a proper physiological and socio-economic condition. However, Buddhism also warns that if individuals work exclusively for their own self-interest and benefit at the expense of others, that would end up with moral corruption of society and cause violence. In a Buddhist view, market-oriented economy, while creating certain benefit and improving macro economy, needs to integrate moral and philosophical foundation that helps individuals engage in economic activity with a holistic view of mutual interdependence and interpenetration of all participants and promote both material and spiritual achievement. Sense of sufficiency needs to be enacted in economic activity. The question of what is sufficient – not only to achieve and sustain human security but to achieve holistic wellbeing – needs to be continually re-evaluated by each individual with distinct backgrounds and at different levels of philosophical and spiritual maturity (Essen, 2010). However, the practice of moderation and self-restraint is of critical importance to combat the excessive aspiration for self-interest and material gains. Each individual's choices and actions based on the Buddhist doctrine of interdependence and interpenetration of all

living beings and things for their existence and intellectual and spiritual maturity will reverberate throughout one's social spheres and global arena.

4-3 Holistic peace model based on critical appraisal of the spirits of liberal peace

Analysis of Buddhist peace and Buddhist critical appraisal of the main components of liberal peace have revealed that argument on the human internal aspects of conflict and peace and the empowerment of each individual as a contributor to a sustainable peace have been underdeveloped in Western liberal peace. Socio-economic and political structures are the focus of Western liberal peace. However, those structures and systems are made up of individual human beings and the empowerment of internally enriched citizens and reformulation of socio-political economic structures are interdependent and interpenetrating. Western liberal peace can learn from Buddhist approach to peace that research on internal empowerment of citizens enriches post-liberal peace argument. However, critical appraisal has also shown certain compatibility between liberal peace and Buddhist peace and contextual modification of the spirits of liberal peace has allowed Buddhism to build a holistic peace vision that integrates socio-political and economic and human internal aspects of peace.

As the Figure 1 below illustrates, critical appraisal of the spirits of liberal peace has enabled to create holistic peace model underpinned by four elements: Human rights founded upon the doctrine of universal Buddha-nature; deliberative/dialogical democracy based on symbiotic and horizontal relationships of internally empowered citizens; economic system that consolidates the gratification of human security to empower citizens to achieve physiological, psychological, intellectual and spiritual maturity; and development and practice of multiple functions of mind represented by reflective self-awareness and compassion to enact interdependent and interpenetrating nature of distinct frames of reference creating boundaries between human beings in order to embody interconnected, creative and transformative relational dynamics. All four aspects are interconnected and complementary to each other, and together they pave the way for sustainable society and human relationships. When we delve into the concept of peace on physiological, socio-political, economic, philosophical, and spiritual levels in an integrative way, we can make optimal development of our potential to become a critical and transformative agent for a peaceful world.

What should be also mentioned is that the proposed holistic peace model is not a static and complete substance. It is a dynamic process without closure, which continues to sharpen itself through experiment,

critical evaluation, and reformulation. By trying the model in practical settings followed by reflective and critical analysis, the model can be more creatively and contextually refined.

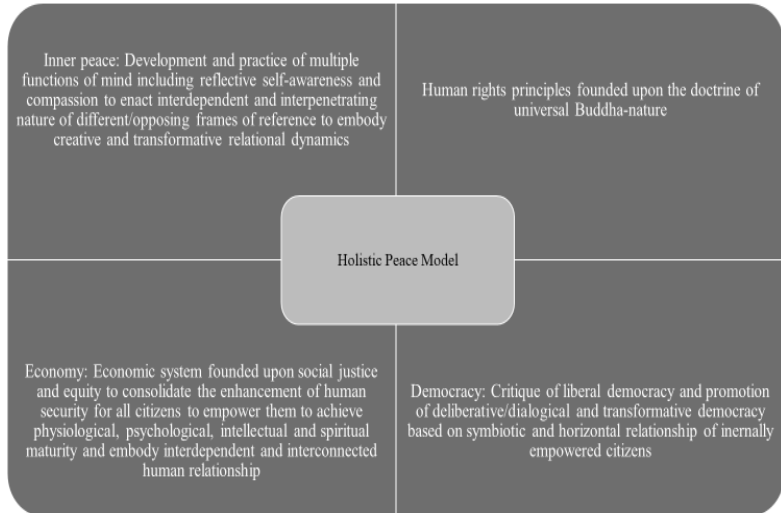


Figure 1 Holistic peace model based on Buddhist critical appraisal of liberal peace

Conclusion and research implications

This paper has examined how the Eurocentrism that remains to be addressed in post-liberal peacebuilding analysis can be overcome. The idea of post-liberal peace/building as intercultural philosophy has been proposed, and as its exemplar, Buddhist critical appraisal of the spirits of liberal peace was made.

The paper is just one of the examples of critical appraisal of liberal peace to examine how the spirits of liberal peace and non-Western approach to peace can learn from each other to co-create contextually oriented but also transformative peace approach. More critical appraisals of liberal peace by variety of non-Western cultures and philosophies need to be made to promote post-liberal peace/building as intercultural philosophy that revolves around dialogue and mutual self-transformation by those engaged in peace enterprise.

For the West to participate in post-liberal peace – both intellectually and practically – as intercultural philosophy, Western liberals need to appreciate and accommodate multiple epistemologies that have been developed in various cultures, religions and philosophies. Liberal peace/building is founded upon Western Enlightenment epistemological framework (Richmond, 2011). Enlightenment epistemology places a great emphasis on the power of reason, especially the instrumental reason to discover the absolute forms of knowledge (Crotty, 1998). Instrumental reason is praised as the source of progress in knowledge and society, as well as the privileged locus of truth and the underpinning of systematic knowledge (Best and Keller, 1991). On Enlightenment view, things exist as meaningful entities independently of human subjectivity (Crotty, 1998) and the aim of research is to discover the objective truth that applies universally and explains phenomenon systematically (Gray, 2004).

Relying on instrumental reason, Enlightenment thought seeks to uncover the intrinsic and universal structure of the physical and social worlds (Baronov, 2004). At the center of intellectual and practical enterprise based on Enlightenment epistemology lies the premise that there can be a universal and ahistorical matrix to which we can always appeal in judging the nature of truth and reality (Williams, 2004). A common denominator can be established for all beliefs and value systems and the world is a unified field and can be explained by a single system (Ermath, 1998). Metanarratives or ground theories that enable us to understand the whole world in terms of all-embracing principles are presupposed (Burr, 2003). 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 (Burr, 2003). Founded upon rationalistic thought, liberal peace has been enacted as a universal and complete approach to peace.

However, rather than creating a sustainable peace, dissemination of a particular epistemological framework as complete in the life-world with plural realities underpinned by variety of cultures, religions, and philosophies becomes a constitutional power of institutional violence in human social and global arena (Park, 2008). In an increasingly globalized and interconnected world, approaching global problems including peace and conflict purely from a Western perspective is neither effective nor justified (Schepen and Graness, 2019). Rather, as demonstrated by critical appraisal of Buddhist philosophical approach to peace, 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.

For the West liberals to accommodate and engage dialogical relationship with variety of non-Western epistemologies, critical self-examination of Western researchers needs to be integrated into intellectual enterprise including peace and conflict studies and international relations (Jarvis, 2000). To make a constructive critique and betterment of our phenomenal world, we must make a critical and constructive transformation of our ways of thinking and knowing (Said et al, 2006). Transformation is a process that involves a sustained engagement in self-examination on our normally tacit epistemological framework and its change, which empowers us to expand the mode of knowing in approaching social and global problems (Said et al, 2006).

The discourse established on a particular epistemological viewpoint tends to be intra-paradigmatic and avoid engagement with alternative epistemological and theoretical formulations (Jarvis, 2000). 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 (Calhoun, 2000). When the Western liberal peace intellectuals and even practitioners courageously examine their embedded liberal view of peace and conflict resolution 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” (Calhoun, 2000: 506).

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