

Buddhism and Nonviolent Global Problem-Solving

Ulan Bator Explorations

**BUDDHISM AND NONVIOLENT
GLOBAL PROBLEM-SOLVING**

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Edited by
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Center for Global Nonviolence
2001

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By gentle and skillful means based on reason.

--From the Mongolian Buddhist tradition

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PREFACE

This is an augmented report of the fourth International Seminar on Buddhism and Leadership for Peace, held in Ulan Bator, Mongolia, during August 15-20, 1989. The seminar was sponsored by the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace (ABCP), whose secretariat is located in the Gangdantekchenling Monastery in Ulan Bator, in cooperation with the Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii and the Center for Global Nonviolence Planning Project, Spark M. Matsunaga Institute for Peace, University of Hawaii. The seminar was planned and coordinated by the latter.

The theme of the fourth seminar was "Buddhism and Global Problem-Solving," following upon the first three seminars which explored "Buddhism and Leadership for Peace," (Hawaii, 1983), "Buddhism in National Traditions," (Tokyo, 1985), and "Peacemaking in Buddhist Contexts," (Hawaii, 1987).

The inaugural seminar in October, 1983, was held to celebrate the first anniversary of the Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii founded by Abbot Dae Won Ki. It was organized in cooperation with the Department of Political Science, University of Hawaii. (Reported in Glenn D. Paige, ed., *Buddhism and Leadership for Peace*. Honolulu: Dae Won Sa Temple of Hawaii, 1984). The second seminar, coordinated by Professor Tadashige Takamura, was held in Tokyo in December, 1985, and was sponsored by the Peace Research Institute of Soka University to commemorate Soka University's fifteenth anniversary. (See Soka University, Peace Research Institute, *Buddhism and Leadership for Peace*. Tokyo: Soka University, 1986). The third seminar was held in Honolulu in May 1987, and was sponsored by the Dae Won Sa Temple and the Institute for Peace, University of Hawaii. It focused upon Buddhist peacemaking efforts in Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Vietnam. The seminar was inconclusive in identifying specifically Buddhist peacemaking methods and the papers have not been published except for A.T. Ariyaratne's report on Sri Lanka which is included in the present volume.

The fourth seminar was especially significant because of the diversity of its membership. Participants gathered in Ulan Bator from China, Japan, Korea (both North and South), Mongolia, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Vietnam, the USA, and the USSR in an atmosphere of peace to which Buddhism, Mongolian hospitality, and shared experiences of previous seminars greatly contributed. From the beginning of this series of seminars it had been hoped that Buddhists, peace leaders, and scholars from both areas of divided Korea would be able to participate. This was accomplished in Mongolia.

In offering the present report special appreciation is expressed to the ABCP, the Gangdan Monastery, and to the people and government of Mongolia for making it possible for us to meet in Mongolia to explore contributions that Buddhism can make to solve problems that threaten the survival and well-being of humankind.

unique ecological setting in which 1.4 million animals (including 140 thousand camels) and 400 thousand human beings share life. Our Mongolian friends explained that technically the Gobi should not be called the Gobi Desert because it has ecological characteristics that differ from a desert. It is unique. Therefore it should be called "the Gobi," which is essentially untranslatable. During our visit we were fortunate to share the joy of a drought-breaking rain that brought relief after months of suffering for both animals and humans. We will always cherish the softly falling rain which began almost immediately after Ven. Jin Wol Lee and other seminar members had offered evening prayers for it.

Another unforgettable Gobi experience was an impromptu seminar on the concept of love in Juche thought led at our request by Professor Pak Chang Gon of Pyongyang. On a sunny morning, awaiting the return flight to Ulan Bator, as we were seated in a circle of small stools outside a traditional Mongolian ger (round canvas-covered dwelling), Professor Pak reminded us that love not only was the basis of human society, but also bound humans, animals, and nature into an affectionate whole. Amidst the fellowship, animal life, and beauty of the Gobi, this was a powerful lesson.

Our seminar was held on the eve of great changes in Mongolia. Within the following year Mongolian Buddhism expanded from one temple with sixty lamas to more than forty temples with one thousand lamas as transition to religious and political freedoms began.

In presenting this report we are grateful to all those who have joined and supported this series of seminars. In these seminars we have tried to bring together Buddhists, leaders, and scholars for peace--not all of whom need be "Buddhists" in any sectarian sense. This approach has enabled us to benefit from the nonviolent insights of Christians, Jains, Gandhians, Muslims, and humanists of Marxian and non-Marxian persuasion--as well as Buddhists of varied roots in the Hinayana, Mahayana, and Vajrayana traditions. Four times we have been able to celebrate new and old friendships after making long journeys from many lands that now include Bali, China, Hawaii, India, Japan, Korea (North and South), Mongolia, the Soviet Union, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and the mainland United States.

We look forward to the fifth seminar to be held in Seoul, Korea, to deepen our understanding of Buddhism and the nonviolent contributions it can make to global well-being and happiness. We hope that there will be greater participation by women Buddhists, peace leaders, and scholars in future seminars.

We are deeply grateful to all contributors and seminar participants, to the ABCP and to Mongolian hospitality for hosting the seminar. Without the generosity of the Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii publication of this book would not have been possible.

The Dhammapada was quoted at the happy conclusion of the first seminar in 1983: "One good is a beginning that deserves repetition." On the eve of the fifth seminar, we join all participants, past and present, in celebrating the continuation of these collegial explorations.

October 1, 1991

INTRODUCTION

What contributions can Buddhism make to solving the most pressing problems that threaten the survival and well-being of humankind in the present era? The fourth International Seminar on Buddhism and Leadership for Peace sought answers to this question.

To assist the search, we first asked three distinguished colleagues to share their general reflections from the perspectives of Buddhism (Sulak Sivaraksa), leadership (Kinhide Mushakoji), and peace research (Johan Galtung). This continued the tradition of our seminars in which we have tried to understand and to promote relationships among Buddhist thought, social action, and inquiry. To these three theme papers we have added a fourth contribution by A.T. Ariyaratne, originally written for the third seminar, that integrates all three themes in an exemplary case study of Buddhist problem-solving action in Sri Lanka. By global problem-solving we mean to include relevant actions from the individual to the world community.

Thus we were able to benefit from the insights of a renowned lay Buddhist thinker from Thailand who is deeply engaged in social action for peace, freedom, and justice; a globally-respected scholar from Japan who writes as Vice-Rector from the problem-solving perspective of the United Nations University; and from the world's leading peace researcher, a native of Norway, who is keenly interested in Buddhist

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contributions to global well-being. [See Johan Galtung, *Buddhism: A Quest for Unity and Peace* (Honolulu: Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii, 1988)]. We benefit here also from the experience of the esteemed leader and founder of Sri Lanka's Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement which has demonstrated how Buddhist values can serve as the basis for comprehensive problem-solving action in a specific context.

Although Mushakoji was unable to be present in Ulan Bator he kindly prepared a paper that was read for him by Hiroharu Seki, dean of the Faculty of International Relations, Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, Japan. Galtung was also unable to attend but he participated by means of a tape recording generously made to accompany his paper.

The four papers provide a surprisingly complementary and thought-provoking beginning. Whereas Sulak calls for Buddhist awakening and engagement in social problem-solving action, Mushakoji identifies the roots of the contemporary crisis of global civilization as a "spiritual crisis" of "human values." Based on his world-encompassing experience, Mushakoji concludes: "The sustainability of the coming global civilization can only be built on *ahimsa*, nonviolence and care for all living beings." For his part, Galtung sets forth the need for purposive restructuring of military, economic, cultural, and political institutions, "softening" them to be more responsive to transnational human and ecological needs. Ariyaratne demonstrates the combination of all the foregoing--Buddhist principles expressed in cooperative action to benefit all members of society.

Following presentation of the three theme papers, seminar discussion was devoted to focus Buddhist thought, leadership experience, and scholarly inquiry upon five principal global problems: disarmament, economic justice, human rights, ecological viability, and universal problem-solving cooperation.

Introduction

No papers were specifically commissioned for these explorations, but participants were invited to prepare in advance to discuss these problems and to contribute papers as deemed relevant.

Thus in the second part of this volume we have included seven papers that explore various aspects of the five major problems. All but two were presented at the seminar. Sulak Sivaraksa's essay on human rights was originally presented to a conference on "Building Understanding Between People of Diverse Religions or Beliefs" held during May, 1989, in Warsaw, Poland. The essay on environmental protection was kindly written especially for the present volume by Leslie E. Sponsel and Poranee Natadecha-Sponsel.

Each of the problem-related essays conveys a major insight that merits further reflection and development. Thich Minh Chau's call for a "new global moral order" comes as a much-needed advancement over widespread violent power-based conventional thinking about new global political-military and economic orders at the end of the twentieth century. Yoichi Kawada's explanation that the concept of karma can be applied not only to individuals, but also to societies, nations, and to humankind as a whole opens up a vast perspective of time, space, and substance that greatly assists understanding of both strengths and weaknesses of contemporary problem-solving efforts. He helps us to see that present global conditions are the result of past actions and that future conditions will be the product of the quality of present decisions.

On disarmament, Yoichi Shikano shows how the Mahayana principles of active engagement to improve society, based on the Lotus Sutra, have led to global action by the Soka Gakkai International under the inspired leadership of President Daisaku Ikeda to support United Nations problem-solving efforts on this and other issues. Seeking global economic justice, Sumanatissa

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reminds us of the egalitarian Buddhist tradition that can contribute to the simplicity and sharing that is essential for the material well-being of the world's rapidly increasing population.

In the field of human rights, Sulak celebrates the global contribution that can be made by "buddhism with a small b" to affirming the common bond of universal love that is shared by all of the world's great religions. Thus can be avoided the dogmatic, egocentric, "tribalism" that leads to the violent repression of other religions and beliefs and inhibits social and economic development. In the field of the environment, the Sponsels introduce the concept of "nonviolent ecology," reminding us that Buddhism is essentially "ecocentric" rather than anthropocentric in nature, and suggest principles to guide efforts to save the biosphere from destruction.

Recognizing the need for social cooperation to solve global problems, Zhao emphasizes that Buddhism is primarily a this-worldly faith that embodies a strong sense of compassion to relieve the suffering of others. This combination of compassion and commitment thus provides a basis for cooperation among people of different factions, historical traditions, social systems, and viewpoints for the benefit of all.

The concluding section of this book draws upon seminar discussion of the five global problems (disarmament, economic justice, human rights, environmental protection, and human cooperation) to present a nonviolent perspective upon them. Except for general agreement on the five general principles cited at the outset of the essay, the summary interpretations are the responsibility of the author who served as seminar coordinator and general rapporteur.

These brief summaries reflect the seminar experience that seeking to solve problems on the basis of principled commitment to nonviolence offers a fruitful approach to global well-being.

Introduction

The seminal importance of the first Buddhist precept "not to take the life of living things" serving as a guide to both means and ends, is affirmed once again as the twentieth century nears its end. This is especially significant for global cooperation since the same principle can be found at the heart of all the great spiritual traditions and can be elicited by gentle and skilful Buddhist responsiveness to human needs.

Glenn D. Paige
October 1, 1991

FROM VIOLENT COMBAT TO PLAYFUL EXCHANGE OF FLOWERS

Khambo Lama Kh. Gaadan

I am very pleased to welcome you to the fourth International Seminar on Buddhism and Leadership for Peace in cooperation with the Mongolian Buddhists and the ABCP Headquarters. I hope that your endeavors as organizers of this conference and people who seek to establish global peace will always be successful.

Lord Buddha said that there is no greater bliss than peace. There is not a single theologian who does not espouse this. Lord Buddha urged us to love all beings in the six realms like a mother who loves her only son. The Old Testament of the Bible teaches the love of one's neighbor as oneself. I believe that there is an identical lesson in Islam. Since the concepts of love in Christianity and loving-kindness in Buddhism are central to the respective religions there is enough reason for humanity to love one another. Unfortunately, humanity does not choose to love and therefore makes mistakes. According to UN information published three years ago there have been over 150 wars in different parts of the world involving seventy countries in the period from 1945 to 1986. This has resulted in the deaths of approximately thirty million men, women, children and old

people. This occurred in the "peaceful years." This is a clear expression of jealous competition predominating over love. Its consequence is mistrust and over one thousand billion US dollars expended annually in the world for military purposes. If we take account of the world military expenditure, in every single minute almost one million US dollars are spent for military purposes. If we were to redirect these funds towards the elimination of hunger, the problem of illiteracy, and work for peace, our planet would be without hunger and without illiteracy. These powers could, if they were to not give this amount of money as charity to other countries, solve internal problems such as unemployment and other pressing difficulties.

Armament results in a freeze on sociocultural expenditure, a retardation of development, and the disintegration of the economy. Since armament aims at killing, it is also against the mercy of religion. However, this year the USSR and the USA did away with medium and short range missiles for the first time in the history of nuclear weapons. This is exemplary. I want to congratulate them for it. In this manner nuclear and other weapons must be eliminated in the future. Since ancient times humanity has aspired to disarm. The seventh century Buddhist poet Shendideva wrote:

May the rains of lava, blazing stones and weapons
from now on become a rain of flowers,

And may all battling with weapons
from now on be a playful exchange of flowers.

In the Old Testament of the Bible there is a passage that they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. I am fully confident, therefore, that this seminar, wishing for peace, can contribute considerably to a reduction in the present stock of weapons.

Opening Address

In my view, armament is the highest demonstration of immorality. There is a Latin proverb saying one should prepare for war if one wants peace. I think this idea is out of date since at this time the preparation for war means to destroy oneself and others completely. Is it possible to destroy oneself and others? Yes. Is it moral? No. I want to call for a morality of peace for the sake of peaceful living. The tradition of living in harmony with one another has been destroyed to a certain extent. By virtue of modern communication we watch and listen to good and bad developments in the world. These bad developments which have been heard and seen contribute to immorality the world over. In fact, I warn that immorality may succeed in destroying humanity before nuclear weapons do. I do not know whether there are statistics about immoral people of the world, but such statistics would undoubtedly frighten us.

There are several reasons for the immorality to which humanity is subjected. One is the chronic habit of one philosophy negating another. Another is the propaganda that divides the world into parts and makes each the enemy of the others. Further reasons are the great gap between the living standards of people, various prejudices, and so on. Please, dear scholars and venerables, consider this matter more seriously. We must implant in the minds of the masses the idea that we are one humanity living on only one planet. Basically each of us has an equal right to live a full life.

Nowadays one of the most important problems facing humanity is environmental degradation. This matter is being discussed at the United Nations. But there are no noticeable results to be seen and sensed. Every religion has wisdom for protection of nature. First of all, I want to dwell briefly upon the Buddhist way of protecting nature which I know a little about.

Before the arrival of western civilization our continent had not been destroyed except by cultivation of land for agricultural

purposes. Our ancestors bequeathed lofty mountains, clear water, dense forests, and a vast steppe to us, the present generation. However, we are to hand down excavated mountains, a hollowed steppe, polluted air, and unclear water to a succeeding generation. Aware of this, some Buddhists have been working for the protection of nature. Recently Thai Buddhists in cooperation with Tibetans living in India have conducted a dialogue on environmental protection. It was the first such work among Buddhists. This work should be linked with tradition. Buddhism arrived in Mongolia over two thousand years ago and elaborated the matter of nature protection. Now we have *shastras* [commentaries on *sutras*] on water, trees, earth, sun and moon. These *shastras* which mention many aspects of nature protection are very valuable. Mongolia is no exception in this matter. I hope that you all will not only speak about political security in Asia and the Pacific, but also about sociocultural and ecological security in this vast area. I hope you reach agreement on how to cooperate in solving these problems.

My colleagues told me that the organizers of this seminar aspire to a nonviolent method to peace. This is very inspiring. Tit for tat struggle has produced armaments which can destroy the world. Impatient husbands and wives may divorce each other only to lead a gloomy life. These are small examples, but they also have social consequences.

Everybody knows that all are interrelated in the world. We all live in separate countries and in separate families, but we live on one earth. We are linked with each other at least by trade. Therefore, it is not proper that one person's enjoyment is achieved through the suffering of another. We all must enjoy life together. To do so, we must take concerted action to solve various problems. In my view, this opportunity presents itself. In international relations there is now a turning point from confrontation to amity, from opposition to compromise. To further this tendency we must make our contributions.

Opening Address

May I express gratitude for your listening to my long address. I declare this seminar open.

GLOBAL PROBLEM-SOLVING: A BUDDHIST PERSPECTIVE

Sulak Sivaraksa

To be honest and to begin by getting right to the point, I must state plainly that there is no serious contemporary Buddhist perspective for global problem-solving.

The World Fellowship of Buddhists, with its headquarters in Bangkok, has entirely avoided political, military and economic issues. It has not even dealt with environmental or human rights crises, nor has it promoted human cooperation. Members meet every few years to reaffirm how wonderful we Buddhists are.

Although the World Conference on Religion and Peace, with its head offices in Geneva and New York, has strong Buddhist financial support, especially from the Risso Koseikai in Japan, this body passes resolutions on global matters without doing anything significant from a Buddhist perspective. Indeed, contemporary Buddhists seem to be interested only at national, local, or denominational levels.

It is gratifying to learn then that the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace is organizing a fourth International Seminar on Buddhism and Leadership for Peace.

Efforts by the United Nations University

Other organizations, as well as the ABCP, have attempted to promote the development of a Buddhist approach to global problem-solving. For example, the United Nations University is currently supporting a sub-project on Buddhist Perceptions of Desirable Societies in the Future.

At a meeting in Bangkok in 1986, a number of leading scholars and practicing Buddhists came together to examine how religious thinkers and activists perceive the current human predicament. The framework of the meeting was divided into three main parts: 1) a diagnosis of current problems, 2) an examination of specifically Buddhist responses to these problems, and 3) a projection of how it might be possible to progress from the contemporary situation towards a more desirable society.

At the meeting apathy, confusion and selfishness were identified as the main causes of the hopelessness that engulfs so many of the world's people, although these were not explicitly related to religion. At one point, the slogan of the French revolution, "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," was discussed. Why did the Buddha not preach these values, rather than the Four Noble Truths--the existence of suffering, the causes of suffering, the cessation of suffering and the Noble Eightfold Path leading to the cessation of suffering?

The three values of the French Revolution are idealistic. The Buddha taught people to come to terms with, and surmount, the reality of human existence--the unavoidable problems of pain, loss, suffering, sickness and death. This approach was felt by many at the meeting in Bangkok to have a great deal to offer those engaged in solving contemporary global problems.

After the Bangkok meeting, the United Nations University set up a subcommittee which identified ten relevant issues to be

tackled by Buddhists in order to move towards a more desirable future society. They were: the individual and society in Buddhism; universalism and particularism; existing social practices which may lead to a more ideal society; sangha, state and people; Buddhism and the evolution of society; Buddhist eschatology, millennialism and the Buddha land; Buddhist education; Buddhist approaches to war and violence; science, technology and Buddhism; and women and family in Buddhism. Hopefully, the United Nations University will publish the relevant articles on these topics.

Recently, the United Nations University called for yet another meeting in Bangkok on the same theme of perceptions of desirable societies, but this time with respect to different religious and ethical systems. The conclusions were as follows:

We have reviewed briefly the position of different religious currents in terms of their beliefs and values regarding:

Welfare and development,
Justice, equity and human rights,
Peace, reconciliation and nonviolence, and
Identity, authenticity and universality.

It is important to realize that many of the divergences existing among religions are often complementary visions, which should not be seen as conflictual, but rather as differences which lead to deeper and more universal positions through a process of dialogue. It is crucial then that this process is guaranteed to take place by the religions, their institutions, and by society and the state.

These divergences do not necessarily represent different religious beliefs but rather the positions of the religious thinkers or activists who choose either to be part of society, to accept its fundamental dynamics in order to transform it from within, or to

stand outside it to develop a transcendental critical view of its values and institutions.

I feel that the United Nations University's efforts are relevant to the theme of our international seminar.

The Myth of Cakkravartin and Present-Day Global Problem-Solving

Unlike Muslims and Christians, contemporary Buddhists have no vision for global problem-solving. This is partly due to the fact that prior to western colonial expansion in the last century, Buddhism was divided into many schools, all of which were attached to national cultures and/or nation- states, each with subdivisions into various denominations or sects. Western Christianity, on the other hand, especially with its ties to the building of great empires such as the Roman and British empires, has evolved such that the white men's burden includes caring for the world as a universality or catholicism. Although Protestantism was divided very much like Buddhism, it managed to pull together, with all its differences, to work on global issues, especially since the creation of the World Council of Churches.

The spread of Islam increased side by side with Arab commercial success and the advancement of scientific knowledge, especially after the collapse of ancient Greek civilization. Although the Europeans replaced the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, the rise of nationalism, pan-nationalism and economic success in the Middle East encouraged Muslims to have a more global outlook.

Although former Buddhist kingdoms in South and Southeast Asia have regained their independence from the west, they have lost the *Dhammic* essence of their national identities. They have retained only state ceremonies which are often more

feudal than Buddhist. They blindly adhere to outmoded customs which are irrelevant to contemporary society.

Despite the fact that Siam was not subjugated politically, she was colonized intellectually, culturally and educationally. The effects of this type of colonization are almost impossible to reverse.

In East Asia, Buddhism lost much of its true essence to Confucianism or Shintoism, even before the arrival of western influences.

The lofty Buddhist spirit remains in Asia only in small pockets for individual or local development where human needs are placed ahead of material or economic gains. At the national level, most people think only in terms of economic development. Hence, the rich get richer and the poor remain so, or become poorer. This is true for nations and individuals. And of course, no one is happy. The present social development systems lead to human rights abuses, a widening gap between the rich and the poor, environmental degradation and the aggressive destruction of natural resources. Unfortunately, it seems that Buddhist development models have not been established and, overall, responses from the Buddhist communities have been insufficient to counter these negative elements.

Before attempting to deal with the above-mentioned issues, we ought to look into our Buddhist traditions to see whether such a global concern for social justice existed in the past, in order to apply it meaningfully in the present and in the future.

In my opinion, it is very worthwhile to examine the Buddhist mythological tradition regarding kingship and the universal monarch who ruled for the well-being of all. How the myth was applied by Buddhist rulers of later generations is also interesting.

The Aggana Sutta of the *Digha Nikaya* begins by portraying an ideal world of natural effortless existence. Ethereal, self-luminescent beings live in bliss and know no discrimination between polar opposites such as male and female, good and evil, rich and poor, ruler and subject. The earth itself is made of a delightful soft edible substance that looks like butter and is as sweet as honey.

Gradually, however, because of karma remaining from a previous world cycle, this Golden Age comes to an end. During a long period of decline manifest in the world and its beings, greed, grasping, sex, theft, violence and murder are introduced. Finally, sheer anarchy prevails, and in order to put an end to it, the beings get together to select from among their ranks a king to rule over them and maintain order. This is the *Mahasommata*, the Great Elect, and in return for fulfilling his functions as a monarch, the beings each agree to pay him a portion of their rice.

Such is the myth of the first kingship. The record also relates the legend of the Cakkravartin (wheel-turning emperor), or universal monarch. A basic version of this appears in the *Cakkravatti Sihandada Sutta*, also of the *Digha Nikaya*.

This text, too, begins with a description of a Golden Age, the starting point of the world cycle. During this time, beings had beautiful bodies, life-spans of eighty thousand years, and wonderful effortless existences. This time, however, the *Cakkravartin*, Dalhanemi by name, is present from the beginning. He is, in fact, very much a part of the Golden Age for his presence is instrumental in maintaining the paradisiacal state. Because he knows what is good and rules through *Dhamma*, poverty, ill-will, violence, and wrongdoings do not exist in his domain.

Traditionally the *Cakkravartin* is portrayed as an extraordinary being. He is said to exhibit the thirty-two bodily

marks of a Great Man (*Mahapurusa*) and to be endowed with the seven jewels, or emblems of sovereignty, the most important of which is the wheel (*cakka*). In the Sutta, this magnificent wheel appears in mid-air before Dalhanemi at the beginning of his reign as a sign of his righteousness. It then leads him in a great cosmic conquest of the four continents.

It takes him East, South, West and North as far as the great oceans, and, where the wheel rolls, he encounters no resistance. The power of his *Dhamma*, symbolized by his wheel, the *Dhammacakka*, is such that local kings immediately submit to him. Finally his wheel leads him back to his capital at the center of the world, and there it remains, miraculously suspended in mid-air over the royal palaces, as an emblem of sovereignty.

After many years of reigning in peace over a contented and prosperous empire, however, Dalhanemi's wheel of Dhamma begins to sink. This is a sign of the approaching end of his reign, according to the Buddhist law of change (*anicca*), and when the wheel disappears altogether into the earth, the wise king entrusts his throne to his son and retires from this world to live as an ascetic in the forest.

It is important to note that the wheel of *Dhamma* is not automatically passed on from one *Cakkravartin* to the next. Dalhanemi's son must, in turn, prove worthy of his own wheel by calling it forth with his own righteousness. This fact sets the scene for the rest of the myth, which, like the story in the previous Sutta, traces the gradual degradation of this world and the beings in it.

After a long succession of Dalhanemi's descendants who are perfect *Cakkravartins*, there comes a king who fails to follow *Dhamma*, and for whom the wheel does not appear. Consequently, there is resistance to his rule. Friction develops; the people fail to prosper; the universal monarch fails to support

them; and one thing leads to another, as it is stated in the Sutta: "From not giving to the destitute, poverty grew rife; from poverty growing rife, stealing increased; from the spread of stealing, violence grew apace; from the growth of violence, the destruction of life became common; from the frequency of murder, both the life span of the beings and their beauty wasted away."

The myth then goes on to trace the further decline in the quality and span of life, until a state of virtual anarchy is reached. In this respect, then, the myth of the *Cakkravartin* is quite similar to that of the Great Elect (*Mahasommata*).

Contrasting the two *Suttas*, one can draw different conclusions. In the former, the Great Elect is called upon only when the need for him arises. He functions as a stopgap against further anarchy, but the Golden Age itself requires and knows no king at all. In the latter, on the other hand, the ruler is a crucial part of the Golden Age. By his very presence and by his proper rule, he ensures a peaceful, prosperous, idyllic existence for all, and he will continue to do so as long as he is righteous enough to merit the wheel of *Dhamma*, that is, as long as he truly is a wheel-turning *Cakkravartin*. The conclusion one can draw from these two myths is that neither myth stops at the Golden Age, but each goes on to describe in no uncertain terms what happens when a ruler does not live up to the ideal.

The suggestion is made, therefore, that there are really two possible types of rulers. One, a full-fledged *Cakkravartin*, is righteous and rules according to *Dhamma*, and so like Dalhanemi, ensures a Golden Age. Indeed there is a saying by the Buddha, in the *Anguttara Nikaya* stating that "A universal monarch, a righteous and just king relies on the *Dhamma*. Respecting, revering and honouring the *Dhamma*, with the *Dhamma* as his standard, he provides for the proper welfare and protection of his people." The other, perhaps not truly worthy of

the title *Cakkravartin*, is not so righteous, fails to rule according to the *Dhamma*, and is responsible for a cosmic catastrophe, the degradation of the world.

These two myths have greatly influenced Buddhist monarchs in South and Southeast Asia. However, in history, Emperor Ashoka of ancient India was perhaps the only one who could really be called a *Cakkravartin*, if one is to accept the prevailing world view. He was the "universal monarch" who reigned as righteously as possible by extending his empire across almost all of the subcontinent.

The Sinhalese, Burmese and Siamese kings were not, in fact, *Cakkravartins*, but they all wished to imitate the Great Emperor, and tried their best, at least in theory, to be just and righteous. In practice, however, it is questionable whether they actually "respected, revered and honoured the *Dhamma*, while using the *Dhamma* as a standard, as a sign, as a sovereign, providing for the proper welfare and protection of the people."

The Role of the Sangha

The result was that the institution or the *Sangha*, the holy community of brothers and sisters, was developed to teach *Dhamma* to the rulers and to facilitate communication between the rulers and the ruled.

Unlike the lay community, the *Sangha* reverses the process of degeneration of the human race described in the Buddhist creation myths: coercion is replaced by cooperation, private property by propertylessness, family and home by the community of androgynous wanderers, and hierarchy by egalitarian democracy. The *Sangha* symbolizes the unification of means and ends in Buddhist philosophy. That is, the movement working for the resolution of conflict must embody a sane and peaceful process itself. The discipline of the early monastic

Sangha was designed to channel expected conflicts of interest among the monks and nuns into processes of peaceful democratic resolution. In order to spread peace and stability in their societies, the monastic *Sangha* sought to establish moral hegemony over the state, to guide their societies with a code of nonviolent ethics in the interest of social welfare.

Since the passing away of the Buddha, some 2530 years ago, the historical *Sangha*, however, has been divided vertically and horizontally by cultural, economic and political alliances. Sectors of the *Sangha* in many different countries became dependent on state patronage for their growing communities. With the growth of monastic wealth and land-holding came the integration of the *Sangha* into society as a priest-class of teachers, ritual performers, and chanters of magic formulas--a sector of the land-owning elite with its own selfish interests and tremendous cultural power.

With centralization and hierarchization of the *Sangha* came increasing elite and state control, so that instead of applying the ethics of nonviolence to the state, a part of the *Sangha* was increasingly called upon to rationalize violence and injustice.

On the other hand, at the base of society, frequently impoverished and poorly educated, there have always been propertyless and familyless radical clergy who maintain the critical perspective of the Buddha. To this day, scattered communities of Buddhists continue in a radical disregard, and sometimes fiery condemnation of the official "state Buddhisms" with their elite hierarchical structures and their legacies of secular accommodation and corruption.

In looking to the future of humankind, it is therefore necessary to look back. The state and its elites, with their natural tendency towards acquisitive conflict, should remain under the hegemony of the popular institutions that embody the process of

nonviolent and democratic conflict resolution. In traditional Buddhist terms, the king should always be under the influence of the *Sangha*, and not vice versa.

For those of us who are lay intellectuals, I feel it is imperative that we support the radical clergy to maintain this critical perspective of the Buddha. We should wholeheartedly support the *Sangha* in its efforts to lead the local communities towards self-reliance and away from domination by the elites and consumerism.

Indeed many of the local and agrarian societies still have nonviolent means of livelihood, and respect for each individual as well as for animals, trees, rivers and mountains.

Although the government and multinational corporations have introduced various technological "advances" and chemical fertilizers and have advertised to make villagers turn away from their traditional ways of life and opt for jeans, coca-cola and fast food as well as worship of the state and its warlike apparatus, their efforts have been successfully countered by those of the critical *Sangha*. Some of them have even reintroduced meditation practices for farmers, established rice banks and buffalo banks which are owned by the communities and benefit them, rather than the commercial banks which link with international enterprises at the expense of the local population.

The Importance of Socially Engaged Spirituality

We should strengthen and extend the liberation potential within the Buddhist tradition to allow each local community to gain a global perspective making each aware of global problems, especially the suffering of the poor. If more people were conscious of the problem, it could be solved more efficiently.

Buddhism and Nonviolent Global Problem-Solving

We should also promote exchange and learning between Buddhists and non-Buddhists in order that they can cooperate meaningfully in a common struggle against the oppressive social forces that cause suffering.

We should also try to enable peasants, fishermen, industrial workers, women and all oppressed factions in any country to discover their faith and the roots of their culture and draw inspiration and sustenance from them.

Unfortunately, development in the past has ignored this vital source of human values. Indeed, activists, even those of agnostic tendency, should be open to the liberating dimensions of religions and cultures. Of course, many activists are anti-religious; perhaps against certain dogmas, forms, ceremonies or establishments; however, perhaps buddhism, with a small "b" could help them to discover, develop and strengthen a secular spirituality of struggle that does not make overt references to one specific tradition, but nourishes him or her for greater authenticity.

For many of us who want to solve global problems there is the prevalent social engineering mentality which assumes that personal virtue can be more or less conditioned by a radical restructuring of society. On the other hand the opposite view is that radical social improvement is wholly dependent upon personal and spiritual change and changes in lifestyle. But a growing number of spiritually-minded people recognize that the "inner" work is massively discouraged by the social conditions which are the consequence of individual delusion and fear. Thus, an American Zen Buddhist poet and activist, Gary Snyder, remarks that the so called "free world" has become economically dependent on a fantastic system of greed that cannot be fulfilled, sexual desire which cannot be satiated, and a hate which has no outlet, except against oneself. Under these conditions, the odds are heavily against a spiritual lifestyle, especially when one lives

in an affluent society in the west. Yet the so called "socialist societies" have, almost without exception, wanted to join the so called "free world." This vicious circle must be broken socially as well as personally--a socially engaged spirituality is needed.

Social activism in the past has been mostly preoccupied with what is "out there." Opening up to what is "in here" and sharing it with others can bring great relief, but it also brings a disconcerting awareness of how much "I" need my busyness, our certainties or rationalizations and their malevolence. Just to maintain awareness of the boredom, frustration, indifference, anger, hostility, and triumph experienced by the activist without being carried away or cast down is an invaluable spiritual practice. But this is only possible if there is an adequate balance of daily meditation and periodic retreat, and also if there is awareness of social ills outside ourselves. These practices slowly dissolve the self-need that feeds on hope, setting us free to do just what the situation demands of us.

Through deepening awareness comes acceptance, and through acceptance comes a seemingly miraculous generosity of spirit and empowerment for the work that compassion requires of us. We can even take ourselves less seriously. With this critical self-awareness, we can genuinely understand and respect others of diverse religions and beliefs. We can even join hands with them humbly and knowingly in trying to develop our spaceship earth to be peaceful and with justice.

A New Interpretation of the Buddhist Concept of Interrelatedness and the Application of the Five Precepts to the Contemporary Situation

Buddhism, through its insistence on the interrelatedness of all life, its teachings of compassion for all beings, its nonviolence, and its caring for all existence, has been leading some contemporary Buddhists to broader and deeper

interpretations of the relationship between social, environmental, racial and sexual justice and peace.

In this area, we should be inspired by examples of such movements like that of Ven. Bhikkhu Buddhadasa and his Garden of Liberation in Siam, not to mention the meditation practices of Ven. Phra Ajan Cha Subaddho and the scholarly work of Ven. Phra Debvedi (Payutto) which inspired not only Thai but foreign monks like Ven. Sumedho to carry the Buddhist message with social concern to Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand. However, in this paper, I want only to concentrate on one Vietnamese monk, Thich Nhat Hanh, who teaches us to pay close attention to the minute particulars in our actions, as well as to the giant web of all life.

He particularly stresses nondualism in his teachings and speaks of being peace in the moments in one's own life as part of making peace in the world. He stresses the continuity of inner and outer, calling the world our "large self," and asks us to become it actively and to care for it.

His Tiep Hien Order, created in Vietnam during the war, is in the lineage of the Zen school of Lin Chi. It is a form of engaged Buddhism in daily life, in society. The best translation of Tiep Hien, according to Thich Nhat Hanh, is the "Order of Interbeing," which he explains in this way: "I am, therefore you are, you are, therefore I am. That is the meaning of the word interbeing. We inter-are."

The Order of Interbeing is designed explicitly to address social justice and peace issues, sensitizing the participant to test his/her behavior in relation to the needs of the larger community, while freeing him/her from limiting patterns. Even the way we take refuge in the Triple Gems is explained simply and beautifully:

I take refuge in the Buddha,
the one who shows me the way in this life,
Namo Buddhaya

I take refuge in the Dharma,
the way of understanding,
and love,
Namo Dharmaya

I take refuge in the Sangha,
the community of mindful harmony,
Namo Sanghaya

Thich Nhat Hanh revised the traditional five precepts to address issues of mind, speech and body:

First, do not kill. Do not let others kill. Find whatever means possible to protect life. Do not live with a vocation that is harmful to humans and nature. Second, do not steal. Possess nothing that should belong to others. Respect the property of others, but prevent others from enriching themselves from human sufferings and the sufferings of other species on earth. Third, sexual expression should not take place without love and commitment. Be fully aware of the sufferings you may cause others as a result of your misconduct. To preserve the happiness of yourself and others, respect the rights and commitments of others. Fourth, do not say untruthful things. Do not spread news that you do not know to be certain. Do not criticize or condemn things that you are unsure of. Do not utter words that cause division and hatred, that can create discord and cause the family or the community to break. All efforts should be made to reconcile and resolve all conflicts. Fifth, do not use alcohol and any other intoxicants. Be aware that your fine body has been transmitted to you by several previous generations and your parents. Destroying your body with alcohol and other intoxicants is to betray your

ancestors, your parents and also to betray the future generations.

These precepts create a consciousness of, and a precedent for, social justice and peace work, grounded firmly in Buddhist principles in our individual beings and in our practice of mindfulness. As well, Thich Nhat Hanh often reminds us: "Do not lose yourself in dispersion and in your surroundings. Learn to practice breathing in order to regain composure of body and mind, to practice mindfulness, and to develop concentration and understanding."

These guiding statements achieve an integration of the traditional five precepts with elements of the Noble Eightfold Path, and I believe Thich Nhat Hanh's decision to elaborate on the traditional precepts came from his observation that one can interpret these to encourage a withdrawal from the world, a passivity in the face of war and injustice, a separation of oneself from the common lot of humanity. In rewriting the precepts, he is countering that tendency. In directing us to focus on our interconnection with other beings, he is asking us to experience the continuity between the inner and the outer world, to act in collaboration, in mutuality with others in the dynamic unfolding of the truth that nurtures justice and creates peace.

International Network of Engaged Buddhists: A Hopeful Beginning for Global Problem-Solving?

Some of us are trying to meet this challenge, and I hope what some of us are trying to do in connecting our being peace within to the outside world engagingly and mindfully, will contribute to a better world, with social justice, nonviolence and ecological balance--the Middle Way for each and for society at large, to live in harmony with one another and with nature.

Groups of young people in the west who believe in these principles and who try to act accordingly have established chapters of the Buddhist Peace Fellowship in the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia.

On top of that, some of us also have tried to meet with fellow Buddhists of like-mindedness in order to solve global problems concretely, taking some relevant issues of social justice which are near and dear to us, which we feel we could tackle individually and collectively with good friends (*kalayamamitta*) in other countries and cultures. Thus, last February, in a small city outside Bangkok, some forty-five Buddhists from all over the world, including a representative from the ABCP, met: (1) to identify urgent social problems which exist in one's own country as well as those affecting other Buddhist communities; (2) to explore the ways in which participants could cooperate in acting on these issues; and (3) to establish a network among engaged Buddhists on a global level.

They set up four working groups to explore different issues: education, women's issues, human rights, and spirituality and activism.

It is not appropriate to go into the details of this meeting here. However, since some Buddhists have become aware of the shortcomings of the World Fellowship of Buddhists and similar organizations, they are now determined to set up the International Network of Engaged Buddhists (INEB), with the following objectives: to promote understanding between Buddhist countries and various Buddhist sects, to facilitate and engage in solving problems in various countries, to help bring the perspective of engaged Buddhism to bear in working on these problems, to act as a clearinghouse of information on existing engaged Buddhist (and relevant non-Buddhist) groups and activities, and to aid in the coordination of efforts wherever possible.

Buddhism and Nonviolent Global Problem-Solving

They will initially involve groups and individuals working in the following areas: alternative education and spiritual training, peace activism, human rights, women's issues, ecology, family concerns, rural development, alternative economics, communication, and concerns of monks and nuns. This may be expanded in the future.

I trust that this newly-established network will collaborate meaningfully with our host organizations in applying Buddhism to global problem-solving.

THE UNITED NATIONS, RELIGION, AND GLOBAL PROBLEMS: FACING A CRISIS OF CIVILIZATION

Kinhide Mushakoji

Now that humankind faces the danger of self-destruction through nuclear holocaust or through ecological death, it is essential to mobilize all spiritual forces in order to overcome this crisis. The United Nations as a universal world organization created by the peoples of the world to guarantee its peace and prosperity is the only multilateral institution which can effectively mobilize all nations to cooperate in the face of this urgent task.

This was, for example, the very reason why the late Secretary General, U Thant, a devout Buddhist intellectual, initiated the organization of UN conferences on global issues such as the environment and overpopulation.

He also created the United Nations University in hopes that intellectuals, especially the intellectual youth, could come together from different cultural horizons and diverse spiritual traditions, to provide a global vision indispensable for coping

with these "pressing global problems of human survival, development and welfare" (UNU Charter, paragraph 1).

Indeed, a universal vision taking stock of different spiritual traditions is required in face of the contemporary world crisis since this crisis is not only economic, political and social, but fundamentally a crisis of civilization.

A crisis, according to the ideograms composing this word in Chinese, is a combination of "danger" and "opportunity." The contemporary global crisis is, indeed, a danger for the whole of humankind to annihilate not only itself but also all living beings under the sun. It is also an opportunity to go beyond the present Eurocentric civilization, which owes all its major features to historical developments which took place in Europe since the sixteenth century, to a truly global civilization built on the rich multifarious cultural and spiritual heritages of humankind.

The modern Western secular civilization has provided the different peoples of the world with the material base for a better standard of living as well as with the ideological foundation of a society guaranteeing the fundamental freedom and inalienable rights of each individual person.

Beyond all superstition and obscurantism inherent in premodern religious cultures, Western atheism proclaimed the fact that human beings, i.e. all the peoples of the world, were the master of their own destiny. Western secularism guaranteed the social progress of civil societies supported by the states.

However, this process of human liberation and social progress was accompanied by a process of accumulation of wealth and power in the hands of a few nations and transnational bodies. It also led to social and ecological exploitation and depletion so that nowadays the civilizing process originating in Europe has reached its limits.

The contemporary world crisis is nothing but the consequence of this globalizing trend of Western civilization. It has now reached the point where the very sustainability of its growth is questionable, in terms of (1) ecological sustainability, (2) social sustainability and (3) spiritual sustainability. In ecological terms, the very support systems indispensable to life have been over-exploited to such an extent that if the current consumerism is not curbed life cannot continue. In social terms, the sustainable development of societies with an accumulation of wealth and power is becoming unsustainable if it is at the expense of the weak and the poor and if such exploitation continues. In spiritual terms, the very roots of legitimacy of any social/political/economic institution are unsustainable unless the human persons constituting different communities regain their identity and full autonomy beyond the present trends toward alienation. We now face a crisis of human values where the very driving forces of the present materialistic and secular civilization, i.e. wealth and power, lose their purpose of enriching and empowering the people and turn instead into sheer greed and pure thirst for power.

Since this is indeed a spiritual crisis there is an opportunity for different spiritual traditions to play a constructive role in building a new civilization beyond the present material and secular civilization. Here, perhaps, resides the only hope.

Buddhism, among other religions, has several teachings needed in the current crisis. First, it has a specific mission in enlightening all peoples of the world in seeking to free their minds from greed and power. Second, the pluralism of the middle path guarantees mutual tolerance among different ideologies. Third, its teaching of *ahimsa*, nonviolence and care for all living beings, is the only base upon which the coming global civilization can be sustained.

Buddhism and Nonviolent Global Problem-Solving

It is in this sense that the UN University has conducted a project on Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim and Christian perceptions of desirable societies. The UN University considers it essential to develop an in-depth dialogue among these and other spiritual families.

This dialogue should be a search that digs the wells of each religious tradition in hopes of finding common underground water currents. It should not be a mere shallow mutual concession for the sake of peace among religions.

This dialogue should not be an exercise of pure philosophy but rather it should emphasize a praxis which manifests compassion for and empathy with the "last child" as it was so well put by Gandhi.

In representing this worldwide movement of the various peoples of the world, the United Nations should search for the underlying spiritual force indispensable for solving the present crisis.

This is why the Ulan Bator seminar is of the greatest importance to the United Nations.

VISIONING A PEACEFUL WORLD

Johan Galtung

Introduction: Peace, Power and the State

I start with two basic assumptions. First, *any peaceful world order has to take into account all four types of power: military, economic, cultural and political*. One cannot build peace on only one or two of them. Any power type can be transformed, even softened--but not disregarded. Power is with us forever. Second, *states, even nation-states, will be around for a long time*. There is something stabilizing in territorial contiguity and temporal continuity, combined with a minimum of human similarity. In addition there is the simple fact that nation-states *do* provide; the state often is *l'etat-providence*.

World space may be anarchic and risky as an interstate system. But states have also been capable of providing internal security, alleviating misery, guaranteeing a minimum of freedom and equipping people with at least one source of identity: faith in that nation-state itself--all of this within its own borders, even if so far mainly for first world countries. *War* as an institution is an increasing failure; the *nation-state* is not; however related the two may be. The nation-state is simply too successful. This also applies to lower levels of territorial administration such as provinces, cantons and communes, and to states within the larger

federations. There are major reasons why they are still around, have been for centuries, even millennia, and will be so for the foreseeable future--but not forever.

Hence the argument here is in favor of modifying aggressive states and world space. The short term problem is not how to abolish states but how to weaken them, soften them, and then weave them together by interlinking them in an equitable manner so that it becomes structurally difficult for them to engage in war or warlike processes. The question is how this rather general formula can be concretized into something both viable and attainable for peace in the interstate system. Many of the points to be made also apply to peace between sub-state and non-state actors, but that will not be spelled out.

Table 1 [pp. 59-60] is designed in such a way as to accommodate, relatively comfortably, much of the thinking in this important arena. A peaceful world presupposes regulation of power so as to obtain peace. War is power abuse. The study of power coincides with the study of politics: politics is power and power is politics. But the focus here is on politics for peace, and "peace" is seen as coming in two major varieties, negative peace and positive peace. As we assume the key building blocks in a peaceful world order to be nation-states for the foreseeable future, negative peace can be obtained by softening them, restraining their power exercise, and having them reduce their aggressiveness. And positive peace can be obtained by linking them together in harmonious, cooperative relations through the cement provided by inter-governmental and inter-people organizations. With four types of power that gives us the eight cells in the matrix of Table 1. An eightfold approach.

Before proceeding from one cell to the other with concrete answers to the question "what should be done?" the following prefatory remark is important. There is no assumption about any linear order in the Table. None of the eight cells is more

important than another. There is no single point where one should start, proceeding from one to the other, until a peaceful world has been obtained. Nor is there any one cell whereby the other seven cells automatically become easier. Just to the contrary: the assumption would rather be that there is a certain, albeit crazy, consistency in the world today and that any progress would have to be on all eight cells at the same time. Any focus on only one of them in all likelihood proves elusive because of the inner logic of the present world order. Hence, many incremental changes on all eight points/cells in the right direction are better than a single-minded push on one of them--an oriental, wholistic approach rather than an occidental unidimensional display of efficiency that may quickly turn out to be counter-productive.

The Occident is more concerned with efficient use of means than with efficacy. The military budget is tested for cost-effectiveness, not whether security is really obtained. Occidental peace movements, focussing on disarmament only, for instance, often share that mentality. Single factor and single issue movements and politics are as incompatible with the politics of peace as with the politics of health.

The Military Power Dimension

The abolition of war as an institution is put at the bottom of the top left-hand cell. I am not going to say more about it except this: what is in the rest of the table is supposed to provide the context within which wars, not states, might simply wither away. Random wars will remain, just as random slavery still exists. Like most random phenomena they will turn out to have some kind of structure upon closer examination. But that is not the same as institutionalizing and legitimizing, even internalizing such evils.

In a peaceful world deterrence would be based on the capacity to defend oneself, not on an offensive capacity to retaliate, indistinguishable--for all practical purposes--from the capacity to launch an attack. The consequences of the latter are very clear: offensive capability targeted on the adversary will tend to stimulate offensive capabilities in the adversary, in other words an offensive arms race; and an arms race will tend, sooner or later, to lead to war. It may be objected that if neither party wants war the possession of that offensive capability is only a necessary, but not sufficient condition for a war. But the problem is not only the aggressive war but also the pre-emptive war launched to prevent the other side from launching aggressive war, and the displaced war in less dangerous theaters.

When defensive defense is discussed a key problem, and a very important one, is the borderline, very far from sharp, between offensive and defensive weapons systems. Moreover, systems designed as defensive may, often through minor changes, be converted into highly offensive systems. The angle of anti-aircraft guns mounted on ships can be lowered considerably and the guns can be used to strafe the coasts of rebellious islands. This is true. There is a gray zone between the clearly defensive and the clearly offensive, not a sharp line.

More productive in the debate about defensive defense and transarmament in general is a positive image of the content of defensive defense. There are three types: short range conventional military defense, paramilitary defense, and nonmilitary defense. Typically they will all operate in relatively egalitarian ways, based on much solidarity among the participants. They would operate within the national territory, not outside, except for an interdictive capability which should be minimum in order not to provoke the adversary. And yet something might be needed to prevent an adversary from long distance destruction of the country. Another key problem defensive defense poses for the aggressive state is that it cannot

be used to protect economic and political interests abroad. The answer is simple: if those interests have to be "protected" militarily there must be something wrong with them. National interest located abroad is an anachronism, a good example of residual imperialism.

In this connection some words about nonviolence in general, and nonmilitary defense in particular. How does nonviolence fit into the four power dimensions? The answer is simple: nonviolence has to be based on strength. But the strength would not derive from having means of destruction of equal or greater magnitude than the adversary, since not only the use of force but also the threat of use of force is ruled out in nonviolent struggles. Deterrence based on mutual retaliation may occasionally work; but a state of perennial fear is not peace, not even negative peace. Strength would be based on invulnerability rather than destructive capability; from being strong, rather than having destructive strength. How?

One concrete formula to counter military power is a high level of fearlessness. Force moves people only when mediated by fear. And correspondingly for economic power: exchange only moves people when mediated by interest, or, even more strongly, if people are dependent on the goods and services offered in exchange for their labor and money, goods and services. Disinterest, or a minimum of self-sufficiency, is the obvious answer to that problem. And similarly for cultural power: only the submissive person is moved by values not in his own interest; the obvious answer being identity, dignity. Finally, political power: the nonviolent person will refuse to participate in illegitimate power configurations, used for the wrong purpose. That person will empty such institutions, making noncooperation in politics a part of noncooperation in general. The answer lies in autonomy, in doing one's own politics. Strengthened by faith in one's own values, disinterested in what the adversary has to offer because of one's own level of economic self-sufficiency at least

where basic needs are concerned, and armed with fearlessness, the nonviolent person becomes not only invulnerable but also invincible.

Basic to the whole notion of transarmament is gradual unilateralism. Steps toward transarmament can be taken by one country alone. Classical balance of power applies less since defensive arms are not pitted against each other. Late-comers to this change in military doctrine may find themselves like the last countries practicing slavery: as international outlaws

There are dangers, but also rewards for the first to enter this new stage in military history. One of them is considerably decreased military expenditure; another is considerable decrease in the risk of total destruction in case of a mutual nuclear/laser holocaust. One major obstacle to transarmament will be the constraints put upon a member of a military alliance wanting to transarm. There will be sanctions not only exercised by the superpower, but also by other members seeing their position threatened if somebody obtains higher security through a new military posture.

What would be the positive peace counterpart of transarmament processes? If transarmament is something a nation can do itself in order to institutionalize military nonaggression, thereby engaging in an exercise of softening itself, what would be the cooperative counterpart, since we also want to interlink nation-states? One answer will obviously be world peacekeeping. In spite of its enormous shortcomings, humankind as a whole has gained significant experience with this institution under the auspices of the United Nations. The destructive capabilities of such operations should never exceed what one would expect a transarmed nation-state to have; in other words, they should not possess offensive capabilities, but typically operate on the basis of hand weapons.

Visioning a Peaceful World

However, these weapons should not only be for self-defense in an individual sense. One of the more useful concepts for world peacekeeping forces would be as a buffer zone, as territory located between two contending parties, on the land of both of them, who would then agree on a contiguous zone populated by a dense grid, even a human wall, of world peacekeeping forces. Added to this comes the nonaligned countries already interposed between NATO and WTO countries (concretely this means Finland and Sweden, Austria and Switzerland, Yugoslavia and Albania). They would guarantee not to grant free transit of war material, and could back up that guarantee with the stationing of inspectors from world peacekeeping forces from other nations on their territory.

However, even conventional war is not necessarily a land war. Buffer zones are easily negated by aircraft, in some cases by naval forces. Consequently there should also be deep stationing of world peacekeeping forces. Any potential aggressor should know that an offensive will not only have to contend with land based buffer zones, but also with land based hostages, from all kinds of nations, possibly even from his own. The target would not be so clean and clear, pure and well-sorted as one would expect in the nation-state, but multinational, ambiguous, problematic. Whether stationed as buffers or hostages, world peacekeeping forces could at the same time do useful jobs beyond simply being there, as a part of a world service for a better environment, and for social development.

Another important positive peace task, also a counterpart to the negative peace agenda item of developing defensive, nonprovocative defense, is world cooperation in transarmament. If a country has developed deep and extensive experience making the country indigestible to an adversary the security will not decrease if the country shares doctrine, strategy, even some of its tactics with others.

Transarmed nations already exist, based on defensive defense and non-alignment. International peace-keeping forces already exist. There is considerable political will and experience in the field; and yet no strong world government. Some permanent members of the United Nations Security Council may have a dim view of either initiative, clearly directed against them by proclaiming non-aligned countries as healthy, far from suffering from some strange disease known as "neutrality." World peacekeeping forces might be resented by the superpowers because they would draw on a higher level of moral legitimacy than the superpowers are able to mobilize themselves. Superpowers see themselves as peacekeepers, in need of nobody to watch them.

In fact world peacekeeping forces would even serve as a link between superpowers and that strange, non-tangible but nevertheless real reality to which Kant and others have referred--the moral law inside us and the cosmos above us. In a generation or two (or three) "national military service" may even be as strange and illegitimate as "municipal military service" today. World Service would be the answer. And even today young persons all over the world demand a choice between different forms of service. This demand is resisted by authorities who know very well that to many national military service would be the last choice.

Is a World Transarmament Association a step also on the road to disarmament and war abolition? Theoretically, yes. A world of Switzerlands, Yugoslavias and Finlands would make war considerably less likely. In a world of that type purely defensive armies might also be reduced. But the first priority should always be given to the reduction of offensive capability, such as long range nuclear missiles and tanks, since that is where a basic source of fear and arms races is located. They provoke. To discuss disarmament as if withdrawal of nuclear landmines (defensive, but counterproductive by being too destructive) and

long range nuclear missiles should count the same is intellectually flawed. But one may also proceed with both offensive and defensive reduction at the same time. And some countries might even follow Costa Rica's bold example and abolish the military as a social institution all together.

The Economic Power Dimension

Much of the same reasoning holds for what will now be developed in connection with economic power. Does it not stand to reason that economic activity has to respect the sometimes sturdy, sometimes very fragile tissues of nature space, human space, social space and world space? That there is something basically wrong with economic activity if it produces ecological imbalance; dissatisfaction of human needs rather than the opposite for substantial portions of humankind; less rather than more real democracy and development in general in the social spaces around the world; and war rather than peace in world space? The task of economic activity, like other activity, must be to maintain and enhance ecological balance; protect and build human beings by satisfying reasonable needs; and to do all of this in ways reasonably compatible with the values of democracy, development and peace in the social and world spaces.

Of course, what is said in the preceding paragraph is rather moralistic. What is called for are concrete proposals for economic nonaggression and for building a world economy. But such proposals for economic activity within as well as between nations have to be consistent with two guidelines: production and distribution. Primacy should be given to basic human needs and to ecological balance, while also enhancing social development and world peace. But this is not the point of departure chosen in economics. Therefore, economics as a science will have to be rewritten if it wants to play a role in a peaceful world of nonaggression and cooperation. In such a

world what today passes as economics would be seen as strange emanations of a civilization with peaks of brilliance intimately related to pangs of suffering--all of it wrapped together in an apparently seamless web referred to as "modern/scientific economics"--and with the peaks in the center and the pangs in the periphery of the system. The economic system we know best produces both growth and inequality, both needs-satisfaction and needs-deprivation, both harmony and disharmony--all dependent on where you are!

Self-reliance may be one approach here. This is not the place to spell out details. Suffice it only to say that self-reliance divides into two parts, domestic and international, based on two axioms (for self-reliance I and self-reliance II respectively):

First, try to produce whatever is needed from national or even local production factors (nature, labor, capital, research and administration).

Second, when national or local production possibilities have been exhausted proceed on the basis of exchange, (trade), but on an equitable, mutually beneficial basis. There is nothing in this that presupposes a socialist economy. The two axioms can be used as guidelines for both socialist, capitalist and many other economies.

The rationale behind such principles for organizing economic activity is the effort to deal seriously with what economists cavalierly refer to as "externalities"; costs and benefits not accounted for in their ways of reckoning. That would include the costs in nature space due to ecological degradation, but also possible benefits in nature space from more positive ecological activity; the costs in human space of somatic, mental, and spiritual degradation, and also the benefits stemming from challenging tasks, new experiences, rich social networks, a feeling of being valuable and valued; the costs in social space

due to concentration of power clustered around economic decision making, and also the benefits in social space due to dense social networks spun around economic cycles, increased mobility and flexibility; costs in world space due to structural conflict engendered by economic aggression, creating penetration and dependency, and benefits in world space based on cooperation based on equitable, symbiotic economic relations.

By exploitation is meant highly unequal distribution of externalities and "internalities"; the latter being the economic values that are taken into account in the theory and practice of economics, reflected in bookkeeping. By producing for one's own consumption locally or nationally, externalities--positive as well as negative--are internalized. They stay at home, providing an incentive for economic activity that increases positive and reduces negative externalities. And when it comes to trade the rule would be this: organize the exchange in such a way that positive externalities still outweigh the negative, then share both positive and negative externalities equally. This perspective is missing from economic theory and traditional "integration" theory based on transactions of any type, equitable or not, and political institution-building.

The Cultural Power Dimension

From economic power let us move on to cultural power and ask the basic question: what do we mean by cultural non-aggression? I think there are three answers, all of them important in this connection. But first a prefatory remark: the cultural power dimension is probably more intractable than military and economic power in that it is less discussed and more deeply internalized.

First, any culture, including the macro-cultures referred to as civilizations, should be on world display, visible and available

for dialogue. There should be cultural communication, but not cultural aggression, which in the first line I would define as cultural communication backed up with military and/or economic power.

Second, there are cultures that are inherently aggressive regardless of how they are communicated. The moment a culture in general, and a religion in particular, conceives of itself not only as *universal*, valid all over world space, but also as *singularist*, meaning the only valid religion or culture in the world, there is a problem. A claim to universality combined with tolerance and with pluralism is innocuous. It is simply an admonition for everybody around the world also to take that culture into account. The same applies to singularism combined with particularism, meaning that this is the only truth for us. It is everybody's freedom to entertain such cultural fantasies. They may even stimulate cultural growth and dialogue. The problem comes when the truth is proclaimed for the *whole* world.

Third, the inherent aggressiveness in a culture provided by the religious fantasy of being a Chosen People. To be chosen by Divine Forces gives these peoples not only rights but also duties since they are His children.

I have already referred to such strongly held beliefs as fantasies. That is merely begging the question of how such people(s) can open their eyes, contemplate the vast stretches and varieties in space and time, not only at present but also in the past and in the future, and let some realism and modesty enter their fantasies. In short, is there some cure for such fantasies, some ways of exorcising these inherently aggressive aspects from cultures? At the individual level such fantasies are referred to as megalomania--in the Nazi German and South African cases as white supremacy. Given outside reactions, paranoia easily follows. A cure--short confrontation does not easily come to mind.

Visioning a Peaceful World

The net conclusion is dialogue, tolerance and mutual respect--in short, cultural relativism. But this is no invitation to unlimited, absolute cultural relativism. It is not true that all cultures (or macro-cultures, civilizations) are equally good or equally bad. And this makes us see more clearly how important culture is as the big legitimizer of military and/or economic aggression, seemingly above narrow human and national passions and interests. Such cultural elements are simple basic threats to world peace, a reason why the expression "relative cultural relativism" might be more acceptable. We simply cannot afford to lose sight of the cultural roots of aggression, using culture to legitimize military and economic aggression, however much it may hurt the true believers. The problem is obvious. We may change military hardware and doctrine. We may even change economic doctrine, even with some short-term losses. But to change culture is to change ourselves.

What is the positive peace counterpart of engaging in self-criticism in an attempt to uproot culturally aggressive elements of the types mentioned? In general terms this will hit Occident more than Orient, but in the Orient it will certainly hit Japan. It has to be done. But these are only negative pursuits. What is the corresponding positive pursuit, beyond helping each other in a searching, critical dialogue where no culture/religion is seen as entirely sacrosanct--beyond asking, in a spirit of sincerity, what is it in my culture (economic practice, military posture) that offends you most--and expecting the same question in return. In one capsule formula it is to *build world consciousness*, even a world culture, a world civilization, not instead of local, national and regional consciousness, but in addition to them, in the same way as a world economy does not presuppose doing away with local and national economies. Just to the contrary: self-reliance II is based on (local and national) self-reliance I.

As a first and simple step in that direction that could very easily be done and is already to a large extent being done: *create*

images of the world as a whole! Train people in global thinking, in thinking and talking of the world system as a total system seen from many angles. Concretely this means in social science what the geophysicists and others have been so capable of doing to the physical world: seeing the whole earth ball as one system, using concepts such as Man and the Biosphere (MAB), totally disregarding national borders, as in the International Geophysical Year (IGY). But then natural sciences draw other borders, between physics and chemistry and chemistry and the life sciences.

One very important special case is the presentation of world statistics, about the whole world and humankind as a whole. With national statistics the problem is often that the data are not sufficiently disaggregated, meaning that they do not tell us enough about the differences in living conditions (such as life expectancy, infant mortality, etc.) for different groups in society, rural versus urban, high class, middle class, low class and so on. But when it comes to world statistics there is room for the opposite complaint. There is a consistent disaggregation of the statistics into 166 or so member states of the United Nations [1991]. It is as if the point is precisely to draw attention to differences between the states, reinforcing the idea so dear to the adherents of statism as an ideology that the state is the unit of development, and development is the process whereby less developed countries (LDC) catch up with more developed countries (MDC), which may or may not catch up with the place from which much of this process is monitored and coordinated: Washington, D.C. Actually, "catching up" has to be modified as an expression. It means catching up with the position where the MDCs were located when the catching up process started. When/if the LDCs arrive the MDCs might have moved further away.

Given the significance of the state as a social organization nobody will dispute that disaggregation of world statistics in the

direction of countries is meaningful and should continue. But it is also highly meaningful to aggregate these statistics, focusing on world numbers of very rich and very poor people, very educated and very uneducated people, on how many people live in what kind of habitat (cities, towns, slums, villages and so on) and how many people are in the various professions. Statistics of this type make people think in a different way. So do statistics about raw materials, including energy raw materials, as inputs in human production processes--compared to statistics about the goods and services actually produced--so that we get a better image of how wisely or unwisely we dispose of world resources.

A small step, indeed. But under this heading of world consciousness there are colossal tasks to be undertaken. Underlying such an exercise are efforts, all over the world, to develop *positive views of humanity*, of ourselves.

A world consciousness probably has to have some underpinning in the form of a *general world cosmology*, meaning a minimum of assumptions about the world in general and humankind in particular, sufficiently shared by a sufficient portion of humankind. Using a general scheme for the analysis of the cosmologies found in the civilizations dividing humankind, I would point to six particularly important factors. Others, with other analytical schemes will come up with other lists. The basic points are the words *minimum* and *sufficient*. We do not want a world ideology with no tolerance of deviance.

First, there has to be a reasonably shared view of *world space* as multicentric, in fact with very many centers, scattered all over the world, each one of them a center in its own right, of concern rather than control. Unicentric images of the world, seeing the world as controllable and controlled from one or perhaps two command posts only, should be intensely criticized, torn apart. A polycentric view with very many centers is preferable.

Second, there has to be a reasonably shared view of *social time*. There has to be some element of an idea of progress, for instance in the direction of peace. But it should also be taken for granted that social time undulates through history, that there are ups and downs. And more particularly, there is validity to the ancient wisdom that what goes up has a tendency to come down and what goes down has a tendency to come up--with transformation occurring in the process. Thus, Oriental time conceptions as found in Buddhism and Taoism can better serve the world as a whole than Occidental time with ultimate progress at the expense of ultimate crisis at the end of time, where existence dissolves into two forking paths, apocalypse on the one hand (hell) and catharsis on the other (heaven).

Third, there has to be a reasonably shared image of the diversity of ways in which *knowledge* can be constructed. The epistemological atomism of the Occident has to be tempered with the epistemological wholism more often found in the Orient. The approach of weaving partial knowledges together in deductive theories has to be tempered by more dialectical approaches focusing on internal contradictions in everything, whether human-made or not. This is particularly important if we want to obtain a reasonable view of the world as a whole.

An optimistic position would be that we are confronted here with some kind of inevitability. The expanding world in which we live will force upon us other ways of coming to grips with that world. The only danger would be that we too easily jump from Occidental to Oriental thought, assuming that the former is completely wrong because it failed to encompass approaches developed by the latter, which then has to be totally correct. The Occident has produced enormous amounts of useful knowledge, to be tempered with Oriental and other wisdom.

Fourth, there has to be a reasonably shared image of the *person-nature* relationship as a partnership relation. There is

some world consciousness of this at this point. We know today that there is a limit to how much we can destroy of the biosphere with its animals and plants, of the lithosphere, the hydrosphere and atmosphere. We have to preserve and conserve. We also have to live from organic matter, which again links us to animals and plants, raising the question of whether we can do this without killing--more like shearing sheep, picking fruits.

Fifth, there has to be a reasonably shared image of *person-person* relations. Humankind, environment, development, peace, future and all such big things have to be seen as indivisible since in fact they are. Everybody is not only born free, but is also entitled to live and die at least without flagrant inequality.

Sixth, there has to be a reasonably shared view of *person-transpersonal* relations. There probably has to be a minimum *metaphysics* for a world consciousness to emerge. This cannot be based on any existing faith since that would make the ancient carriers of that faith inevitably the center of a world which would then become uncentric. The "oceanic feeling" of sometimes being linked, even relinked (*re-ligio*) seems to be universal. That is already a basis. Its universal recognition constitutes or reconstitutes a transpersonal reality, from one end of the world to the other. Call it God, call it *that*. The god would not have a face. The *that* would not have a name. In a coming world consciousness Islam would have certain advantages over Christianity; and Taoism over, for instance, Shinto. The more dogmatic and aggressive the religion, the less relevant. The softer aspects unite since all are chosen, the harder aspects divide since some peoples are chosen more than others. Softer aspects of world religions in general, and softer religions such as Buddhism, Quakerism, and the Baha'i faith are some of the elements by which to build, uniting rather than dividing.

Inevitably, people of different faiths to some extent feel threatened by each other, particularly if they are suffering from

the complex of universalism/singularism. But it is also inevitable that they would compare notes, so to speak, and search less for that which divides than for some common denominator, that which they have in common. The ecumenical exercise is built on this approach. Such an approach probes the borderlines among Protestant sects; between Protestantism and Catholicism; between either of these and the orthodox churches; between Christianity in any form and Judaism; between either of these and Islam; between Occidental thought and Hinduism/Buddhism; between either of these and the systems of faith entertained further to the East. And even this list does not come close to exhausting the possibilities. There are fascinating tasks ahead. And the most fascinating point is that it is already going on: there are comparisons and conferences all over the place. We have also relatively recently seen the Baha'i faith, which views all religions as manifestations of the same god, presented by the founders of that particular religion, with an endless series of manifestations still to come. Obviously the emergence of a religion of that type meets with the intense resistance of universalist/singularist religions, as evidenced by the extreme persecution of the Baha'is by the current Shiite regime in Iran. But equally obviously, a religion of that type is also a product of the changing structure of a shrinking world. World cultures have to emerge, but not as imperial impositions from the strong.

The Political Power Dimension

Let us then try to approach the problem of political power, the power to decide over the use of other forms of power. Political power is the command platform for the exercise of power, hence this is where general participation of any possible object of power or subject of power becomes crucial. The general formula for that participation is democracy. The historical problem is who constitutes the *demos*, the people.

Visioning a Peaceful World

Negative peace in connection with political power has been translated in the Table under the heading "internalize national interests." What is meant is simply this: contract, if necessary, and show some defensive quills towards the outside, but do not try a global reach with military, economic and cultural tentacles! Whenever possible give satisfaction to the national interests at home, internalize them; do not see other countries and other peoples as means of satisfying one's own interests. The primary task is to internalize national interests through policies of military, economic and cultural nonaggression and self-reliance.

The general democratic agenda should be broadened, and not only in the sense of admitting new layers of people to the *demos*. Next in line are, of course, adolescents and children, not to mention foreigners, and nature, hoping that *homo sapiens* will find ways of representing adequately the non-human inhabitants of the world. But there is also a shortcoming in the way democracy is practiced--aggregation is too heavy. The highest level of aggregation is found in the national vote, for *parties* or *presidential* candidates, depending on whether it is a parliamentary system or a presidential democracy. In either case local differences may not come sufficiently into focus, and too many issues are bundled together in an election "platform." Thus, the peace movement--highly relevant in a process of disaggregation--has managed in Europe to make people take stands on peace issues very different from the policies pursued by their governments. But the peace movement has generally not succeeded in making peace issues number one, in the sense of making party preferences on peace and war issues primary rather than economic or other issues.

Important as these problems are, the positive peace counterpart of what has just been mentioned must also be delineated. Somehow national interests have to add up to world interest; foreign policies to world domestic policy. What is called for would be *world institutions for world interests*, to

complement national institutions for (internalized) national interests. The question is whether democracy can be broader so as to include the entire world constituency, humankind. Of course it can. There is nothing particularly arcane in some additional chambers in the United Nations. So far what we have is a House of Lords (the Security Council) and a House of Commons (the General Assembly, GA, which also could mean Governmental Assembly), divided into one-vote constituencies, the famous Members that are States. In short, there is a clear overlayer of British Parliamentarianism in the conceptualization of the United Nations.

So, let us imagine three changes. The House of Lords/Security Council withers away. A new, democratic, People's Assembly is added to the old, reflecting better the population. (Thus, the number of votes could equal the number of millions or the square root of the number of millions in the population); the votes are given to representatives who may then represent territorial and/or national subdivisions inside a country and no longer vote in unison. And a chamber for People's Organizations (dubbed "non-government organizations" by the governments) is also added, with similar voting formulas. Consistent steps away from statism would include giving more power to people in general and to subnational and transnational groupings in particular. If there should be an Upper House maybe it would be wiser to reserve it for the intergovernmental organizations, in consultative capacity, since many of them have been good at developing supranational perspectives. All of this would still leave out the transnational corporations, and I see no reason why they could not also be added in some kind of consultative capacity, in an additional Chamber.

The representatives in the new People's Assembly could also be chosen directly in world elections. The experiment currently going on in the European Community with twelve countries having simultaneous elections (1979, 1984, 1989) is

extremely important. The number of people involved, number of states involved and number of years of experience is of course much below a much larger democratic experiment often overlooked in the arrogant west: India. And India is also more typical of humankind as a whole than the overdeveloped, super-rich western European peninsula on the Eurasian landmass. And yet elections somehow work in that subcontinent, even with a higher level of participation than in the United States.

If that is possible, *world referenda* should also be possible, on such key divisive issues as military bases on foreign lands. How many people in the world favor that land use? But popular participation in any political process is generally divisive unless the process is permitted to go on until consensus has been obtained. And the division will probably be along lines not only decided by the geographical borders separating states.

At this point we could now make an almost endless list of *world institutions*. Many of them exist in embryonic forms in the intragovernmental organizations, and more particularly in the United Nations family. Inevitably this reduces the latitude, including that for aggression, of some countries. We have already seen one superpower, and one fallen empire withdrawing from a major member organization of the United Nations family—the UNESCO, and more of that is probably to be expected. Not all nations are equally ready for equal participation in a world institution; if that were the case the world would not have been so torn by strife and conflict as in fact it is. But instead of pursuing this argument and listing possible world institutions let me rather make a general point.

Visions of a future peaceful world as a global arena with a relatively high level of security, would have to exhibit some similarities to some of the existing countries in the world. Needless to say it would have to be more similar to confederations of states rather than to federations and unitary

constructions; otherwise a strong world government with all its dangers is there. The world has more to learn from cooperating state systems and (con)federations with a highly heterogeneous population in terms of nation (religion, languages, myths), possibly also race, than from unitary states based on homogeneity. And the world would have much more to learn from federal countries that are not based on general homology, meaning usually that the central authority of the federation has imposed on all parts the same structure. The Chinese experiments with *i guo, liang zi* (one country, two systems) may be interesting in that connection, as would cooperation between East and West Germany, North and South Korea, Hungary and Austria.

But there are other things to do in the meantime. Particularly attractive would be a *World Service* of young people from everywhere. For instance, perhaps millions of young people could be peacekeepers working for a *better environment and social development*. For a long time already it has been pointed out how much we need the "moral equivalent of war," a drafting of people similar to conscription for military service, but in the service of peace rather than war. This should not be confused with the peace corps that came into existence in the 1960s although through that many important experiences have been gained. The peace corps addresses itself to problems of the environment and development. But it is still, at least as conceived by the elites in countries that have established peace corps for their youth, designed to promote national interests rather than, or as well as, world interests. A world service, or *world peace corps* for that matter, would not be a propaganda institution to enhance the image of some countries, a purpose that might easily backfire. Like the mail service, it would function as something connecting the world rather than pitting one part against the other in what might look like cooperation, but right under the surface is an expression of narrow interests, processing the needs of others into political capital.

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Basically *world service* would be voluntary and not restricted to young people. Countries with conscription, and aspiring to good world citizenship would give their youth a chance to choose between national and world service, and between military and nonmilitary service. Absolute pacifists would also object to armed world peacekeeping forces and should find their place, for instance, in nonmilitary peace brigades. Gradually national military service would fade into the oblivion it so richly deserves, retaining only a minor defensive component. To have offensive capability would simply be considered indecent, like slavery.

Table 1. VISIONING A PEACEFUL WORLD: How to weave states together, softening and interlinking them.

Military Power

Negative Peace

Military non-aggression
non-flow, non-intervention
non-stock, of offensive arms

defensive non-provocative
defense
transarmament

disarmament

abolition of war as an
institution

Positive Peace

World peacekeeping forces
nonviolent intervention
stationing as buffers in crisis
areas; stationing as hostages
cooperation in defensive
defense
World Transarmament
Association
World Disarmament
Association
World War Abolition
Association

Economic Power

Negative Peace

Economic non-aggression

nature, human, social, world
production for basic needs
distribution to most needy
SELF-RELIANCE I
nationally
locally, use local factors
internalizing externalities

Positive Peace

World economy

nature, human, social, world
production for basic needs
distribution to most needy
SELF-RELIANCE II
equitable exchange
symbiosis, mutual benefit
sharing externalities equally

Cultural Power

Negative Peace

Cultural non-aggression

dialogues of civilizations
not backed by military and
economic power

criticize, internally, externally
universalism + singularism
Chosen People ideas
absolute cultural relativism

Positive Peace

World consciousness

world statistics, world images
conceptualization and foreign
policy as world domestic
politics
positive views of humanity:
multicentric space
relaxed, oscillating time
more wholistic, dialectic
nature partnership
equality, justice--inclusive
minimum metaphysics

Political Power

Negative Peace

Internalize national interests

broaden democracy
national and local elections/
party/ candidate and issue
votes
nuclear free municipalities
nuclear free professions, with
Hippocratic peace oaths
decentralize foreign policy:
to local government
to people's diplomacy

Positive Peace

World institutions for world interests

broaden democracy
chamber of governmental
organizations
chamber of people's
organizations
world elections
world referenda
world service
environment
development

An Eightfold Path

Everywhere throughout history humankind has engaged in social and world experiments on behalf of humanity--some successful, and some not. We are all doing this every day, and deep inside us the Kantian question should always be lurking: is my behavior generalizable? What would happen if everybody in my position did what I am now going to do? There are obvious shortcomings to this approach. The principle is often invoked by the establishment when they try to stop "deviant behavior": "we cannot permit this; what would happen if everybody should engage in this kind of behavior?" Moreover, the principle presupposes that different types of acts can be morally acceptable or not depending on the actor's position/situation; a principle that might be used to keep the set of positions, in other words the social and world structure, constant. There is even a

linkage between these two objections: "deviant behavior" may be precisely what is needed in order to change the social structure. "My behavior as a human being/country in general may not be generalizable, but my behavior as a moderate slave-owner/moderate imperial power is acceptable." To whom?

Nevertheless, there is something to the principle, depending on how one defines "position." And that immediately raises the question: position in what? In my family? My local community? My country? My region? Or, as in this exploration, in the world as a whole? That points forward. Many people and countries might claim that their behavior is generalizable. But others would immediately object that their action is too clearly marked, even marred by their age group or sex group, their nation or class, their citizenship or membership; by the position of the country in the world class structure. Somehow there is a need to arrive at a clearer conceptualization of what the "human position" or "world citizen" means, simply to be a human being, a member of the human race, or a country, in terms of rights and duties. The position taken here on that question is spelled out for countries in Table 1: implicitly defining world citizenship.

My conclusion is that the key to our search for a peaceful world lies in the celebration of diversity, both in the sense of heterogeneity and heterology, and of symbiosis in the relationships between those diverse parts, provided the symbiosis is reasonably equitable. Maybe our visions are impeded by our fear of diversity and by our inability to see how these very different parts can pull together. Further hindering our imagination is our dislike, sometimes intense, of different parts, simply because they are different from ourselves. A strong world *government* would tend to reduce diversity. But world *coordination* could even enhance diversity and open for much more symbiosis, in an equitable manner. And economic, cultural and political cooperation among strong, self-reliant partners might ultimately make war look totally redundant--as it looks

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among the European Community countries today, the ASEAN countries, the Nordic countries--all together well above six hundred million of us.

So we are on the way. Or, rather, we are on an eightfold path, working on all eight problems--hopefully not falling into the trap of believing that solving one of them will make the others automatically follow suit. And we have the double agenda of building both more *independent actors*, in other words, *autonomy*, and more truly *interdependent actors*, meaning equity.

To many that is too contradictory: how can capacity for independence and capacity for interdependence be peace productive at the same time? The answer is simple. It takes defensive strength to live in a polycentric and highly complex world, without easy recourse to superpower "extended deterrence" and/or offensive weapons of one's own. It takes economic strength to live in a highly interdependent world without becoming dependent or making others dependent on oneself. It takes cultural strength not to depend on others for a cultural support system. And it takes political strength to participate, equally and equitably, with others that also occasionally are strong without becoming their clients and pawns, clones and clowns. The weak can be enrolled as "allies," "trade partners," "believers" and "members," concealing the aggression taking place, until the resentment building up explodes all over. The strong not.

Abolition of war is similar to what the people fighting slavery and colonialism, abject exploitation and patriarchy were and are up against. They won, or are winning. We live in their utopia, which then proved to be a realistic utopia. So is ours: a concrete utopia for peace.

NONVIOLENT BUDDHIST PROBLEM-SOLVING IN SRI LANKA

A.T. Ariyaratne

As a Sri Lankan, it gives me pain of mind to speak on the subject of peacemaking in Sri Lanka. It is more painful when this subject has to be discussed in the Buddhist context. When Sri Lanka was Buddhist, both in precept and practice, there was no need to talk about peacemaking because there was no fundamental value crisis in the Sri Lankan society in spite of internally or externally caused strife and power struggles, which sometimes led to bloody rebellions and wars. Peace prevailed in the minds of the general public and their communities because the generally accepted value system remained unattacked by contending groups.

It is common knowledge that there is a disturbed situation in Sri Lanka today where legalised structural violence prevails and extra-legal violent methods are used as well to resolve conflicts. Some call it an "ethnic problem." Some others call it a "terrorist problem." Yet others call it a "militant struggle for liberation." There are still other groups trying to identify it with a more simplistic description, calling it a kind of war between the Sinhala Buddhist majority and the Tamil Hindu minority. Whatever it is, there is violence and counter-violence which has

already taken a toll of several thousand lives, most of them innocent and powerless people who could not comprehend what was going on around them.

There are various kinds of scholarly papers written on this issue. Some of them trace the problem back to the Aryan Dravidian origins of the Sinhala and Tamil races. Others have taken great pains to prove who inhabited the island first. Human rights have been discussed in great detail. Dialogues and negotiations have been going on for several years with militant groups at the level of political parties and governments. There is hardly anything useful that can be achieved by adding to those writings and peace formulae--additions may even create more confusion in the minds of the people. In spite of all this, not only the people who have taken up arms--those with declared legitimacy on the part of the government and extra-legally on the part of the militants--but large numbers of innocent men, women and children get killed, become disabled for life, lose their houses and property, become destitute and suffer untold agony.

What is most needed seems not to be highly academic peace plans, full of minute legal details, but a down to earth approach within the reach of ordinary citizens of the country. As a non-academic, I agreed to speak on this subject because it is in such a layman's exercise that I am involved, with others, through the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, at the moment. Most people feel that Sarvodaya is "Buddhist thinking" in development action. Also, the Sarvodaya efforts can be described as peacemaking in Sri Lanka in the Buddhist context. As I am qualified to talk only about what I am directly involved in, I will confine myself to Sarvodaya efforts in peacemaking.

Before I proceed any further, I would like to make certain preliminary remarks about Buddhism in Sri Lanka. Statistically seventy percent of the people in Sri Lanka are said to profess Buddhism. There is hardly any place in the country where an

ancient or modern Buddhist monument or monastery is not found. There are around twenty thousand monks attending to the religious needs of people today. Religious ceremonies and related activities are going on continuously. The teachings of the Buddha in its most pristine form is found in *Dhamma* texts. Even non-Buddhist laymen and politicians liberally quote chapter and verse from the Buddha's Words in their public utterances. When one sees and hears all this, one gets the impression, or I would say, the illusion, that Sri Lanka is a Buddhist country.

To my mind, to call Sri Lanka a Buddhist country and then to put the blame for every kind of immoral act or incident of violence or denial of human rights on Buddhists is not fair. Even though historically and culturally Sri Lanka may claim to be Buddhist, in my opinion, certainly the way political and economic structures are instituted and managed today can hardly be called Buddhist either in precept or practice.

Let me have a look at the political structure. It is based on the so-called party system which has been adopted from the west. Political parties *in practice* promote, what is called in Buddhism the four defilements, namely, *chanda*, *dvesha*, *bhaya* and *moha*. By *chanda* we mean the bringing about of alienation between one another in the minds of the people. The existing caste, linguistic, racial, communal or other differences are surreptitiously and sometimes openly used by political parties to promote their own self-interest, instead of promoting compassion and the idea of well-being of all in the minds of people. Therefore, the political parties hold a notorious record for promoting alienation among the people of Sri Lanka.

Dvesha is ill will, which is the direct result of the aforementioned alienation. Organised gossip, rumour, falsehood and so on supplement various kinds of apparently democratic, political and economic propaganda, carried out by most of the

leaders of political parties. While the political elite may have a common understanding of the game they play according to their own rules, the unwary ordinary people fall prey to their machinations and develop longstanding enmities and irreconcilable conflicts. This explains the origin of a lot of the violent confrontations we witness in Sri Lanka today.

The third characteristic, *bhaya*, is mutual fear. In post-independent Sri Lanka while an unjust, unhealthy and a borrowed party political system was kept going for the benefit of a small class of people, to whatever party they belonged to, mutual suspicion and fear among common people also kept gathering momentum. The so-called 1983 "communal" violence was promoted by a handful of politically powerful people who were in a microscopic minority. Yet, they were able to rouse this spirit of mutual fear in most people and they kept them away from any constructive intervention to prevent the escalation of that violence.

Of course there was a negative kind of intervention on the part of some educated people, interventions in the form of scholarly analyses based on a hoard of statistical data and historical facts. I call this mostly negative intervention because they did not affect in any way the thinking of either the man on the street or our basic political and economic structure that promoted the situation of disharmony and conflict. In other words, philosophising that does not touch the basic roots of mental defilements and social realities resulting from them, in Buddhist terminology, is simply called *moha* or ignorance. When ignorance becomes organised, and one calls it social science, it is a disaster for communities who have a right to expect more positive interventions from the more educated sectors. We see a situation today in Sri Lanka of different groups holding onto their own uncompromising positions while the sound of guns and explosions continue to be heard.

The economic goals, structures and processes that are officially promoted also are not, in my opinion, conducive to building peace in a Buddhist way. Promoting consumerism is one extreme which Lord Buddha rejected as *Kamasukhallikanuyoga*. Since independence the country has been drawing away from the Middle Path. Four hundred and fifty years of western influence and rule, the deliberate promotion of the materialistic way of life and the existence of a small elite group who have achieved that affluent level, have made the general population also aspire to achieve material prosperity as their sole aim in life. But few succeed. Most end up in a situation worse than they were in before. With the introduction of the so-called free economy during the last ten years and with plenty of imported consumer goods floating around, everyone is bent on making quick money to acquire these non-essentials. Malnutrition is on the increase; crime is on the increase; the cost of living is skyrocketing and bribery and corruption have taken unprecedented proportions.

When any kind of social unrest sets in, there are small gangs of undisciplined people who take advantage of the situation. These are mostly teenagers who have had no proper schooling or education in cultural values. But the media has conditioned their minds to desire various material things. They go on a rampage of looting and arson at the slightest opportunity. This is what happened in July 1983 in many places in Sri Lanka. Some young people looted television sets from shops and only after taking them home to their shanty dwellings did they realise that they had neither electricity nor a place to keep them in. Then they smashed them on the ground. This kind of psychological reaction is a clear example of the frustrations developed in people who see a consumerist society around them, but are denied the opportunities to be a part of it.

So the economic environment is not conducive to the mental peace and contentment of individuals and communities

when it is supported by a vicious power-oriented political system. In a Buddhist society, neither political nor economic activities promoted by the state should contradict the teachings of the Buddha. Furthermore, in both these fields of human activity there are teachings that can guide a state dedicated to following the teachings of the Buddha. Primarily a Buddhist has to abstain from killing, stealing, committing adultery, lying and consuming intoxicants. When all five injunctions are formally promoted directly or indirectly by the state it is far from building a Buddhist economy. When speaking of economic development, Lord Buddha not only stressed the importance of increased efficiency in production (*Uttana Sampada*), but also the importance of the protection of resources and the environment (*Arakkha Sampada*), a friendly social milieu in which economic activities should take place (*Kalyana Mittata*) and a wholesome lifestyle towards which all the economic activities are directed (*Sama Jeevakata*).

Production and consumption do not constitute the totality of life and society. They are the material foundation on which higher objectives pertaining to human life and culture are to be attained. The way in which production, distribution, consumption, technology, and marketing are carried out determines whether these higher objectives are promoted or hampered. The economy in Sri Lanka makes it very difficult to realise these higher aspirations. The lack of a spiritual balance is resulting in widespread ecological and environmental problems which in turn affect the thinking and conduct of human beings.

The Sarvodaya approach to peacemaking is twofold. Firstly, the movement tries to re-establish a value system while also promoting technologies and structures that would lead to a sustainable society. Secondly, the Movement addresses itself to the problems that need immediate attention even though their origin is in the present arrangement of the political, economic and social structure of our society. The latter programme is

something like bringing relief, rehabilitation and reconciliation to people who have been affected by violence. The former is an attempt to remove the causes that have brought about the present state of unrest.

Having outlined the political and economic processes which are officially promoted, one can understand how difficult it is to promote alternative processes within the law which would lead to a social order of Buddhist values and objectives. In this case study of peacemaking in Sri Lanka in the Buddhist context, taking the experience of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, I am attempting to describe how the programme has been implemented during the last three decades. Firstly, I will give a brief description of the overall approach we have to change in the system. Secondly, I will describe specific actions we have taken up, especially those which redress damage already done by various eruptions of violence caused by economic, political and social factors.

Sarvodaya is a Buddhist concept. It literally means the "awakening of all." Shramadana means, "sharing of one's time, thought and effort." Sarvodaya thought and Shramadana action form the foundation upon which the movement was begun.

The Buddha's admonition that human beings desirous of putting an end to the painful cycle of births and deaths should try to realise the illusion of "ego" and try to transcend selfishness constitutes the essence of Sarvodaya thought. In practice, this amounts to selfless service towards fellow beings irrespective of their caste, class, creed, race and other divisive categories. That which is easiest to part with or share with others are one's thoughts and efforts. So, the Sarvodaya activities begin with Shramadana camps where men, women and children in communities share their labour to satisfy various needs of communities.

In Buddhist philosophy four principles of social conduct are advocated. They are *dana* (sharing), *priya vacana* (constructive speech), *arthacharya* (constructive activity) and *samanathmatha* (equality). In a Shramadana camp, these four principles are always kept in the forefront and practiced. For peacemaking the psychosocial benefits of a camp are often more important than its physical achievements. The participants in these camps come from many different sociopolitical backgrounds and after going through the Shramadana camp experience they usually leave with barriers overcome and a feeling of being one with humanity.

Today there are over eight thousand villages out of a total of over twenty-three thousand villages in Sri Lanka where this kind of experience is shared by thousands of people attending regular Shramadana camps. In 1986, 3910 Shramadana Camps were held, totalling 314,412 human-days of work. We call this psychological infrastructure building. Peacemaking on a national level is inconceivable without all the people in the country coming together on a psychological level.

I should even venture on to call such a process spiritual infrastructure building. In a Buddhist society, loving kindness, compassion and respect for life are given highest priority. As children we were not allowed to harass, harm or kill even a small living insect like a mosquito. In the Karaniya Metta Sutta, the Buddha teaches the importance of extending loving kindness towards all beings. A friendly mental energy is irradiated from the minds of people who live in a cultural milieu in which respect for all life is an accepted principle. In such a spiritual climate, the language spoken to one another becomes pleasant and inter-personal relationships become constructive, affectionate, selfless and nonviolent. However, as I mentioned before, modern society suppresses this kind of spiritual relationship through economic and political competitiveness. This competitiveness is systematised and organised under

various eye-catching, tantalizing slogans. Therefore, the building of psychosocial and spiritual infrastructures also must be systematised and organised. Otherwise it is not possible to counteract the purely materialistic forces.

Perhaps it is appropriate to mention here briefly the technique of community meditation that the members of the Sarvodaya Movement practice. It has five steps. Firstly, relaxing of the body with the mind; secondly, maintaining attention at the tip of the nostrils while observing the breathing in and out; thirdly, expressing loving kindness towards one's body and mind and progressively extending it towards the near and dear ones and then to all others including the ones who are disliked; fourthly, attempting to link up with other human beings and those who live in other planes of existence who practice similar forms of universal loving kindness; fifthly, directing all the thought energies towards a form of conscious willingness for justice and world peace.

The rationale behind the first step is for the individual to be conscious that his or her mind and body always function together. The second step helps one to conserve mental energy by keeping other thoughts from coming. The third step multiplies these conserved thought energies and the fourth step universalises them. In the fifth step this universal energy is collectively irradiated out towards all living beings and specifically towards the peace and well-being of the human family.

While an unseen spiritual infrastructure is systematically laid in this manner, it is also necessary to organise people of all age groups into social formations. This is done by helping village communities to get organised into children, mothers, youths, farmers, and other groups. Leaders for all these groups are trained in Sarvodaya institutions so that they learn the art and science of satisfying their material and spiritual needs.

The satisfaction of one's needs should be clearly differentiated from the gratification of one's greed. Needs can be satisfied but greed is insatiable. Therefore, in a Buddhist society, it is essential that a sustainable and simple lifestyle is encouraged and held in high social esteem. Without resorting to wrong livelihood, it is possible in most instances to maintain such a lifestyle with locally available resources. Self-reliance and community projects can play a vital role in achieving such needs. A clean and beautiful environment and ecological balance can be maintained. A clean and adequate supply of water, clothing, simple housing, primary health care, energy needs, communication facilities and so on, can all be achieved easily in such a system.

Education regarding methods of satisfying needs takes place in all group activities. Spiritual and cultural needs of different groups can also be satisfied, leading to the strengthening of unity and harmony among all people. The Sarvodaya Movement has succeeded in breaking social and political barriers by bringing the temple, kovil, mosque and the church together and making them all centres for the promotion of common spiritual values. In this way unity in diversity becomes a living reality. Therefore, in the Sarvodaya approaches, rather than sermonising and philosophising, people experience the joy of living collectively. Perhaps the steadfastness with which most Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim communities stand together peacefully in most parts of the country despite irresponsible rabble rousing by the media and demagogues is due to the silent work done by these simple grassroots communities influenced by Sarvodaya thought and action.

The organisational infrastructure building or networking of these communities, lateral and vertical, must also be achieved. As many as sixty-five different specialised services such as nutrition; healthcare; village technology; communicable disease control; protection and enhancement of the environment;

evolution of decision making process; economic enterprises including production, marketing and distribution and so on have been developed in a manner conducive to building friendship and cooperation rather than rivalry and competition among the aforementioned groups. This integrated approach helps to create positive societal peace while also helping to mitigate the underlying causes of disharmony and violence.

Now let me specify the contribution Sarvodaya has made to containing and repairing damage, whatever the causes may have been. Towards the latter part of the 1950s and subsequently on several occasions up to 1983, whenever communal violence erupted in a localised or more general way, the Sarvodaya workers, depending on their numbers, distribution and strength at those times, came forward fearlessly. They organised relief, rehabilitation and reconciliation programmes.

The most violent incident ever occurred in July 1983. Within twenty-four hours, Sarvodaya went into action facing all the risks involved in the general atmosphere of insanity. There were no organisations nor leaders, official or otherwise, who had the courage to publicly condemn the violence and to call for sanity during the critical days following the violence, except for the leadership of the Sarvodaya Movement. It was with their open commitment amidst threats from extremists that they opened the first refugee camps for affected Tamils, encouraged and supported government ministries to come out and help the victims, and even toured the whole country including the North and the East to render relief and to appeal for sanity so that further escalation of violence could be prevented. This commitment and sacrifice would never have been possible if it were not for the wholistic approach that the Movement had been building during the preceding two and a half decades.

The two months that followed the July 1983 violence was a tense period and even the best of friends among Sinhalese and

Tamils abstained from openly mixing together. But Sarvodaya workers in all parts of the country openly went about their work together without any racial difficulties and they contributed in an immeasurable manner to allay the mutual fears. In August itself, at the Sarvodaya headquarters, the first public meeting on the communal violence to be covered by the media was held. This was followed by a historic conference held on the first and second of October 1983 at the Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall in Colombo. Attending were nearly two thousand civic leaders of all races, including dignitaries of all religions including the Mahanayakes of all Buddhist Sects. A historic document titled "A People's Declaration for Mutual Peace and Harmony" was discussed and adopted unanimously. All present became signatories to this document.

This twenty-page Declaration was the first public document that highlighted the symptoms of the general degeneration in the Sri Lankan society, the causes of this degeneration and the way of removing the causes of this degeneration, and general and specific recommendations for action by various groups. This entire document was written following the Buddhist principles and using the Buddha's approach to problems, namely, the Four Noble Truths--(1) there is suffering (*dukkha*), (2) there is a cause that brings about suffering (*samudha*), (3) this cause can be removed (*nirodha*), and (4) there is a path leading to the removal of suffering (*marga*). It is significant that this Declaration was published in full in all leading Sinhala, Tamil and English newspapers. Its publication was followed by action programmes several months before the local and expatriating Sri Lankan scholars started writing their voluminous theoretical treatises and the political parties started their all-party deliberations.

The "Symptoms of General Degeneration in the Sri Lankan Society" were highlighted in the Declaration as follows:

While we accept the fact that the Stability, Peace and Progress of a Society rests on the degree of understanding, respect and adherence on the part of its members, to its Value System upon which the Spiritual, Moral, Cultural, Social, Economic and Political sectors of that society are based, and the honour paid and the adherence attached to it by the members, and that our Society showed a gradual degeneration in all these sectors during the post World War II era, and that, the resulting decadence reached its climax in July, erupting into criminal incidents with possible political and/or communal overtones of a very serious nature and having realised that these incidents have shattered the very foundation of our social fabric, revealing,

Firstly, the existence of a number of groupings in our Society, numerically very small, but yet very powerful, who neither pay any heed to, nor observe, what we as cultured people have commonly upheld for thousands of years, as Good and Evil, Moral and Immoral, Right and Wrong, Just and Unjust, Fair and Foul, Human and Inhuman, and that,

Secondly, their solution to Political, Economic, Social or any other problem, is beyond the realms of the accepted Law of the Land, being conceived only through violence and thuggery, and that,

Thirdly, they pay not even the scantiest respect to life, human or other, and that,

Fourthly, they derive immense mental satisfaction (consciously or unconsciously) by destroying private and public property, and that,

Fifthly, in their midst, even religious leaders, the custodians of Value Systems in our Society have become ineffective, and that,

Sixthly, some politicians and others, who wielding more of wealth, power and position, guided by narrow political and economic gains, shield and protect these lawless elements, ignoring the damage and destruction they cause to established norms, human lives and the nation as a whole, and that,

Seventhly, the efficiency and power of the Police to safeguard Law and Order in such a situation have been weakened, and that,

Eighthly, even the Law Courts and Prisons, administering and enforcing Law, have become unsafe, and that,

Ninthly, the discipline and morale of the Police and the Armed Forces to make their presence felt in the event of a national calamity, whatever the cause may be, have deteriorated, and that,

Tenthly, respectful and law abiding citizens have feelings of doubt and fear to stand up and generate and provide People's Power essential for the protection of the Value System and the enforcement of Law and Order, in the event of these lawless elements taking over, disrespecting Value Systems and violating the State Law, and that,

Eleventhly, the Political Leaders, the strongest section in Modern Society, have failed

to provide an undivided, united leadership to the people even during a serious national calamity, and that,

Twelfthly, as a result of all these, even foreign powers have begun to show undue concern in our internal problems, causing a threat to National sovereignty, we have come to be aware that an understanding of these symptoms of common degeneration evident in all communities living in our country, be they Sinhala, Tamil, Moor, Malay, Burgher or any other, is of utmost importance at this moment of crisis.

Similarly, the "Causes of Degeneration" were analysed under the following headings:

Destruction of the value system;
Discrepancy in the educational system;
Loss of the sense of fear and shame attached to the violation of law and social norms;
Weakening of community leadership;
Interference with state services by external forces; and
Creation of a wrong life style.

Next, it promulgated the following action programme as the way of removing the causes of degeneration:

1. Steps should be taken to give leadership to the Buddhist public to refashion their social, economic and political life on the spiritual, moral and cultural values as traditionally laid down under the leadership of the Maha Sangha.
2. A Buddhist-Hindu Brotherhood Promotion Programme should be launched on the

initiatives of the Sinhala Buddhist community, owing to the sole reason that it is the Tamil-Hindu population that has won world sympathy as victims of various crimes.

3. Leaders of all religions, as all religions are intrinsically messages of peace and brotherhood, should unite and exert themselves in the forefront in an attempt at inculcating a sense of respect for moral laws.
4. Special attention has to be focussed on Tamil and other communities living in majority Sinhala areas, in order to accept them and protect them in brotherhood, respecting and assisting to nurture their language and culture.
5. Special attention has to be focussed on Sinhala and other communities living in majority Tamil areas in order to accept them and protect them in brotherhood, respecting and assisting to nurture their language and culture.
6. Immediate investigations have to be made into violations or denials of Human Rights of any community in any part of the country, politically, socially, economically, culturally, or administratively and those occurring due to the weakness of security services and to rectify them with the least delay in keeping with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations and the Fundamental Rights enshrined in the Constitution of Sri Lanka.
7. The present economic system and its processes have to be brought under review and an Economic Philosophy and process in keeping with the national requirements and values have

to be thought out and implemented immediately.

8. The party and power oriented political system considered by most as the main cause of distrust, differences, sectarianism and other vicious obstacles operating in the present society should be replaced by an alternate democratic system of administration within the unitary frame of the State of Sri Lanka, capable of fostering mutual Confidence, Friendship, Brotherhood and Peace in which the common people can participate to a maximum.

This Declaration ended with a "Common Recommendation" and several special recommendations to be followed up by the Government, parties and other people's organisations.

Being convinced that people are fundamentally in favour of peace and justice and of reconciliation through mutual understanding, a peace walk was organised from the southernmost tip of the island to the northern extremity, passing through important towns--in order to evoke the deeper humaneness of the people and to provide an opportunity for it to be expressed in an explicit and healing manner--as one of the recommendations included in the Declaration. However, it is pathetic that the peace walk had to be indefinitely postponed at the end of its third day. After the completion of inter-religious ceremonies the participants had proceeded for barely fifteen miles when the march was called off. And this followed the visit of His Excellency, the President of Sri Lanka, who went down to meet the historic ten thousand-strong group which he called the "pilgrimage from one human heart to another human heart." Yet, even though this long peace walk was postponed, the Sarvodaya activities in the fields of relief, rehabilitation and reconciliation at the level of village communities continues to

this day. In different parts of the country, especially in tense areas, limited peace walks ranging from six miles to thirty-six miles were made with the participation of people ranging in numbers from two thousand to thirty thousand.

The massive programme that was thus set in motion is still underway. Undaunted, committed bands of peace promoters are as active as ever. Whatever language we may speak and wherever we may live on this planet, we are all beings of one and the same family. The supreme power that humans possess is the power to think and to develop his mind along the lines of peace. The Sarvodaya Shanti Sena (Peace Brigades) Division which aims at national harmony and cooperation has engaged in many an experiment. One important project is to involve a Sinhala youth from the South, male or female, with a Tamil youth from the North in community service for a period of three months in the village of one of them and to repeat the experiment in the other's village. Here, while they learn each other's language, customs and habits, they also grasp their needs. These first meetings often lead to further opportunities to exchange their views with mutual understanding. As a result, whatever grave conflicts arise among others in the country, these young men and women never contribute to the damage. Rather, they strengthen links in the cause of mutual understanding. Amidst grave risks, dangers and threats they courageously continue to this day to serve according to their means, protecting lives, making available relief services, and succoring to the afflicted and arresting the sowing of the seeds of hatred. This type of reconciliation is already an accomplished fact in the areas in the turbulent North, where thousands of families have been resettled with Sarvodaya initiative.

Realising the gravity of the current situation and convinced of the inadequacy of piecemeal remedies administered by diverse groups, Sarvodaya has drawn up its latest programme for peacemaking in Sri Lanka--the "People's Peace Offensive." This

provocatively titled project is described as an "Humane Approach towards Solving the National Problem."

The People's Peace Offensive, consisting of organised groups of peace loving people, actively intervenes in situations of armed conflict. These courageous people confront violence with nonviolence at the risk of their lives and force the conflicting parties to resolve their problems without resorting to further violence. It is called an "Offensive" because it works with all the spiritual, moral, cultural, economic and familial forces available against violence, and its starting point is human suffering.

The veracity and relevance of the pronouncement made by Gauthama the Buddha, the spiritual mentor of our country, that "suffering is the first noble truth and greed is the root cause of suffering," has been revealed in the trials and tribulations of Sri Lanka today. Armed conflict is suffering; damage to life and property is suffering; to part with loved ones is suffering; life in refugee camps is suffering and death under violent circumstances is suffering.

From the statements made by the government leaders two alternatives seem to be discernible to them viz: (a) a negotiated political statement and, (b) an all out military solution.

The people of Sri Lanka have begun to realise that it would be folly to depend exclusively on a political solution. Even if a political solution is reached, in the implementation stage it might collapse and the situation would be worse than before. The masses are also aware of the unprecedented holocaust that can result from a military offensive. They realise that militancy is certainly not a constructive path to spiritual, moral, cultural, economic and familial transcendence for the Tamil or Sinhala people. Clearly, there is much urgency for a new approach of a different sort altogether.

The need at this moment is for a third alternative to be initiated by a non-communal, nonviolent people's force, the starting point of which should be the alleviation of the conditions of those who are already undergoing suffering and to prevent further escalations of violence that will lead to increased suffering in more and more people. The actions of such a People's Peace Offensive will be direct and humane, will uphold peace and justice for all and will soften the hearts of both sides to stop violence and to pave the way towards a peaceful settlement. The People's Peace Offensive was launched in the beginning of 1987 to meet these needs.

To achieve the general objectives of the People's Peace Offensive, which are enumerated as twelve in the Document, five general principles have been adopted viz:

To be guided by Truth and Nonviolence;

To function above all sectarian considerations of race, religion, language, caste and party politics;

To alleviate suffering of victims of all forms of violence as a priority action;

To suffer even death in the execution of one's duties to bring peace and justice to affected people; and

To be independent, impartial and universal in all PPO actions.

Already the general public and governmental and militant leaders are aware of the following twenty-point action programme. Steps are being taken to implement it.

1. Motivation, organisation and training of PPO groups.

Nonviolent Buddhist Problem-Solving in Sri Lanka

2. Identification and programme formulation of priority areas.
3. Education for Peace and Justice in non-priority areas.
4. Resource mobilization and Logistical support.
5. Progressive despatch of PPO groups to priority areas.
6. Dialogues with government and militant leaders, both in the North and East and India.
7. Exchange of community leaders and dialogues between North, East and Southern areas.
8. Exchange of and dialogues with peace leaders between Sri Lanka and India, and also with other world peace leaders.
9. Development of a Communication Support System for the PPO.
10. Extension of the Peace Zones and progressive demilitarisation of further areas leading to a total cease-fire by mutual and sustainable negotiations between the government armed services and the militants.
11. Release of all detainees by persuading the government to agree to hand them over to PPO committees for rehabilitation into normal familial and community life.
12. Comprehensive assessment of loss of lives, livestock, livelihood, house and property, etc. in Peace Zone areas as well as other areas where relief and rehabilitation work has started

and launching a resuscitation programme including the giving of compensation.

13. Negotiate with the government and militants and assist them to reach an agreement to normalise civilian transport services between "Militant-"controlled areas and the rest of the country.
14. Negotiate with the government and the militants and assist them to reach an agreement to normalise the functioning of educational institutions so that children can get back to their usual routine.
15. Similarly, assist to reach an agreement on hospital and health services and resuscitation of other public utility services.
16. Organisation of mass participation and peace education programmes throughout the country such as peace meditation, peace poojas, peace pilgrimages, peace camps, peace processions, peace marches, peace seminars, meetings and conferences and remove from the minds, especially of Sinhala and Tamil people, any fears, suspicions and distrust left over from the unfortunate happenings in the past.
17. Keep the international welfare, development aid and peace organisations informed of the PPO and its progress and solicit their cooperation, both moral and material to realise its objectives.
18. As the spiritual, moral, cultural, economic and familial infrastructure is progressively laid, at the appropriate time play a final mediatory role

between the government and the militant forces, to get both to agree to an international peacekeeping force (to be invited by the government) if necessary when total disarmament is achieved and an elected civilian rule under whatever decentralised political institutions, is re-established.

19. Initiation of programmes for the return and rehabilitation of refugees in India and other countries with the assistance of the Sri Lankan government and other governments and non-governmental organisations.
20. Assisting the militants and armed services personnel to revert back to civilian life, whenever necessary.

One last comment. Peacemaking is a never-ending process that spiritually motivated people both individually and in groups should pursue relentlessly. It is more difficult to make peace than to break peace. For both, resources are needed. In an unjust social, political and economic world order it is easier to get resources for peace-breaking than for peacemaking. Thus it is imperative that all people of spiritual worth and goodwill contribute in their small way to a global effort of peacemaking. The most important benefit such people should expect is the development of their own spiritual well-being, leading to peace within themselves and their own environments.

FIVE PRINCIPLES FOR A NEW GLOBAL MORAL ORDER

Thich Minh Chau

As humankind is reaching the threshold of the twenty-first century, a question of global character is on the minds of many people: "What new era will be awaiting us in the history of humankind?" In the years that hinge the two centuries what kinds of experiences and lessons are we having that make us feel more secure and more confident?

First of all, we have realized the global character of a number of crucial problems that are confronting us. Thus, we will be able to mobilize the wisdom and the strength of the peoples of the whole world to solve them in a better way. Examples are the problem of war and peace, the problem of building up a new economic order and a new world moral order, the problem of protecting our environment and so forth. The scope of these problems surpasses each and every nation and outreaches the hands of the specialists and authorities. A problem such as war which concerns the survival of humankind cannot be entrusted to a handful of militarists and politicians. This explains why the world peace movements were and are attracting a large number of people from many different strata. Nearly every country in the world, all continents, all races, all age groups, all professions, all political ideologies and all religious denominations have representatives in the peace

movement. Only such a peace-protecting force, so mighty and so dynamic, has the power to stop the danger of a nuclear war, to fight against devilish warmongers, and to guarantee the victory of peace and progress. Only with such a global outlook towards the problem of war and peace can the peace movements score such an historic victory.

The danger of a global nuclear war has mobilized the world peoples' force against its occurrence. The last years of the twentieth century were and are witnessing some historic steps towards an era without nuclear and chemical weapons. Humankind seems relieved by the agreement on disarmament of medium-range missiles between the Soviet Union and the United States. But we cannot lessen our vigilance. Although the danger of a nuclear war has been lessened, wars with all their cruel and inhuman manifestations are still prevalent. Political and military violence persists among a number of nations, among peoples of racial differences and even among peoples of the same ideology and of the same political outlook, among comrades and friends in arms. In recent years, the relations between nations have undergone a major change, being characterized more and more by "peaceful coexistence, mutual understanding, negotiation instead of confrontation, market frontiers rather than war frontiers." As to the internal political situations of many countries there has been a positive trend towards more democracy, the avoidance of oppression and cultural and intellectual coercion, and more respect and understanding towards different ways of thinking. We earnestly hope that this trend towards more democracy and towards more humanism in politics in the national and international relationship will be strengthened and deepened from now till the year 2000. Thus we are preparing for an era of real peace, peace for the whole planet, not only for some regions, but peace for all human beings. All kinds of wars, not only nuclear war, should be banished. All these manifestations of violence should be done away with forever.

Five Principles for a New Global Moral Order

We see that, and this is our second lesson, every crucial and critical problem of global character should be solved not only with a global outlook and a global force, but deeply and thoroughly from within every being. And here, with its special deep psychology and deep insight, Buddhism can offer many contributions.

First of all, Buddhism welcomes all peace movements and exhorts its practitioners to participate in these movements. To protect peace is to protect life and that is to put into application the first moral precept of Buddhist ethics. Buddhism is against all expansionist wars, which always include annexation of territory and wealth and interference into the internal affairs of other countries and nations. This is a violation of two very important moral precepts of Buddhist ethics: not to take what is not given, and not to commit actions that bring demerit. Buddhism denies all violent actions and manifestations under any pretext except in legitimate self-defense. All remember the following teachings of our Lord Buddha, Gatha Number Five, in the Dhammapada:

Hatred cannot put an end to hatred,
In this world this never happens.
Only non-hatred can bring hatred to an end,
This is an eternal law.

Buddhism advocates any collective or individual endeavor which aims to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding, trust and respect among people, nations and human beings. Buddhism encourages dispelling prejudices, inferiority and superiority complexes, all of which are very harmful to human dignity and human values.

We Buddhists consider it of primordial importance to build up a new economic order and a new moral order which would mitigate the anger and turmoil of the present international

political atmosphere. We envision a healthier more humane and more meaningful era.

We think that the current economic situation polarized between a few industrialized, well-developed and wealthy countries, and many poor countries, famished and underdeveloped, is built upon unfair trade, with raw materials purchased at a very cheap price, and with manufactured goods sold at a very high rate. This unfair trade cannot be continued any longer because it nurtures war and violence.

We believe that to wipe out this present polarized economy and to build up a new world economic order with more justice and equality we should set up a new moral order based upon a new way of thinking and on some humanitarian principles readily accepted by humankind.

Without a world moral order serving as an ethical foundation it would be very difficult to successfully establish a new world economic order. Even if it were to be successful, it would not be able to last long. The polarized situation would re-establish itself once again, even worse than before. That is why, to our thinking, priority should be given to establishing a new moral order based upon some basic humanitarian principles accepted by the world community. In the current crisis, Buddhism with its tradition as a religion for peace will be able to offer its worthy contributions.

We think that one of the greatest contributions Buddhism can make to a new world moral order is its theory of "no self." This theory plays an important positive role towards building up a moral way of life for the person of our times. The sickly psychic tendency of the modern person is to seek sensual pleasures and the accumulation of wealth. In order to guarantee individual enjoyment one tries to secure as much material property for oneself as possible. However, material property is

limited while the greed of humans is unfathomable. That is why there is no way to escape from disputes and fights between human and human, between nation and nation, between people and people. And in this lies the root cause of war. With the theory of "no self," we can say that Buddhism has dug up the very root of wars, conflicts and contentions. With an insight into "no self" a Buddhist once enlightened will escape the grip of both greed (*lobha*) and anger (*dosa*). One is greedy of something for oneself, but when the self is not there greed loses its target and has no incentive to exist. The same goes for anger. When the self is contradicted unsatisfied anger will arise. But when the self is not there anger will automatically disappear.

Another expression which has a similar connotation is "for the sake of others." Emphasis here is placed upon concrete help to others. A Buddhist who is imbued with the principle of "no self" would devote his thoughts, words and bodily activities towards bringing about the happiness and welfare of all sentient beings as his own aim and objective. During Lord Buddha's lifetime and even afterwards, in India, the birthplace of Lord Buddha, or in any other country where Buddhism had a presence, the ideals of "no self" and "for the sake of others" are the norms of a Buddhist moral way of life, whether one be a religious person or a lay person. As we all know, the Bodhisattva ideal of Mahayana Buddhism is nothing but a continuation of the principle of "no self" and "for the sake of others" which was found in the original Buddhism. In the Pali-Nikayas Lord Buddha urged his disciples as follows:

Oh monks you should go forth, for the welfare of the many, for the happiness of the many, out of love and compassion for the world, for the happiness of the deities and men. . . . You should preach the Dhamma excellent in the beginning, excellent in the middle, excellent in the end, complete in meaning and in words.

You should promote the holy life, extremely good and extremely pure.

Mahavagga 19

Furthermore, the Buddhist theory of "no self" has deep implications in substance and in emancipation. Everything in this world is impermanent, with no self, with no substance whatsoever. So in ultimate reality, be it of glorious beauty, be it of the highest fame, or be it of wealth in plenty like forest and ocean--all are impermanent with no self, with no inner substance. There is nothing to be greedy for; there is nothing worth securing or possessing for oneself. Any person who has delved deeply into the spirit of no self is an emancipated person. Although he or she lives in the world he or she will not be bound by the world, and in behavior will always be calm, serene, undisturbed and self-mastered.

Lord Buddha was venerated as a messenger of peace for excellence. When asked by the wanderer Dighajanu what the gist of his teachings was, he replied explicitly: "According to my teachings, among the world of the *Devas*, *Maras* and *Brahma*, with crowds of recluses and *Brahmanas*, deities and human beings, there will be no quarrel whatsoever with anyone in the world" (M.I. 109 A). Further, he declared: "Oh Bhikkus, I do not quarrel with the world, only the world quarrels with me. Oh Bhikkus, a speaker of the Dharma quarrels with nobody in the world" (*Tuong Ung* III, 165).

Lord Buddha made it very clear that his purpose in preaching the *Dhamma* was not to quarrel with other religious leaders nor to compete with any antagonistic doctrine. There was no quarrel in his teachings. He just showed the way out of suffering, the way to enlightenment and to liberation. To those who were beset with anger, he taught *metta* or compassion to subdue anger. To those who were prone to harmfulness he taught *karuna* or loving kindness to turn them into harmless

ones. To those who were not happy over other peoples' successes, he taught *mudita* or joyfulness so that they knew how to share their happiness with others. To those who were addicted to hatred and enmity, he taught *upekkha* or equanimity so as to neutralize their vindictiveness. So he has specific cures for many mental diseases and ills of the world.

In the past in Vietnam under the Buddhist dynasties of Ly and Tran, there were kings who were Dhyana masters like King Tran Thai Tong. He had declared that he considered his royal throne as torn shoes, to be given up at any moment. Tran Thai Tong's grandson, King Tran Nhan Tong, after having gained victory over the struggle against the Nguyen Mong invaders, had donned the monastic robe and became the founder of the first Vietnamese Dhyana sect called Truc Lam Yen Tu. He composed a very famous poem in nom character which ended with four lines in Chinese characters. These lines clearly show his calm, undisturbed bearing when confronted with the ups and downs of the world:

In life, we enjoy religion, according to
circumstances,
When hungry we eat, when tired, we at once sleep,
With a treasure within oneself, there is no need to
go in search of it,
When confronted with challenge, we keep our
mind undisturbed and composed,
So there is no need to ask for meditation!

The last two lines of this short poem show the undisturbed and composed behavior of the king. "When confronted with challenge, we keep our mind undisturbed and composed." This means that against the impermanent nature of the objective world the king's mind was always serene and composed, without any ripple. This sentence also clarifies a basic Buddhist belief that every human being already has a seed of enlightenment within himself/herself. In Buddhist terminology it is called

Buddheity. He/she already has enlightened wisdom, shining and brilliant. So there is no need to turn outside to find happiness and enlightenment.

The basic shortcoming of humankind in our times is the trend to forsake one's true self and run after the false self with all its terrific thirst and insatiable longing. Although in this most materialistic civilization the modern person lives a life of material opulence his spiritual life and mental aspirations remain unsatisfied. One constantly feels insecure, disturbed, and unbalanced. Such a mentality leads many people to narcotics, to mental hospitals, and sometimes to suicide.

Naturally, Buddhism does not praise a life of poverty and asceticism. Nor does Buddhism extol a low and bestial way of life of running after material sensual desires which reduces one into a weakling in body and a dullard in mentality. On the other hand, Buddhism has great appreciation for mental joy and happiness, dedication to moral living, and an exultation of enlightened bliss and liberation. Buddhism advises people to return to their own true self, to their own true personality, and to a way of life in harmony with society. Harmony should be engendered between oneself and nature, body and mind, compassion and wisdom, and feeling and intellect. Buddhism affirms that all people are capable of achieving such a harmonious inner way if only one so desires and if one acts in accordance with Lord Buddha's teachings and in conformity with the Buddhist way of life of virtue and wisdom. It extols a way of life that avoids the two extremes of indulgence in vulgar, low sense desires and bodily mortification and asceticism--a way of life leading to lasting joy and happiness. This is a way of life that all people from the East and from the West, male and female, young and old, religious and non-religious are able to lead and enjoy. That is the most famous eightfold way of life--a way that encompasses virtue, meditation and wisdom.

Five Principles for a New Global Moral Order

Such a moral way of life will bring about concentration of inner mind (meditation). Such a concentration of inner mind will guarantee the clarity of wisdom. And a person of wisdom will be able to look at things as they truly are. Thanks to such an attitude humans are in a position to be their own master, to be the master of objective things instead of being their slaves. It is regrettable that this message of virtue, meditation and wisdom of Lord Buddha has become a victim of man himself, who has covered it with a cloak of mysticism, superstition, rites, ceremonies and scholasticism to such an extent that the spirit and the wording of this shining and simple message has become distorted, deformed, and far from humanity.

Now it is time for scholars and Buddhists to return the basic principles of Buddhism to their original brilliance and simplicity. Thanks to this brilliance and simplicity, Buddhist principles can enter deeply into the hearts of people and are welcomed and accepted by a large portion of people in this world, becoming their basic principles of life. The principles are converted into their daily bodily, vocal and mental activities. They become an invincible material force to change this world of war and insecurity into a world of peace and happiness, and thus to convert the era of the twenty-first century into an era of humanity, an era in which humanistic values will be the yardstick, the criteria of all values. Happiness or unhappiness of humans will be the red thread, the dividing line, clearly distinguishing truth from untruth, victory from defeat, right view from wrong view--an era in which man himself will become the supreme enlightened judge evaluating all political and social systems. Humankind will decide which system is best and which most full of vitality, which will be ultimately outmoded and withdrawn from the historic arena.

The motto "inwardly-oriented," that is to say, the return, the coming back to oneself, to one's real self, should not be misinterpreted as a negative, pessimistic, and unsocial way of

life. On the contrary, this is the most realistic guideline, the most vital and dynamic force for changing society and the world. Buddhism has also spoken of building a *Nirvana* in this very world. The whole problem hinges upon the question: *From whence to begin?* To begin with society to convert society? To begin with the world to convert the world? Buddhism is of the view that such a beginning is not realistic. It would be to put the cart before the animal. Buddhism is of the opinion that people should begin with themselves, making themselves thoroughly aware of themselves. One should understand oneself, convert oneself, purify oneself, and change oneself for the better in a tireless struggle every hour, every day, and in all aspects of one's life. Only then will society and the world become healthy, more lovely and more meritorious. If there are no healthy people, how can we expect healthy social relationships, morally good and lovely? If the thoughts of peace, happiness and harmony are not imbued deeply into the inner self of every human being, how do we expect to have a peaceful, happy and harmonious world?

Please allow me to quote some words of Lord Buddha, very simple words yet full of wisdom and loving kindness:

Victory brings out hatred,
Defeat leads to suffering,
To live an undisturbed and happy life,
Leaving behind both victory and defeat.

Dhammapada 201

A Buddhist who understands thoroughly the doctrine of no self does not put himself into antagonistic relationships with others, nor does he enter into disputes with other people. This explains his balanced and serene attitude, standing above board, leaving behind all victory and defeat. The Buddhist considers it of utmost priority to be victorious over greed, anger and delusion which are still dormant. He/she considers them to be the three most dangerous enemies because they are enemies from within.

Five Principles for a New Global Moral Order

Not only do they make oneself suffer, they also are the source of the unhappiness and suffering of others.

Better it is to conquer oneself
Than to conquer others,
None can undo the victory
Of one who is self-mastered
And always acts with self-restraint,
Though one conquers in battle
A thousand times a thousand men,
Yet the greatest conqueror is
One who conquers self.

Dhammapada 104-103

In conclusion, I would like to offer the following new moral order, formulated from the teachings of Lord Buddha and applicable to this modern age. Such a moral way of life will minimize the risk of a nuclear war and usher in an era in which peace, security and harmony will become the norm. All humane values will be appreciated and respected.

Five Principles for a New Global Moral Order

First, dedication of our life to the welfare of all sentient beings, and to work for peace, disarmament and international brotherhood.

Second, the living of a frugal, healthy and contented life so as to devote more time and energy to peace and to the welfare of all living beings.

Third, abstinence from any action which leads to disputes and wars; performance of any action which leads to peace, harmony and international understanding.

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Fourth, respect for the life of all sentient beings, for the life of our planet, and for the purity of our environment!

Fifth, peaceful coexistence and mutual spiritual cooperation.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE BUDDHIST CONCEPT OF KARMA FOR WORLD PEACE

Yoichi Kawada

Introduction: Inner Universalism

Many viewpoints are possible when we discuss the relationship of Buddhism to the problem of peace. Here, however, I would like to focus on the Buddhist concept of karma in order to show how pacifist thought in Buddhism is inherent in and can be derived from the concept of karma.

Before beginning the main discussion, I would like to touch upon a peace proposal that Daisaku Ikeda, president of the Soka Gakkai International (SGI), made in January 1989 under the title "Toward a New Globalism." In his proposal, President Ikeda set forth the concept of "inner universalism" from a Buddhist perspective as the key to solving the problem of nationalism. The term, "inner universalism" contrasts with the concepts of "external universalism" and "transcendental universalism," found in the ideologies of communism and liberal democracy. Whereas the latter two concepts approach human existence from an external or transcendent perspective, inner universalism is a method for searching the inner self to find a universal value within it. As a matter of course, Buddhism is a method of

probing the depths of life, addressing the levels of human life, race, nation, biosphere and earth, leading to an understanding of original life force as ultimately fused with the universe itself. Therefore, this search into the internal, latent domain ultimately arrives at the truth of a transcendent reality existing beyond the world of external phenomenon, the truth of the universe itself. In Buddhism, "the internal search produces transcendence" and conversely "transcendence returns to the inner existence." The search for universal values in the depths of life corresponds to Buddhist wisdom (*prajna*) while the transcending of the self to reach out to external existence corresponds to the practice of compassion (*maitri-karuna*) in Buddhism. Furthermore, Buddhism holds that "wisdom equals compassion" meaning that wisdom itself contains the potential to act with compassion, and compassion needs brilliant wisdom to guide it. In the practice of Buddhism the universal values of internality and transcendence are brought together while a kind of paradoxical tension is maintained between them. The attempts made by conventional ideologies such as liberalism and socialism to transcend the framework of nation or state through their external or transcendent orientations have contributed historically to the creation of various evils in society. Thus the presentation of a concept of inner universalism is very significant.

Mr. Ikeda discusses inner universalism in two ways: in terms of his view of humankind and in terms of its practical applications. Concerning his view of humankind, he says: "A thorough search into the depths of life itself leads to this realization of the absolute equality and the sanctity of all human beings. Because this view of man is internally generated it leaves no room for distinctions on the basis of such external factors as nation and race." In his proposal, he suggests that there is universal wisdom inherent in life which is common to all people irrespective of nation and race.

When this wisdom is put into practice based on compassion in the phenomenal world, it becomes necessary to discuss the ideas of practice and movement. In this regard, Mr. Ikeda says:

Universal value is assumed to be inherent in each and every person, who must seek and develop it within his or her own life. This value is, by its very nature, *one* that cannot be imposed by force from outside. The *strategy* that logically derives from this concept of inner universalism is characterized by gradualism, as opposed to radicalism. Whereas radicalism is driven by force, gradualism is propelled by dialogue. The use of force is invariably a product of distrust; dialogue, by contrast, is based on mutual trust and respect.

Gradualism through dialogue is none other than *bodhisattva* practice or a manifestation of compassion. Now I would like to explain in terms of the logic of karma how the *bodhisattva* practice, symbolized by dialogue as gradualism, can nurture mutual trust and reveal the universality inherent in life. This, I believe, sheds light on how pacifist thought can be derived from a discussion of karma.

Globalism as "Common Karma"

The internal domain of human life is a "great cosmos" which encompasses past, present and future. Its movements are indivisible from the physical and phenomenal universe. As is well known, the Consciousness-Only School (*vijnapti-matrata*) developed the concept that this internal domain contained the *mano*-consciousness (*mano-vijnana*) and *alaya*-consciousness (*alaya-vijnana*), which underlie the five sensory consciousnesses and the sixth consciousness. This integrates the sensory input to form coherent images. Needless to say, according to Buddhism, karma, the record of all physical and spiritual actions, is stored in the eighth, *alaya*-consciousness. As the repository of all "seeds

of karma," the eighth consciousness contains not only the seeds of all the karma that an individual has accumulated, but also the seeds of the karma of his people, race, country, humanity, and species, as important components of his karmic identity. If the concept of "seeds of names and words" (which are also projected into *alaya*-consciousness) is added to the concept of seeds of karma, then the workings of the *alaya*-consciousness seem to parallel the workings of C.G. Jung's collective unconscious and archetype.

According to Buddhism, the seeds of karma are classified into two categories: "common karma" and "individual karma." Common karma is formed by many people who act as a group, and its result is also borne collectively; individual karma, on the other hand, is formed by an individual and the result is borne by him alone. The seeds of karma produced by a group such as a people, race, country, or humanity are included under the category of common karma as opposed to individual karma. In this way, the many kinds of karma, produced on various levels from that of the individual to that of all living beings, are contained in the *alaya*-consciousness. At the same time, in reality, all karma contained in the *alaya*-consciousness, regardless of its type, is fused into a single entity. With these ideas as background, we acquire a global view which encompasses the realm of humanity, laden with common karma, as well as the individual existence of all living beings.

The *Shoen-gyo* or *Xiaoyuanjing* (corresponding to *Annanna-suttanta*) of the *Jo-agon-gyo* or *Changahanjing* (*Dirghagama-sutra* corresponding to *Digha-nikaya*) aptly explains the origin of common karma stored in the country and society. Through explaining the origin of the four cases, the sutra shows the process whereby common karma was produced. The following is a summary of the sutra. At the beginning of the world, living beings harbored greed and attachment to food, then the number of beings increased and larceny and thievery

occurred. Rancor, reproach and violence was brought to bear upon the culprits. The people's malice gave rise to conflict, and they elected as king a virtuous man who was expected to hold a fair court. The king became the first man of the Kshatriya caste. Among the people, there was a person who renounced the world and practiced meditation in the forest. He became the first Brahman. Others who were proficient at commerce and technical skills became Vaisya and Sudra, respectively. This sutra explains the process by which people's *klesas* or negative inclinations such as greed, stealing and violence, were engraved in the depths of the consciousness of the country as evil common karma from ancestors to descendants. This common karma produced the social inequalities of caste. This episode demonstrates the Buddhist belief that there is a vast amount of energy stored in the *alaya*-consciousness of nations and of humanity as a whole. This karma manifests not only in the form of individual's direct violence but also in the structural violence of whole societies.

On the other hand, the *Tenrinjoo-shugyo-kyo* or *Zhuanlunshengwang-xiuxingjing* (corresponding to the *Cakkavatti-sihanada-suttanta*) of the *Jo-agon-gyo* relates the following story in which common evil karma is turned into common good karma. As a result of the faulty rule of a king, the people become poor and rob one another. Although the king opened the coffers of the state in order to save the people from a famine, they continued to steal. In an attempt to chastise the robbers, he had to resort to violence as a means of punishment. At that time, there was a wise man among the people. He appealed to the people saying: "As I do not inflict injury unto you, you should not do harm to me." Touched by the wise man's behavior and his strong will, people joined his cause and the number of people who mutually respected the dignity of life and supported the principle of nonviolence increased. This is an example of how people can turn evil common karma into good common karma and thereby realize a peaceful society.

The common karma of groups of people is continuously engraved in the collective consciousness of the respective peoples and countries since the time of their ancestors. In the above story, the wise man's behavior which was based on nonviolence and trust provided the key to changing the common karma. The behavior of this wise man is called *bodhisattva* practice. Good will and benevolent conduct, represented by nonviolence and dialogue, are not only engraved in the individual's *alaya*-consciousness but are integrated into the common karma of the people and country, influencing to some degree the consciousness of other living beings and all humanity. In this way, the *bodhisattva* practice based on compassion effects the individual and the nation, thus helping to make manifest the universal wisdom that is inherent in humanity.

The Wisdom of Dependent Origination (*pratitya-samutpada*) and Ku (*shunyata*)

"Changing Tainted Consciousness and Acquiring Wisdom"

The Buddhist principle of "restoring tainted consciousness and acquiring [the four] wisdom[s]" elucidates the manner in which wisdom is relevant to global problems and can be used to ensure the survival of the human race and the peaceful coexistence and prosperity of all living beings. According to Buddhist theory, when common karma is gradually changed from hatred, destructiveness and distrust to compassion, creativity and trust, the *alaya*-consciousness, on each level from that of the individual to that of humanity, beams with the wisdom called the "great perfect mirror" (*adarsa-jnana*). Just as a great round mirror faithfully reflects everything exactly as it is, with this wisdom one can intuitively perceive the interdependence that underlies the existence of all beings and phenomena. Paralleling the viewpoint of ecologists spatio-temporal interdependence exists between human beings and other living beings, between other living beings amongst each

other, and of living beings and non-living entities. On each level of existence--from that of the individual to that of all living beings--seeds of karma are created and stored as a result of interactions between an active "doer" and a passive "one to whom something is done." The wisdom that conceives the reality of interdependence is the "great perfect mirror wisdom." When this wisdom begins to shine like a clear mirror, the seventh or *mano*-consciousness, the self-consciousness, starts to transform accordingly. The *mano*-consciousness is the function of the mind that distinguishes between oneself and others and seeks to take advantage of other people in the interest of oneself. For example, the evil dispositions (*klesas*) of greed and violence attach to the *mano*-consciousness. The self-consciousness functions not only on the individual level but also on the levels of a people, country and race, thus giving rise to egoism on each of these levels, creating, for example, racial discrimination. If the light of wisdom based on the truth of interdependence illuminates this seat of the seventh consciousness, the negative dispositions are eradicated and the "wisdom of equality" (*samata-jnana*) appears. This wisdom enables one to perceive the equality of oneself and others as well as the universality of life. Furthermore, the power of compassion deriving from this wisdom of the truth of interdependence extends to the sixth consciousness, enabling one to make correct decisions and to reason; this faculty is called the "wisdom of wondrous perception" (*pratyaveksana-jnana*). It also extends to the first five consciousnesses, enabling one to acquire wisdom supported by five clear senses free from distortion; this faculty is called the "wisdom of accomplishing metamorphoses" (*krtyanusthana-jnana*).

The Buddhist concept of the "debt to all living beings" reflects the supposition that one's being able to live and enjoy life is due to the presence of other people and living beings. Our existence is supported by the common karma that our ancestors produced and the collective karma that the living beings of the present generation are making. When we understand, based on

the principle of interdependence, that everything with its respective capacity is contributing to the sustenance of our lives, a feeling of appreciation for the existence of others spontaneously arises in our hearts. This positive emotion, offsetting the negative desires, turns into altruistic compassion that motivates one to contribute to the happiness and well-being of others. Buddhism terms this process of gaining the four wisdoms "changing tainted consciousnesses and acquiring [the four] wisdom[s]." To actualize this process, one must understand the reality of the dependent origin of all existence in the universe, and the interdependence of all beings nurtured on the "spaceship Earth." This engenders the compassion to repay one's debt of gratitude to others. The purpose of the bodhisattva practice in Buddhism is to realize transformation of society in our daily lives through an extension of this process. When one tries to polish one's wisdom and understanding of interdependence and to repay his debt of gratitude to all living beings through the *bodhisattva* practice, his actions should accord with the times. Now let us move to the topic of what the *bodhisattva* practice should consist of in contemporary society, where the fate of all peoples is inextricably linked and the existence of life on the planet is in danger.

SGI Movement as the *Bodhisattva* Practice

In order to translate the concept of the bodhisattva practice into contemporary society, the Soka Gakkai International (SGI) has been carrying out various activities on a global scale as a nongovernmental organization (NGO) attached to several UN Agencies. Among the SGI's many activities, a number stand out as particularly noteworthy.

First, the disarmament exhibition "Nuclear Arms: Threat to Our World" was held in twenty-three cities in sixteen countries between 1982 and 1988. At present the SGI is working on a "War and Peace" exhibition the purpose of which is to present an

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integrated view of such issues as the development of modern weaponry and the realities of war. The exhibition will also address global problems related to the environment and human rights.

Second, the publication of war-time experiences has been carried out in an effort to hand down people's first-hand experiences of war to future generations. Volunteer participants in these projects include members of the Soka Gakkai youth and women's divisions. English editions of some books in these series have been published and highly acclaimed by readers in many countries.

Third, youth division members are involved in various humanitarian activities that include conducting fundraising drives for African and Indochinese refugees and holding seminars on the need to protect the environment.

Fourth, a wide range of cultural and educational exchanges on the grass-roots level are being undertaken. These include musical and artistic exchanges conducted by the Min-On Concert Association and academic exchanges by Soka University and the Institute of Oriental Philosophy. In the field of child education, an exhibition, "The World I Love: An International Celebration of Children's Art," co-sponsored by UNESCO and the SGI, was held this year in Montreal and Toronto.

Fifth, SGI President Ikeda has made various journeys for peace, holding dialogues with leaders and cultural figures in many countries, thus promoting education and culture.

The SGI movement is being conducted on the principle of gradualism. It mainly employs dialogue, exhibition and publications. We believe that through gradualism it is possible to realize transformation which penetrates the deepest level of peoples' lives, that is, transformation of the collective *alaya-*

consciousness that all people share. If the images people see at the exhibition—including those portraying the threat of nuclear arms, the hellish destruction wrought by atomic weapons, and the magnitude of environmental destruction that may be predicted for the future—could be imprinted in the *alaya*-consciousness of many people for life, then, like "seeds of peace" or "seeds of coexistence," they will be passed down in the repository consciousness of our descendants. These seeds of peace have global universality because they transcend nation and race and reach to the common basis of humanity and to the essential life force that is inherent in all living beings. The "seeds of peace" will become part of the common karma of all humanity and will be stored in the *alaya*-consciousness as the "seeds of names and words."

Seeds of karma (as opposed to "seeds of names and words"), are exclusively concerned with one's spiritual and physical moral behavior. The seeds of karma are produced as a result of a person's psychological condition which fluctuates between good and evil or positive and negative. "Seeds of peace" such as the images of nuclear destruction and of the tragedy of war are stored as the seeds of names and words. Simultaneously, these images often bring up emotions such as desire for peace, compassion for humanity and other living beings, and a sense of gratitude toward others. These emotions create seeds of karma. If these positive seeds are activated in the lives of a majority of people around the world, a common will for peace and the coexistence of all living things will arise, and negative desires will be overcome. Since dialogue is a form of communication that utilizes words, its contents are stored in the form of seeds of names and words. People's experiences are recalled in perception of such words and images, which then produce conception as the next stage of understanding. Therefore, living words uttered in an appropriate situation have a great effect that surpasses the effect of the words alone. Dialogue is an effort that puts common seeds in the *alaya*-consciousness of oneself and others. When

one needs to use the repository, one sorts out relevant items of the seeds of names and words for thinking and understanding. Because words are one of the fundamental attributes concerned with human understanding and thinking, words seeking peace, words filled with good intention, words elucidating the truth of interdependence of the phenomenal world are stored as seeds of names and words which are common to all humanity and handed down to future generations. Exchanges in the area of culture, education and academic studies are a way to find and share common legacies kept in the collective *alaya*-consciousness. The various races that, along with their civilizations, have risen and declined in the course of history, have bequeathed legacies of universal values that are shared by all humanity; they built their civilizations based on the inspirations gained through communication with the transcendental reality of the universe in their own way. The cultural legacies are not only private, but also universal as they are based on the law of the universe which is common to all living beings. The legacies of the civilizations of various races that have been handed down to posterity are all equal in the sense that they all contain universal values for humanity. These legacies should be regarded as the "common seeds of names and words" of humanity. Through cultural exchanges between peoples, legacies of nations, which have appeared and declined over the course of history, can become common assets of humanity, common seeds stored in the *alaya*-consciousness. In this regard, the more opportunities there are to share the "common seeds of names and words" in people's lives, the more understanding of different civilizations and traditions between nations there will be. This will strengthen the solidarity of all humanity based on the consciousness that all are equal inhabitants of the planet. The transformation of the individual *alaya*-consciousness through the utilization of dialogue and imagery, as a means of bodhisattva practice will contribute to expanding the shared area of the common karma and common seeds, thus consolidating the consciousness of humanity as a kind of universal family. I would like to conclude by affirming

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my confidence that this process for transformation of society based on Buddhism, in combination with scientific peace studies in many fields, will serve to prepare a wide-ranging movement for a renaissance of humanity.

DISARMAMENT EFFORTS FROM THE STANDPOINT OF MAHAYANA BUDDHISM

Yoichi Shikano

Humankind now faces many problems such as environmental destruction, population explosion, and the threat of nuclear war. Every one of these problems must be addressed from a global standpoint if we are to find a comprehensive solution.

With regard to the disarmament issue there has been an easing of tension between the United States and the Soviet Union and it appears that the current is changing from one of arms expansion to arms reduction. The signing of the treaty eliminating intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) by the USA. and the USSR generated this current.

Responding to a number of positive disarmament proposals from Moscow, US President George Bush explicitly announced the end of the containment policy toward the Soviet Union. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), at a meeting of leaders of its member-nations, has also worked out a disarmament plan for Western European countries and concerted efforts are being made to move from East-West confrontation toward rapprochement and harmony.

It is true that both the USA., troubled by an enormous fiscal deficit, and the Soviet Union, now in the midst of promoting its perestroika reform program, had no other choice than to curb military spending and turn toward disarmament. Nevertheless, it would be overly optimistic to conclude that this disarmament current is firmly established merely on account of the prevailing domestic conditions of the two countries. If we look only at the circumstances surrounding disarmament negotiations then the trend toward disarmament seems more present than in fact it is. I believe it is more correct to view arms expansion and disarmament as still at loggerheads with each other. There still is a preponderance of nuclear weapons in the world and should nuclear war break out there can be no change at all in the reality that humankind will be annihilated.

The destruction that nuclear war would cause has been clarified in various reports. In 1983, a report on the so-called "nuclear winter" phenomenon by a group of scientists in the U.S.A. attracted great attention. The report observed that if the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union should engage in a total nuclear war the entire globe would be enveloped by a long gloomy winter. Owing to climactic changes, a food crisis would occur and an epidemic would spread--the people being forced to live a very severe life. There was agreement that a "nuclear winter" cannot be averted in the event of a nuclear war at the "Tokyo Seminar on Nuclear Danger," organized in 1985 by the United Nations University in cooperation with the Scientific Committee on Problems of the Environment/Environmental Consequences of Nuclear War, a special group appointed by the International Council of Scientific Unions. In the spring of 1982 the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences' journal on environmental problems *Ambio* reported on the consequences of nuclear war. According to the journal 750 million persons would be killed instantly in the northern hemisphere alone. Radiation diseases such as cancer would last for one hundred years and a billion persons in the Third World would die from hunger. It was also

assumed that the global environment would change drastically bringing about devastating consequences.

Our concern here is whether such a threat of nuclear war would act to promote antinuclear awareness among the people, to serve as a springboard for a genuine movement for disarmament and to establish a prospect for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

However difficult it is to achieve the goal of abolishing nuclear arms it is important to press for the resolve of leaders of nuclear powers by mobilizing the sound will of people who desire the elimination of nuclear weapons. As a lay-Buddhist organization dedicated to the promotion of peace and culture and under the leadership of Soka Gakkai International (SGI) president Daisaku Ikeda, the Soka Gakkai has been dedicated to the promotion of peace and culture. SGI has carried out wide-ranging peace activities in its desire to establish a world without war. Our course of action is based on people-to-people intercourse in hopes of expanding the circle of solidarity of like-minded people who desire lasting peace. This approach may seem roundabout but we have continued to work for the cause of peace with persevering effort from the most fundamental and cardinal standpoint.

It has been pointed out in the past that compared to Christianity, Buddhism is lukewarm in practical action to reform society. For example, the eminent European thinkers and philosophers, Karl Jaspers and Henri Bergson, who had deep knowledge of Buddhism, also pointed out Buddhism's shortcomings in its will to promote social reform, apparently because of their intuitive reasoning. To be sure, this tendency can indeed be observed in Buddhist history.

Nevertheless, the Lotus Sutra, widely recognized as the quintessence of Mahayana Buddhism, sees in the depths of

Shakyamuni's enlightenment a "universal eternal life." It reveals the supreme law that pervades the universe and human existence. The eternal life is what can be called the "greater (universal) self" or "non-self" (selflessness) in contrast to the "lesser (individual) self." On the basis of this "greater self," the *bodhisattvas* of the Lotus Sutra, truly and freely displaying creative vitality of life and prompted by the passion of joy, go forth in high spirits to wage a spiritual campaign to reform from the roots the actual society which is filled with suffering. In this way, Buddhism essentially directs itself to create infinite value in life and society, based on the life condition of the "greater self," the true self. In other words, the ideal human image pictured in the Lotus Sutra is of one who does not turn his back upon reality but rather of one who involves himself positively and actively in the world. Therein lies the intrinsic value of Buddhism.

Nichiren Daishonin's Buddhism, the quintessence of Mahayana Buddhism, consistently expounds the dignity of human life, the equality of all sentient beings, and the building of a peaceful society in accordance with Buddhist philosophy.

Since its establishment in 1930, the Soka Gakkai has consistently taken the position of promoting peace, culture and education on the basis of Nichiren Daishonin's Buddhism. Even in the period overcast with militarism, the first president Tsunesaburo Makiguchi refused to yield to the suppression by the state authority and firmly stood by his principles of dedicating himself to the happiness of the people and to peace. Together with the general director Josei Toda, who later became the second president, Mr. Makiguchi was imprisoned in 1943 on false charges. He died in prison about a year and a half later.

The second president Josei Toda carried on the intentions and work of Mr. Makiguchi and built the foundation of Soka Gakkai as a people's movement. On September 8, 1956, a year before his death, he issued a declaration advocating the abolition

of atomic and hydrogen bombs. He said: "Whatever the reason, the use of atomic and hydrogen bombs is an infringement on the dignity of life, and it must never be allowed because it suppresses the people's right of existence." Taking the position that anything that threatens the "right of existence" of the peoples of the world is a devil, a satan and a monster, he condemned the use of nuclear weapons as an "absolute evil," and entrusted to youth the carrying out of a movement to eliminate nuclear weapons. The spirit of this declaration, a firm resolution to establish lasting peace, is being carried on as the basic principle of the Soka Gakkai's peace movement.

During the period of the third president Daisaku Ikeda (now honorary president) the peace movement was steadily promoted and it spread from the Soka Gakkai to sister organizations in other countries. In 1975, the Soka Gakkai International was inaugurated at a world peace conference. Attended by 158 representatives from fifty-one countries, the conference adopted a "Declaration of Peace" under the leadership of Mr. Ikeda.

Now, fourteen years since its establishment, the SGI has grown to embrace both member-organizations and individual members in 115 countries. The guiding principles of the organization are:

To respect the culture, social customs and laws of one's country and contribute to the prosperity of society as good citizens.

To promote the realization of lasting peace and the advancement of humanistic culture and education on the basis of Nichiren Daishonin's Buddhism, which intrinsically expounds the dignity of life.

Buddhism and Nonviolent Global Problem-Solving

To reject war and all other forms of violence and endeavor to promote the happiness of mankind and the prosperity of the world. For that purpose, the major goal is the elimination of nuclear weapons and the realization of a warless world by upholding the spirit of the United Nations Charter and cooperating with the UN effort to maintain world peace.

SGI president Ikeda has taken the initiative to put this spirit into practice personally and to lead the way for other members. He has promoted personal diplomacy by visiting forty countries so far and by conferring with government leaders, intellectuals and cultural figures. He has devoted himself single-heartedly to spreading the current for a warless world.

In addition, he has made numerous proposals for peace such as advocating an early conclusion of a peace and friendship treaty between Japan and China, presenting concrete plans to eliminate nuclear weapons and to strengthen the functions of the UN which he called the "parliament of humanity," and emphasizing the importance of direct dialogues between top leaders of the world (in particular the need for frequent summit meetings between those of the USA. and the Soviet Union).

These proposals have been substantiated by his own peace endeavors and have received favorable comments from many intellectuals as having realistic value. In particular, the following positive and bold proposals, based upon poignant comprehension of the world, have been widely recognized as constructive contributions to disarmament and peace:

Disarmament Efforts in Mahayana Buddhism

- Proposal for Nuclear Disarmament (May 1978)
- A New Proposal for Disarmament and the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons (June 1982)
- A New Proposal for Peace and Disarmament (January 1983)
- Building a United Movement for a World Without War (January 1984)
- New Waves of Peace Toward the Twenty-First Century (January 1985)
- Toward a Global Movement for a Lasting Peace (January 1986)
- Spreading the Brilliance of Peace Toward the Century of the People (January 1987)
- Cultural Understanding and Disarmament: The Building Blocks of World Peace (January 1988)
- Complete Disarmament as a Global Movement (June 1988)
- Toward a New Globalism (January 1989)

For his dedicated peace efforts and actions to support the UN Mr. Ikeda received the United Nations Peace Award in 1983 and a special commendation from UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar in 1988.

In concert with the SGI's peace actions, the Soka Gakkai organized antiwar and antinuclear programs in Japan and other countries. In 1973, it carried out a street campaign and collected ten million signatures calling for abolition of nuclear weapons. The following year, the list of signatures was presented to the then UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim when Mr. Ikeda visited the UN. Other peace-promoting activities undertaken by Soka Gakkai youths include fundraising campaigns for relief of Asian and African refugees, a campaign for relief of the starving population in Africa, publication of antiwar books, antiwar and peace gatherings, antiwar exhibitions and peace seminars.

The publication of antiwar books, under the overall title of "For Generations Who Do Not Know War," was started in 1973 by the Soka Gakkai youth division to convey to future generations the tragedy and horrors of war through first-person accounts of war experiences. The series was completed in 1985, with the publication of the eightieth volume. A total of more than 2,200 persons contributed accounts of their wartime experiences, all serving as precious messages to future generations. Also, about four thousand Soka Gakkai youth division members engaged in collecting, editing and compiling the accounts, a work which promoted antiwar sentiments among its members. English, German, French and Romanian editions containing selected chapters from the Japanese edition have also been published. In addition, the Soka Gakkai women's division is engaged in publishing antiwar books and has so far compiled seventeen volumes of war-experience accounts of women.

The exhibit "Nuclear Arms: Threat to Our World" which was organized by the Soka Gakkai youth division gained much international attention. Presented with the cooperation of the UN and the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the exhibit showed the destruction of the two cities and presented from various perspectives a study of the effects of radiation, the arms race between the superpowers, and the threat of nuclear war. It was first shown in 1982 at the UN headquarters in New York on the occasion of the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament. Held as one of the programs to mark the UN "World Disarmament Decade," the exhibit was shown in a total of eighteen cities in fifteen countries outside of Japan--in Europe, China, the Soviet Union, India and Thailand. An estimated total of more than a million persons visited the exhibit and, as many intellectuals have pointed out, it served to arouse peace awareness and antinuclear sentiments. It aroused a strong international opinion against war.

Disarmament Efforts in Mahayana Buddhism

Cooperative support of the United Nations is central to the task of the SGI in seeking disarmament, peace and the betterment of world conditions. It has been pointed out on the international political scene that the UN lacks competence to carry out its assigned functions and that it continues to face severe times. Despite its problems, the UN has performed a prominent role in maintaining world peace and security. Particular mention must be made of its mediation efforts since 1988 which resulted in the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan and a cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war. In order that the UN may fully demonstrate its ability to create and maintain world peace it is essential to strengthen a worldwide effort to support this international organization. In this connection the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) is particularly important. The wide-ranging participation of private organizations means that ordinary citizens will be taking part in UN activities. Since the opinions of the people will be heard, there will be new energy in the UN.

As an NGO registered with the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the SGI proposes to promote the realization of world peace and the advancement of culture. The Soka Gakkai also is registered as an NGO of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the UN Department of Public Information.

I have given an outline of the activities of the Soka Gakkai and the Soka Gakkai International to show how Mahayana Buddhism is being applied in modern society. It is significant that through these activities the high spirituality of Buddhism can address the salvation of the people. World politics now stands at a turning point. Will it truly move toward disarmament? I feel that the world awaits a movement that will manifest the spirit of nonviolence and the compassion of Buddhism.

BUDDHISM AND GLOBAL ECONOMIC JUSTICE

Medagoda Sumanatissa

The central problem today is that we are long past the time when "human activities and their effects can be neatly compartmentalised within nations, within sectors (energy, agriculture, trade) and within broad areas of concern (environmental, economic, social). These compartments have begun to dissolve."¹ It is claimed that "this applies in particular to the various global 'crises' that have seized public concern, particularly over the past decade. These are not separate crises: an environmental crisis, a development crisis and an energy crisis. They are all one."²

Poverty of Growth

In short, it is a crisis of the relation of humankind to its environment both in regard to the present and the future. Part of the reason for the present and emerging crises is humankind's ideological confrontation which finds its basis in craving (*tanha*). If the worst effects of these multiple crises are to be averted, it is essential to identify both their causes and the steps for their solution. On a world scale it is stated that industrial production has grown more than fiftyfold over the past century with "four-fifths of the growth [having taken place] since 1950."³ Despite this enormous expansion in production, partly due to

increased consumption and war-expenditures besides arms production, the scale of poverty and the numbers affected by destitution have increased. According to estimates of the International Labour Organization, in 1977 "more than seven hundred million people live[d] in acute poverty and [were] destitute."⁴ Besides, "countless millions suffer from debilitating diseases of various sorts and lack access to the most basic medical services. . . . The tragic waste of human resources in the Third World is symbolized by nearly three thousand million persons unemployed or underemployed in the mid-1970s."⁵ In such a situation, the urgency of eliminating or at least mitigating the worst effects of such economic injustices assume considerable importance.

Righteous Universal Rule: Its Earliest Exposition

In Buddhism there are many relevant points which could inform processes for solving human poverty and economic injustice. It was the conception of the Buddha that the Middle Path could serve as the way for both material and spiritual progress, its applicability having relevance to personal liberation from suffering, with application by extension to the national and global context.⁶ Among the Buddha's discourses relevant to this problem is the "Discourse on the Lion's Roar of a Universal Monarch" (*Chakkavatti Sihanada Suttanta*).

If among the problems of today, the arms race and wasteful military expenditures constitute the biggest stumbling block to a more liberal sharing of financial and material resources globally, it is interesting to note that this sutta envisions a universal monarch who wins over a kingdom and expands his domain by righteous means without recourse to the force of arms or intrigue. In this context "righteous means" describes the pursuit of the welfare of all without the violation of anyone's rights. The concept of justice that inspires this universal monarch or ruler entails providing every being, human and animal, righteous

protection while also eliminating all injustice. The universal monarch should seek advice, especially from those leading morally good lives, on how to ameliorate such grave problems as destitution, for its very existence is a form of injustice. In the Buddha's vision, economic progress and stability of humankind should not be secured for their own sake, but towards ensuring the moral and spiritual progress of humankind. The Buddha's "Discourse on the Lion's Roar of a Universal Monarch" also explains how singling out material progress alone can lead to social disorder and moral decay with consequences such as an increase in crime and a degeneration of the quality of life. Today the truth of this is evident in the "developed" countries. "The more industrialized and developed is a country, the higher the level of criminality and vice versa."⁷

Dangers of Tunnel Vision

It is interesting to recall what a celebrated economist like Lord Keynes said in the 1930s, speculating on the "economic possibilities for our grandchildren." He stated, "For at least another hundred years, we must pretend to ourselves and to everyone that fair is foul and foul is fair: for foul is useful and fair is not. Avarice and usury and precaution must be our gods for a little longer still. For only they can lead us out of the tunnel of economic necessity into daylight."⁸

The single-minded evaluation of developmental growth measured in terms of Gross National Product cannot possibly go on unlimited. The relentless pursuit of economic goals regardless of environmental as well as moral considerations has resulted in almost a pathological growth of sensualist trends. An example from the developed countries is that in the U.K., the U.S.A. and France, not to mention the USSR, alcoholism has assumed the proportions of a major health problem. In some of these as well as others, the drug addiction problem has become acute, especially among the youth.⁹

Conscientiousness in Resource Use

In Buddhism excessive acquisitive greed and hoarding of money or possessions is deplored. Frugality is encouraged as a positive virtue. Once, Ven. Ananda Thero explained to a king how gifts offered to bhikkhus are put to maximum use. The extent to which resource conservation was practiced in early times is illustrated by the multiple uses to which discarded robes were put. Discarded robes were used as coverlets, as mattress covers, as rugs, thereafter as dusters and finally kneaded with clay and used to repair cracked walls and floors of temples.¹⁰

In contrast, today there is an increase in marketing of particularly non-essential products. This growth results in a phenomenal increase in resource consumption. One of the most environmentally damaging has been the large-scale destruction of forests, especially the tropical forests. The scale of resource consumption can be illustrated by North America's consumption of world resources, which within a matter of forty years has equalled the level of what humankind had consumed during the last four thousand years.¹¹

Material and Spiritual Growth can be Conjoined

It is a Buddhist idea that the state of nature was contaminated by the concept of private property. The modern idea of social contract has its roots in Buddhism. In the Buddha's "Discourse on the Establishment of the Principle of Righteousness" (*Dhammachakkapavattana Sutta*), the Buddha's views on religion, economics and society can be discerned.¹² The Noble Eightfold Path includes the cultivation and development of right understanding, right mindedness, right speech, right action, right living, right effort, right attentiveness and right concentration. Understood in a comprehensive manner their purpose is to inculcate a moral life to be adopted by both householders and by those who have renounced lay life for advanced spiritual development.

The Buddha's "Discourse on the Knowledge of the Beginning" (Agganna Suttanta) can be understood as an attempt to deal with the fourfold caste system which relates the speculative story of the "fall of man."¹³ The Buddha made provision for a communal set up for monks and nuns. Apart from the eight items of personal use such as clothing, the begging bowl, and so on, all other items are considered the property of the commune (*sangha*). This system was introduced for the regulation of the affairs of the *sangha* exclusively. However, this practice is not without value, by way of example, for lay society. More universally applied, however, was the abolition of social inequality by the Buddha by introducing equality among the *sangha*, the bhikkhu community, irrespective of the origins of its members by way of caste or rank before entering the Order. Buddhism all along upheld a principle which Karl Marx declared as follows: "to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice which ought to govern the regulations of private individuals as the rules paramount to the intercourse of nations."¹⁴ This constituted part of the Principles of Rulership which Buddhist rulers were enjoined to follow. Given the current crisis situation and the relative failure of contemporary economic approaches to the solution of the problems of poverty and economic justice, it may be desirable to examine the Buddhist framework to see if there is a Buddhist way of placing development on a more dynamic and meaningful foundation.¹⁵

Buddhist Economics for Full Employment

E.P. Schumacher, writing on "Buddhist Economics," stated that since "Right Livelihood" is one of the requirements of the Buddhist Noble Eightfold Path . . . there must be such a thing as Buddhist Economics." He held, for example, that "the Buddhist point of view takes the function of work to be at least threefold: to give a man a chance to utilise and develop his faculties; to enable him to overcome his ego-centredness by joining with

other people in a common task; and to bring forth the goods and services needed for a becoming existence."¹⁶

It is especially noteworthy that in the pursuit of Right Livelihood what is enjoined is the practice of blameless and honourable occupation. Forms of employment involving trade in armaments (*sattha vanijja*), slaves (*satta vanijja*), intoxicants and narcotics (*majje vanijja*) and poisons (*visa vanijja*) are to be avoided.¹⁷

If achievement of full employment is one basis for accomplishing global economic justice, "the very start of Buddhist economic planning would be planning for full employment . . . for everyone who needs an 'outside' job. It would not be the maximization of employment, nor the maximization of production. . . . While the materialist is mainly interested in goods, the Buddhist is mainly interested in liberation" and the path is to be traversed along the "middle way" eschewing the extremes of material comfort-seeking and mortification of the human body. Schumacher further held that the "marvel of the Buddhist way of life is the utter rationality of the pattern of amazingly small means leading to extraordinarily satisfactory results."¹⁸

More than expenditure for the advancement of human welfare, it is the waste on armaments that has contributed greatly to the debt and inflation problems that plague the world today and doubtless will become increasingly intolerable in the future. This is aggravated by the ecological deficits that will further endanger the prospect of human survival.¹⁹ It needs to be emphasized that the "social philosophy of the Buddha is grounded on the basic concept of the fundamental oneness and unity of humankind. Buddhist social ethics therefore has a universal appeal which gaily transcends all geographic, ethnic and temporal barriers. . . . The fundamental teachings of the Buddha, with their universal and timeless appeal and validity

constitute the structure of Buddhist culture. . . . The Buddha has emphasized the inseparable connection between ethics and politics and the desirability of conducting public life in a manner consistent with moral values."²⁰

Today's situation does substantiate to a considerable extent the analysis of the causality of suffering in society as propounded in the Chakkavatti *Sihanada Suttanta*, already referred to. The realisation should dawn upon us before it is too late that the proper development of society requires that "economic socialism must necessarily harmonise itself with political democracy, so that both could together provide the freedoms and liberties for the realisation of the ultimate aims of individual betterment and perfection."²¹ Buddhist economics and politics together, consistently applied and in conjunction with Buddhist ethics, can help uplift human society from its present predicament.

Needs: Early Re-Structuring of Global Systems

As the World Commission on Environment and Development pointed out in the report *Our Common Future*, the next few decades are crucial. "The time has come to break out of past patterns. Attempts to maintain social and ecological stability through old approaches to development and environmental protection will increase instability. Security must be sought through change. . . . Yet we are aware that such a reorientation on a continuing basis is surely beyond the reach of the present decision-making structures and institutional arrangements both national and international."²²

The task of national and international leadership is to plan to fill this void. Although there are no universal monarchs today as envisioned in the Buddha's "Discourse on the Lion's Roar of a Universal Monarch" some advice given by the retiring universal

monarch to his successor may have a moral for the rulers of today. It included the message:

Soon those ascetics and priests in your kingdom who have abstained from intoxicants, who are established in forbearance and truthfulness, each of whom tames himself, appeases himself, them you should approach from time to time with the questions: 'What Sir, is good? What is bad? What is blameworthy? What should be cultivated? What should not be cultivated? What action of mine will contribute to illfare and suffering for long? What action of mine, on the contrary, will contribute to welfare and happiness forever?' Having heard from them, you should completely avoid what is bad and adopt and practice what is good. This, son, is the duty of a universal monarch.²³

Buddhism encourages the observance of ethical and moral values in practical life. Apart from the observance of the Five Precepts (*pancha sila*) which constitute the minimum moral obligation of the lay Buddhist, there is the general advocacy of the practice of charity (*dana*), discipline (*sila*) and meditation (*dhavana*); all this is not to the exclusion of the pursuit of personal happiness for the laity which includes enjoyment of judiciously or honestly earned wealth. Detailed expositions of these matters, as applicable to the life of the laity, are also dealt with in a number of discourses of the Buddha. Some of these include blessings (*Mangala Sutta*; *Sutta Nipata* II.4); advice on domestic and social relations (*Sigala Sutta*, *Digha Nikaya* No. 31); universal love (*Metta Sutta*, *Sutta Nipata* 1.8) and the expositions of the path to socioeconomic progress (*Kutadanta Sutta*, *Digha Nikaya*, Part I).

A point that needs stressing, however, is that: "The materialist view of life admits of no absolute ethical principles.

As this non-religious or actively anti-religious influence gains ground, the concept of ethics as being a matter of mere expediency spreads along with it. In this way the collapse of religious values has exposed us to the greatest danger in modern times, the subjugation of the individual and the rights to the requirements of materialistic state policies."²⁴

Union of State Law and Moral Law

On the contemporary relevance of Buddhist approaches to modern problems, Professor K.N. Jayatillake has stated: "This philosophy of the Buddha comprehends a theory of knowledge, a theory of reality, an ethical system, a social and political philosophy as well as suggestions of philosophy of law and international relations. A careful examination of the essentials of these aspects of its philosophy show that they are interrelated and interconnected."²⁵

In one of his prophetic writings, the Japanese Buddhist saint Nichiren predicted, that "the union of state law and Buddhist truth shall be established . . . and the moral law (*kaiho*) will be achieved in the actual life of mankind."²⁶

Even if the concept of a universal monarch is not a reality today, as far as world institutions go, the United Nations is an apex world body.

The hopes for humankind must lie in the greatest strengthening of this world body or through its possible re-constitution so that such a world organization can play a meaningfully effective role in the emerging "global village" where national frontiers lose significance and where humankind in interpersonal and collective relations will act in greater harmony for advancing the "common future" in a spirit of fellowship, understanding and goodwill while conveying a spirit of universal love and paying due regard to moral values of

perennial significance to all. Perhaps, under such circumstances, national rivalries as they exist today can be submerged and the establishment of a world where economic justice prevails can be made a reality.

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"BUDDHISM" AND TOLERANCE FOR DIVERSITY OF RELIGION AND BELIEF

Sulak Sivaraksa

At the risk of oversimplification, I would like to propose that each of the world's great religions consists of two main aspects, namely that of universal love, which is altruistic and selfless on the one hand, and a tribal, institutionalized, or egocentric factor on the other. If we are not careful, our religion can become very fundamentalistic and intolerant, and we will find ourselves believing that we are the only ones on the true and righteous path to salvation, while all others are merely misguided souls. It is a great temptation to compete with other religions and rationalize that ours is better rather than to work towards peaceful co-existence and cooperation.

Unfortunately, some religions are still hunting for converts using crass and destructive ideologies. I'd like to quote a passage from *Overseas Missionary Fellowship* (August-September, 1987). The article is called "Finding True Freedom in Thailand":

For ninety-nine percent of the Thais, bondage to demons brings the greatest fear.... This is true for animistic tribesmen, prosperous merchants, enlightened graduates or stolid farmers... revealed in conversation, TV soap operas, adornments to

people's person or property.... Nothing and no one has been able to remove permanently the inner anxiety that man, in manipulating the spiritual forces, can also become their victim.

The conclusion you are led to, if you read the article, is that the Thais must be saved by Christian missionaries, or that as a tribe, they must be saved by US aid! I feel that people who stick with religions or ideologies such as these either are or become unable to respect other people, especially the poor, who may be proud of their religions and are no less advanced spiritually than these would-be evangelists.

Indeed tribalism in itself should not be a derogatory term, but when a world religion or superpower becomes tribal, it can easily degenerate into hypocrisy and arrogance and can even lead to racism, as one can see clearly in South Africa and elsewhere.

However, if we concentrate on the religious aspects of universal love, we shall all become more humble, tolerant and truly respectful of other beings--not only human, but animal, and all natural phenomena as well. From this, our social and economic development will be nonviolent. We will not be cruel to fellow human beings or to mother earth. Nor will we plunder our natural resources in the name of progress. Forests will be saved, rivers will be free of pollution. And we will realize that development can only occur at a pace at which humans and other beings matter.

In order to get rid of tribalism in religious institutions, nationalism, and even consumerism and capitalism, the faithful have to practice their religion with universal love. While we act individually and locally, we must think globally, so that selfishness can slowly become selflessness. Only then can one respect other religions and ideologies wholeheartedly. Although you may not agree entirely with those of different views and

beliefs, you can certainly respect them. Even if they are your oppressors you need not hate them because that hatred is also harmful to you. Instead of hating an oppressor one should try to understand the oppressive system and try one's best to change it with the help of good friends who want to help one to overcome suffering and obstacles in the way of cultural and spiritual development--as well as social and economic development. If these four aspects of development; the cultural, spiritual, social and economic, could be integrated, then there could be real human development.

Unfortunately, over the past two centuries, universal love in world religions has declined so much that merely institutional religions seem to be, on the whole, the norm. Most churches tolerate or support the political status quo no matter how oppressive the present regimes may be. (There are of course exceptions). And since the rise of capitalism, Protestantism, Catholicism, Buddhism and Hinduism seem to cater to the rich, while religious leaders pay lip service to the poor. At best, they offer some social welfare to the needy, but there have not been enough prophetic voices to transform the social and economic order to be more just and peaceful for all humankind. The rate of child malnutrition is on the rise, as is prostitution and sex tourism as well as militarism, materialism and consumerism. Some religious leaders have tried to work with secular leaders to made the world a more meaningful and peaceful place but so far we have been unable to establish widespread basic changes which would ensure basic human rights for all and protect people from political and religious exploitation. Tibet, Burma and Bangladesh may be extreme cases, but such suffering, to lesser degrees, exists everywhere. And as well, the lack of food, shelter, clothing and medicine for the majority of people in many countries is appalling--not to mention the suffering caused by polluted air and water.

Indeed the rise of the secular intellectual has been a key factor in shaping the modern world. Seen through the long perspective of history it is in many ways a new phenomenon. It is true that in their earlier incarnations as priests, scribes and soothsayers, intellectuals have guided society from the very beginning; however, their moral and ideological innovations were limited by the canons of external authority and by the inheritance of tradition. They were not, and could not be, free spirits, or adventurers of the mind.

With the decline of priestly power since the eighteenth century, a new kind of mentor emerged to fill the vacuum and capture the ear of society. The secular intellectual might be a deist, a skeptic or an atheist. But they have been just as ready as any pontiff or presbyter to tell humankind how to conduct its affairs. They have proclaimed, from the start, a special devotion to the interests of humanity and an evangelical duty to advance them by their teaching. And they have brought to their self-appointed task a far more radical approach than their clerical predecessors as they have felt themselves bound by no corpus of revealed religion. The collective wisdom of the past, the legacy of tradition, and the prescriptive codes of ancestral experience existed to be selectively followed or wholly rejected as his own good sense might decide.

For the first time in human history, and with growing confidence and audacity, people have arisen and claimed that they could diagnose the ills of society and cure them with their own intellects: moreover, that they could devise formulae that, if followed, would not only change the structure of society, but the fundamental habits of human beings for the better. Unlike their sacerdotal predecessors, they were not servants and interpreters of the gods but substitutes. Their hero was Prometheus who stole the celestial fire and brought it to earth.

Tolerance for Diversity of Religion and Belief

One of the most marked characteristics of the new secular intellectuals has been the relish with which they have scrutinized religion and its protagonists.

The intellectuals have examined how far these great systems of faith have aided or harmed humanity and to what extent these secular popes and pastors have lived up to their precepts, of purity and truthfulness, and of charity and benevolence. The verdicts they have pronounced on both churches and clergy have been harsh.

Over the last two centuries, the influence of religion has continued to decline and secular intellectuals have played an ever-growing role in shaping our attitudes and institutions. Yet when examining the records of these great intellectuals who have shaped the world since the French and Russian revolution right through to the cultural revolution in China and the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia, I have come to the sad conclusion that the secular high priests, too, have all failed us--whether he be a Rousseau, Karl Marx, Tolstoy, Brecht, Bertrand Russell or Mao Tse-Tung.

In particular, if we focus on their moral and judgmental credentials as intellectuals fit to tell humankind how to conduct itself, the way these secular intellectuals ran their own lives, and their relationships with family, friends and associates were, on the whole, appalling--not to mention their sexual and financial dealings.

One must also ask whether they told us the truth, and how their systems stood up to the test of time and praxis. Indeed it seems that they all contributed so much to the suffering of humankind, although it is also true that they may have helped to create some beautiful literature and sharpened our way of thinking somewhat.

In my opinion, the secular gods failed because they too became intolerant and arrogant. In many cases, ideas and the direction of humanity became more important to them than the individual men and women they encountered. They too lacked the commitment of personal transformation, although Tolstoy tried but failed. Yet he had a direct positive influence on Gandhi and Martin Luther King.

As a Thai, I regard my national hero, Phya Anuman Rajadhon, whose centenary was recognized by UNESCO last year, as more important than the world's leading intellectuals, even though he was not as well-known, nor a great genius. He was so humble and so selfless that he regarded himself as an ordinary man who had time to respect everyone, and encouraged others to be better than he. Yet, he could live in, explore and preserve his national culture, as well as integrate it meaningfully with those of our neighbours. I feel that if we know our limits and respect others we will usually not go wrong. We should develop individually and socially by understanding and appreciating our cultures--including our spiritual traditions and then economic development will not result in such a wide gap between the rich and the poor, with neither the rich nor the poor being happy.

Although Buddhism with a capital "B" can be tribal in a very negative sense and can legitimize dictatorial regimes or immoral multinational corporations, if we were to direct our efforts towards universal love, we could spell it with a small "b". Thus we should try to follow the Buddha, as our Christian friends try to follow Christ and our Muslim friends submit their egos entirely to God.

The first law of buddhism with a small "b" should read like this, "Do not be idolatrous about, or bound to, any doctrine, theory or ideology, even Buddhist ones. All systems of thought

are guiding means; they are not absolute truths" (The First Tiep Hien Precept).

This would certainly be in sharp contrast to the dogmatic teachings of quite a number of secular intellectuals who contributed to revolutions, upheavals and human sufferings in the past.

Thich Nhat Hanh, a Vietnamese Buddhist monk, writes: "If you have a gun, you can shoot one, two, three, five people, but if you have an ideology and stick to it, thinking it is the absolute truth, you can kill millions.... Peace can only be achieved when we are not attached to a view, when we are free from fanaticism." The more you understand this and try to practice it, the more you will appreciate the importance of a diversity of religions and beliefs.

If we are truly of good will, then to unite those of different views we must not avoid contact with suffering, but find ways to be with those who suffer. We must also avoid accumulating wealth while millions are hungry. These may not be high ideals but if we practice them it may result in a consciousness of and a precedent for social justice and peace work. However, in order to do so with awareness, we should, in the words of Thich Nhat Hanh, "not lose ourselves in dispersion and in our surroundings." We should "learn to practice breathing in order to regain composure of the body and mind, to practice mindfulness, and to develop concentration and understanding." This approach to development is nondualistic, in that one must be peace to make peace in the world.

We should stress the continuity of "inner" and "outer," calling the world our "large self" so that we become it actively and care for it.

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I hope this concept will help guide us in our work on social justice and peace issues and will challenge each person to examine his or her behavior in relation to the needs of the larger community while freeing him or her from limiting patterns. I believe this concept is relevant to the growth of mind, spirit and body--the whole of human development.

To me, in order to build understanding and respect between people of diverse religions or beliefs, one needs an alternative to living by ideology. Socially engaged spirituality must be free from the bondage of ideology. As one person put it: "The greatest religious problem today is how to be both a mystic and a militant; in other words, how to combine the search for an expansion of inner awareness with effective social action, and how to find one's true identity in both."

NONVIOLENT ECOLOGY: THE POSSIBILITIES OF BUDDHISM

Leslie E. Sponsel and Poranee Natadecha-Sponsel

INTRODUCTION

Nonviolent ecology refers to a society which is economically and socially just, ecologically sustainable, and non-killing and compassionate in relating to its environment (Anderson 1972, Barnaby 1988, Brown and Shaw 1982, Goldsmith 1988, Myers 1984). This essay draws on principles and insights from Buddhism as one foundation for developing a nonviolent ecology.

But first some preliminary comments are needed about the violence which some suppose to be inherent and pervasive in nature and in human nature. One major point is that violence and nonviolence are relative rather than absolute conditions. Some regions are prone to violent forces in nature such as hurricanes or earthquakes; however, there are other regions in which such violent forces are negligible or even absent. Competition and predation between animal species can be violent; however, there are also nonviolent relations between species such as mutualism (Kropotkin 1914, Lackner 1984, Montagu 1952). Within our own species, individuals and groups can be very violent in their social interactions (Feibleman 1987); however, most interactions are nonviolent (Howell and Willis

1989, Melko 1973, 1981, Montagu 1976, 1978, Sponsel 1991). Such considerations lead to the conclusion that there are environments and societies which are nonviolent, and thus a nonviolent ecology is not limited to romantic or utopian ideals.

While there may well be more than one way to cultivate a nonviolent ecology, Buddhism can certainly be pertinent for such an effort. Disregarding the variation in Buddhist orthodoxy and orthopraxy (Lester 1987), at the generic level there are several important principles inherent in Buddhism which can be applied by individuals and societies for the creation and maintenance of a nonviolent ecology. Of course these principles are most relevant to Buddhist individuals and societies. Granted, these principles may not be sufficient, but they provide one useful place to start. Here they are offered as possibilities for consideration rather than as any rigid doctrine. It should be noted that here the interpretation of these principles is influenced by the authors' background in Western philosophy, anthropology, and ecology.

BUDDHIST PRINCIPLES FOR A NONVIOLENT ECOLOGY

Unity and Interdependence

Buddhism is ecocentric rather than anthropocentric since it views humans as an integral part of nature (Sandell 1987:32). As Kaza (1990) explains, Buddhism focuses on the interaction of mind and nature through the three practices of direct knowing, discriminating awareness, and deep compassion:

By cultivating these three practices, one's actions in relation to the environment come to be based in relationship and interconnectedness, rather than in dualistic subject-object modes of separation. Through this approach, one's

orientation to the world is fundamentally altered from dominant species to member of a community, from part to process (p. 22).

With interdependence as a core understanding, an environmental ethic becomes a practice in recognizing and supporting relationships with all beings (p. 24).

The Buddhist transcends separateness from nature and instead identifies with the welfare of all beings (Smith 1958:118). Nirvana (the awakening into a state of bliss) is reached when the boundary separating the finite self from its surroundings and also all mortal craving are extinguished (Smith 1958: 125, 131). Accordingly Kaza (1990:25) recognizes that:

An environmental ethic is not something we apply outside ourselves; there is no outside ourselves. We are the environment, and it is us.

From this recognition of the unity of human and nature it follows that the laws of nature apply to humans as well as to other living beings (Komin 1985:175). Thus the *Dhamma* includes the discovery of the nature of things which encompasses the character and processes of the environment as system (Rajavaramuni 1985:57).

Limits and Sustainability

While environmentalism emphasizes that natural resources are limited, Buddhism is more direct in encouraging individuals to limit their resource consumption to the optimal satisfaction of the four basic needs of food, clothing, shelter, and medicine. This vantage point renders ecology a very concrete and personal matter. Following the Middle Way, one lives and progresses in accord with the principles of detachment and moderation (Saddhatissa 1970:74). In short, the Middle Way avoids the

extremes of denial (asceticism) and overindulgence (consumerism) (de Silva 1987:27-28). This is the "rationed life" (Smith 1958:94). (This contrasts with the emphasis in materialist consumer societies on the maximal satisfaction of needs, wants, and desires). Thus Buddhism points to the fundamental distinction between need and greed (Sandell 1987:35). Implicit in the Middle Way is also moderation in population reproduction as well as in economic production and consumption. In such ways Buddhism can contribute to ecological sustainability as well as economic and social justice. Similarly, biologist Kozlovsky (1974:106) identifies as "the fundamental rule" of human ecology: "Live as simply and as naturally and as close to the earth as possible, inhibiting only two aspects of your unlimited self; your capacity to reproduce and your desire for material things."

Compassion for Diversity

Although in recent years conservationists have shifted their emphasis from individual species to whole ecosystems, Buddhism has long advocated reverence and compassion for all life. In the case of animals this encompasses invertebrates as well as vertebrates. For meditation Buddhists seek a natural and peaceful environment, the highest expression of which is the forest (de Silva 1987:21-22). Thus traditionally temples were often built in forests, and by association the surrounding forest became sacred space to be preserved rather than exploited (Brockelman 1987:97, Buri 1987:4, Pei 1985). Traditionally this would tend to promote the conservation of all the species diversity within the surrounding ecosystem. It is noteworthy that the greatest diversity and complexity of life is found in tropical rain forests. (For more discussion on the mutual relevance of Buddhism and forests see Sponsel and Natadecha 1988).

Existence and Rights

Buddhism considers the intrinsic value of both humans and nature as providing a more meaningful way of living (Buri 1987:4, Kabilsingh 1987:8, 11). This is in contrast to extrinsic value, the economic valuation of nature for resource exploitation for the market economy. An individual should limit personal use of natural resources to obtaining optimal satisfaction of basic needs. Instead of the use of nature, the Buddhist is more concerned with the contemplation of nature, especially through meditation. All life forms have a natural right to existence as functional components of the ecosystem; thus the Buddhist should avoid the use of pesticides and other unnecessary destruction of life. Thich Nhat Hanh (1988:41) writes:

We should deal with nature the way we should deal with ourselves! We should not harm ourselves; we should not harm nature. Harming nature is harming ourselves, and vice versa. If we knew how to deal with our self and with our fellow human beings, we would know how to deal with nature. Human beings and nature are inseparable. Therefore, by not caring properly for any one of these, we harm them all.

Thought and Action in Relation to Responsibility

The key to Buddhist ethics is the primacy of the mind (Saddhatissa 1970:28, Thich Nhat Hanh 1988:44). The Dhammapada (sayings of the Buddha) begins with the words: "All we are is the result of what we have thought" (Smith 1958:121). From positive thoughts flow positive actions and positive consequences, whereas from negative thoughts flow negative actions and negative consequences. Furthermore, the actions of an individual in the present life can influence the next one as well. The source of suffering is in the individual, and likewise the source of happiness is in the individual.

Enlightenment derives from the understanding of this elemental reality (Saddhatissa 1970:33). Thus ignorance rather than sin is the problem (Smith 1958:121). Wisdom and morality are mutually reinforcing (Saddhatissa 1970:123-124). Accordingly, Buddhism would encourage the cultivation of environmental understanding through education as well as the practice of environmental ethics as a basis for a nonviolent ecology.

As Kaza (1990:25) cogently explains:

The qualities of our thoughts and actions are inextricably linked and have a powerful impact on the environment. It is here that Buddhism can offer a great gift to the world. The root of the environmental crisis lies in the *habits of mind* as much as the destructive habits of behavior [emphasis added].

Also relevant to responsibility are the first of both the negative and positive precepts which are complementary. Non-killing, (the first negative precept), means to abstain from taking life. *Karuna*, (the first positive precept), is deep and universal compassion or loving kindness toward all life (Saddhatissa 1970: 90, Skolimowski 1990:29).

Since the first negative precept extends to all life, it includes forms such as insects which are not usually identified as a concern of environmentalists. Also because of this precept normally Buddhists would not be involved in the kind of violence which is sometimes practiced by radical environmentalists (Manes 1990). A nonviolent ecology would realize its ideals through its actions toward all life forms, even those which are violent towards humans or nature. Education and persuasion rather than violent confrontation would be used to reach those humans who degrade or threaten other humans and/or nature.

Individual Dependence

Because the locus of either happiness or suffering is in the individual, it is up to each individual to cultivate positive thoughts from which will flow positive actions from which will flow positive consequences. This action rests on the realization of the Four Noble Truths and the pursuit of the Noble Eightfold Path (see Lister 1987). It also depends on following the Middle Way of detachment and moderation, while satisfying basic needs and avoiding greed. Meditation in nature is an important part of this process of reaching *nirvana*--the union with nature through the extinction of ego and of all mortal cravings. Thus Buddhism would not blame the ecocrisis on science, technology, industry, business, advertising, government, or some other amorphous scapegoat. Rather it would view the ecocrisis as the product of the collective behavior of individuals who are driven by circumstance, ignorance, and/or greed instead of by wisdom, need, moderation, compassion, and nonviolence.

CONCLUSION

If Buddhists followed the above principles as a basis for environmental ethics in their daily actions, then it seems likely that the consequences would promote a nonviolent ecology. As Bodhi (1987:vii) writes:

With its philosophic insight into the interconnectedness and thoroughgoing interdependence of all conditioned things, with its thesis that happiness is to be found through the restraint of desire in a life of contentment rather than through the proliferation of desire, with its goal of enlightenment through renunciation and contemplation and its ethic of non-injury and boundless loving-kindness for all beings, Buddhism provides all the essential

elements for a relationship to the natural world characterized by respect, care, and compassion.

To some degree there are Buddhist societies which have a nonviolent ecology, but less so in the present than in the past. As Berry (1987:6) observes:

The smaller Buddhist countries of South and Southeast Asia, in their pre-modern period, had minimal impact upon the life systems of their regions because of limited populations, village modes of life, and few large urban centers--supported, of course, by a spirituality that exalted a lifestyle detached from earthly possessions [see Bennett 1976].

Part of the problem is that in any religious and/or philosophical doctrine, there is often an embarrassing discrepancy between ideals and practices (Callicott and Ames 1989). Moreover, in many Buddhist societies modernization has greatly increased this discrepancy (Anderson 1972, Bennett 1976, Kunstadter 1989, Sponsel and Natadecha 1988:306-308, Swearer 1981). The ubiquity of this discrepancy suggests that good ideals are not enough, but that other factors such as material circumstances are also important. This is one reason why a nonviolent ecology must also be economically and socially just.

Despite the discrepancy between ideals and actions, in recent years there has been "a kind of Buddhist revolt against the deterioration of nature" in countries like Thailand, according to Sulak Sivaraksa (Gray 1987:25). Thus in Sri Lanka, Thailand, USA, and Brazil, among other countries, Buddhists are becoming environmental activists and applying the principles of Buddhist ethics and ecology (Alyanak 1991, Badiner 1990, Darlington 1990, Davies 1987, Kabilsingh 1987, Sandell 1987, Sponsel and Natadecha 1988). The multiplicity, variety, and

energy of these revitalization movements offers hope that it may not be too late to develop a nonviolent ecology.

As Shrader-Frechette (1981:28) notes: "How to view man's relationship to the environment is one of the great moral problems of our time." Buddhism offers some insights for the solution of this problem, especially for Buddhist individuals and societies. Buddhism has endured for more than 2,500 years because people have found it meaningful. However, there are discontinuities as well as continuities in its history. In the future Buddhism will continue to adapt as it helps humans adapt to new circumstances and challenges.

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BUDDHISM OF HUMAN SOCIETY

Baoxu Zhao

In *Ekottarikagama* we find: "Buddha is from the world and did not become Buddha in heaven." The Buddhist Scripture often says: "The human body is difficult to achieve." Bountiful discussions take place on the preciousness of the human body and human life. Buddhism stresses that although all living beings have Buddha-nature only human beings can achieve Buddhahood.

Buddha was born into this world. In this world, he became Buddha, preached the dharma, and practiced the *paramitas*--the freeing of self and other human beings from miseries. According to the Buddhist Scripture, he taught industriously throughout the years after his enlightenment and his footprints were widespread on both sides of the Ganges. His disciples were of all colors and ranks--from kings, nobles, rich merchants, and scholars to beggars and slaves. He abandoned the royal life and devoted himself to the pursuit of wisdom and truth and to the cause of the enlightenment of others. He was tireless in discovering truth and in passing it on to others. His objective throughout his Buddhahood in this world was to rescue human beings and society. To realize this he formed the *sangha* and led them to the country and to cities to beg alms and to preach the dharma to purify this world. Buddha also labored with the

sangha to clear the ground, draw water, repair houses and care for patients. He opposed the caste system and respected women, accepting them into Buddhism. Overall, Buddha did all he could to work for human society. He engaged himself in this world instead of remaining aloof from society and human affairs. Buddha was of this world. So is the dharma.

Much of the dharma is concerned with the welfare of society and the livelihood of people. Among typical philanthropic activities are such things as tree-planting, dredging of river courses, ferrying, well-sinking, handing out medicines to the poor, and building bridges, inns, and baths. That may be why in The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch there are words like: "The Dharma is to be realized nowhere but in this world; to seek Buddha outside this world would be like looking for horns on a rabbit."

The idea of the "pure land" is found in Buddhism. We often hear that if one cultivates oneself well enough according to the rules and disciplines of Buddhism, then in afterlife one may live in the "pure land," or "the world of utmost joy." The idea of the "pure land" first appeared in the Agamasutra, where it can refer to the "pure land" either in heaven or on earth. Maitreya was born a Brahmana and later became a disciple of Buddha. One sutra of Maitreya says that when Maitreya dies he rises to the world of utmost joy. But another sutra, *Maitreyavyakarana*, has it that Maitreya will come down to this world again, where he is to become Buddha under *Naga-puspa* and to teach all living beings in Buddha's place. The "pure land" of Maitreya in the latter sutra aims at a "pure land" on earth, rather than in heaven. *Vimalakirtinirdesasutra* puts it like this: "One who wishes for the 'Pure Land' should have a purified heart; where the heart is purified is the 'pure land of Buddha.'" The "pure land" exists with enlightenment of the heart.

Another Buddhist concept is the "ten worlds," or "ten Dharma-worlds," which are: hell, hunger, animality, anger, humanity, rapture, learning, realization, Bodhisattva, and Buddha. In fact, these ten worlds refer to ten realms or states of mind rather than to ten actual worlds; it is not implied that, beyond ours, there are other worlds which are for hunger, animality, and so on. The worlds relate to human beings, who, with the changes of feelings, may be at one time in hell and at another in heaven. For instance, when one suffers emotional or physical torment, one is in the state of hell; when greedy, one is in that of hunger; when evil-minded, in that of anger; and when over-indulgent in material pleasures, in that of animality. One is in the state of humanity when calm and peaceful, and in that of rapture when pleased by joyful events. Mr. Ikeda, the famous Japanese peace movement leader, gives a brilliant explanation of these ten states. In *Life: From Hell to Buddha* he writes, "Through speculating upon the ten states we may find a path that will lead people to a more humanitarian life. It is a path to prevent war, environmental and social pollution and social diseases, a path to lead people to the control of their own destinies."

"Buddhism of human society," advocated by Mr. Zhao Puchu, the president of the Buddhist Association of China, has been accepted in recent years by many Buddhists and Buddhist scholars in China. Its core content consists of the five rules and ten disciplines to purify the self and the four behaviors and the six paramitas to bring happiness to other human beings. After all, the idea of "Buddhism of human society" for us is to take responsibility for creating a "pure land" on earth and for contributing to justice, peace and happiness in one's own country and around the world.

Today human society is troubled by numerous global problems. In the first place there is the danger of nuclear war. But, apart from that, there are many other serious challenges

such as economic justice, the environment, population control, protection of human rights, education, public health, development, and so on. Faced with so many global problems, Buddhism as Buddhism of human society, with all its mercifulness, should naturally contribute to the mitigation of these troubles and suffering on earth. It is both proper and feasible for Buddhism to play such a role.

We are all well aware of the complexity of the modern world. Therefore, the solving of many difficult issues requires much cooperation from different factions. Owing to different historical traditions and social systems there might be different understandings and viewpoints regarding an issue. In view of this, we should work very actively but also with considerable patience. As long as we are persistent in practicing Buddhist mercy to help humankind, in endeavoring to spread friendship and love among Buddhists and all people in this world, and in increasing in all possible ways academic and cultural exchanges among all peoples, we are confident of purifying ourselves and of building a "pure land" on earth in the sunshine of Buddhism.

BUDDHISM AND NONVIOLENT GLOBAL PROBLEM-SOLVING

Glenn D. Paige

There was general seminar agreement on five problem-solving principles: (1) since global problems are interconnected, solutions cannot be sought in isolation, (2) the principle of respect for life, ahimsa, nonkilling, provides a fruitful basis from which to seek problem solutions, (3) human capacity to develop mind, body and thought gives confidence that solutions to problems can be found, (4) to discover and implement solutions, global reality must be understood as it is, without illusions, drawing upon all sources of scientific and humanist knowledge, and (5) by extending universal friendliness, compassion for suffering, sharing of joys, and steadfast commitment to improving the quality of life for everyone, Buddhism can contribute to liberation from suffering of all humankind. With respect to the five major problem areas to which seminar attention was directed, the following insights, drawing upon contributions by all seminar members, can be offered.

Disarmament

The Buddhist approach to disarmament is based upon the principle that we should not kill or cause others to kill. Furthermore, according to the principle of right livelihood we

should not engage in occupations that kill, make weapons that kill, or sell weapons that kill. Since the origin of killing and armaments is in our minds (greed, hatred, and ignorance), disarmament efforts must effectively change them. Buddhist peacemaking experience in various contexts shows that this change of mind can be achieved when we develop a calm and tranquil mind within ourselves and then persuade others to abandon violence through a dialogue that combines feelings of respect for life with reason.

The effectiveness of Buddhist contributions to disarmament can be measured by such things as abolition of nuclear, biochemical, and other weapons; removal of foreign bases; reduction of armed forces; reduction of military budgets; legal recognition of the right of conscientious objection to military service; and the building up of alternative nonviolent forces for domestic and international security.

Economic Justice

Since Buddhism is based upon the principle of equality, it regards great and increasing gaps between rich and poor to be unacceptable. Buddhist compassion for the suffering of all beings also makes economic deprivation intolerable. Therefore Buddhism urges restraint and cooperation to ensure the well-being of all. Buddhism must not be passive in the face of economic injustice. It must oppose the overindulgence of the rich and remove the deprivation of the poor. At the same time, it must offer all a reasonable and practical path of liberation from greed, hatred, and ignorance--both individual and collective--that obstruct efforts to realize global material sufficiency.

Buddhist contributions to economic justice can be measured by conversion of military resources to serve civilian needs; provision of basic needs for food, clothing, shelter, and health care for all; elimination of such evils as malnutrition,

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prostitution, and child labor; and steady reduction of the gap between rich and poor within and between nations through both governmental and private action.

Human Rights

Buddhism affirms both of the great human values of equality and freedom and is committed to realizing them by nonviolent means. Buddhism affirms human rights to life, material justice, and to freedom from oppression based upon belief, biology, caste, nationality or any other distinction. It realizes that the world can be understood as it is only by liberation of the human mind from prejudice and ignorance. However, Buddhist tolerance does not extend to greed, hatred, willful ignorance, selfishness, destructiveness, and other violations of life and nature. It encourages and defends service to others by nonviolent means, including celebration of life through artistic expression. In seeking liberation from all forms of mental and material oppression, it stresses reason combined with respect for life. It does not impose its views on others by threat or use of force.

Buddhist contributions to human rights can be measured by the use of gentle and skilful means to achieve abolition of the death penalty, the elimination of torture, release of all political prisoners who have neither used nor advocated violence, fair and open trials for all, and affirmation of freedom of creative expression in the arts, politics, religion and other areas without harm to others in thought, word, or deed.

Environmental Protection

Buddhism can make a strong contribution to global environmental protection because its concept of the oneness and interdependence of all life--encompassing humans and nature--is completely compatible with modern ecological science. In turn,

Buddhism is supported by genetic science discoveries that humans, plants, and other nonhuman things share certain common elements. Furthermore, Buddhism fosters love for nature beginning with the Buddha's enlightenment under the bodhi tree, through the characteristically close relations to nature of temples, to affection for the earth as the "Mother of human beings." Buddhism understands the poisoning of land, air, and sea, species loss, exhaustion of resources, and other threats to survival as the result of the greed, hatred, and ignorance of egoistic individuals, profit-seeking enterprises, and power-seeking governments. To preserve the environment so as to sustain present and future life, Buddhism urges restraint, renewal, recycling, and encouragement of productive creativity of the highest order. Working with the world's most knowledgeable scientists, it must assist global understanding of both harmful and beneficial environmental practices.

The results of Buddhist environmental concern can be measured by patient efforts to persuade both leaders and the public to replace destructive practices with life-enhancing ones, to educate oncoming generations in the interdependency of all things, and to create non-polluting cycles of production and renewal of resources needed for global well-being.

Universal Human Cooperation

Buddhism affirms and celebrates the great diversity of human beings within the common circle of humanity. It approaches all in a friendly spirit. It considers the sufferings and joys of others to be its own. At the same time it maintains a calm and steady commitment to remove the causes of suffering and to join with others to realize a happy life for all. In seeking to solve global problems such as those of disarmament, economic justice, human rights, environmental protection, ozone depletion, and AIDS, Buddhism encourages cooperative action among all the peoples of the earth. Because Buddhism views all

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life as an interdependent whole, it urges the combination of global problem-solving consciousness and specific solution-seeking actions. This means it urges cooperative action to save life even though one's own well-being may not be perceived as directly threatened. For harm done to one part of the human community or to one part of its planetary home ultimately threatens the life of all.

Indicators of increasing human cooperation are greater participation by Buddhists in public and private problem-solving efforts; removal of barriers that prevent more effective cooperation within, between, and across nations; and increased support for the problem-solving actions of such global institutions as the United Nations.

Summary

Overall a Buddhist approach to global problem-solving combines patient dialogue, universal education, and compassionate nonviolent action. It can be summarized as problem-solving "by gentle and skilful means based on reason." This means dialogue with leaders and others whose decisions critically affect the problems, mass education of all in understanding their causes and how to prevent them, and engagement in direct nonviolent problem-solving action, both alone and in cooperation with others. The effectiveness of these efforts can be measured by ever increasing respect for life and creativity in its expression by present and future global generations.

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