A Critical Appraisal of Liberal Peace Theory from Buddhist Philosophy:

A path towards a more humane and just peace

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Abstract

A critical appraisal of the liberal peace thesis is founded upon the contributions of global justice to a liberal system of democracy, human rights, and regulated capitalist economy with a critique and suggestion from a Buddhist philosophical perspective to build a holistic peace thesis that can meet the challenges of a multipolar world and one that is increasingly technologically complex. While liberal peace is socio-political and economically oriented, Buddhist philosophy stresses inner peace and then external peace and justice, acknowledging an interdependent relationship between inner peace and socio-political and economic aspects of peace and justice. Thereby, Buddhist philosophy questions the a priori assumptions of individualism and it follows that there is a critique of Western-oriented liberal democracy, human rights, and capitalistic economy. Through the critical appraisal, this research suggests a holistic peace that integrates inner peace, human rights principles, deliberative democracy and a sustainable economic vision that seeks to achieve human development beyond mere material profit and reductionistic quantification and instrumentalization of humans and nature. The research extends its peace analysis to critique the existing confrontational and asymmetric global politics and offers the necessity for the practice of self-consciousness, and self-critique, for a transformation of aspects of the West in terms of its epistemological, cognitive, and behavioral terms. We also suggest an Earth-centric model of peace and justice, rather than hemispheric focused on the West. Given its tremendous power and leading influence, it is likely not easy for the West to accommodate a Buddhist philosophical approach to peace in order to develop self-

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critical and transformative attitudes and abilities, however, mutual learning between the West and East empowers the West to expand the purview of peace and sharpen its openness to diversity, which would create a way for a more equitable and harmonious world.

Introduction

Liberal peace has assumed the core role in peacebuilding since the 1990s and there are a number of important critiques with the most important that liberal peace as a universal system has been put into place over the last four decades that favors the West. Recognizing that much of the system is based on misuse such as cynicism in favor of the political and economic strategy of power (Pogge, 2020), this research aims to develop a critical appraisal of liberal peace from a Buddhist perspective to build a holistic peace thesis recognizing the latter misuse and focusing on the former or the problem of fixity or lack of fluidity concerning the conception of the self in society. While liberal peace has been socio-political and economically-oriented, Buddhist philosophy stresses inner peace as a foundation to peace though it recognizes social conditions can and do influence individuals. The research seeks to construct a holistic peace thesis that integrates inner peace and socio-political and economic aspects of peace as a matter of individual and social consciousness development.

After presenting a brief critique of liberal peace, the second section will briefly cover the basics of Buddhism and its view of conflict dynamics. The third section will analyze inner peace. The fourth section will engage a critical appraisal of the components of liberal peace – human rights, democracy, and economy – from a perspective of integralism. Through critical appraisal, the section will offer a Buddhist view of human rights, democracy, and economy for a sustainable peace. The fifth section will argue the critique of confrontational global politics and the self-consciousness of the liberal West as part of peace. One of the problems with liberal peace is the belief in the ontological divide between the West and the non-West and

epistemological superiority of the West to the non-West. However, this division could be changed in favor of a mutually transformative process between the divided world, especially as world war looms once again. Applying Buddhist philosophy for how we should see and enact global decision-making and politics beyond confrontational and elitism, is a consideration.

Methodological considerations

Buddhism is categorized into three major schools – Theravada, Mahayana, and Vajrayana. Each has sub-schools that have developed distinct teachings and traditions along with the commonly shared teachings and objective, that is, overcoming suffering and with a prescription for social harmony. This research employs the following to develop a critical appraisal of liberal peace and to build a holistic peace thesis: Dhamapada,[3] the Four Noble Truths doctrine, Suttanipata,[4] and Nagarjuna's philosophy of emptiness.[5] Although this research embraces the texts and teachings to unfold a holistic peace thesis, the concept of inner peace and critique of liberal peace explicated here is merely one of the possible ideas of what it means to find inner peace and holistic peace in Buddhist philosophy since other texts and teachings would develop holistic peace different from the one explored currently. We suggest Buddhist philosophy where it can be reasonable and transformative such as in self-concept, public space, and openness as a term for a non-fixed position abiding in reality or as is (Tanabe and Hartsell, 2023).

This research aims to contribute to the theoretical development of peace based on literature reviews and fields pertinent to peace and Buddhist philosophy. Practical approaches to peace include conflict resolution and peacebuilding, which are informed by theoretical frameworks. Critiquing existing peace theories and global dynamics, by developing an intercultural approach that interconnects the West and Buddhism will allow us to expand the purview of what peace means. It can be expected that eventually new perspectives and practical methods for a more humane planetary society can emerge. Though the current is hypothetical,

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[3] Dhamapada is a collection of sayings of the Buddha

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

[5] Nagarjuna is understood as a founder and exponent of Madhyamaka philosophy that centers on sunyata (emptiness) doctrine to achieve liberation from suffering. Regarding the details of Nagarjuna's works and Madhyamaka philosophy, Murti's The Central Philosophy of Buddhism: A Study of Madhyamika System is helpful.

where the ultimate end is to offer a holistic peace thesis, it seeks to contribute to a way for building new approaches to peace and global dynamics beyond the existing confrontational positions and Western hegemonic control

1.   Overview of liberal peace thesis

In the liberal peace thesis, peace and security have been connected with the development of a capitalistic economy, liberal democracy, the rule of law, and human rights in a modern nation-state framework (Richmond, 2005). The current is in contrast to forms of capitalism that have been present in other parts of the world at different times, such as humanistic values in the societies of the Islamic World and in China, but within a different social and religious system, rather than a market society or capitalist society. The assumption of such a nexus has been embedded in the international framework of peace in many states' constitutions, international law, the UN, International Nongovernmental Organizations (INGOs) and International Financial Institutions (IFIs) (Richmond, 2014).

However, one of the criticisms of liberal peace is its failure to engage with cultural and religious diversity in the standard peace thesis (Selby, 2013). The failure to engage has been at the level of principles, but also at the level of community and individual. At the end of the Cold War the proponents of liberalism enforced a 'liberal' agenda as the destiny of humanity and claimed that liberal values including capitalism and democracy need to be promoted universally with minor technical adjustments (Richmond, 2008). However, as demonstrated in Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya and others, liberal peace intervention failed to achieve a lasting peace by essentially preventing peace, democracy, and justice, including through NATO, an aggressive military alliance that projects US power into Europe, Eurasia, and North Africa. (Washington Post, 2018)

It is not that the values are disagreeable, but that they failed in application or could not be protected. Such a system would require large-scale public participation that would be based on comprehensive education, mass organizing and democracy. The other great challenge is to respect diversity beyond the West and the non-West boundaries in order to enact the co-existence of multiple variations of peace according to dialogue between the West and the non-West to mutually expand the purview of understanding and the meaning and dynamics of peace. (Tanabe and Hartsell, 2023). From a Buddhist perspective, while it focuses on socio-political and economic aspects of peace, liberal peace has left out human inner

development/understanding in the concept of the individual self, which is integral to the public space. Though structural and institutional elements of peace are critical, as discussed hereafter, human internal aspects of peace also assume a critical role in developing a lasting peace.[6]

2. Basics of Buddhism

2.1 The human mind in focus

Since its beginning, Buddhist philosophy has developed its analysis of the dynamics of the human mind, which is stated in the Dhamapada: "All experience is preceded by mind, led by mind, made by mind" (Fronsdal, 2005: 1). What is implied is that the qualities and attributes of objects are dependent upon mind (Lai, 1977). The cause of problems facing us is affected by our minds: "Speak or act with a corrupted mind, and suffering follows as the wagon wheel, follows the hoof of the ox" (Fronsdal, 2005: 1). However, we can also achieve inner serenity and well-being: "Speak or act with a peaceful mind, and happiness follows like a never-departing shadow" (Fronsdal, 2005: 1). The main focus of Buddhist philosophy in this case is to understand how our way of understanding the world affects human interaction, peace, and conflict.

2.2 Analysis of the Four Noble Truths doctrine

In developing a Buddhist analysis of the human mind, conflict, and peace, the examination of the Four Noble Truths Doctrine is required – the foundational teaching of all Buddhist schools (Yun, 2002). The first truth states that human life is filled with suffering (Yun, 2002). However, this truth does not show a pessimistic view of reality. The first truth helps us to give attention to the cause of suffering that we tend to not want to look at directly. Giving attention then leads to the second noble truth. The second truth presents attachment – the tendency of the mind to stick to certain objects or views as absolute or eternal – as the cause of suffering (Yun, 2002). Besides attachment, ignorance is a fundamental cause of suffering (Cho, 2002). Here, ignorance means a lack of the correct knowledge of reality as a reasonable approximation. In a state of ignorance, we see things, including human beings, as having an immutable nature and cling to anything that reinforces our concept of permanence, denying those views that threaten it (Geshe Tashi, 2005). Further, craving and ignorance create three

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[6] It may be that peacefulness is inherent to human beings and reflected in the social mode humans develop such as the Indigenous Model; we refer to or the modern form in bioregionalism. Additionally, education is necessary for the complexities, particularly today, as serious conflicts continue and escalate.

mental harms: greed, anger (hatred), and delusion (Geshe Tashi, 2005). The mind is the locus wherein the gap between reality and the human hermeneutical realities represented in conceptual rendering takes place or ignorance contributes to suffering (Park, 2008). The third truth states that we can resolve suffering (Yun, 2002). Since craving and ignorance are causal, we can address suffering through our efforts (Park, 2008). The fourth truth shows the path to address suffering, which is the Eightfold Noble Path (Geshe Tashi, 2005).

The Eightfold Path refers to right view, right thought, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration. Right view means a correct understanding of reality or mutual interdependence and ultimate emptiness of any object including the human being in terms of immutable nature (Yun, 2002). Right thought is a perception that our bodies will eventually decay and disappear and that our emotions and thoughts are impermanent (Yun, 2002). Right speech means to speak trustfully and compassionately rather than speaking divisively and pejoratively (Geshe Tashi, 2005). Right action is to refrain from needless killing, stealing, and sexual misconduct (Geshe Tashi, 2005). Right livelihood refers to practicing a reasonable and altruistic economic life and a harmonious communal life by controlling egocentric views and being of socio-economic benefit in relation to others (Yun, 2002). Right effort is a correct diligence in developing wholesome behaviors and thoughts (Yun, 2002). Right mindfulness is the engagement in constant awareness of phenomena that are happening at present and careful recollection of phenomena that occurred in the past without judgement (Yun, 2002). Right concentration is mental tranquility achieved through meditation, perceiving the dynamics of mind at present and cultivating compassion for all people (Geshe Tashi, 2005). To practice the path in daily lives helps us to overcome suffering and build more harmonious relationships.

2.3 Buddhist philosophy and conflict dynamics

Scholars have developed a variety of theories concerning conflict dynamics including basic human needs, socio-economic and political dynamics, social psychological aspects, etc. (Azar, 1990; Burton, 1990; Ramsbotham et al, 2016). Buddhist ethics respects all of these aspects in the sense that a Buddhist examination of human internal dynamics allows us to broaden the purview of how we understand conflict and peace dynamics. Human beings use conceptual thought as a tool to make sense of the world and to communicate with each other (Ichimura, 1997). For instance, ideologies such as liberalism, capitalism, and 'communism,'

along with religions have played a role in constructing certain socio-political, economic, and cultural systems for people to coordinate in society and to relate to the cosmos.

While building a frame of reference is essential to society, a fundamental challenge is the propensity to privilege a specific position as absolute. While meeting such a challenge, some positions are objectively and logically falsifiable; yet still adhered, to when these are 'low hanging fruit' that could be fairly easily overcome through deliberation. The claim for universality of a perspective can also lead to certain kinds of groups (e.g. closed, identitarian, religious fundamentalist, etc.) to be exclusive of other views or thoughts (Ramanan, 1978). We as individuals or groups could feel threat such as hatred from others with distinct values or views, and then we might contract back into our own group. In the prior, merely claiming for absolute universal status of our thought or perspective causes us to cling to a dualistic mode that divides the world into in-groups and out-groups (Wade, 1996). Once we see and treat others as disconnected from us due to dichotomous thought, it becomes easier to propagate violence upon those outside the mental boundary, and the same goes for the compartmentalization and instrumentalization of nature (Bacon, 2000).[7] We emphasize that the essence of this boundary is ignorance itself.

Though building a provisionally coherent thought system is essential to human life, an aggressive dualistic thought mode predominating our understanding of reality causes us to exaggerate differences between people and to create supposedly firm boundaries, which hamper constructive communication between those having different frames of reference to address conflict and explore joint-solutions. The natural faculties for forming a coherent view of the world become blunted, when they should be encouraged and developed. For example, rising tensions between the US and China, or the ongoing Russian invasion and war in Ukraine that may spread to wider Eurasia are major political, military, and economic conflicts that are creating fears and loyalties in division into a Cold War mentality, again. However, in a Buddhist view, at the bottom of these conflicts and wars lie the confrontation of respectively absolutized ideas and values in a dualistic manner where there is also material prize as much of conflict is also driven by the confiscation and plunder of the land. Aggressive dualism and recklessness is incentivized in the current system. This dominance is not just identity or ideology but has

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[7] Here we give mention of similar aggressive dualism in the war against nature.

physical process in wars that are escalating into world war and extensive dominance over resources and land and nature itself, which is core to the civilized psyche (Jensen, 2006, 2016).

3.   Analysis of Buddhist inner peace

As discussed, the belief in the absolute status of frame of reference and dualistic thinking has a great impact on conflict. To control, or at least influence, the dynamics of mind is a key to peace for Buddhist philosophy. This part will examine Buddhist inner peace.

3.1 Reflective self-awareness

The first component of Buddhist inner peace is reflective self-awareness. It is to practice stepping back from a current frame of reference to critically examine a pattern of thought, values, and logic shaping experience (Park, 2008). Reflective self-awareness involves many variables including awareness of a perception, thought, feeling, or habits of doing things in behavior (Park, 2008). Since speech and action are derived from mindstate, we need to control the mind in order to act and speak in positive ways (Kosan Sunim, 1999). It is necessary to have some awareness and 'spaciousness' concerning frames of reference in order to have more freedom. Also, viewing others negatively causes antagonistic speech and behavior. Aside from necessary, defensive, or unavoidable confrontation, divisive or malicious speech and behavior will create the cycle of mutual divisive and antagonistic speech and behavior. With the practice of reflective self-awareness, we have the best chance to, even if temporary, stop the cycle and make public and psychological space for changing the direction of interaction from negative to neutral and eventually positive (Tanabe and Hartsell, 2023).

By honing reflective self-awareness, we come to know the socio-political, cultural, and religious contextual nature of human thinking and knowing, which empowers us to be open to others' views, and values or at minimal, the right to co-exist (Dallmayr, 2014). Reflective disengagement enlarges attentiveness to broader dimensions of how the mind can work by going beyond sedimented habits of thinking and knowing (Hart, 2001). Detached engagement can follow.

3.2 The practice of philosophical critique of conceptual thought construction

The second component is the practice of a philosophical critique of conceptual thought construction in framing reality. Philosophical practice to gain an insight into reality is one of the cores of Buddhist philosophy to achieve liberation from suffering including conflict

and violence (Garfield, 2022). Since thinking is at the base of human behavior, in addressing or de-escalating conflict and violence requires a deeper transformation of our fundamental way of seeing the world. (Garfield, 2022).

As examined, attachment to a particular view or value as absolute can often turn into the cause of divisive human interactions. Gaining insight into conceptual thought construction and a non-fixed self helps to ease antagonistic human relations. Buddhist philosophy shows the interdependent nature of conceptual constructions creating 'in-group' and 'out-group' boundaries. The fundamental interdependence of conceptual thought is expounded upon by Nagarjuna: "Without one there cannot be many and without many it is not possible to refer to one. Therefore, one and many arise dependently and such phenomena do not have a sign of inherent existence." (Komito, 1987: 80). He also states that "If there is existence, then is non-existence; if there is something long, similarly (there is) something short; and if there is non-existence, (there is) existence; therefore, both (existence and non-existence) are not [actually] existent." (Tola and Dragonetti, 1995: 128) We use a version of Nagarjuna and mean conceptualization of the fixed self as ontological foundation of existence and non-existence. It would be impossible to create an experiment subjectively or empirically to test the supposition of nothingness, therefore we are speaking of conceptualization and we take it further to discuss the concept of the self in liberalism. Further metaphysics is unnecessary for the case we are dealing with here.

What Nagarjuna presents is the ultimate unreality to claim any form of thought as absolute by exposing all views or systems of thought to "bi-negation" (Kakol, 2002). This means that the fundamental contradiction of any form of conceptualization; while one concept needs the other that opposes it, the latter needs the former to make sense. However, the former itself requires the latter and eventually infinite regress continues, which leads to the ultimate unreality of conceptual thought of any form to exist (Kakol, 2002). This position advocates a reformulation of dualistic thinking and particularly in modernity concerning self and world. While the logic of the excluded middle fixates differences or oppositions, Buddhist philosophy sees them as a dynamical relationality (Hershock, 2012). For instance, in dualistic thinking, capitalism and communism were understood as totally antithetical. However, in a Buddhist view, both are necessary to make sense of the intellectual assumptions and discussion of conditions. Even though certain ideologies fought each other in history, their respective standpoints need the

opposite to be established conceptually and cynically. With such recognition, we can approach opposing views or values not as immutable pairs of opposites but as an opportunity to create something new by learning from each other, hence integralism.

The recognition of the fundamental interdependent relationship of opposing views empowers us to enact intersubjectively. The knowledge of the ultimate unreality of any view as absolute allows us to peel away, layer after layer, their fundamentally insubstantial assumption they tend to cling to and to reach a state of unknowing (Tirado, 2008). The state of unknowing is liberating as a creative springboard for possibilities for new ideas and visions (Dallmayr, 2014). We call this realization that of radical openness. It is the enhancement of the capacity for synthetic thinking and appreciating the diversity of values and perspectives as the dynamic conditions for mutual contribution to co-creating something new with no closure in addressing problems facing humanity (Hershock, 2012).

3.3 Compassion

The third component is compassion – an acknowledgement of shared humanity beyond borders and empathy with the basic human condition of others as if our own (Pruitt and McCollum, 2010). In the West, such is seen in "I am human and nothing human is foreign to me."[8] (Jocelyn, 1973) To practice compassion sharpens the consciousness of the oneness of humanity (Daneth, 2006). This sentiment refers to a conscious transition from self-centeredness and dichotomous views of in-group and out-group relationships as firm boundaries to an all-inclusive state of awareness of human fundamental interconnection. The awareness of fundamental interdependence of humanity does not deny the uniqueness of each person or group as mentioned. The case is a transformation of how we understand human identity. Instead of seeing identity as an entity with an immutable boundary, it is to understand it as an open and dynamic "living system" within a larger inter-relational "web: of intuition in life (Loy, 1993).

With such recognition, we also show deep empathy toward people marginalized from society (Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace, 2008). The compassionate mind underpins the promotion of justice. Different than Plato's Republic, justice in the current sense refers to acting with a sense of irreducible human fairness towards others and to enact equality in human

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[8] Publius Terentius Afer, Born: c. 195 BC, Carthage.

dignity and rights, and to criticize, and not volitionally participate, in all types of exploitation and oppression in society (Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace, 2008). With compassion, we become aware that human beings are embedded in a domain of human inter-being, wherein people are inspired to embody social freedom and participate in the social life of solidarity in which they mutually realize each other's justified needs in an interdependent context. Though the development of inner peace presented here may take time, internal enrichment and social and even global transformation are interconnected since our ideas, visions, and feelings shape how we relate with others, and how we frame socio-political and economic realities (Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace, 2008).[9]

4. A Buddhist critical appraisal of liberal peace

4.1 Interdependence concerning Buddhist inner peace and socio-political and economic peace

Though inner peace has been presented, Buddhist ethics acknowledges that inner peace and socio-political and economic elements of peace are interdependent. If poverty, lack of access to basic social welfare, and social discrimination continue, conflict, war, and a withering away of society as individuals fall into degradation and depravity can be expected (Gunaratana, 1999). A critical analysis of the key elements of liberal peace – human rights, liberal democracy, and market-oriented economy – is necessary.

4.2 Critical appraisal of the core elements of liberal peace thesis: Human rights

Human rights are the fundamental rights every person possesses on the grounds that s/he is a human being (Donnelly, 2013). Though Buddhist teachings do not directly discuss human rights, we can identify the compatibility between Buddhist philosophy and human rights principles in the West. The doctrine of Buddha-nature preaches that all human beings contain Buddhahood or the potential to realize what the Buddha taught concerning liberation from suffering. The doctrine also demonstrates existential equality. The Buddha criticized the social discrimination and caste system of his age (Shiotsu, 2001), which is stated in Suttanipata: "People are not born base. Nor are they born Brahmins. By their actions they become base, and by their actions they become Brahmins." Such a position upends the ancient texts such as

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[9] We also acknowledge that time is short due to the threat of war and emerging climate crisis.

the Vedas and current Hindutva as authoritarian currents proceed in India and the world today. (Nanda, 2004, 2016) That the latter has to be recognized, at this time in history, is cause for concern.

Keown categorizes human rights mainly into five areas: rights of the person (life, liberty, and freedom of religion); rights before the law (equality before the law); political rights (freedom of assembly and the right to vote); economic and social rights (social security and employment rights); and the community and groups rights (protection against genocide and violence of any form) (2018). Without a proper external environment, internal enrichment would be impossible as the persistence of socio-political and economic injustice gives rise to negative states of mind.

4.3 Critical appraisal of the core elements of liberal peace thesis: Democracy

Though the development of liberal democracy in the Western world has enhanced human freedom and liberty (Dallmayr, 2019), Buddhism criticizes liberal democracy's tendency to emphasize competitive elections and majoritarianism, while supporting deliberative democracy. Deliberative democracy emphasizes inter-human communication and decision-making (Curato et al, 2019; Fishkin, 2009; Tanabe and Hartsell, 2023). And, as covered, Buddhist philosophy can offer to Western deliberative democracy to expand the purview of the dynamics of democracy is the critique of the traditional Western sense of self.

Traditionally, in the West, individual integrity and autonomy is sacrosanct and each individual is entitled to create a life plan according to values and interests they freely choose (Hershock, 2012). However, a prominent concern in many liberal states is its degeneration into atomist individualism and self-centeredness that leads to fragmentation in service of widely skewed individualism for those with wealth (Dallmayr, 2019). The cult of the self is part of this phenomenon. In such a situation, individual protections become for those who can pay in a market society, and therefore defeat the purpose of classical liberalism where the limitations on the state are morphed into the protection of wealth and power (Humboldt, 1854). As witnessed in many liberal countries, where there is division among the population and inequality is high, there has been a failure of politics and societies in general to resolve divisions, which has led to the rise of populist nationalism.[10] Such nationalism is a serious

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[10] Core popular politics of fascism

concern as authoritarianism, and as fascism in the West, is gaining power socially and within electoral politics. In the modern era, failed liberalism has a pattern of aligning with fascism where "it cannot be denied that Fascism and similar movements aiming at the establishment of dictatorships are full of the best intentions and that their intervention has, for the moment, saved European civilization" and fascism is considered an "emergency makeshift" (Mises, 2010) that could be dangerous if it remained. The concern is the clear situation of an imposed or accepted foundational Hobbesian conflict between people in society and is perhaps involved in the strong belief in an autonomous and independent self, which drives people to solidify the sense of self through supposedly fixing of boundaries with others (Ward, 2013).

Buddhist philosophy has the relational self. The Buddhist teaching of interdependence underpins horizontal relationships between people having different social identities (Ward, 2013) as the Sangha was originally highly democratic and individual. The self is basically a conceptual thought construction rather than a living experience of abiding in life. Though human beings exist as an entity in nature, their attributes can be constructed, projected, and then fragmented. The constructed self becomes contingent upon the attributes that are opposed (Hershock, 2012). Differently, the relational self does not necessarily have a rigid trait of a conceptualized self. Buddhist philosophy does not deny the uniqueness of each self, nor the seeming infinite complexity of society rather, the awareness of the fundamental interdependent nature of the conceptually constructed self helps us to understand self as living within the 'interconnected web of life' or 'all my relations'[11] with constant modification of orientation.

Pertinent to the Buddhist open-process self is the correlation between human internal maturity and intersubjective deliberative process – social interactions and problem solving. One of the critical challenges in deliberative democracy is how we should interact with others having different backgrounds, views, or values without rushing into judgment. The concept of detached engagement can help with guidance under such conditions. Free and sincere public dialogue requires its participants to be capable of transcending their positional confinement (Reardon and Snauwaert, 2011). While it is a reality that many simply refuse such effort, nevertheless, we think it valuable to liberate ourselves from such a rigid view of self. Subsequently, even with mild suspension of a rigid notion, we can engage dialogical interaction

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[11] Lakota Sioux saying about interrelationship

as an open-ended process to proceed in creating new, constructive variations on values and visions with others (Hershock, 2012).

In a Buddhist philosophical view, democracy concerning the individual is a transformative learning and development; a practical process in social organization or social mode where people with a variety of different and opposing views and values embark on ongoing social process in terms of personal self-understanding and self-development to appreciate the demands of otherness; hence, society and culture (Dallmayr, 2001). The point of deliberative democracy is not just to reach a bland consensus, but greater response in society and greater innovation all-round by meeting the basic needs of everyone foundationally. It is a continuous process that demands the constant openness of all participants to new learning experiences similar to that of the child, new and reasonable speculation and boundary-crossings, along with the committed sharpening of ethical sensibilities capable of fostering the common good that is new on a moment-to-moment basis (Dallmayr, 2020).

Enacting deliberative democracy as a transformative process of the relational self would allow citizens having different and opposing views to experience the continuous co-creation of provisional solutions to any challenges and subjects delivered. The constant co-production of understanding can lead to better solutions according to distinct conditions, which would eventually empower members of society to know that engagement in relational transformation is one of the highest virtues of social enterprise.

4.4 Critical appraisal of the core elements of liberal peace thesis: Economy

Buddhist economics recognizes that most people will need proper socio-economic and socio-ecological[12] conditions to realize spiritual development (Mosler, 2011). Human beings have basic needs including access to clean water, optimum food requirements, sanitation and health, education, interpersonal contact/kin/kith, an environment free from pollution, access to nature etc. to achieve intellectual and spiritual maturity (Ariyaratne, 1999, Maslow, 1943). Given empirical evidence from the history of modern political economy, Buddhist economics takes a critical stance towards the capitalistic market society. Though the Western model of capitalistic economy creates profit and boosts the macro economy with enormous productivity, it can cause the clash of multiple and basic interests among people and exacerbate

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[12] Biotic community

the gap between the haves and the have-nots – gross inequality, and at times absolute. We also recognize that the economy today is also a threat to the biosphere and survival of most species; a highly productive, highly misdirected economy. The purpose of Buddhist practice in economy is to realize joy, harmony, and equanimity not only for the self but for all people (Shi, 2018), which is underpinned by the Buddhist view of the human being. Decision-making and production is based on equity, equality, harmony, and equanimity; and opposed to Bernard Mandeville in the European Enlightenment that greed or profit in the market will produce the best social benefit (Mandeville, 1724). While the radical humanism of the Enlightenment was a tremendous development for modern society, we should not make any of the 'poisons' as central to society, whether greed, hatred, ignorance or other.

Western market-society discourse considers human beings are atomistic individuals who are instrumentally-oriented rational beings, calculating choices of comparable values or profits (Essen, 2010). They are supposed to be motivated to achieve material well-being for their own sake, and for the sake of making profits/money, by evaluating the benefits and costs of their prospective actions (Tomer, 2017). The mainstream economic discourse in the West emphasizes self-regard as opposed to regard for others and places little value on relational virtues with others as an atomistic individual self tends to presuppose that her/his interests are independent of others' (Garfield, 2022) and even more tragic, separate from nature.

In Buddhist philosophy, human beings are understood as relational and compassionate beings and exercise restraint on excessive self-centered views of profit, where together they can create a society that reflects life, freedom, equality, and equity, in a relational way. Buddhist ethics seeks to correct any tendency to see and experience ourselves as standing at the center of a moral universe and take our own benefit as the most rational basis for action (Garfield, 2022; Jensen, 2016). It is most likely the case, largely, that social structure amplifies unsuitable behaviors and views in human beings where extreme forms are sociopathic. An everyday example of social media amplification of various human desires, frailties, and fear is the media model of advertising and marketing that has been well documented over the past century (Chomsky & Herman, 2002). The aim of Buddhist economic activity is to embody human spiritual potential and contribute to people's overall well-being—mental well-being, inner freedom, as well as basic material security for all people beyond boundaries (Garfield, 2022).

Concerning the individual, it is imperative to differentiate between needs and wants. While the former is essential to us, the latter can produce greed or lust, and conspicuous consuming (consumerism). Satisfaction of basic needs is essential for a good society and also for spiritual advancement; however, excessive aspiration for redundant material profit would create the cycle of 'unending greed,' and also turn competition into instinctive hatred towards others (Shi, 2018). Being controlled by greed and attachment to material gains at the expense of others will cause negative consequences for the whole of society, e.g. a consumerist society, market-society, transactionalism etc. (Konecki, 2017).[13]

Modern Buddhism proposes the idea of a sufficiency economy. The question of what is sufficient needs to be continually reevaluated by each individual at different levels of internal maturity (Essen, 2010). However, it would be worthwhile to mention the UNDP Thailand Human Development Report 2007. The report within the United Nations model presented the need to practice Buddhist thought during economic activities. The main points are: moderation – signifying not too much and not too little or frugality; reasonableness—analyzing reasons and potential actions and grasping the immediate and distant consequences of those actions; self-immunity—self-discipline or the ability to withstand external shocks and cope with uncontrollable events; and integrity—virtuous behaviors including honesty, diligence and non-exploitation (UNDP, 2007). The report emphasizes mental development as a critical component of a sustainable economy (Essen, 2010).

An example seen in Thailand involves the members of the Bor Kul sub-district community in Songkla province in southern Thailand who make a living by fishing and enjoy supplementary income from palm trees. In cooperation with a local NGO, the Bor Kul community built the Bor Kul Social Investment Fund and lent money not only to their community members, but to other communities with no interest (Prayukvong, 2005). The fund also provides advice to help any community to create and run their own businesses (Prayukvong, 2005). The fund's fundamental ethos is that they cannot achieve quintessential happiness if other communities remain in difficult situations (Prayukvong, 2005). In this example, the economic enterprise revolves around Buddhist social philosophy that people need to take efforts to achieve quality of life and consider society's needs beyond narrow self-interests, as well as work with contentment

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[13] GDP as a measurement of this process of extraction, production, consuming. Private discussion with ecophilosopher Derrick Jensen.

rather than seeking self-interest unlimited material gains (Prayukvong, 2005). Buddhist philosophy takes the default position to be one in which we find ourselves as interdependent and compassionate persons with the goal of achieving holistic human development for human flourishing. Though it might not be easy, an increase in members of society practicing a sustainability economy as holistic human development will contribute to balancing socio-economic systems within socio-natural understanding in an ecotechnics.[14]

5. Discussion of the Buddhist critique of divisive global politics and self-critique of the liberal West

5.1 Interconnection between the West and the non-West

The critical appraisal of liberal peace develops an additional Buddhist view of human rights, an ideal democracy, and economic development for lasting peace. However, while the critical appraisal has allowed Buddhist philosophy to develop its distinct views of human rights, democracy, and economy for peace, Buddhist philosophy develops another critical analysis of liberal peace; that is, the critique of existing global political dynamics and the practice of the self-critique of the liberal West. Liberal peace has been founded upon the belief that there exists a socio-political and cultural-historical divide between the West and the non-West (Sabaratnam, 2013; Huntington, 2011). The West has been assumed to be the principal subject for human flourishing for its achievements including liberalism, democracy, individualism, capitalism, and scientific rationality (Sabaratnam, 2013).

It is important to acknowledge the internal dynamics of the West (or liberal West in this research context) and its impact on the positive and constructive dialogue for the global politics of mutual contribution beyond the West and the non-Western boundaries. However, the critical analysis of Western psychological-dynamics and social epistemological dynamics and its

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[14] Concerning the Thai village example, we are aware that Thailand has experienced political turmoil including restrictions on, and violations of human rights along with various ecological problems. Our reference to the Thai Sufficiency Economy is within the general Indigenous Model or bioregionalism of village systems where Bor Kul is an example in the direction of a real world critique of the neoliberal economic model provided conflict is minimized and human rights are maintained within the UN system. The ideology of the neoliberal economy is reductionistic focusing on the maximization of each individual's self-interest recognized in profits or gains largely in market exchanges through the price mechanism (transactions compared to the widest interactions of relationship). While a political economy is ignored in such a system, there is a political economy in neoliberalism, which is globalized. We think such a project as the Thai experiment could fit the theoretical development of a holistic peace model provided an interdependence based on fundamental human rights that is in harmony with the biotic community in a landbase.

impact on peace and conflict has been underdeveloped though practical wisdom or communicative action, justice etc. have been well developed in the West, along with economics and technology (Follesdal & Pogge, 2005; Habermas, 1995b; Rehg, 2023). We appreciate Habermas' communicative action and Pogge's global justice, as these have contributed to global peace and justice. Nevertheless, in evaluating communicative action, they have not focused on rational discourse and not on the empathetic and compassionate aspect of humanity and inner development and self-concept. Our suggested addition is how Buddhist philosophy, or specifically, mindfulness practice can be complementary to the best of the project of thought, which can strengthen communicative action or dialogical action.

While the aforementioned are true and significant developments, especially given the complexity of advanced, technical civilization, taken as ideas developed in society through dialogue, activism, the courts, and other, in order to expand the purview of peace, or peace theory, this paper seeks to add to the discussion since the confrontational and asymmetric global politics of the West has predominated the global political arena and are a central part of peace and conflict. We think that the project is necessary as societies shatter and wars and militarism escalate globally. Global political-economic dynamics need to be addressed and Buddhist philosophy, which has developed internal dynamics and its external influence on conflict and peace, may be a complement to prior developments in modern society.

We also want to acknowledge K. E. Logstrup's concept of the ethical demand that emphasizes the responsibility we have to care for others in our daily interactions – everyday democracy and humanity. This case would be similar to Buddhist compassion. To advance the project, we argue further that the concept of the ethical demand and Habermas' communicative action/ethics have not been discussed in an integrative way to sharpen the quality of communicative action or dialogue. Buddhism can complement the separation by integrating intersubjective communicative aspects and empathetic and compassionate aspects of humanity, all of which could become a spiritual foundation for constructive dialogical interaction among people with different or even opposing views.

Buddhist philosophy sees the core matter of our understanding of reality as one of dependent arising; every phenomenon is dependent for its existence on a vast web of interdependence (Garfield, 2022). The web is a complex and multidimensional process formed by dynamic relations of dependency on human conventions and conceptual imputations

(Garfield, 2022) along with incidental and natural, physical interactions. Contingency seems to be active such as in causal relationships and scientific truth, however, our understanding becomes less accurate and the situation an open question as we go beyond faculties, capabilities, and knowledge (Hartsell, 2023). Human beings, society, and global dynamics and structures are understood as a process that constantly evolves based on interdependent perceptual, conceptual, and conative interactions (Garfield, 2022).

In this way, the divide between the West and the non-West is a conceptual construction and contingent, founded upon dependent arising; whereas the differences are real, and often lead to unjust, imposition. Buddhist philosophy suggests that global political dynamics and local dynamics of conflict and peace are interdependent in a way similar to global justice rather than institutional justice or that of states (Chu & Zheng, 2020; Follesdal & Pogge, 2005; Pogge, 2020; Tanabe and Hartsell, 2023). In liberal peace arguments, the critique of global politico-economic dynamics seems to remain underdeveloped despite Critical Theory or Post-structuralist theory of international relations. Apart from this concern, the self-critique of the liberal West has remained to be developed seemingly due to conventional beliefs in the supposed ontological divide between the West and the non-West and epistemological superiority of the former to the latter. This Orientalism is a Western construct, meaning 'other than' the occidental, is represented by the West and not by the peoples of the regions involved. The terms "West" and "Orient" are ontologically unstable, "each is made up of human effort, partly affirmation, partly identification of the Other" (Said, 2003). Edward Said wrote concerning the Clash of Civilizations "In fact, Huntington is an ideologist, someone who wants to make 'civilizations' and 'identities' into what they are not: shut-down, sealed-off entities that have been purged of the myriad currents and countercurrents that animate human history, and that over centuries have made it possible for that history not only to contain wars of religion and imperial conquest but also to be one of exchange, cross-fertilization and sharing" and anthro-archeologist, David Wengrow adds to Said's that history and civilization "is far less visible…history is ignored in the rush to highlight the ludicrously compressed and constricted warfare that 'the clash of civilizations' argues is the reality." (Wengrow, 2010)

In a Buddhist view, neither the ontological divide nor epistemological superiority is tenable, though cultural differences are real and hold merit according to shared values of human rights and physicality in forms of relationship, national policy, and ecological integrity.

Within this critique; therefore, self-critique and transformation of the liberal West becomes imperative. One example of articulation of a technics for advanced, technical civilization, is where Australian philosopher of technology, John Weckert, in collaboration with Filipino philosopher Rogelio Bayod, wrote "The Indigenous Filipino worldview provides us with a platform for assessing our own core values and suggests modifications to those values. It also indicates ways for broadening and altering the focus of the ethics of technology to make it more effective in helping us to use technologies in ways more conducive to human well-being." We generalize the Weckert-Bayod statement to the wider conditions of technological and global society where the largest numbers are now urbanized.

5.2 Critique of divisive and confrontational global political dynamics and global structure: Transformative global structure

Buddhist philosophy takes an anti-essentialist view of the global sphere. It views the dynamics of the global public place as a reflection of human conceptual thought constructions wherein people bring different and opposing values, norms, or interests. However, as examined, different or opposing views or interests are interdependent and ultimately untenable as absolute fixtures. Buddhist ethics claims that any specific values, views, and interests brought into the global public place like the United Nations group of nation-states cannot dominate global political dynamics as complete. Rather, the global public place should be understood as empty or a process of openness. Emptiness here does not refer to vacuum but virtually infinite potential as a generative power producing new versions and integrations of values, visions, ideas and common interests (Dallmayr, 2019; Tanabe and Hartsell, 2023).

Global politics and various social media can be acknowledged as epistemological in practice as the verification of empirical reality through intersubjectivity (Park, 2008). And, confrontational dynamics are to be attributed to the confrontation of different or opposing values, ideologies, and interests seeking to dominate the global arena. Many wars and conflicts including Syria, Yemen, Ukraine and Gaza are not merely physical problems of geography. Rather, there are also different or opposing values, norms, visions, histories, and then various falsehoods undergirding them. Physically visible problems need to be understood as a clash of opposing values, norms, and visions, underlying conflicts and largely at a high-pressure

standstill risking eruption at any time.[15] The failure to resolve global problems is unavoidable whenever we divide the world up in terms of conceptual opposites by adhering to a unicist view of each value or ideology (Hershock, 2012). Resolution requires a reconfiguration of the existing patterns of confrontational interactions of opposing values, principles, and interests into new directions to engage our complex global dynamics. Such reconfiguration is bound up in our thesis of a Buddhist philosophical contribution to current conditions.

It may not be easy to recognize that antithetical values including those of the US, China, and Russia, are unstable due to the lack of fluidity and relationship. Conventional global politics has been practiced in a dichotomous way as if it were natural and accepted a priori as "just is" or must be organized in a specific "social mode" or culture of civilization or the City, and by definition (Diamond, 2017; Pinker, 2011). This practice has affected the already divisive and war-like relationship between the liberal, non-liberal and illiberal states, and most all elsewhere. However, such conventional differentiation between the West and the non-West (or Oriental), or liberal or illiberal or non-liberal has come to lose its conceptual and practical efficacy for dealing with a multipolar world, and further, for survival. The practical interdependence between the West and the non-West that emerged with globalization, the Non-Aligned Movement, BRICS, La Via Campesina and others, and then of common social and ecological problems, cannot be engaged adequately so long as they remain attached to the belief in an ontological divide and epistemological incompatibility founded upon an 'either-or' dualistic principle (Hershock, 2021).

To respond to challenges more appropriately and creatively, the conventional politics of power needs to be transformed into social modes of organization of mutual recognition and contribution beyond ideologically driven exercises of control. The trajectory is to value creativity and humanity from within the clash of different values and visions to embody continuous relational transformation in the direction of unprecedented and yet meaningful commitments to reasonable and effective coordination among those having different or opposing views. It is a process of bringing differing people and their values, aims, and practices into new and fluid-like relationships without resolution to any predetermined views and principles (Hershock, 2021; Tanabe and Hartsell, 2023).

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[15] While Eurasia and the Middle East have erupted, we give mention to the India-Pakistan border as another example of a high-pressure standstill.

No single political ideology seems to present an absolute solution, where we suppose perspectival integralism for our position. Drawing on the wisdom and values developed in the liberal model and the non-West for mutual contribution to co-create shared interests and sustainability has become urgent from the community to municipal and on up. A gradual transformative process needs to be taken into serious account for the whole of humanity, though under conditions of little time. Perhaps once underway, various efficiencies and innovations will occur that can speed the process along, and we can hope exponential growth occurs. When global public places and digital spaces are enacted as transformative process, this overall act would contribute to opening the way for establishing dialogical and gradual transformative relations beyond the West and the non-West boundaries.

5.3 Mindfulness and transformative dialogue

Though a vision of an important aspect of transformative global politics has been proposed, dialogue plays a critical role in gradually creating a way for the global politics of mutual contribution and interrelationship. Dialogue is a process of discovering ourselves in new ways through the interactions with others (Chappell, 1999) and also through discourse ethics in justification and application (Habermas, 1995a).[16] Dialogue helps to create new perceptions of each other and lays the foundation for mutual respect (Said et al, 2006).

As examined, one of the core teachings of Buddhism is to manage our mental dynamics including emotions and perceptions. Mindfulness helps us to take a moment-to-moment awareness of emotions and views we have immediately when in dialogue with those having different cultural, religious, and social backgrounds (Lagnger, 2000). Detached engagement allows for mental spaciousness when engaged in practical application. One of the critical problems with liberal peace as we recognized is not liberal peace thesis itself but its belief in universal status beyond Western contexts and its world-wide imposition without consideration of general and specific conditions. Mindfulness empowers us to see any form of perspective and principle including liberal peace as one of many and to prevent an automatized or reflexive view of thinking or taking any particular perspective as absolute (Lagnger, 2000). Perhaps perspectival integralism through mindfulness enables us to become sensitive to

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[16] Also for further elucidation, see Rainer Forst's right to justification.

different environments and more open to value diversity and enhanced awareness of multiple perspectives in problem-solving (Lagnger, 2000).

Through mindfulness, we can accept multiple context-dependent perspectives to switch behavioral responses according to the changing contexts and situations (Kang et al, 2013). Given the enormous heterogeneity of moral circumstances, there is no reason to believe that there is always one single answer to the question of what peace we should build and the way we should respond to distinct socio-political and economic crises (Garfield, 2022), however, within such complexity, the framework of global justice makes it possible to provide such a more precise response from the international to the individual level such as we mentioned with Sen and Pogge. Rather than applying rigid general principles, we suggest radical openness to the diversity of visions of peace and responsiveness to the situations in which we find ourselves (Garfield, 2022). With such awareness, and without falling into versions of aperspectival inanity, the West could engage in dialogue with the non-West in more flexible, empathetic, and creative ways to approach global problems including peacebuilding.

Our suggestion of the practice of mindful dialogue as democratic deliberation, flexibility in thinking, and with improvisation is to contemplate a better socio-political and economic structure that can meet different contexts, which is to meet specific situations with overarching guidance from principles and reason as in classical liberalism. By acknowledging contextual diversity of the visions of ideal human rights, principles, democracy, deliberation, economy, and the relationship between local and central governments, and fair and mutually beneficial external and internal relationships, we can contribute to developing a contextual-oriented, more humane, and sustainable peace process.

5.4 Practice of a non-dualistic approach to knowledge

The previous section has offered the practice of mindful dialogue for the liberal West as part of the path to promote transformative global politics based on mutual contribution beyond the West and the non-West boundaries. Besides dialogue and mindfulness practice, what Buddhist philosophy can offer to the West is the practice of a non-dualistic approach to different kinds of peace and global dynamics views including the liberal. We rely on Buddhist philosophy for a critique of knowledge construction and structure in engaging in intellectual and practical socio-political and economic enterprises. Though Buddhist philosophy does not deny knowledge construction for intellectual activity and policy-making, it critiques the potential

dangers, which the West has succumbed to. As examined, the root of trouble lies in the propensity to absolutize any viewpoint (Gomez, 1976); usually seen in religious ideology but also of the state or a society. The claim of completeness renders the person imprisoned in extremely narrow-minded viewpoints. Since, liberal peace is founded upon a Western Enlightenment framework (Richmond, 2011), the core Buddhist critique is the problem in Western liberal belief in its absolute status and then fixed individualism that leads to fragmentation of society. The core example is the case of realized social protections for rich individuals and little for others through gross inequality and inequity. For true individualism, a society would have to protect the integrity of the human being from society as a matter of life and well-being, and subsequently, guarantee freedom, equity and equality. The latter is a matter of real world justice. If we can clarify this 'structure' with transparency, then both cynicism or cynical use of liberal values and identity politics can be weakened.

How we deal with different values, and principles framing a variety of peace visions and global dynamics such as Realism, Liberalism, and Critical Theory, to name a few, is important. In Buddhist thought, all views imply their own negation, which means that they are logically dependent on opposing views that contradict them (Kakol, 2002), revealing the ultimate untenability to claim absolute status of any form of theory and knowledge; hence, openness ensues. Buddhist dialectical contemplation helps the West to go beyond attachment to any form of theory and knowledge of peace and global politics such as those mentioned, as complete and independent. The failure of the 'end of history' would be enough of an example. The pinnacle of Buddhist philosophy is, rather than denying perspective or theory, to achieve freedom from attachment to any pattern of thought as complete an intellectual enterprise and for practical settings of peacebuilding and global politics. In a positive way, the ultimate non-duality of different or opposing theories, values, and principles of peace can serve as the basis for a creative synthesis of theory and philosophical systems for engaging in the intellectual enterprise of peace and global politics (Murti, 2003). Transcendence of an attachment to a pattern of thought empowers us to be free from any particular mode of society and self expected to serve for all time and for all people (Tanabe and Hartsell, 2023). Rather, a synthesis can be creatively moulded with others according to distinct contexts (Murti, 2003).

How we understand and approach different, opposing, or even antithetical views and values, or principles on a fundamental level has been underdeveloped in communicative

action or human interaction in general in the West. A Buddhist philosophical approach to dialogical politics by integrating intersubjective dynamics, philosophical contemplation that seeks to present how we approach different opposing or antithetical views, values, or principles, and a compassionate attitude that allows us to show our humanity beyond boundaries and in the middle of diversity is a sort of comprehensive approach that has been underdeveloped in the West so far or not addressed effectively through Western democracy and capitalism.

Despite Post-colonialism, Post-structuralism, and Critical Theory, all of which critique the liberal West approach to global politics and peacebuilding, no elaboration of self-critique and transformative process of the liberal West has been made in intellectual and practical terms. Stated otherwise, there is still an epistemological and even ontological divide despite the critique of liberal peace by Post-colonialism and Post-structuralism. This project needs to be complemented by the non-Western approaches to peace, conflict, and global political dynamics, which entails how the liberal West can hone self-critique and become more open to non-Western views of peace and global political visions for inclusivity and natural systems.

The point of this paper is to add to Habermas' discourse ethic and communicative action, Aristotle's practical wisdom, and K. E. Løgstrup's concept of the ethical demand emphasizing the responsibility we have to care for others in our daily interactions. However, these three have not been discussed in an integrative way to sharpen the quality of peace and conflict studies, and then global dynamics and human interaction. Buddhist philosophy which has enriched the dynamics of human inner aspects and intersubjective interaction based on multiple functions of the human mind beyond but including rationality or rational discourse along with how we approach different or opposing views, values, or interests that create human boundaries can complement the current global conditions for the better. In this way, what we suggest is transrational, intersubjective (empirical), and relational. We describe an open or fluid-like society.

Practicing the relinquishment of fixed perspectives would empower the West to engage in a constant critique of its assumptions and enact creative production of new views of peace and global politics beyond asymmetric and confrontational positions. While dialogue and mindfulness are more of practical value in an immediate sense, philosophical contemplation on values and theories of peace and global politics would take time to develop; though, clinging to

any form of theory of peace and global politics including Realism and Liberalism confines the West to a certain purview of peace and global dynamics. If theories of peace and global dynamics developed in the West are enacted as interdependent and consequently as being untenable as complete, more creatively integrative and contextually-oriented views of peace and more creative and harmonious global political visions could be nurtured. Engagement in such an approach would help the West – in society, academia and policy-making, and transform consciousness to be more compassionate, empathetic, and contextually sensitive. Sharpening epistemological flexibility beyond attachment to any form of value and theory of peace and global politics becomes an inner foundation for the West to become more dialogical, empathic, and truly integrative.

6.   Proposition of a holistic peace thesis

For Buddhist philosophy, through the critical appraisal of liberal peace thesis, six elements constitute a holistic peace thesis: internal enrichment of each individual; promotion of universal, general, and individual human rights; the practice of deliberative democracy as a self-transformative learning process; the practice of sufficiency economy founded upon a relational self and innate compassion with the aim to achieve holistic development; promotion of transformative global politics; and then the addition to the liberal West's mindfulness and philosophical contemplative practice.

The result we expect from a holistic peace thesis is the recognition of interdependence and ultimately non-duality for individual enrichment, socio-political and economic peace, the reformulation of global dynamics, and political and psychological reorientation to the planetary biophysical system. However, when individual enrichment is discussed, it ought to contain the inner transformation of the liberal West. For a holistic peace thesis relying on Buddhist philosophy, the core concern is not just how we act in the world, but with how we see the world in which we act since how we see the world greatly influences our actions and then policies (Garfield, 2022). Attentive awareness to moral and ecological vision is vital at all levels. Here, peace is understood as moral practice in the context of a broad project of self-critique, self-awareness, and transformation of our fundamental way of seeing and understanding the world. An interdependent perspective is becoming necessary if we want to address the major challenges of today; whereas such an endeavor will require us to see through certain aspects of the civilized mindset or ideology. Since the liberal West has been at the

center of peacebuilding and global politics, how the West practices self-critique and enhances self-transformation needs to be included in a peace thesis.

Conclusion

Given the current global situation, many would claim, or agree, that we need immediate and urgent actions, which this research fully acknowledges. However, at the same time, while many might perceive global problems facing everyone, humanity also witnesses the limits of how to address those problems effectively and creatively within the current system. To see the conditions, a reflection on technological change in the 20th century is enough to consider that we are largely unprepared. We must acknowledge that global structures and dynamics, and then interpersonal and human internal dynamics, are not immutable substances; rather they are processes. It does not mean that we downplay the reality of global conditions and the existing approaches to peace and global politics. In order to keep expanding the purview of how we understand peace is an imperative agenda for both the West and the non-West or simply humanity. Though this research suggests a speculative-hypothetical position moving into theoretical development of peace, a holistic peace thesis could allow the 'West' and 'Buddhism' to develop further dialogue to jointly explore a more humane and sustainable future and co-create more concrete intellectual and practical paths for a robust, comprehensive theory of peace that is effective for real world co-existence today.

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