Johan Galtung

Buddhism: A Quest for Unity and Peace

NATURE BALANCE

BUDDHISM

HUMAN ENLIGHTENMENT

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

WORLD PEACE

300/=

Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii

Johan Galtung

Buddhism:
A Quest for
Unity and Peace

BUDDHISM: A QUEST FOR UNITY

AND PEACE

PREFACE

In a sense this book is a report from one person, the author, of a travel into the land of Buddhism. Many are those who have helped me on this travel and I know very well that I have covered only a very short distance. But an account of the major stages may be useful to others, including the readers of this little book.

For someone born in the Protestant north of Europe, Buddhism was very remote, indeed. And the travel did not start with the Buddha. It started with an act, conscientious objection to military service and the search for an ethos behind that act. That led to Gandhi. Gandhi was an eye-opener to me, and my gratitude to my friend Professor Arne Naess for having introduced me to Gandhi's thought as his research assistant cannot be higher. Two books bear testimony to this early encounter: *Gandhis politiske etikk* (in Norwegian, 1955) with Arne Naess, and *Gandhi Today* (in Italian and German editions, 1987, forthcoming in English edition).

But the influence Gandhi had on me as a peace researcher went far beyond these efforts to explore Gandhi's own thought and action. Gandhi's optimism, that it is possible to overcome violence with non-violent means, and his profound structuralism, putting the blame on the wrong structure rather than the evil actor, in addi-

tion to his spiritualism were major sources of inspiration for all my later efforts to come to grips with violence of various kinds, direct, structural or cultural.

But Gandhi was not a Buddhist, one might object. No, he was a Hindu, and that probably accounts for much of his ecumenicalism. His religious and metaphysical metaphors can easily be applied westward and eastward from India. But his thought and action in rejecting the caste system were so utterly Buddhist that I wonder whether this is not an at least equally correct label - if labelling we must. And that raised my curiosity about Buddhism enormously. What more could I find in Buddhism?

The occasion came many years after the work on Gandhi and my many visits to India, including very inspiring meetings with the very impressive Buddhist (and Gandhian) social leader Ariyaratne in Sri Lanka, first in 1978, then a number of times later, the founder of the Sarvodaya Shramadana International. The occasion came in Penang, Malaysia, in 1979. I must relate my own personal experience in this connection because I found it so touching. Being a Visiting Professor at the Universiti Sains Malaysia, I happened to live close to the Malaysian Buddhist Meditation Centre, Green Lane, Penang. One Sunday I ventured over, across the Green Lane, and asked whether I might be present at the ceremony. I was most cordially welcomed, and after this had been repeated a couple of Sundays, I was asked whether I could imagine giving next Sunday's talk on a Buddhist topic. I immediately objected that I was not a Buddhist, only somebody from the Protestant north of Europe. Not that I was a Christian in general or a Protestant in particular, but I was just interested in Buddhism, trying to understand better what it was about. "But that means that you are a

Buddhist," came the answer, adding that Buddhism is not a question of sudden conversion, of *being* something one was not before, but of a process, of always *becoming.* I can testify to this. Buddhism is an endless road to walk, both intellectually, ethically and spiritually; being easy to enter, demanding in the process, endless in its prospects.

In 1983 I was invited by my friend, Professor Glenn D. Paige of the University of Hawaii to attend the First Conference on Buddhism and Leadership for Peace, in Honolulu - organized by the Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii and co-sponsored by the Department of Political Science, University of Hawaii. The temple had been founded by Abbot Dae Won Ki with the help of Glenn, and had been dedicated to world peace in 1982, receiving a number of peace messages from world leaders. The beautiful temple is becoming a very important center for discussing the interface between Buddhism and world thinking on peace, development and related issues. I am very much indebted to Glenn for having brought me in contact with Buddhism this way, and to Abbot Ki for his friendly hospitality and for having encouraged me to put my thinking on Buddhism together in this book. (Some of the material - especially on Buddhism and peace and on Buddhism and development - was published in the proceedings from the first two conferences, and appears here in slightly revised versions).

The Second Conference on Buddhism and Leadership for Peace took place in Tokyo, organized by Soka University, December 1984 (the third conference was in Honolulu again, May 1987, and the fourth in Ulan Bator, Mongolia, August 1989). On that occasion I was introduced to the President of Soka Gakkai International, Ikeda Daisaku. A world leader, seeing fully and deeply the relation between Buddhism and peace, he has certainly made

Soka Gakkai a major part of the world peace movement. Again, a vote of gratitude!

It cannot be by chance that all these people are not only Buddhists or deeply touched by Buddhism, but also firmly dedicated to the struggle for *peace*. There is an inner connection, I use the word *unity* as an expression of that inner bond. Hence the title, Buddhism as a quest for unity and peace. However, the way I have written this book does not delve into the spiritualism or philosophy of Buddhism in any depth. Rather it is a travelogue, a report on how I found Buddhism related to the five major global problems of our time: world peace, social development, human enlightenment, natural balance and the very general problem of finding a culture adequate to our thinking and action about the other four. These are the problems I am trying to come to grips with. These are my entry points into Buddhism. Or vice versa: Buddhism is one entry point to the global problems, as symbolized by the Olympic rings on the cover.

So this book is no general introduction to Buddhism. Of those there are many written by authors who have seen deeper and farther than the present author (for examples see the list of literature at the end). But this little book may perhaps serve as a bridge, like piecing it together, over the years, has been for me. On that kind of bridge, westerners, concerned with one or more of those five problems and/or trained in some social science thinking may walk, maybe too painlessly, into the land of Buddhism. And if the bridge can serve both ways, also for Buddhists who want to become more acquainted with the other, the western side and its many problems and efforts to come to grips with them, so much the better.

This is my land of birth, that western side. Of course I make comparisons, all the time - as the reader will see, probably more than those who come from the Buddhist side would engage in. I do compare with occidental religions and ideologies. But it is hard not to do so. It is hard not to come to the conclusion that this immense reservoir of deep human insight referred to as Buddhism must be an expression of some very deep, even everlasting truth when so many global problems are so easily accommodated.

And from that a simple conclusion follows: there is more to be found in the land of Buddhism. Much, much more. But for that the reader should certainly go straight to the sources, and not wait for a possible follow-up report from the present author.

Honolulu, Hawaii
June 1988   **Johan Galtung**

April 1989 the Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii organized a one day seminar on this book. Some points brought up by the able and devoted participants also emerged in other contexts, partly because emotions surrounding these points are massive, and partly because the way I have expressed them may not have been clear enough. Let me try to clarify these points.

Thus, I cannot enough emphasize that there is no general condemnation of any religion in the book. The point repeatedly made is that religions tend to come in hard and soft varieties. In religious scriptures the harsh, intolerant, even highly violent can often be found next to the gentle, compassionate and peaceful; like in the Torah, the New Testament and the Qur'an. Adherents of the religion can pick their choice, sometimes out of context, polarizing religions into hard and soft camps, with complex relations throughout history. They can justify both the violent and the peaceful, referring to scriptures. And they certainly do.

Needless to say, for the environment, development and peace researcher those hard aspects of religions emerge as major factors legitimizing violence, in other words as cultural violence, and has also to be understood as such. Unfortunately, hard interpretations and hard camps often come out on top, in Christianity particularly after the religion became the state religion of the Roman Empire (in +313). Hard religion serves hard rulers well, and vice versa. But rejecting the hard interpretations, as very many others also have done, may be seen as liberating rather than condemning.

A basic point made in this book is that Buddhism is different. Not that Buddhists cannot also be harsh, intolerant and violent; or simply ritualistic and superficial. But when these sides of human beings show up the Buddhist cannot justify violence referring to the texts. Buddhists may be violent for other reasons, such as being twisted and torn by strong social structures, like the nation state demanding military service, or the class system urging revolt from below or suppression from above--with violent means. The adherent of Buddhism may do all of this, but not as a Buddhist, with the gender case admittedly being weak also in Buddhism.

Thus, this is not a comparison of the actual behaviour. For that large scale empirical studies, not yet carried out to my knowledge, would be needed. The book compares doctrines, and more particularly the deep structure of these doctrines. What are the general figures of thought behind religious doctrines? What kind of deep culture lies underneath, like assumptions about space, time and knowledge; nature, persons and the transpersonal? Remembering that these religions are very old the basic question becomes whether that deep culture is more or less compatible, *isomorphic,* with the type of deep culture

underlying theories of nature balance, human enlighten-
ment, social development and world peace.

As is well known there is no consensus on any of this,
neither on the deep culture of religions, nor on how to
bring about ecological balance, development and peace. It
is all debatable. And the book is intended as a contribu-
tion exactly to that debate.

Honolulu, Hawaii   **Johan Galtung**
June 1990

CONTENTS

Prologue:
BUDDHISM AND GLOBAL PROBLEMS

I often find it useful to divide our human existence and our global problems into five spaces or spheres with one basic goal for each, something like this:

SPACE	GOAL
Nature	Ecological balance
Human	Enlightenment
Social	Development
World	Peace
Culture	Adequacy

Of course, any division, any drawing of lines, means cutting into something that has a certain wholeness to it. But I do not know how I can write, even think about anything without these tools of thought called concepts, and any concept draws a line between that which is inside and that which is outside. On the other hand, Buddhist epistemology emphasizes the search for wholeness, and also the search for unmediated insight, trying to see our total existence in an intuitive grasp, by cleaning the mind of unreflected baggage, of mediated knowledge simply accepted because one has been told, even forced to accept, for instance in schools. A basic tool for adequate understanding is meditation. A basic goal is meditated rather than mediated knowledge.

I accept that; it also reflects my own experience. But I have to start somewhere from my own conceptualization of the real world, and my sense of goals worthy of being pursued. These global problems, or "goal deficits", are as old as the existence of sentient beings capable of reflecting on their existence. But there is also a nastiness to all five problems, right now, in this part of our violent century.

We are running out of that wonderful basis sustaining us all, nature - nature being unable to renew itself given the massive human onslaught on her and destruction of her mechanisms of balance, of renewal, regeneration.

We are increasing our life expectancy. But we also have a strong feeling that for the diseases we conquer (contagious diseases and natural accidents) we substitute new ones (new contagious diseases, cardio-vascular diseases, cancer, mental disorders, social accidents - in traffic, industry, homes). And do we really seek and get more enlightened lives than the generations before us? We stretch our lives in time. But do we grow spiritually - or, do we rather contract? Are human growth and development only questions of somatic and mental health? Or, is there something beyond that, here called human enlightenment? If so, where is the road?

We are getting richer, by and large. More "modern". But instead of development there is maldevelopment everywhere in the form of underdevelopment in poor countries and poor classes, and in the form of overdevelopment in the rich countries and among the rich in the poor countries. Where there is underdevelopment people have too little to meet their basic needs, where there is overdevelopment they have too much. The Middle Way is more accepted in theory than in practice. How is it practised?

We have plenty of arms to ensure our security. But peace? Not much, many of us still live under the Damocles sword of a possible nuclear or "star" war, with the threat of extinction. It may be objected that this is the problem of the North more than of the South, which is true. But the South has its wars, local-conventional, that one day may be fought with weapons of mass destruction. And the South is caught in the dialectic between terrorism from below and torturism from above - sometimes punctuated by acts of intervention from the superpowers, and by export of their conflicts, to somebody else's territory. Very far from peace.

All this is fairly well known to any conscious human being on earth. But our solidarity tends to be mainly with ourselves - with our selves; "our" being our egos, at most extended to family, community, nation; "selves" being material, our bodies. Individualist materialism is mainstream doctrine. Under that doctrine *compassion* for those who suffer, everywhere, including nature, will be scarce and very unevenly distributed. Neither individualism, nor materialism will point to compassion and even less to a deeper lying sense of unity with all that sense of wholeness.

Buddhism is an effort to extend that compassion to all spheres, all over the world, in its quest for unity. Of course, as a collection of words Buddhism, like any other ideology/religion, is symbolic, a part of world culture. The question of *adequatio* then arises. Does Buddhism have a teaching adequate to these major problems of our world? Does Buddhism open or close our eyes to the problems? Does Buddhism give us a body of thought and practice from which action adequate to our problems would flow easily?

Yes and no. More adequate than most, I would say, and yet capable of being developed further. Thus, I think Buddhism has a very explicit doctrine of human enlightenment, and that Buddhist practice, through vegetarianism and abstinence from drugs of all kinds, and harmony with nature, offers deep understanding of the human-nature interface. But does Buddhism have a social doctrine? A blueprint for society, for the world? Does it really have a teaching on what to do, how to behave, what to aim for, in the social and world spaces? Can Buddhism teach us anything precise and concrete about development and peace?

This book is an effort to answer precisely that question. In so doing we shall make use of first principles, the most basic assumptions in Buddhism that the reader will find on the cover pages. No efforts will be made to compare this systematically with what others, also inspired by the light emanating from Buddhism may have found - that would be mediated knowledge. In the same spirit I hasten to admonish readers to meditate on these Buddhist truths rather than, or in addition to, reading this book. Everyone can use Buddhist truths to shed direct light on global problems, or some other problems, rather than using indirect light, poorly reflected by somebody else. Chances are that anyone opening oneself to the direct inspiration from Buddhism will be amply rewarded, and continue that process of creativity.

I shall deal with the global goals and the corresponding problems in the opposite order of the above, starting with the macro problems of peace and development, then look at human enlightenment and the Buddhist view of nature, and then try to explore the position of Buddhism in world culture. Finally there will be a summary epilogue, again focussing on the micro-macro dilemma of Buddhist

thought as it will be developed. Buddhism is no doubt long on the micro level of the person in his and her immediate surroundings, including the "environment" in the sense of nature; but relatively short on the macro level of large societies, not to mention world systems. But equipped with ethical and epistemological insight, a reservoir of wisdom and potential for highly practical insight far from sufficiently utilized in our efforts to come to grips with global problems.

There are two ways of trying to bridge this micro-macro gap, building on doctrine, or building on practice. In either case the entry point for the discourse chosen in this book is "compatibility" of theory, or "isomorphism", structural identity, of practice. Is Buddhist doctrine compatible with reasonable doctrines for world peace, social development, human growth/development, nature balance? Are there concepts, ways of thinking in Buddhism that will facilitate peace, development and ecological thinking? Do concepts in one camp have their counterparts in the other? In other words, is there cultural adequacy? And the question can also be asked the other way. Starting with western social science ways of exploring the problems, are we led to patterns of thought and to concepts that have equivalents in Buddhist doctrine?

The same reasoning would apply to practice. If Buddhists practised their doctrine and had many followers all over the world, even if that practice is only at the micro level (in a *sangha*, the Buddhist community), what kind of world, what kind of society and what kind of nature would we get? Would there be more peace, more development, more nature balance? And vice versa, what would we require of nature, the surrounding society and the world system for Buddhism to be easier to practise, assuming that the ultimate goal, the *summmum bonum*, of

Buddhism, among the five global goals is human enlightenment? Could it be that peace, development and nature balance enter both as possible causes and consequences of the effort to obtain human enlightenment, as seen by Buddhists? These are the basic themes to be explored, using the hypothesis of adequacy of Buddhist thought (if not always practice) as the basic guiding principle.

Let it be said at the very beginning that there is one answer to the micro-macro dilemma I cannot accept: there should be no macro level. We should all live in very local, small, and presumably very beautiful societies. Even if this position should be valid, which I doubt, a basic fact today is that most of us do live in large societies, and that the world space is evolving towards one world system. A Buddhist conclusion might very well be that we should reverse this trend and move towards smaller, more self-reliant and decentralized societies. But in that case some process would have to be indicated, moving us from here to there. It is not enough simply to rule macro society out of court. Buddhism indicates a process from violence to non-violence, *start with yourself!* But that advice is insufficient as a guide towards smaller, presumably more beautiful societies as huge amounts of people are involved from the very beginning. In short, the existence of a macro level has to be taken seriously, as it has, indeed, by mahāyāna more than by hinayāna Buddhism.

One basic reason why I myself have been so attracted to Buddhism can now be expressed in one simple formula: t**he quest for unity**. Buddhism does not drive wedges. Buddhism is a religion in the most basic sense of the word, *religio*, a relinking with all that is, out there and in here. We are all in it. There is *no chosen species*, human beings, chosen over and above animals and the rest of nature, giving rise to cruelty to animals, to meatism, to

destruction of nature. From the very beginning the unity with all life was proclaimed.[1] There is *no chosen gender*, man, giving rise to cruelty and repression of all kinds to women, including discrimination. The Buddha saw women as equally capable of obtaining enlightenment.[2] There is *no chosen race*, for instance whites, or yellow people, giving rise to racism, slavery and colonialism in fact, such practices are explicitly forbidden.[3] There is *no chosen people or nation*, for instance a country where the Buddha was born or where He worked, giving rise to nationalism and imperialism. Buddhism is found in many nations, none of them more chosen than the other.[4] There are *no chosen classes* such as kings and rulers, military or merchants with both power and privilege, giving rise to repression and exploitation, and class discrimination in fact, from the very beginning Buddhism cut across the steep Hindu caste system. [5] There are *no chosen persons*, such as the true believers, giving rise to all kinds of cruelty against the non-believers, inquisition, etc. On the contrary, there is the potential for Buddhahood in all of us. Nobody is divine, above the rest, but some may serve as better examples than others.[6]

We are all in it, nobody is excluded. We are all invited to join.

Chapter One
BUDDHISM AND WORLD PEACE

1. Peace: An introduction to peace theory

In order to explore the topic "Buddhism and peace" the general methodology indicated above will be used. Whenever the relation between X and Y is to be explored, it may be a good idea to present some thinking about X, then some thinking about Y, and then some ideas about compatibility or conflict, harmony or disharmony or simply irrelevance, between X and Y.

I shall follow that format, and take them in the opposite order of the title, starting with *peace*, then proceeding to *Buddhism*. And this I shall do at a fairly high level of abstraction, the present paper being in the field of social philosophy rather than concrete contemporary politics.

Thus, I do not intend to discuss balance of power theories particularly prevalent in the Occident, or power center theories, particularly prevalent in the Orient.[1] To a large extent these are peace theories of the elite, reflecting the interests of elites in monopolizing and wielding their power. They are not necessarily *peace* theories. Rather, I shall have as a point of departure one very simple insight: that peace has something to do with *entropy*, here taken in the sense of "disorder".[2]

However, that term does not quite connote the idea of peace. Disorder sounds like something messy. The basic point is not messiness in any pejorative sense, but high complexity of the system: many and diverse components, and many and diverse ties of interaction between them.[3] The underlying thinking is that the moment the system tends to crystallize, becomes more orderly, then the number of social types (such as nations, blocs, alliances) becomes smaller; the concentration on one point more pronounced. And the links of interaction no longer fill the total space of possibilities, but tend to connect certain types only, and often mainly in a negative, hostile way. At that point the system may look very orderly, but is in fact poised for destructive battle.

In conflict theory this state of affairs is known as *polarization*, as when two alliances are pitted against each other. Most of the interaction takes place between the leading powers (super-powers), and actually mainly between the leaders (super-leaders). A "summit meeting" is the typical outcome of that type of social pathology, even if it produces a disarmament agreement. The structure producing that agreement is so false - meaning low in entropy - that we have all reasons to be skeptical of the outcome. Could it be that the agreement is a veil, a *maya,* disguising an armament agreement?

Against that image of unpeace or peacelessness, I would like to sketch, very briefly, an alternative image. This image presupposes willingness to consider that peace has to be discussed and understood not only as peace among nations, but also as peace within societies, among and within human beings and certainly also with nature. Peace has to be understood in *nature* space, *human* space, *social* space and *world* space. In all four spaces there seem to be two common factors that are necessary

conditions for peace: *diversity* (between the parts, types, actors mentioned above) and *symbiosis* (the interactive links mentioned above).

In nature diversity and symbiosis would lead to ecological balance. In human beings diversity and symbiosis would lead to rich, mature human beings, to *persons*, capable of developing several dispositions within themselves and letting them play together. At the social level diversity and symbiosis would lead to pluralistic, even fascinating societies, not only fragmented into diverse parts but with the parts interacting with each other, constantly evolving. And at the world level diversity and symbiosis would lead to active peaceful coexistence between several systems, not only between two as Soviet theory has it. And they, in addition, do not practise that excellent theory inside their own society. They have gambled on only one social type, "socialism" - even if seen as highly dynamic under *glasnost* conditions. Let it only be added that we assume symbiosis, or inter-dependence, to be equitable, "*horizontal*", with no part dominating, exploiting the other. This is certainly not always the case in nature; predator/prey relationships being symbiotic but not equitable and consequently no model for human, social and world space.

It is easily seen how different this image of peace is from current reality. Even at the level of theory, both East and West today think about peace as compatible with war, with nature, destroying the ecological balance which has as its basis diversity and symbiosis; at the same time bringing forth simple-minded, often dogmatic and materialistic human beings; at the same time trying to have one system, their own, dominate the whole world. There is no delight that others are different; no appreciation of the value of diversity; little sense that it is unnecessary and even harm-

ful when one social type dominates society and even the world, alone. Both social and world spaces can evolve so much better through symbiosis between diverse parts, e.g. by "socialism" and "capitalism" cooperating and co-existing together, not assuming that any one of them will "win in the long run."[4] But that is not mainstream ideology, neither in East, nor in West.

With significant diversity and symbiosis deficits our world becomes a warlike system, with efforts to control violence through power balance of power monopoly policies. However, when such policies are based on offensive arms (arms that can take the battle to the enemy and be used to destroy the other side, not only to defend one's own country), the outcome seems always to be arms races because the other side cannot possibly know for certain whether the assurances that the arms are for "defensive purposes only" are true.[5] And arms races almost invariably lead to war,[6] if not directly between the two contestants, then indirectly, using third and fourth parties.

And that is our situation, our predicament - as briefly told as possible. We all know that a war with arms of mass destruction of any proportion is something that simply must not take place.[7] Hence our prospects are not too bright, to put it mildly. We are building war structures, not peace structures, very low on diversity and symbiosis; very low on entropy. This is the trend that has to be reversed.

2. Buddhism and peace: Twenty strong points

I then move on to the second part: Buddhism. In the world as a whole, Buddhism is the major system of belief that, to my mind, comes closest in its way of looking at the world to the type of dynamic, complex peace theory just indicated. I shall try to explore this point by dividing it

into two parts: twenty strong points in Buddhism, highly compatible with active pursuits of peace, and six weaker points, to be developed in the next section, that may stand in the way. At the end, then, I shall try to draw a balance, relating the images presented of peace and Buddhism to each other.

(1) Very basic in Buddhism is the *anatta* doctrine of no *individual, permanent* soul or self. I take it that this does not rule out something impermanent, ever-changing that might correspond metaphorically to an occidental soul concept at a collective level: a collectively shared empathy with sentient others all over, in all spaces. What is ruled out is the strong, occidental[8] emphasis on individualism, and the individual self as something unique, specific and detachable, guaranteed "eternal life", i.e. permanence. The *anatta* doctrine certainly does not rule out a sense of a transpersonal unity with all humans and other sentient beings wherever they are, transnationally, across any kind of borders (by age, gender and race; by nation and class) *and* with nature, and not necessarily only the bio-sphere, nor only with animals. One might perhaps say that in Christianity the quest for unity points upwards from individuals here and now, via Jesus Christ to a transcendental God (more or less mediated by the Church, depending on the type of Christianity). In Buddhism the quest for unity extends in space to everybody, downward (if one may use that expression at all) to non-human nature, and backward and forward in time through the principles of *karma* and re-birth, as distinguished from the Hindu concept of transmigration where an individual and permanent soul is involved.

Thus, the *anatta* doctrine makes for a very high level of empathy with everything alive in past, present and future, even unity as something immanent. There is that of me in everybody and that of everybody in me. "I" am a process, continuous with other processes in minds, bodies and matter elsewhere in past, present and future; conditionally caused by and causing others. *The anatta principle rules out borders,* counteracting fragmentation, uniting individuals that otherwise may be pitted against each other in a competitive fight for a transcendental God's attention and grace as each individual sees him, translated into more secular causes if/when God starts waning such as nationalism, capitalism, socialism - a phenomenon only too well known in the Christian world. Mainstream Christians and other theists seek union upwards, with God; Buddhists try to unveil a unity *which is already there* with Others, in space and time. Christianity may divide. Buddhism, because of the *anatta* principle, can only unite. Christian peace tends to be vertical, from above; Buddhist peace could be horizontal.

(2)   A consequence of the *anatta* doctrine is the *ahimsa* doctrine of non-violence towards all forms of life, certainly including animals (a reason why Buddhists tend to be vegetarians). *Ahimsa* should not be seen in terms of egoism or altruism. These are concepts that already presuppose individualism with the egoist being the individual only trying to maximize his own benefits, even at the expense of others and the altruist being the individual trying to maximize the benefits of others, even at the expense of himself. [9] Within the *anatta* doctrine the *ahimsa* doctrine should be understood as a norm not to hurt others because hurting others is the same as hurting our-selves since we are all of the same, including that part of the pro-

cesses-in-continuity-with each other that is associated with me, here and now. For Gandhi this thought was absolutely essential; his unity-of-man (actually unity of-life) doctrine being the pillar on which his construction rested. [10] Needless to say, a strong non-violence doctrine is highly peace-building, but problematic if some parts of the world are non-violent and others are not. Hence the argument for a transitional strategy on the way towards a more enlightened world such as a concept of defensive defence.[11]

(3)   *Metta-Karuna*, compassion, *Ahimsa*, non-violence, is nevertheless a negative formulation. It means *a* (not) *himsa* (violence), although in sanskrit it comes out less negatively.[12] The formulation is taken from the *pancha shila*, with five precepts, all of them negatively formulated (in addition to abstention from taking life, one should also abstain from stealing, from adultery or sexual misconduct in general, from lying, and from intoxicating drinks). The *pancha shila* should be seen in conjunction with the *pancha dhamma*, the five deeds, that are formulated positively. One of them is *metta-karuna*, translatable as "compassion." In other words, one should not only abstain from violence but also develop compassion towards all beings, everywhere. The other four deeds are "good vocation", which would exclude the sale and making of weapons and liquor; "positive control of sexual life and passions", "telling the truth" and "mindfulness, carefulness" - in the sense of abstaining from negligence, carelessness. From the point of view of peace theory this is important. In the very center of Buddhism there is a basis not only for negative peace, but also for positive peace, not only for absence of war, but also for positive relations.[13] Not only *pancha shila*, but also *pancha dhamma*, in short. The two complement each other.

(4)   *Symbiosis*. A basic idea of Buddhism is what one might call the *collective ethical budget*, the idea that Buddhahood is something we reach together. The goal is not self-realization of the on-existing individual *atta* (individual, permanent self/soul), but Self-realization of all, because we are so strongly coupled together by conditional causation. I see no reason why this thinking could not also be applied to world space. The well-being, development and security of other countries is also well-being, development and security for my country. If I hurt and harm the other party at the individual or collective level we can no longer develop together, not even reach each other. I may triumph alone, but that is also all. In principle this type of thinking should lead to a new kind of trade theory where I always try to build up the other party (and thereby all of us) through cooperative arrangements, [14] instead of only trying to maximize my own short-term profit. National accounting, e.g. in terms of trade deficit/surplus and gross *national* product (per capita or not) become meaningless as they fail to recognize the interconnectedness of the world. They are expressions of *an atta* (not *anatta*) doctrine in world space, seeing the nation-state as separate and eternal. A collective ethical budget would point toward togetherness, in an ever changing world.

Another consequence would be a theory of not only common security (the Palme Commission) but cooperative security.[15] Some of this might take the form of world institutions such as the United Nations peace-keeping forces. More important today is perhaps efforts to build one's

own security without reducing that of the others, for instance through defensive rather than offensive weapons. [16] In short, the collective nature of this thinking would in peace theory take the form of "my security is your security and vice versa" leading to a concept of additive rather than subtractive security. [17] This points far beyond a simplistic focus on disarmament alone as the road to peace.

(5)   *Diversity.* Basic in Buddhism is *tolerance,* first within Buddhism with the famous dictum of the 64,000 sects, a history practically speaking with no "holy office" to protect doctrine, no inquisition and no intra-religious wars. But there is also tolerance of other systems of belief, making it possible to combine them with Buddhism to a large extent, or at least to coexist with Buddhism. There is pluralism rather than singularism, even the idea of learning from and helping other religions.[18] There is unity in diversity; but also diversity in the assumed unity. And there is a symbiotic use of this diversity as witnessed by the ability of Buddhists to integrate other types of thinking in their own approach.[19]   In peace theory this corresponds to the condition of diversity of social types, including diversity of human attitudes and behaviour as conditions for resilience in the system; if enacted in symbiotic relations. This is highly compatible not only with Buddhist thought but also with Buddhist practice. Sharp lines of confrontation are avoided. There is a search for compatible ideas and actions as an expression of unity.

(6)   The *doctrine of the middle road* is a concrete approach to life. The basic point is "neither too

much nor too little", an approach that will tend to make Buddhists non-fanatic. In the field of attitudes and belief this would also imply a tendency to stay away from extreme positions which could, in turn, make Buddhists, like quakers, useful as bridge-builders. Buddhists serve easily as contacts between the extremes, perhaps pulling the extremes towards a more "pragmatic" Buddhist position, conceiving of their extreme views as partial insights only.

(7)   The *policy of the middle road* is a concrete manifestation of the point above. In material life this means neither too little - the basic needs to be satisfied - nor too much - accumulation of excessive riches should be avoided. In spiritual life it means neither self-torture, nor self-indulgence. One implication would be relatively egalitarian societies, less concerned with exploitative and acquisitive materialism, and great care in economic life so that others are not deprived of the possibility of a middle of the road life. The unity-of-man principle would serve to inspire this policy. What is here seen as a social doctrine could also be a world doctrine among countries: no country should consume too little; no country should consume too much. More particularly, no country should consume too little because others consume too much: no country should consume too much because it is taken from others that consequently consume too little. Again, from the point of view of peace theory this obviously gives a strong basis for positive peace policies based on equality, on equitable forms of exchange so that equality is not destroyed, on cooperative (symbiotic) behaviour. From the point of view of

Buddhist philosophy, a doctrine of equity, it could also be anchored in an extended definition of theft, closer to the concept of exploitation. But that is controversial.

(8)   *Small is beautiful;* if we accept that the type of cooperation needed to move forward towards Buddhahood, with human beings constantly inter-acting, helping each other, can only be meaning-ful in smaller units.[20] Even a Buddhist mass movement like the *Soka Gakkai,* with its famous mega-manifestations, seems to be at its best in the small-face-to-face groups.[21] In general this type of thinking might be more typical of Hīnayāna than of the Mahāyāna Buddhism of which *Soka Gakkai* may be said to be an example.[22] From the point of view of peace theory small social units seem to be more peaceful in all four spaces (nature, human, social, world), among other rea-sons because there will be more steering mecha-nisms. People will tell directly each other when something goes wrong, suffering the conse-quences of conflict, enjoying the benefits of cooperation. In mass societies of mutually frag-mented individuals, kept at a considerable dis-tance from the power elite such mechanisms are less available.[23] In general, Buddhism would tend to favour smaller units of social organization, and smaller units - by and large - are less belliger-ent than the larger ones, if for no other reasons than having less resources for destructive activity.[24] Small groups give a better basis for brotherhood and sisterhood as conditions for per-sonhood - on the road to Buddhahood. A good example of compatibility between peace theory and Buddhist practice.

(9)   *Wholism.* Buddhism will have no difficulty think-
        ing and acting in terms of all four spaces, not
        accepting divisions, human-made, artificial, of the
        great unity of sentient life. However, of all the
        four spaces it should be pointed out again, that
        Buddhism is at its strongest, as a philosophy and
        as a practice, in human (and nature) space, and
        less developed as a canon of thought and prac-
        tice for social and world space. But the relative
        lack of social and world doctrine in Buddhism
        could easily be overcome with more active contri-
        butions from contemporary Buddhists, including
        philosophers. Basic conditions are present. A
        wholistic orientation draws no borderline in prin-
        ciple between the spaces, saying "this is not our
        concern". Moreover, Buddhism is non-metaphysi-
        cal. It is a moral philosophy to be tested empiri-
        cally, with no room for divine revelation as some-
        thing separate from human beings. Buddha had
        the deepest insight, but He was also human.
        Where occidental religions would develop a the-
        ology as a science of the divine, Buddhist philos-
        ophy ("Buddhist theology" being a *contradictio
        in adjecto)* is freer to focus on this world and as
        wholistically as the problem would require. It is
        strongest in the field of philosophy, psychology,
        health and nutrition; weaker as sociology, eco-
        nomics, international relations. But there is noth-
        ing in principle impeding Buddhist thinkers from
        making great strides forward also in these
        "macro" fields.

(10)   Historically, Buddhism tends to be a populist reli-
        gion, or system of belief, *for the people,* the broad
        masses, rather than for the upper classes and the
        power elite.[25] Thus Buddhism was expelled from

India for being incompatible with the *varna* (caste) aspects of Brahminic Hinduism. In Japan leading elites adapted the much more nationalist and regressive (state) shinto as their basic orientation, in addition to Christianity. In Korea, and to some extent also China, the power elites embraced Christianity, and its secular offsprings, liberalism/conservatism and marxism.

Thus, in Korea today, one finds aggressive Christianity in the South and aggressive marxism in the North, among the elites, on top of widespread (if ritualized) Buddhism among the people - presumably also in the North. This represents a great potential for peace politics if only the leaders could either step back or reconcile themselves with the general Korean urge for unification. With Buddhism as guidance, a joint Korean peace policy based on Buddhist thinking would have a solid foundation in terms of the masses of the countries involved. But Buddhism was too weak, possibly also too corruptible, to withstand the Japanese (shinto) conquest of Korea; one possible reason why the elites embraced hard versions of Western thinking as a response. Western thinking tends to be more self-, less Self-oriented[26] - more self-assertive on behalf of the believers (Christianity), the nation(s) (liberalism) and/or the class (marxism).

(11) In Buddhism there is *no division between creator and created* - an essential point in the Buddhist unity-of-all (and not only unity-of-man image of the world). From a peace theoretical point of view this means that *we have only ourselves to rely upon*. A Buddhist does not hope to get peace

in return for obedience to a transcendental God, as part of His grace. Nor would he be deterred from hard work by ideas like "if the Creator wished there to be peace He would have created peace". Peace has to be of our own making, as a part of the ongoing creation of the world as made by all sentient beings past, present and future. Peace is not a gift, but the possible result of conscious, deep and collective action.

(12) Closely related: In Buddhism there is *less of a subject-object distinction*. There is not only we watching the world - the world is also watching us. We are *in* it, but also *of* it. Concretely this means that there is an on-going dialectic where we influence the world and the world influences us. Peace is not something we make by shaping the world; peace is also something the world shapes in us in the process. It is our task to use that dialectic positively. And this is not done by asking occidental questions like "Where do we start, by changing the world or by changing ourselves?" but by promoting those processes whereby positive changes in nature, human, social and world spaces can go hand in hand.

(13) According to Buddhist thinking, there is *impermanence in everything,* the *anicca* doctrine. The world and everything in it is ebbing and flowing, not a rigid structure of global architectonics - but rather like a process based on diversity in symbiotic interaction. It does not make any sense to try to freeze the world in a form or a structure once and for ever. Whatever plan one might make for peace, it has to be a process plan, not a structure plan. From a peace theoretical point of view this

is much more realistic than any structural blueprint that lays down for eternity what peace should look like, not taking into consideration the evolving nature of the four spaces in general and the interaction, within and between them, in particular.

(14) According to Buddhist thought, this *interaction is always two-way*. My consciousness is working on the world, the world is shaping my consciousness. To achieve anything we should never try to proceed in a linear manner, like pushing a lever, forgetting that there is a *reaction* to every *action*. Nor should we try to find one lever that can be used to move the rest of the system, but rather work from all corners at the same time. Much better than a major one-dimensional push are many small, but coordinated efforts along several dimensions at the same time, starting in all kinds of corners of material and spiritual reality, remembering that the system will react in a complex web of interrelations.[27]   Not only is peace indivisible; peace, development, enlightenment and eco-balance are indivisible. The whole logic of the system has to be changed for the actio/reactio processes to be more peace-building.

(15) According to Buddhist philosophy *the world is filled with contracdictions*, the whole approach being highly dialectic. Thus, current Chinese thinking in terms of "one country, two systems"[28] - meaning that there can be both socialism and capitalism within one country, the People's Republic of China - is fundamentally Buddhist and Daoist. It is certainly not marxist, which is a

much more linear, one-sided, occidental system
of belief. From a peace theoretical point of view
one possible implication would be not to fight all
contradictions, trying to make systems pure.
Rather, a diversity with contradictions is possible,
and even desirable. This is particularly important
as we shall always live in a mix of systems with
different logic. To strive for a contradiction-free
reality would be meaningless in a Buddhist phi-
losophy that sees causal forces flowing in all
directions.

(16) *Buddhist thought is organized like a Buddhist
wheel.* It is not pyramidal and deductive from first
principles. Of the various ideas mentioned above
none would be seen as more fundamental than
the others. Rather, they could be seen as orga-
nized around a wheel where all possible lines are
drawn between the points as connections to be
explored (with the danger that this image would
lead to bilateralism, always looking at only two
points at the time, rather than three, four, many).
One important implication of this is that there is
no unbroken core of fundamental and final arti-
cles of faith; *and that the system as a whole is
open to new points, meaning new approaches.* As
the Buddhist wheel rolls through time, new
points are spun into an ever tighter web of
thought and action. Ultimately it is the totality of
all of this that matters, the whole approach being
fundamentally wholistic, and dynamic - as
opposed to a deductive pyramid tying together
atomistic insights or "findings".[29]

(17) *Buddhist thought is profoundly optimistic.* There
is a Buddha nature in us all if we only realize it

and exert ourselves. Nobody is left outside. But there is a difference between the *Hīnayāna* approach perhaps more emphasizing how to avoid *dukkha* (suffering) and the *Mahāyāna* approach perhaps more emphasizing how to obtain *sukha* (bliss, happiness). [30] Thus, it stands to reason that from the *Hīnayāna* school more emphasis might be expected in terms of negative peace, and from the *Mahāyāna* school more in terms of positive peace. Since both are parts of a dynamic peace concept, a Buddhist gift to the world today would be to combine the *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna* approaches, see them as examples of diversity, and let them interact more symbiotically with each other. A challenge to Buddhism! [31]

(18) *The Buddhist view of process tends to be cyclical, not linear.* There is neither any definite guarantee that things are going well, nor that they are going badly. There are ups and downs in all four spaces, and that which has come up may come down again just as that which has come down may come up [32] (as opposed to heaven and hell in Christian theology that are seen as end states in human evolution, as points of no return). From a peace theoretical point of view the cyclical view may inoculate Buddhists against being too optimistic when things go well, or too pessimistic when things go badly, opening for a middle of the road position also in this regard. On the other hand, there is also - particularly in the *Mahāyāna* school - a basic optimism which would imbue the cyclical perspective with an element of linearity, somewhat like a spiral moving forward and upward.[33] And the *nirvana* perspective is profoundly optimistic.

17

(19) In Buddhist philosophy *the focus is on continued
striving,* self-improvement and Self-improvement
being not only necessary but also possible, and -
in the longer run - sufficient. Neither acts of faith
of submissiveness, nor acts of Grace from tran-
scendental divine quarters (except in *amida*
Buddhism, if this is Buddhism) are to be expect-
ed, to be hoped for or would in any sense be
useful. Much *striving* and hard work is needed - a
type of thinking entirely compatible with peace
theory. Moreover, peace is not a final state at the
end of the road, stable and reliable once
obtained, but the possible *continued* striving.

(20) And finally, there is the ultimate goal of
Buddhism in human space: *nirvana,* which can
be seen as some type of maximum entropy. It
should not be translated as "extinction" or similar
metaphors used in western presentations.[34] It
might rather be seen as some kind of realization
of the unity-of-all doctrine, a Self-realization
where the *anatta* doctrine is fully realized in a
state of constant *sukha*. This would be highly
compatible with the idea of peace as expounded
above, in the mini-theory of peace already indi-
cated at the outset. *Nirvana is entropy, peace is
entropy - hence, in a certain sense peace is nir-
vana and nirvana is peace*. Boundaries have
been eliminated; unity has been obtained. And
the preceding nineteen points are concretizations
of this point number 20.

3. Buddhism and peace: Six weak points

But Buddhism also has weak points that contribute to
explaining why it does not play the great role as a peace-

building factor Buddhism certainly has the potential for doing. Six such points will be briefly touched upon. Those living in Buddhist countries may see many more.

(1) Tolerance is good. But *Buddhism may also have been led to become too tolerant of highly violent systems of militarism* - like in the case of Japan where Buddhists too easily also embraced shinto-ism and combined the two with confucianism in a highly dangerous way most useful for Japanese militarism (the *kamikaze* suicide expeditions being a good example). Another case in mind may be Buddhist support for military regimes, like in Thailand.[35] Often nationalism comes first and Buddhism second.

(2) Tolerance is good. But *Buddhism may also have been too tolerant of systems practising structural violence,* for instance in their economic policies, so that the middle road doctrine becomes a struc-tural impossibility. The result is extreme misery on the one hand and extreme wealth on the other, without Buddhists necessarily standing up, fighting the system, possibly in an effort to prac-tise middle road policy. Again Japan is an exam-ple of such economic policies, internationally speaking, itself accumulating riches while periph-ery countries in the Japanese economic sphere experience extreme poverty, even misery. But then, at the same time, it should also be men-tioned that the income distribution of Japan is among the most egalitarian in the world.[36] And the index of equality varies little over time, mean-ing the rises and declines come in a parallel fash-ion for the elite and for the people. Both factors are probably to some extent attributable to the

influence of Buddhist thought and practice within the country. In a sense this might be taken to indicate that there is more of a social doctrine than a world doctrine in Buddhism, even if there is less of either than the important doctrines structuring behaviour in the nature and human spaces, at the micro rather than macro levels. As often mentioned above, these are the strongest points where the spaces are concerned. And that may lead to a blindness compatible with excessive tolerance of violent behaviour in the other spaces. The officer sharing risks, treating his soldiers well while doing his best to rout the enemy; the company manager sharing salary, power and privilege with the workers while exploiting subcontractors abroad and foreign markets mercilessly.

(3)   The idea of working in small groups, next to the temple and the tank, in the village, under the guidance of the *bhikkhu* (monk), is beautiful. Of the Triple Gem, the Buddha (Wisdom) and the Dhamma (Morality), the teaching of Buddha are available to all. But the Sangha (Meditation), the order of the monks becomes marginalized from the rest of society, having its own existence in splendid, micro society isolation, meaning both that it is isolated and that it is splendid, practising *ahimsa* and *metta-karuna* among themselves. Buddhism becomes privatized, not in the sense of being individualized, but in the sense of belonging, collectively to small groups on their cooperatively engineered road to Buddhahood. The impact on macro society is negligible, or even negative by taking individuals far on the road to Buddhahood, those who could contribute most, out of social circulation.

(4) *Buddhism may too easily accept that the leader-*
ship of a country practises the opposite of
Buddhism as long as it gives in return freedom of
worship. In other words, Buddhists like others
may too easily accept a concordat with the pow-
ers that be, and are not totally immune to the
fringe benefits, the emoluments that such a con-
cordat might carry in its wake. Where Buddhism
becomes a state religion, this danger is very
apparent; Thailand being one, Sri Lanka possibly
another. [37]

(5) The idea of cyclical as opposed to linear process-
es accommodates *a high amount of fatalism,*
accepting defeat too easily even if there is no
inner capitulation. According to the cycle per-
spective decline is inevitable. However, it is not
too dangerous since according to the same cycle
idea there will also be an upswing, in due time.
Since this will come anyhow no real effort is
needed. In short, there is some truth to occidental
prejudices about the fatalism of the Orient. [38]

(6) Given the five conditions just mentioned,
Buddhism may easily become ritualistic, ornate,
embroidered and very beautiful like in the count-
less temples in Southeast and Eastern Asia. But
this may also be all there is to it. The focus may
be on the Buddha as an object of idolatry and on
the *gasho,* pressing the hands together, bowing
lightly to the image of the *Buddha* in any posi-
tion. The focus may be on the *Dhamma,* on His
teachings as something to be learned by heart,
even in quaint languages (for instance in Pali,
which is the same to Sinhalese as Sanskrit to
Hindi, or in very classical Chinese and other lan-

guages). And the *Sangha* may be something admired but at a distance, not to be imitated. In other words, Buddhism may become an object rather than something subjective entering the life of the person as an almost inexhaustible reservoir of insight into human life; a psychophilosophy *sans pareil.* And that is the recipe for stagnation - which is another way of saying that a religion is dying.

4. Conclusion

Looking through the 20 + 6 points just made the balance is obvious. Buddhism has a tremendous potential as a source for active peace politics, to a large extent untapped. But Buddhism has to be revived and kept alive in order to escape the corruptive influences of a world replete with direct and structural violence. No doubt there are such peace potentials in all religions. But Buddhism differs from many of the other religions (for instance from Judaism, Christianity and Islam). By no stretch of imagination can Buddhism be used to *justify* direct and structural violence, war and exploitation. When Christianity turns its ugly side up, it spells war; when Buddhism turns its less beautiful side up it spells retreatism, ritualism. [39] It is our task to have both of them turn their beautiful, soft sides up, and those beautiful sides may actually be quite similar in their action consequences.[40]

It might be useful to remember that the Lord Buddha practised his doctrine which was also a social and political doctrine for the social and inter-social formations of his time. So maybe that is what we are missing: a higher level of consciousness as to what Buddhism could mean in practice today with more exercise of inspired leadership to implement the insights.

Of course, there are such inspiring and important examples of Buddhist leadership as the late U.N. Secretary-General, the Burmese U Thant; the Soka Gakkai International leader, the Japanese Ikeda Daisaku; or the Sarvodaya Shramadana International leader, the Sri Lankan Ariyaratne. The challenge is certainly there. And all over the world there are efforts to build more peace-like structures - but they are often missing in ethos. Buddhism is such an ethos, perhaps in search of a concrete structure.[41] Maybe the two could meet, and maybe this could also be a very concrete example of a meeting of East and West, very much overdue?

Chapter Two
BUDDHISM AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

1. Adequacy and compatibility

Is there a Buddhist theory of development?

Basically, the answer to the question just formulated must be in the negative. The Four Noble Truths are essentially the formulations of a basic philosophy of life, and the Noble Eightfold Paths, the *pancha shila* (the five negatively formulated precepts) and the *pancha dhamma* (the five positively formulated deeds) are essentially commandments for individual human conduct. A social doctrine calls for something beyond this. Some kind of social philosophy is needed, addressing itself to basic problems of social structure and processes, both at the national and international levels, in the social and world spaces to use the terms introduced above.

However, the absence of an explicit doctrine about the kinds of things that liberalism/conservatism, marxism, anarchism, Hinduism, Gandhism, Maoism and "Japanism" (I know no other word to describe the implicit social ideology of Japan) are so explicit about, certainly does not make Buddhism in any way irrelevant to the problems of development and peace. Concentrating in this chapter on

the problems of development, I think the fundamental relevance of Buddhism can be arrived at in a number of ways; five to be more precise. For even if Buddhist thought should not be fully adequate to the problems of development, certain development practices are more compatible with Buddhism than others.

2. Buddhism and development: Five points

First, what has just been said may also be interpreted as a basic doctrine of tolerance. The Buddha did not say that you shall make society this way or that way. What he said was something like this: make any social order you want as long as it is possible to live according to the commandment for conduct mentioned, inspired by the insight of the Four Noble Truths and the Triple Gem.

However, and this is the *second* point: tolerance is a good guide because it leaves the field open. But what has been said above is that Buddhism does not leave the field completely open. Social structures are strong, very strong. What happens if they are so strong that only a minority of individuals, even nobody, would be able to live according to the precepts, and that the rest would simply be forced by the structures and processes at the social level into highly non-Buddhist behaviour?

To be concrete let me mention some examples. A social structure may generate automatically so much poverty, down to misery, and at the same time so much wealth to the point of abundance, affluence, side by side, that it is hard to condemn the man in utter misery who steals something the super-rich has in excess in order to feed his starving family. Is that man to blame for stealing, or are the elites to blame for upholding a structure so well serving their own interests? Is the person who becomes

acquisitive in a consumerist/commercialist society alone to blame - or the society that pressures him/her into a acquiring much beyond what is needed?

Then, take another society where starvation/misery is not the problem but repression of free, individual thought and action. There is not only action and speech police around, but also thought police. The punishment for wrong action, wrong speech and/or wrong thought is very heavy, even death. A person who is caught is responsible not only for himself but also for others, for instance for his family. If he should lie when interrogated in order to save his life, who is to blame - that person or the elite upholding an ugly structure mainly serving their own ideological interests?

A third example. It may be objected to the first two examples that Buddhists may withdraw into the *sangha*, the community of monks and nuns, and live according to the precepts at the price of marginalizing themselves from the mainstream of a society they may consider incompatible, in practice, with Buddhism. Possibly a solution. But what if society does not permit any kind of *sangha?* What if every inch of territory has been mapped and planned and "developed" for some purpose, capitalist or socialist or whatever? What if every second of time has been mapped and planned, for each individual for some material purpose? What if there simply is no niche in society where a *sangha* may be carved out? Is that still a social order to be tolerated?

And thus one might continue. And we end up with the conclusion that Buddhism does set limits, lower and upper limits for social construction. But Buddhism also permits considerable variation within these limits. Development would from this point of view, be the construction of a

society which does not make it almost impossible for ordinary human beings to think, speak and act like a Buddhist should and then, positively, develop further at the human level towards Buddhahood. The question is, what kind of social formations could be both the cause and the consequence of a Buddhist way of life?

Then, a *third* point of departure: Buddhist eschatology. Both Christianity and Islam have a utopia, only that the utopia by many is seen as being not on this earth, but in "heaven", in "paradise", yonder. Nevertheless, from the descriptions of paradise one might get some ideas about what the good society could look like, from a Christian or Moslem point of view. Can something similar be done for Buddhism, and would that be an approach to Buddhist development theory?

I think it is difficult to answer a clear yes or a clear no to that question. Rebirth, according to Buddhists, will continue until one is enlightened. An unenlightened life is suffering, transitory and empty. And the road to enlightenment goes via the insight into the Four Noble Truths and the practice of the Precepts mentioned. If one now chooses to interpret *nirvana* as extinction there is not much to glean for development theory. On the other hand, if one chooses to interpret *nirvana* as perfect bliss, eternal happiness of entirely enlightened beings who, metaphorically somehow coalesce with each other into a transpersonal Self, then there may be more to be learned. If this is the end, and the means are located in insight into the Four Noble Truths, the Eightfold Noble Paths etc. and if, further, there is no sharp distinction between means and ends, then there is much guidance to be found. Thus, in me it invokes a vision of a social order where basic human needs are satisfied but not to excess, where people are very close to each other, intimate, in union with each

other, striving for ever deeper insights, ever more perfect wisdom, compassion, proud of accomplishing good. If love is seen as physical, mental *and* spiritual intimacy or union between two or more persons, then maybe love may serve as a metaphor (if "physical" is interpreted generally as "closeness" in general, including sexual).

I let that do as underpinning for the *fourth* exercise: what would be the minimum conditions a social order would have to satisfy in order to facilitate the active pursuit of Buddhist values?

I think there are three relatively clear conditions, and I shall try to formulate them, but this time more in the language of socio-political discourse.

First, the principle of the *middle* road when it comes to satisfaction of *basic human needs*. The social order should be such that there is neither too little, nor too much of what is needed to satisfy the basic needs for food, clothing, shelter, health (the four requisites) in a broad sense, and so on. In other words, the excesses of misery and accumulation of wealth are to be eliminated. This is not the same as striving for absolute equality, but possibly for narrowing the gap between low and high when it comes to distribution of goods and services, at least to many societies in the world of today.

As already indicated in the preceding chapter, I think this is an underlying idea in such different societies as "capitalist Japan" and "socialist China" - a puzzle that loses its mystery if instead one starts thinking and talking in terms of "Buddhist Japan" and "Buddhist China", referring to the imprint made during centuries - bordering on millennia - as opposed to the recent arrival of some doctrines from the West, however significant they may look to us

living today. In this perspective even South Korea and North Korea start looking more similar. This is a similarity the Christian south and the marxist north are very quick to deny. But it may nevertheless be apparent to an outsider in the light of the Buddhist nature of that country so badly treated by history. My hunch is that Buddhism as a living faith will survive both capitalism and socialism. The rootedness in basic needs in human space is so much more fundamental than doctrines rooted in market or plan, to ways of organizing the economic aspect of social space.

Second, there has to be a high level of *individual freedom* both in thought, speech and action. The life of a Buddhist has been criticized for being too individualist, concerned with own enlightenment/salvation rather than that of others,[1] which may be true for some types of Buddhism. But there can be no critique of the inclination of Buddhists to penetrate ever deeper into the mysteries of the human mind, guided by Buddhist canons and whatever other guidance that might be found, helped by meditation and other exercises. Above all this search is stimulated by compassionate and maieutic dialogue with other Buddhists - and others in search of enlightenment as well.

The point is related to the point above: let people do what is necessary for the satisfaction of basic needs. If they do not want more than the minimum of economic activity in order to pursue higher levels of spiritual enlightenment, then let them have the freedom to stop at that point. The Buddhist search for wisdom cannot be planned, cannot be programmed; it can only be facilitated. Basically it means an individual cooperating with other individuals in search of the Unknown, but not unknowable. In doing so, no question can be left unasked, no statement can be left unquestioned. Freedom is the *sine qua non* for this type of pursuit, the mysteries of the mind being

unplannable. Since the search is open-ended the answer is not given in advance as a dogma. Buddhists do not have a monopoly on any answer. I take that to mean that Buddhists will always invite others to join them in the search provided they are equally tolerant. Buddhist freedom includes the freedom not to be a Buddhist.

Thirdly, I cannot help feeling that this can best be done in a relatively decentralized society with small units. The higher the level of centralization, the bigger the social units, the more vertical society tends to be and the more the social structure tends to be on top of the individual. The individual is no longer freely floating on top of the social structure. Moreover, the kind of closeness to other human beings that would be a condition for togetherness in the search for enlightenment, through Buddhist ritual and awareness of the collective ethical budget based on the exchange of merits and demerits, through dialogues on these topics, might be stimulated by also doing other things together. And there is more than enough to do in the sphere of economics and politics.

There is a two-way process at work here. Buddhist thought, speech and action might inspire those spheres. And experiences of the concreteness of social life might have a bearing on the life as a Buddhist. At any rate, complete separation of the sacred and the secular, of religion and ordinary life is avoided - a separation usually seen as detrimental to either. Moreover, in such a de-centralized society, there could be not only one sangha or type of sangha but any number; letting a hundred sanghas blossom - otherwise the national fusion of the saved and the secular might become totalitarian. But Buddhism is as mentioned no stranger to pluralism, the creation of separate schools even being encouraged.

It may have been noticed that the three socio-political points just made are parallel to the three examples mentioned of how social structures might counteract the effort to live as a Buddhist. What is ruled out, then, would be exactly capitalist societies based on merciless market "mechanisms" that lead to the accumulation of wealth on the one end at the expense of misery on the other; socialist societies that through merciless planning prescribe every single action of individual life, even down to speech and thought; and excessively centralized structures, capitalist or socialist or both (the case of Japan!) that tend to be vertical and uniform regardless of what kind of ideology the elite might profess. All three of them totalitarian, as opposed to decentralized and pluralist.

Fourth: this leaves me with the conclusion that the broad range of social structures envisaged by the contemporary Green Wave is most compatible with Buddhist thought, and that Buddhist thought, conversely, has a high level of adequacy articulating development in social space in a "green" direction. This certainly does not spell the end to capitalist or socialist formations. But it is directed against the extremist versions, replete with excesses of misery and repression as described above, filling whole societies, pushing out all others. In more colorful language: neither the "dark blue" nor the "dark red" societies would seem compatible with Buddhism. Soft capitalism and soft socialism, on the other hand, might find space inside Buddhist societies as partners in dialogues that are indispensable in the quest for truth.

I would, however, claim that this totalitarian streak also applies to "dark green" societies, if by that we mean an extremely decentralized social order, consisting of very small units essentially living off the soil, oriented towards minimum satisfaction of the most basic human needs, and

maximum exploration of inner human space, in the search for enlightenment. I think this is against Buddhist thinking, not so much for reasons already expressed as because of some fundamental assumptions in Buddhist epistemology. According to Buddhist thought, nothing is permanent, everything is dynamic, relational, dialectic *(aniccā)*. This would also apply to the processes in the human mind, and body for that matter; as well as to the processes in the social body and in the social "mind", the collective sub-conscious. A dark green society would freeze the social dialectic by becoming static. It would not have built into it sufficient contradiction for the internal dialectic nor sufficient interaction with other societies for the external dialectic. Again, I see Buddhism as both implicitly and explicitly favouring diversity, even within Buddhism, and for all these reasons to be incompatible with a single-minded blueprint for development in terms of the "dark green" social order depicted. Social pluralism seems much more compatible with Buddhist thought.

Excluding these three excesses is not tantamount to declaring that all Buddhists should join the green wave all over in general, and *Die Grünen* in Germany in particular. No such streamlining would be compatible with Buddhism, nor with development in general for that matter. What might be more compatible with Buddhism would be the basic principles embodied in the middle road of satisfaction of basic needs (Gandhi's formulation: there is enough for everybody's need but not for everybody's greed), freedom and decentralization, which points to creating structures of participation in a pluralistic, active democracy.

Fifth: I see this wide range of social orders not only as a condition for the Buddhist way of life, but also as a consequence. Let people lead Buddhist lives, following the

precepts, and there would be neither excessive poverty, nor wealth; no large scale violence, even less crime.[2] Decentralization would come as a consequence of auto- nomy, of self-reliance. And if tolerance is really practised the danger of excessive self-righteousness may be avoid- ed. *In short*: Buddhism is also in the field of development a social ethos in search of a concrete structure. That struc- ture is within reach for those who dare. And they may be interested in further inspiration from Buddhism as a social ethos.

But does Buddhism contain a *political* message, not only an implicit social message about peace and develop- ment, couched in very general terms? I would say that there is even a very clear, although again implicit, political message. To see this more clearly, let us enter more deeply into this, comparing Buddhism systematically with other religions that also are carriers of implicit political messages.

Deliberately I have formulated this part in terms of "political messages", not merely "social messages". By the former I mean something more than the latter. A message about *what* to do, and *why* one should do it, would be characteristic of a social message, combining an image of the future with an analysis of present and past. A political message is a message of *how* to do it, *who* should do it, *when* and *where* - more or less explicit, more or less con- crete. It is these last four components that define the dif- ference between political and social analysis, because actors are designated. The political message is space and time specific, and in addition offers a methodology, the tactics, the "how". With seven major religious systems - Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, Hinduism, pure Buddhism, and finally the Chinese "three teachings" (Daoism, Confucianism and Buddhism) and Japanese

"three teachings" (Shintō, Confucianism and Buddhism) and the six dimensions - the six small words above - of what is here referred to as a "political message", we could in principle explore a table with 42 entries. However, there are simpler ways than that somewhat laborious exercise.

Thus, one very key difference would be between religions with transcendental utopias and religions without. It is inevitable, inescapable that conceptualizations of paradise will have some political carry-over effects on utopian political thought. Utopias will tend to be mundane reflections of heaven, dystopias to be reflections of hell - only that dystopias (e.g. Nazi and Japanese concentration camps with "medical experiments") exceed the most wicked imagination of what hell could be like, and utopias may not quite live up to the most eloquent description of paradisiac delights. This has one very important consequence. Both utopias and dystopias will tend to become extreme, competing with those powerful mental images already inscribed in the culture. Utopias inspired by images of the transcendental paradise will tend to be very different from day-to-day empirical reality. And that, in turn, has two important consequences. In order to *attain* utopia a basic change is needed, some type of discontinuity, a quantum jump, a revolution. And to *maintain* utopia considerable amounts of repression may be needed. Both may be very violent. [3] A basic point is whether a revolution to the better is foreseen in the religious tradition. A revolution to the worse is less problematic if humans are already seen as so sinful that it is taken for granted that they would be capable of realizing hell on earth.

That positive revolution to the better does not have to be a collective revolt, like in marxist eschatology, of one class against another. It can also be an individual revolting

against his or her own past as in the Christian paradigm for conversion; assuming that if a sufficiently high number of individuals do so then there would be a cumulative effect also in this world. The gap between the empirical and the potential can only be bridged through a highly dramatic time cosmology with a crisis (apocalyptic) that will usher in either the final state of affairs, the *Endzustand* (catharsis) or hell on earth, *Vernichtung*. And that already gives the answer to the question of *when*: when time is *ripe*, when the final judgement is about to come. Seen this way marxism becomes so fundamentally Christian! [4]

But that does not mean that the occidental religions become marxist. There is a fairly clear conceptualization of *who* will be the carriers of the new era: not all those who are called upon, only those who are selected. They will have to fight against those who were and are on the other side, the non-repenting sinners. *Where* does that fight take place? All over the world. And *how?* Through the fight between good and evil on earth, within and among human beings, but mainly through the intervention of higher forces. But it is all worth it. For on the other side is a utopia, quite concrete as it is described in the *Bible* and in the *Qur'an:* a society of, for and by the saved, with no discrepancy between needs and the means available for their satisfaction. In Christian paradise this match is obtained because the needs are nonmaterial when the bodies are ethereal, and there are plenty of spiritual resources around. In the Muslim paradise the needs are also material, but there are ample means of satisfaction easily available.

The basic problem with this as a political message is that even if the struggle is here, the realization of Christian and Islamic utopias is there, in the transcendental. It is not

given to human beings to realize, alone, unaided by divine intervention, the Kingdom of God on Earth. Consequently, there is a political message, but a negative one: *give up.* This is beyond you. The only exception would be Judaism, but then the Kingdom is not only on Earth, but also limited - between the Nile and the Euphrates.[5]

Not so for the oriental religions with no transcendental utopias and dystopias, except as metaphors. To the extent they are inspired by Buddhism they will all embody the idea of self-perfection by working on oneself here on earth, developing right understanding, right thought, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration. But since these are not always specified in a very concrete manner in Buddhism, and do not refer to obedience to a higher being, this leaves much ground for political interpretation.

From what has been said so far there is only one conclusion that perhaps can be drawn, tentatively: the good society would be the society where it is possible for small groups to work together, inspiring and helping each other on the Eightfold Noble Path. One conclusion to be drawn from this, in turn, as mentioned above, would be relatively small communities that are self-sufficient enough to leave the members with sufficient time for this type of spiritual pursuit. Obviously there are Mahāyāna countries that have not drawn this conclusion. Japan is not a very small focus of identification. But then Japan is also a shintō country, and the only one. China is not particularly small either, although it is not necessarily true that all Chinese are requested to identify with China as a whole. But regardless of size, the message is clear. Any social transformation as condition or consequence of human transformation has to start here, and now.

So much about the normative content of the religious teachings, the ideas and visions. Such visions command, they are expressions of normative power. But there are also the other basic kinds of power that reward and compel remunerative and coercive power, the power of the carrot and the power of the stick. Put in very smiple terms: goods and services on the one hand, their production and distribution; the various types of violence on the other. Whether they are seen as an end, or as a means towards an end, the levels of economic growth and distribution are important factors in any political message in ideology and in reality. And so are the levels of direct violence and of structural violence, built into the society and the world as a whole.

The question now to be pursued systematically is how the religions in general and Buddhism in particular relate to these four: (material) *growth, distribution, direct violence* and *structural violence.* In very narrow usages of the terms "growth" is identified with *development,* and "absence of direct violence" with *peace* - thereby bringing in two key words of contemporary concerns, the two pillars on which the United Nations construction, ideologically speaking rests. But in broader usages of these two words "development" would also include some measure of "distribution". And "peace" would also include ideas of "absence of structural violence", particularly when it refers to the suppression of ethnic and/or racial minorities, or groups defined by age, gender and class.

These would be four key dimensions to explore in any search for the explicit or implicit social teachings of the key religions. To explore where the seven religions stand on these four dimensions, let us simply divide the seven religions into two groups, those that favour the idea and those that do not, or favour them less, "High" and "low", in

other and somewhat dry words. This comparative exercise would then make it possible to understand Buddhism better, in the light, or the shadows, cast by the other religions.

When it comes to *growth* I would be inclined to put both Hinduism and Buddhism in the "low" category, as being less in favour of *material* growth. For Hinduism this would be because of the strong influence of the notion of *karma* and the general rigidity of the caste structure sanctioned by *religious* thought. And for Buddhism because of the avowed low level of concern with mundane matters, rejection of craving beyond that which is needed for reproduction, liberating Buddhists to engage more fully in the pursuit of higher levels of consciousness.

I would also tend to place Islam in this category because of its famous doctrine against interest on loans (seen as usury).[6] Like for Hinduism there is a clear role for traders or, if one wants, for commercial capitalism, in the system. The Qur'an can even be seen as a codification of rules of conduct, rights and duties, for the decent exercise of the trading profession. But industrial capitalism would tend to require larger amounts of capital for investment than the amounts merchants could make available through trading. The alternative is a loan obtained at a price. That price is known as interest.

It may be objected that this can easily be circumvented, either by conceiving of the interest as a "service fee", or by accumulating sufficient capital through trading (for instance in oil), to the point where the investment can be undertaken. This is what is happening today in several Muslim countries. However, it only touches the point at the surface. There is probably a much deeper reluctance against industrialism in general in Islam, expressing itself, among other places, in the doctrine against interest. And it

may well be that this is what is currently being observed in muslim countries. It is not that factories are not coming up. But they are bought wholesale, with the key in the door, and not built from scratch by an eager body of risk-taking entrepreneurs, and technicians, and skilled workers, anxious to start working. Thus, to the extent that economic growth is based on industrialism I would tend to be skeptical and not put Islam in the upper category where growth is concerned. And I would tend to believe that the factories in the Muslim/OPEC region would remain of minor significance in the world economy.

In the "high" category however, we would obviously have both Judaism and Christianity, and for the latter both the Protestant and Catholic varieties (I am more in doubt about Orthodox Christianity). Three famous books exist to prove, at least to the satisfaction of the authors, that one or the other of these three provides the basic background for economic growth: Max Weber for Protestantism, Amintore Fanfani for Catholicism and Kurt Samuelsson for Judaism.[7] The arguments are fascinating. An intra-occidental battle among giants. For our purpose, however, the focus is on placing them all in the "high" category on the world scale, being less concerned with who should have the first prize.

More interesting is the position of the oriental amalgams, the Chinese and Japanese systems of faith, as "high". The arguments sound more convincing than the type of argumentation Weber puts together for the "high" position of Protestantism, particularly for the puritan sects within Protestantism. Weber postulates a basic anxiety about salvation and the idea that success in this world is a pointer to success in the other world, hence a relief for the anxious. But why should God express His inclinations about salvation for certain individuals on earth through the

stock market? It seems to me deeply unchristian. But then there is, of course, no reason why Christians should necessarily only harbor Christian faith.

However that may be, there is one very basic point missing in Weber's reasoning. It may give some motivation to the entrepreneurs but not to the workers who would read their misery as a sign of God's utter dissatisfaction with them, and thereby be even less motivated to contribute to any kind of economic growth. Workers are also needed for capitalism to function. The oriental amalgams avoid or at least alleviate such problems, not necessarily by removing misery or relative deprivation of the working class, but by at least not making capitalist, entrepreneurial activity something close to a sacred act, and honest ordinary work a meaningless activity. In Mahâyâna Buddhism individuals, capitalist *and* workers, are coupled together ethically in such a way that it is the collectivity, not the individual that is rewarded or punished because of the acts of individuals. This *collective ethical budget* makes for strong group identification. We are all in the same boat, working together. What I do right might benefit us all, what I do wrong comes as a minus to all of us. The collective ethical budget is highly compatible with the logic of a firm, a company, and also with a "green" cooperative with self-management, workers' participation, etc.

But group consciousness is not enough. A company as we know it also has a vertical dimension, managers vs. workers. Confucianism regulates that dimension, found both in the Chinese and Japanese (and Korean) amalgams - but not in the "pure" Buddhist countries. And Shintô adds to this, for Japan, a dedication to the country as a whole. Not so strange if Japan comes out as *ichiban*, Number 1.

What, then, about the *distribution* dimension? Here Buddhism in general comes in very strongly. Distribution is a question of floor and ceiling where goods and services are concerned; of avoiding the extremes in distribution, of guaranteeing a certain minimum and trying to institutionalize a maximum. In the modern welfare state this is done, in principle, by taxing the rich and establishing mechanisms of subsidies for the satisfaction of basic needs for those in misery, so as to have the whole population located between floor and ceiling. In other words, the nation as a *home* for the people, like in a family.

As mentioned above and in chapter 1 the doctrine of the Middle Road in Buddhism is a doctrine of ceiling and floor. It was not only directed against the excesses in accumulation of riches found in Hindu society, but also against misery, including self-imposed misery through extreme asceticism. In Hinduism there were and are no clear minima and maxima. In this regard Hinduism is not in-between Occident and Orient, and not similar to Buddhism. The two are each other's extreme opposite. This disposition of Buddhism in favour of distribution penetrates the whole Orient, but certainly more or less so depending on religious and other contexts. The concrete expression would be in egalitarian and relatively constant indicators for income distribution.

What about the occidental religions? The accumulation of riches at the top of society, and at the disposal of individuals and individual families rather than at the disposal of organizations and communities (like Japanese capital) would be telling evidence that whatever dictum there might be against such accumulation ("not on earth where moth and rust....") it is not necessarily adhered to in practice. But there may also be concrete rules, like in Islam, establishing that no one should sit down and eat unless

the 12 to the left and to the right of one's own house have sufficient to eat - a doctrine that, if practised, would abolish hunger. In Judaism there must be similar doctrines.

And in Christianity there is the tale of the Good Samaritan, alleviating pain and misery. Of course, the Islamic doctrine is more easily practised in a local community, one reason why "khomeiniism" also seems to be localism. But that tale, in my view, is ambiguous. Why should Christians engage in good deeds if they are not meritorious, bringing that samaritan closer to salvation? And if that is the case, then why should one abolish misery? Would it not be much more rational to institutionalize misery so that there would always be a sufficient number of sufficiently poor people among us whose misery could become raw material to be processed into salvation by and for others? And would that not point in favour of an implicit or explicit alliance between Christianity and capitalism since the latter is based on inequalities, and through the joint working of center-periphery formation and class formation is guaranteed to produce misery at the bottom? In other words, a clear case of symbiosis.
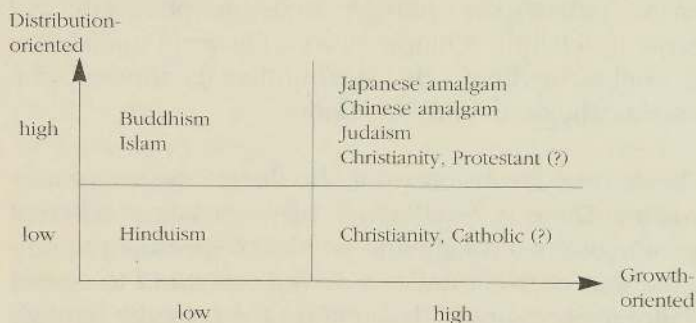
The answer might seem to be yes, at least as far as Christian doctrine acknowledges good deeds as meritorious. This is less true for Protestantism where, according to doctrine, salvation is by grace and faith alone, not by acts. The question is whether Protestants less theologically trained really believe in this and do not think that in God's books up in heaven (one book per individual, one page per day) there will nevertheless be pluses and minuses for what one does, not only for what one thinks. But to the extent that Catholicism/Protestantism is related to the salvation-through-deeds/salvation-through-faith dilemma in theology, there will be a difference. Catholic countries

might see the problem of a floor in economic distribution as something solved through *caritas*, Good Samaritans, where Protestant countries might be less interested in this perspective and more concerned with sowing the gospel, harvesting faith. This, then, could lead either way: both to protestant acceptance of much more misery, and to the institutionalization of its abolition through alternative, welfare state constructions. The latter seems to be the course taken in Northern Europe, if not in, North America (where Protestants are less secular). It should be noted that I am not suggesting that religion plays the key causal role here, I am only in search of compatibilities.

Grossly simplified, only as a rule of thumb, the reflections above would lead to the following characterization of religions in terms of the two development variables, growth and distribution.

Figure 1. *Religion as a factor for the economic system*

Distribution-oriented

	low	high
high	Buddhism Islam	Japanese amalgam Chinese amalgam Judaism Christianity, Protestant (?)
low	Hinduism	Christianity, Catholic (?)
	low	high

Growth-oriented

Let us now proceed from the economic aspect of development to political development, seen in the first instance as control of violence. A corresponding exploration can be made for the two peace variables within and between countries, absence of direct and structural violence. To start with *direct violence*: there seem to be two factors

that would predispose for violence when built into the very nucleus of the system of religious faith.

First, there is the idea of being a *Chosen People* which could instill in believers a very high level of self-righteousness. This does not mean that chosen peopleism has to be practised, or enacted; or, if enacted, necessarily in the form of direct violence. It could also take the form of withdrawal from the rest of the world simply because the Chosen People is too good for the world, the rest of the world being too barbarian to be even worthy of being attacked. In what has been said above two clearly Chosen Peoples emerge: the Jews [8] and the Japanese, [9] with considerable carry-over effects from Judaism into Christianity and Islam. The Chinese seem to have a superiority complex relative to others, the various kinds of barbarians. But they are less clearly aggressive, at least in the sense of being *universally*, in the whole world, aggressive. The Chinese are more of the withdrawal variety, leading to defensive rather than offensive strategies politically and militarily in what the Chinese historically seem to consider their pocket in the world, surrounded by the sea, the mountains, the desert and the tundra.

The *second* dimension would be that of *aggressive missionarism*. There is a difference between being adherent of a faith considered right and worthy of spreading to others, and that of living under a *divine command* to spread the faith, if necessary by backing up the message through the skilful use of remunerative and coercive power, the carrot and the stick again. [10] The occidental religions Christianity and Islam clearly fall in this category; Judaism less so, being particularly for the Jews, not universalist for all of humankind. The missionary command is the logical consequence of singularism *cum* universalism - as expressed in Matthew, 28:18-20.[11] That those religions also

are monotheistic is in my view of secondary significance.
But their uniqueness is strengthened by there being only
one god (which is not true, *strictu sensu*, for Christianity).
It is trinitarian, the proclamations of "unity in trinity"
notwithstanding.

Structural violence is so much related to distribution in
the economic sense that the division of the religions
would tend to be the same. At the bottom, of course, is
Hinduism with its religiously sanctioned caste system.
Buddhism and the systems of belief related to it come out
much more clearly against structural violence precisely
because of the collective ethical budget. And it is not clear
that slavery at the hands of the Arabs was religiously legit-
imized in the same way as slavery at the hands of the
Christians. The patterns of Islamic colonialism are older,
from the period of rapid expansion after the life of the
Prophet - less visible today than in the period 700-1500.
Northern India was conquered in 1192 - particularly the
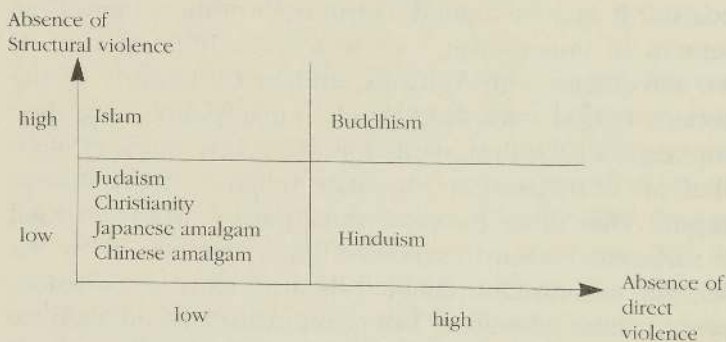parts where Buddhism was strong (Bihar, Bengal).[12]

But what about Christianity and its predecessor,
Judaism? It may be argued that in both of them there is an
element of imperialism, clearly seen in Judaism with its
two covenants with Yahweh, and in Christianity in the
Modern Period with the Catholic kings establishing their
empires (and the Protestants following very quickly) mod-
elled on Christianity as the state religion of the Roman
Empire. That other peoples were "pagan" would in itself
be sufficient reason to colonize them, legitimized by the
idea that colonization enabled them to carry out mission-
ary activities. Liberation from colonialism could then be
granted proportionate to the extent to which adherence to
Christianity was reported. With no adherence liberation
had to be *fought* through direct violence directed against
the structural violence of imperialist colonialism (Algeria),

in turn legitimized by Christianity, or through non-violence (India, Gandhi).

At this point it is difficult to discover any great difference between Catholics and Protestants except that the latter came later so colonial decline and disintegration also came later (except for the Portuguese). In both we find religious legitimation for being "people-holder" (colonialist) not only slave-holder; on top of the horrors of inquisition (Catholic) and witch processes (Catholic/Protestant). Nothing large-scale, remotely similar to all of this has been done in the name of the Buddha, or Buddhism. Buddhism may not have been strong enough to stop it, but that is another matter. And Buddhism, unlike other religions, cannot be seen as legitimizing direct and structural violence either - in other words as being filled with cultural violence.[13]

If we now summarize all of this we arrive at a picture, again grossly simplified:

Figure 2. *Religion as a factor for the violence system*

Absence of
Structural violence

	low	high	
high	Islam	Buddhism	
low	Judaism Christianity Japanese amalgam Chinese amalgam	Hinduism	Absence of direct violence
	low	high	

We can now summarize what has been said in this section about the eight religions (if we split Christianity into two) and the four dimensions, in Table 3.

Table 1. *Religion as a factor: A summary*

	Growth	Distri-bution	Absence of direct violence	Absence of structural violence	No. of high
Judaism	high	high	low	low	2
Christianity, Protestant	high	high	low	low	2
Christianity, Catholic	high	low	low	low	1
Islam	low	high	low	high	2
Hinduism	low	low	high	low	1
Buddhism, pure	low	high	high	high	3
Chinese amalgam	high	high	low	low	2
Japanese amalgam	high	high	low	low	2

Quite clearly the characterizations are too gross to reflect the tremendous variation in the real world. However, of the 16 possible patterns in terms of high and low only five have been used - possibly because the variety is not that high in the empirical world, at least not when we paint with a broad brush. It should be noted that the extreme patterns are not present. There is no religion known for both aspects of economic development and both aspects of peaceful political development. Nor, of course, is there any religion that would denounce all these four efforts. Religion has to be positive in *some* regard. It has to express what people want in this world at least at some point. And people work, at least in most places most of the time, for well-being and freedom/survival, or "economic development" and "peaceful political development" as they are called here. [14]

If we now look at Table 3, simply reading it off, it is at least compatible with what we find in the real world. On

the one hand there are the big spaces of the world focussing on *growth:* the Judeo-Christian and the Sino-Japanese spaces. On the other hand there are the Islamic-Hindu-Buddhist spaces where this focus is less prominent. And that would also apply to the religions left out of this exploration: the Amerindian, African and Pacific cultures. So here is already a first major division, within what until recently has often been referred to as the "modern/traditional" distinction. The middle of the world as opposed to the extreme west and east, north and south?[15]

The moment we introduce *distribution* the images change. In the growth-oriented spaces Catholic Christianity stands out as less distribution oriented than the others. And in the less growth oriented spaces there is clearly a distinction between Hinduism which does not emphasize distribution either and Islam and Buddhism that do. Growth may be important as a means of abolishing *poverty,* but distribution is much more important as a means of abolishing deeply entrenched *misery.* According to this reasoning the most pronounced misery in the world should be found in the Catholic and Hindu regions, particularly the latter. Under Islam and Buddhism misery should be much less pronounced. On the other other hand, due to the general lack of growth orientation, poverty might nevertheless abound. So, talking of spaces the world is now divided in a Catholic/Hindu space with much misery on the one hand, and all the others on the other. Once more, this is not identical with the "modern/traditional" distinction.

The picture changes when we introduce the dimension of *violence.* It sounds so positive when a system of faith is "high" on both growth and distribution. It becomes less applaudable when this combination is accompanied by direct and even structural violence, i.e. exploitation/repres-

sion in one form or the other. It has been mentioned that in the Chinese case such attempts tend to be limited to what might be called "sinic space", but recent excursions into Korean, Vietnamese and Tibetan territory makes one at least wonder exactly where the limits of that space are located. Possibly Tibet is included, but Korean and Vietnamese territories not? Japanese militarism had the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Hemisphere as its "domain", and again it is unclear where the borderlines would be located. Great portions of the Pacific were included, so was all of Southeast Asia and not only East Asia. Australia and New Zealand might have been had they not been more difficult to conquer.

However, that may be, the Chinese and Japanese domains are clearly not universal. Universality applies to Christianity and Islam only, not to Judaism. In Table 3 that important distinction does not appear. It should also be pointed out how Catholic Christianity might build systems somewhat different from Protestant Christianity because of the lower emphasis on distribution in the former. In Catholic empires there might be as much misery at the bottom of the Center country as at the bottom of the Periphery country. Under Protestant colonialism there might be more distribution on the top - the colonized peoples, the pagans, not being equally included in the distribution exercise.

Islam is seen as different. It is less growth oriented and often also less exploitative although there are exceptions to this rule, such as Southern Sudan in contemporary Africa. In general one might perhaps assume that less emphasis on economic growth also leads to less emphasis on structural violence as the consequence of, or protected by, direct violence. There certainly may be direct violence as such, belligerence, but not just in order to establish eco-

nomic exploitation. And there may be structural violence unaccompanied by direct violence, or as the result of direct violence in the past (the case of Hinduism?). Exploitation certainly takes place but inside the community itself, so well institutionalized that it is combinable even with rejection of direct violence in favour of inner peace (*shanti*) and non-violence (*ahimsa*).

That rejection we certainly find in Buddhism, extended to rejection of structural violence, and combined in such a way as to make for the least aggressive combination. But that combination, on the other hand, is not "modern", it is low on economic growth. And it is vulnerable unless protected by a very strong faith. A beautiful flower in the garden of religions - but vulnerable. Like a pagoda.

I think it is difficult to conclude this survey without some explicit evaluation. Most objectionable, according to this line of thinking, are Christianity (both versions) and Hinduism; the former because of its universally applied direct and structural violence, the latter because of the massive structural violence directed against its own members, accompanied by flagrant inequalities (as is also the case in much of Christianity). The Christian countries stand out as "progressive" relative to India only because they have managed to export inequality and inequity to the Third World through imperial practices, and because they have managed (through their obedient servants the economists) to make this invisible by using the nation state itself the accounting unit of economic and social achievement, not the whole system, the whole web of which a strong nation state may show up as the glittering center.[16]

But this does not exonerate Hinduism. Its victims in that colossal part of human-kind, the subcontinent, are so

many, both in absolute and relative terms that it is not strange if *pariahs* and *shudras* resort to the obvious way out: converting away from Hinduism. On that subcontinent the competitors would be Christianity (particularly Catholic) and Islam, and - to a minor extent - Buddhism. Islam seems now to receive a high number of converts seeking *religio* through faiths less destructive of their life on earth, and more promising for their life afterwards (and also less complicated theologically).[17]

At the other end Buddhism, pure version, stands out as the faith most compatible with the political ideas and ideals contained in the word "development", both in the sense of economic and political development. Buddhism becomes *modest* in combining low concern with growth and high concern with absence of direct violence. And Buddhism becomes *decent* in combining a relatively high level of equality (good distribution) with a relatively high level of equity (absence of structural violence), except in ritualized Buddhism. But cannot this be said about all faiths, that there are pure versions and ritualized, even perverted versions, the latter being considerably less beautiful than the former? I would argue against that position, maintaining that Christianity and Islam, for instance, have built into the core of their doctrines certain attitudes to the non-believer that can be used to justify both direct and structural violence, and that this is not found in Buddhism. In the same vein it can be argued that Hinduism has built into it certain patterns directed against those at the bottom of the hierarchy, not found in Buddhism either.

So I end up with the conclusion in the right hand column of Table 3. It should only be added that if "pure" Buddhism should somehow assimilate an ideology of economic growth (easily done in the Chinese and Japanese amalgams), then that might change the relationship to

violence, ushering in a much lower level of rejection of both direct and structural violence, and a less egalitarian distribution.

Japan can be seen as an example of that. There is a strong Buddhist tradition, but easily corrupted through the assimilation of Shinto, occidental economic growth and violence ideologies. Moreover, like Christian countries Japan also exports inequality by placing it between the (neo-) colonial power and the (neo-) colonies and inside the colonies; not so much inside Japan itself.

There is a certain logic to the pure Buddhist package. And the logic is a clear expression of the fundamental tenet of belief in Buddhism unity-of-life. The only difference is that here that tenet is expressed in political terminology with "distribution" instead of *metta-karuna* and "absence of direct and structural violence" instead of *ahimsa* and the no-theft precept. So I conclude it is wrong to state that there is no social, economic and political doctrine in Buddhism. The doctrine only has to be made explicit, and when that is done it looks rather attractive, particularly compared with the implicit doctrines of other religions. But then it should also be pointed out that there is a difference between "compassion" and "non-violence" on the one hand and "distribution" and "absence of violence" on the other. The former are internalized in the person and if   enacted *may* lead to social development. The latter are institutionalized in society and may liberate the person from misery and violence, for human enlightenment. May but-also may not.

Consequently, better work on the assumption that these two "spaces", social and human are related, but not identical. And try to achieve progress in both of them (and the other two, world and nature) at the same time. So, let us turn to human enlightenment in our exploration of the Buddhist approach.

Chapter Three
BUDDHISM AND HUMAN
ENLIGHTENMENT

On the conceptualization of mental disorder

Is it not somewhat strange to introduce an exploration of human enlightenment with reflections on mental disorder? No, not stranger than introducing a discussion of peace with reflections on war. Using our understanding of what goes wrong we may better develop an understanding of what might be right. In fact, one purpose of this chapter is precisely to relate the way mental disorder is conceptualized to the greatest threat facing humankind today, the arms race in general, arms race in weapons of mass destruction in particular, and nuclear arms race even more particularly (with the additional note that this arms race is now being superseded by another arms race in offensive laser and particle beam weapons). To state the problem as simply as possible: how come that a person putting his own house on fire, killing his whole family and himself is characterized as insane/abnormal/mentally disordered or at least as "depressed" whereas the concept of "normal behaviour" includes people who do such things to others or are willing to do the same to whole countries, including their own?

In order to carry out this exercise I shall use the following dimensions:

(1)   Conceptualization of mental disorder
(2)   Types of Self-Other relations
(3)   Level of empathy of Self with Other
(4)   Level of injury of Self to Other

Buddhism becomes particularly important for (2), but also for (3) and (4).

My own reading and research in this field have sensitized me to two basic dimensions in the conceptualization of mental disorder. [1]

First, mental disorder is seen as *social* in its consequences. It is public, not private. There is the idea of *social competence* for the "normal" person, and *social incompetence* for the "abnormal". Social interaction tends to break down in the second case, and it is at that point the search for a possible mental disorder might be initiated. The mentally disordered person does "strange" things. Social situations are conceived of in an intolerably idiosyncratic manner. Verbal and non-verbal statements/action and responses/reaction are different from what is normally expected. The script enacted by the mentally disordered is unknown, possibly unknowable - above all unacceptable. People in general have expectations of how Other behaves in social interaction, just as they have expectations of what they expect Other to expect from Self. These expectations are broken by the socially incompetent. In normal relations there is an element of empathy, of capability to understand the position of Other in interaction with Self even if this is only done in the simplest of all manners, projecting Self into the position of other. In abnormal relations this capability is held to be either absent or seriously distorted.

The *first* criterion of social incompetence, consequently, is lack of ability to project, to have *empathy* with Other. One expression of that deficit would be to see Other as a thing, inanimate, an object. And the *second* criterion, related to the first, would be the potential to inflict injury, to hurt and harm the body and/or psyche of Other. In short, hidden in the idea of seeing a person as socially incompetent, is also the idea that the person might be dangerous. Maybe not today. Tomorrow perhaps. Who knows. Not fulfilling expectations means unpredictability and to be unpredictable means to be uncontrollable. Other does not "lock in". And interaction breaks down.

Of course, in "real life" a person can very well be one without being the Other, leading to the table classification. The overriding dimension in the conceptualization of mental disorder is social incompetence; dangerous or not is an additional concern. Another way of expressing social incompetence is as inability to distinguish not only between what is socially right and socially wrong in the sense of being expected and not expected in interaction situations, but also as inability to distinguish between what is good and what is bad. Or, rather: There may be ability to discriminate, but that ability does not necessarily translate into good action, abstaining from the bad.

In Christianity the ability to discriminate is given unto man in a somewhat special way (*Genesis*, 3: 1-6). A serpent tempted the first woman, who then in turn tempted the first man to eat from the Tree of Conscience, giving knowledge of Good and Bad. According to the serpent of the story: "God knows very well that the instant you eat it you will become like him, for your eyes will be opened - you will be able to distinguish good from evil!" The trouble is that not everybody might be able to act accordingly, even if thus enabled. Knowledge is not enough. But

having the knowledge means there is no longer the excuse of not knowing.

Table 2. *A fourfold division of social break-down*

	does not inflict injury (not dangerous)	inflicts injury (dangerous)
Socially competent ("normal")	NORMAL	CRIMINAL
socially incompetent ("abnormal")	MENTAL DISORDER soft intervention needed	MENTAL DISORDER hard intervention needed (institutionalization)

According to Buddhism the ability to discriminate between good and bad is given to any human being as a disposition. But it has to become a part of consciousness developed in practice. The Four Noble Truths, the Eightfold Path, the *Pancha Shila* and the *Pancha Dhamma* are then seen as guides on the way.

There are now several ways of relating general concepts of social incompetence, lack of empathy, and lack of ability to distinguish between good and bad. The last two aspects can be related through empathy with what is good and bad to Other. This may or may not coincide with what the believer holds to be good and bad in the eyes of God, "bad" in that case being synonymous with *sin* since a person is accountable to God. To do the unexpected, the incompetent, may also be bad even when not directly injurious.It may confuse Other, and be potentially dangerous, like when people do not honour simple traffic rules, not paying attention to traffic lights.

On the other hand, to do bad things, including inflicting injury, does not necessarily imply social incompetence.

It may also be a sign of competence in games criminals play, such as resolving grievances,[2] or helping themselves to something in ways they are not expected to do. Or they may participate in the "games" played in conflicts that have become fights, with injuries inflicted in both directions. In that case empathy of Self with Other might not reduce the level of injury. Self might come to the conclusion that in the place of Other he might have done exactly the same, and condone the violent behaviour. The script of the criminal is knowable; the script of the violent criminal in a profoundly violent civilization is even acceptable - under some conditions. This is an important finding because it shows the limitations of that particular way of conceptualizing empathy. Ability to assume the position of Other may be a necessary condition for noninjurious behaviour. But it is certainly not a sufficient condition.

Table 3. *A typology of self-other relations*

	Other	*Relation*
Self	self	to self
	Family, friends	Primary relations
Homosphere	Colleagues, neigh- bours, Categories of people	Secondary relations Tertiary relations
Biosphere	Animals Plants Micro-organisms	to non-human, animate, sentient, nature
Other spheres	Lithosphere Hydrosphere Atmosphere Cosmophere	to non-human, inani- mate, nature

If we now move on to types of Self-Other relation, the point of departure has already been given. Mental disorders are expressed in the relation between Self and Other as social incompetence, even injurious. Self inflicts unacceptable injury to Other without any socially acceptable reason. The limiting case is Other-Self, in other words Self inflicts injury on him/herself; even more difficult to accept. But there are many types of Other, and consequently many types of Self-Other relations. It does matter what types of relation we have in mind when conceptualizing mental disorder, as indicated in Table 3.

At the first glance one might conclude that this is bringing in too much. Hopefully the comments will convince the reader that this broad typology makes sense.

Figure 3. *Types of Self-Other relations and levels of empathy*

occidental/Christian
extreme alternative
Buddhist/oriental
realistic alternative
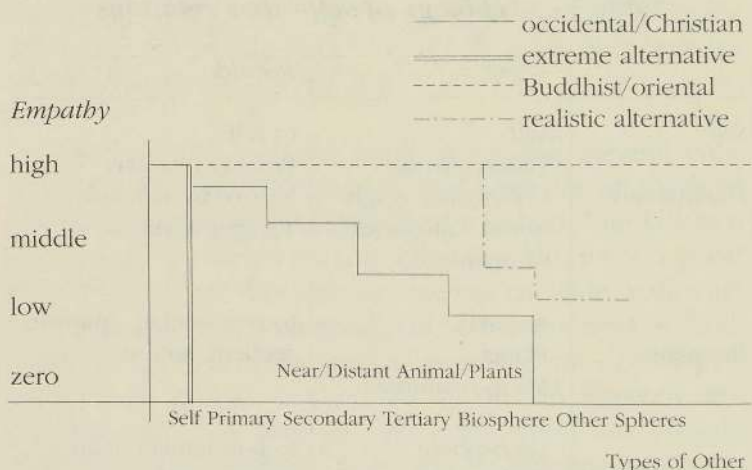
A basic point would be that *social competence in occidental/Christian culture is usually evaluated in primary and secondary relations only.* The remaining other relations do not count in judging social competence. The moment Other becomes a category, meaning an Other at a

high social and/or geographical distance, like in out-group relations to other classes and/or nations - in some cases also to age, gender and race groups - perspectives change.

As long as a person behaves "decently" to family, friends and colleagues s/he may behave in almost any manner, impolitely, unkindly to people from other classes/nations, age groups/gender/races and hit and hurt nature without any serious damage to the reputation. He - because it is probably more often a he than a she - is still a "nice guy".

Figure 3 is an effort to clarify the relation between types of Other and empathy (a term not necessarily to be identified with sympathy):

In the Figure the unbroken staircase curve represents the drops or jumps downward in empathy as we proceed outward from Self, through primary, secondary and tertiary relations to the biosphere and other spheres. A similar staircase might actually have been constructed within the biosphere as there is probably more empathy with the "animal kingdom" than with the "plant kingdom", and micro-organisms are probably put together with the "mineral kingdom". Correspondingly, a staircase might be constructed for the animal kingdom, as we move down the hierarchy. Not to mention for tertiary human relations, as we move from socially near to socially distant categories. But the general idea remains the same.

The basic point made in Figure 3 is that this is not the only empathy curve that can be defined. Actually, *the staircase empathy curve might be seen as an expression of patriarchal, occidental/Christian cosmology.* Self is at the Center, including that extension of Self, private property. Egocentrism bordering on egotism and self-love makes

Self the point of highest empathy. Then comes love for family and friends, and some type of consideration for colleagues and neighbours in secondary groups of all kinds (territorial and non-territorial, i.e. international associations/organizations). But class and nation, particularly distant nations, divide and separate humankind with serious implications for the empathy level. At the end comes a dim view of nature, as an expression of a general man-over-nature doctrine. Empathy becomes very low or zero. "Dirt" is treated as "dirt" - and that important category may then be extended upwards by flattening the staircase, alienating Self from more and more Others, ultimately also from his own Self.

The horizontal broken line may be seen as an idealized version of Buddhist (and Jainist)/oriental respect for the universe. The dotted alternative is more realistic, taking in the point that most Buddhists are vegetarians and often feel somewhat bad when eating plants (but not the fruits of plants, given by the plants as gifts to the rest of the universe). Some identity with other spheres is also postulated. Actually, the extreme lack of empathy would not be the Western staircase curve, but the thick vertical line indicating empathy with Self and nothing else. This is "amoral individualism." If the empathy curve drops down to zero after family we might talk about "amoral familism".

We have now come much closer to understanding the understanding of mental disorder. *The point is not lack of empathy, or inflicting injury on Other in general, but to do so in spite of the level of empathy assumed in the culture.* Some kind of injury is permitted, some injury is not; some is a sign of social competence, some is not.

And that brings in the final dimension: the *level* of injury. Injury has to be discussed from the points of view

both of the object and the subject of the injury relation. But who is the object in case of injury to non-human, inanimate nature? Is toxic pollution of hydrosphere, atmosphere or littering or the cosmosphere injury to these spheres, or only injury in the sense that it may indirectly inflict damage on biosphere and homosphere? For practical purposes the second answer might be quite convincing so it may not be necessary to have a firm stand on this issue.

And that makes the conceptualization of injury easier. Systems, not only individuals, in homosphere and biosphere are somehow self-realizing systems, both in the sense of producing and in the sense of reproducing. *Injury is injury to the capacity to produce, and to the capacity to reproduce.* Obviously injury to reproduction is even more serious than injury to production capacity. If a whole genus of Other is deprived of reproduction capacity we may even talk about genocide. But both of them may be seen as special types of injury, or violence, as impediments to Other-realization.[3]

Then, there is the angle of the subject behind the injury, and one effort to make a typology is given in Table 4:

Table 4. *Types of injury relations*

	direct (not-mediated)	indirect (mediated)
intended by commission	DIRECT VIOLENCE	concealment
unintended; by omission	negligence	STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE

First comes a basic and very classical distinction: whether the injury is intended (by commission) or unintended (by omission). The latter means that the wrong that has been done consists in being negligent, not seeing to it that the injury did not take place. Second, the important distinction between direct/indirect or non-mediated/mediated injury. Indirect injury presupposes something mediating between the subject and the victim; a *chain*-or whatever geometrical shape might offer an adequate description.

I shall refer to it as a *structure*, whether the subject is lurking behind, pushing the structure in front of him, in which case it is clearly intended, only concealed; or the subject in question did not intend any injury to happen. The injury just takes place, as an outcome of the normal operation of the structure. The subject is at most negligent, not preventing the injury from happening. But he might also be totally unaware, not connecting the structure with any injury at all. Two clear cases: direct and structural violence; with concealment and negligence in-between.

Let us now try to reap the harvest front these efforts to clarify four complicated dimensions.

First, it should be pointed out how our occidental/Christian conceptualization of mental disorder is special, filtered through all kinds of culturally defined distinctions and discriminations. Mental disorder is above all registered in the relation self has to Self, and to Other in primary and secondary relations. Destructive behaviour considered normal, and acceptable in tertiary relations (and in the relation to biosphere and other spheres) is considered abnormal and unacceptable in the relation to Self and in primary and in secondary relations. General western aloofness, coldness, lack of empathy, leaving

alone lack of sympathy with other people and peoples; the disconcern displayed by racist Southerners in the U.S. towards the blacks, but also by high caste Indians towards the casteless, or by any member of a Western in-group towards the out-group defined by a conflict would qualify for a psychiatric diagnosis when/if displayed in relations to Self, or in primary or secondary relations. A white South African/Israeli behaving to his family like he does to a Black/Palestinian would be considered crazy. A social scientist approaching the spouse with a questionnaire designed for some category of people likewise. Being so deeply ingrained in the culture this should not be seen as indicative of a split personality, however.

But this also runs the other way. A person in occidental/Christian culture showing a very high level of concern for inanimate nature, or for animate but somehow "low" biota, may also be considered mentally disordered (compare the expression "eco-freak"). Why bother, why be so concerned? Jainist monks wearing masks in order not to inhale, and hence do injury to micro-organisms, and not disturb the air as an organism, may be considered exotic when operating at home, for instance in Gujarat in India. But the same behaviour would be considered crazy when practised by Westerners, or by themselves, in the West. Such "over-empathic" practices might be seen as another type of social incompetence, not displaying correct behaviour towards other, in this case meaning not meeting with expectations that some human other would have about Self's interaction with non-human others. And one such expectation, important in the conceptualization of schizophrenia, would be non-permeability of ego-boundaries, e.g., not confusing oneself with the tree outside the window. Or with some human Other, for that matter.

However, as indicated in Table 5 below, relating the level of empathy to level of injury, the interesting combination is not when the injury is reported to be high even though the empathy level is supposed also to be high, or the considerably more innocent case of injuries reported to be low in spite of a supposedly low empathy level. Nor the normal case protecting human micro space: empathy high, thereby keeping injury low.

Table 5. *Level of empathy; level of injury*

	Injury seen as low	Injury seen as high
Empathy supposed to be high	NORMAL	ABNORMAL
Empathy supposed to be low	ABNORMAL	NORMAL (?)

The interesting case is the fourth category in the Table: 5. In this case there is no empathy barrier. The empathy level is even expected to be low; and that might exclude any high level of sympathy. The gates of injury can be opened. Violence can start flowing in one or more of the four types of Table 4. The violence may even take the form of loud or silent genocide/holocaust; it may be intended or unintended, immediate or mediated. It may take the form of massive bombing during the Second World War, using firestorms and/or nuclear explosions. It may take the form of quick extermination in the KZ, or the slower one in the Gulag. It may take the form of condoning the operation of structures leading to massive starvation in the Third World.

It is all normal and natural; nothing really stands in the way. Why worry so much?

Regardless of the form there is one common factor: however massive the injury it is unimpeded by any empathy barrier. Violence flows easily across gaps where empathy is supposed to suffer a considerable drop. Supposed, by whom? By what? *Answer:* by some cultural assumptions. And the leading cultural assumptions are, supposedly, the cultural assumptions of the leading part of the world - the Occident in general and the western part of the Occident in particular. Egotism and familism are considered normal. So is nationalism, and - within limits - sexism and racism (they threaten national cohesion; sexism also family cohesion). Altruism across boundaries to other nations, or to other classes/castes (the latter particularly important in Hinduism) is easily seen as abnormal - as "sentimentalism", "romantic", "idealist", unrealistic in the "real" (meaning "constructed") world.

Second, these reflections may now lead to some ideas about the conditions under which these massive acts of extreme injury against other might nevertheless be seen as expressions of mental disorder. Let us first clear some brush away by stating the obvious, so often repeated in the analysis precisely of extreme cases of violence. The subjects behind violence are very often, but not necessarily always, "perfectly normal" people, meaning people capable of having normal relations with themselves, affectionate primary and secondary relations, even with selected species from the biosphere, such as the pet dog, the house flowers. In other words, with standard Western conceptualization of mental disorder they get off scot free. And yet they become commanders of Auschwitz, execute genocidal "carpet" bombing. They see killing of any number of Nicaraguans and Afghanis as somehow normal simply because these people stand in the way of their pet social projects, etc.

The key to the problem is, of course, that our standard conceptualization is not good enough. It hinges entirely on a Christian/occidental assumption about the relations between types of Other and levels of empathy, not on any Buddhist/oriental conceptualization (admittedly idealized in Figure 3). However, in a shrinking and, moreover, pluralistic world we can no longer assume that explicit or implicit assumptions from one particular culture should automatically be given the upper hand, even to the point of defining something so important as mental disorders.

Of the many possible curves that could be drawn in Figure 3 - not necessarily starting at a high level for self, and not necessarily never ascending (e.g., the case of cows in Hinduism, and national parks in the West) - only *one* is selected as the standard used to issue mental disorder certificates. A person cutting off his own fingers, one after the other, is considered more crazy than the person beating his children to death (one after the other) who in turn is considered more crazy than he who commits or prepares nuclear genocide and ecocide. In agreeing the psychiatrists consciously or unconsciously take a very political stand, defining as signs of social incompetence destructive acts occasionally committed by ordinary people, not acts often committed by people in authority. The more large scale the violence the less abnormal and the less criminal, or so it seems.

Third, as a mental experiment, let us assume either or both of the Buddhist curves in Figure 3 to be the leading world cultural assumption about level of empathy. It should be pointed out that this is more than "loving thy neighbour like thyself", in two important regards. The concept of "neighbour" is extended far beyond primary and secondary relations into tertiary relations, and from there to the biosphere, at least to the animal kingdom,

potentially to the rest of the universe. Everything with life is "thy neighbour". *There is unity in the universe.* And, empathy is not carried by the mental experiment of placing Self where Other is, trying to understand how Other would react from how one imagines Self would react, however important that thought experiment may be. Rather *Other is seen as an extension of Self,* as a unity-of-Self with Other, in a unified universe where no Self is separate, detachable. Injury to Other is injury to oneself not only injury as it might have been experienced by Self in the position of Other. Other permeates Ego; Ego permeates Other. Self and Other mesh in a higher unit, a Self. They become continuous with each Other.

There is nothing particularly mystical in this. In Christian/occidental culture people are perfectly capable of experiencing injury to "thy neighbour" as if it were injury to Self. But the condition is that the neighbour is close to oneself. But the condition is that the neighbour is close to oneself, for instance one's own child. This is why torture is often, in our extremely cruel century, carried out on family members. And this is the basic reason why mental disorder certificates are issued precisely in the "empathy high, injury high" combination of Table 5. To torment, do violence to, even kill one's own children is seen as indicative of mental disorder not only because of the injury done to them, but as a way of tormenting one's own self. Masochism and suicide are seen as indicative of basic mental disorder in individualistic, ego-oriented cultures. So is sadism in primary (and to some extent secondary) relations, because it is seen as some kind of extended masochism. But injury, killing beyond that level of proximity is considered "normal". It may be criminal; even a "war crime", even " against humanity". But it is not a sign of mental disorder since harm to self is not involved. Empathy is assumed to be low.

One may say, metaphorically, that what is done in the Buddhist culture is to extend a self incorporating and incorporated by other to a self potentially pervading the whole universe. Of course, people raised in the occidental tradition may have their doubts as to whether consequent Buddhists are really honest when they "feel" injury to any person, any animal, any plant in the universe as injury done to themselves. But that is not the basic issue. Obviously, we are dealing here with feelings that are transmitted psychologically rather than physiologically, there being no assumption that the neural nets of Other are materially connected to the neural nets of Self. Later generations may perhaps discover some new type of vital force communicating injury through the universe, some people being more sensitive to the signals transmitted than others. As a species we are not there yet. One day we may even discover that some animals and plants are superior to human beings in this respect, having more of a basis for developing a moral universe than we have. And we may see the Buddha as pointing to the way, or one way, to that unity.

However, that may be, I come to the following extended definition: *Mental disorder is social incompetence linked to an empathy level so low that it does not constitute sufficient barrier against inflicting injury to Other; regardless of who Other is.* Any effort to draw a circle in the universe, for instance between secondary and tertiary relations, proclaiming that injury inflicted inside the circle is indicative of mental disorder whereas that inflicted outside is not, is arbitrary and a cultural rather than an individual idiosyncrasy. A civilization legitimizing that arbitrariness even to the point of making this vice into a virtue could itself be seen as a contributing factor to mental disorder. Whether in the name of God (Luther, with his peasant wars and Augustana 16), democracy, liberalism or marxism,

or just vulgar philosophy of the "history-teaches-us-that-everybody-does it" does not matter.

The assumption, then, is that to feel a part of, not apart from, the universe is at least equally normal and natural for any sentient being. There can easily be agreement that the person inflicting injury on himself, cutting off a finger, a hand, or excessive flagellation in self-punishment is mentally deranged, at least temporarily. But drawing the circle mentioned just around the individual would lead to amoral individualism, implying that anything outside that circle is permitted,if not legally at least mentally. To draw the circle just around one's own family would, correspondingly lead to amoral familism which may not be much better. And our present conceptualization of mental disorder, drawing the circle around one's nation, class, gender, race and species - leading to amoral nationalism, "classism", sexism, racism and "homosapiensism" - is certainly not much better, accepting the steep jump mentioned, legitimizing enormous atrocities, actual or potential.

So, why not push the circle outward? The nation-state was originally an effort to push the circle far enough out to create not only empathy but sympathy with everybody within the confines of the state, high enough to limit injury of one part to the other, and more particularly of the government to its citizens. There has been some success in that regard.

But that is not good enough. We live in a world where purely material conditions of transportation and communication potentially will provide some basis for higher levels of empathy with the geographically and socially distant at the same time as the production of weapons of mass destruction in general, and nuclear arms in particular, pro-

vide the basis for higher levels of injury. In other words, we are increasingly entering the condition where mental disorder certificates might be issued against not only those who engage in such acts of injury, or prepare themselves for doing or threaten doing so. Under such conceptualizations the nuclear and star wars, arms races become not only socially, but also mentally crazy. Retaliatory deterrence with weapons of mass destruction in general and nuclear deterrence in particular become a mental disorder. In other words, a new barrier *may* emerge, fortunately.

In conclusion, consider a simple "model":

$$\sum_{1}^{n} E_i = K$$
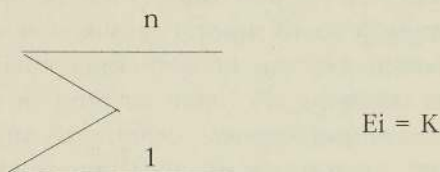
The sum of human empathy over all n types of Other is constant. The assumption would be that we are all born with the same empathic capacity. However, the big dividers of humankind, age and gender, race, nation and class induce in us different *distributions* of empathy on the types (and the typology might be expanded, adding transcendental Others, such as God, or the Prophet, the Messenger). Age and gender are to some extent kept together by the family. But the "process of civilization" especially under capitalism, seems to be a process of separation of human beings from nature; of nations and classes from each other by drawing national and social borders (e.g. by using geography for the former and color for the latter); of families from each other (separate houses, apartments); of individuals from each other (separate rooms) - the latter two referred to as *privacy.*

A distinction between self and non-self is maladaptive at the lower levels of this process. Then it becomes adaptive, even a necessity, as a part not only of the process but of the goal. The very sharp drop in empathy from self to non-self becomes adaptive in the "civilized" country, but terribly maladaptive for the world as a whole. And what is maladaptive at home may become adaptive for the world as a whole. The horizontal empathy line was after all quite adaptive. It has to become so again, tying the various human, animal and plant tribes together again.

Imagine once more that we adopted that adaptive line as world culture, with empathy evenly distributed. Would that not lead to intolerable individual suffering if we should really internalize all suffering all around the world, in all spheres as pertaining to ourselves, meaning to our selves? Would not people *have* to contract somehow, in line with the model, either spreading empathy thin,or focussing empathy on what is near?

The following are two obvious ways out of the problem of retaining a horizontal empathy curve, yet not suffering too much:

(1) *E low, i high,* meaning empathy extended over the whole horizon, but at a low level, spread thin, like the person declaring himself in love with all of humankind and all of nature, but intellectually more than emotionally. Western solution?

(2) *E high, i low,* meaning withdrawal from the world, e.g., in a monastery, to a very local community, in principle deeply moved by everything distant but protected by not knowing about it - by participating in the local, not in the global village. Buddhist solution, withdrawal in the *sangha?*

Other possibilities, mixing these two, could be imagined. And the model could be challenged. May be we could combine Western universalism with Buddhist empathy if we were capable of registering - not only suffering (*dukkha*) but also bliss (*sukha*)! In that case Western news media would be a very poor source of information. Of course, with higher level of empathy compassionate behaviour that from the standpoint of the Western curves in Figure 3 would be characterized as abnormal suddenly becomes normal. That should increase our *sukha*. Injurious behaviour anywhere will be characterized as abnormal, leading to massive psychiatrization. But that is a minor price to pay for a higher level of empathy with nature and human beings in all parts of social space and world space - as a badly needed barrier against suicide for the human race. We would suffer the injuries suffered by others. But we would also share the countless joys.

Let us now return in a more positive vein to the basic theme of this chapter: human enlightenment. A linkage has been assumed between the approach chosen to mental disorder and the Buddhist theory of human enlightenment. Time has come to try to spell it out.

The linkage is located in the *anatta* doctrine; perhaps the most controversial part of Buddhist thinking. I am not sure I understand, nor sure whether I agree, nor am I sure that I might disagree because of what I understand or what I do not understand. But let me try, proceeding with some care.

A-natta is a denial of *natta*. The question is, what is *natta?* Translation as "self" or "soul" is not very helpful, being insufficiently specific. There seem to be two characteristics of *natta,* both of them denied in the Buddhist *anatta* doctrine. The two characteristics deal with space

and time, respectively. Both of them serve to specify "self" or "soul", clarifying exactly what is being rejected in an *anatta*-doctrine.

The two characteristics are:

In space: that the self has a separate identity
In time: that the self has an enduring identity.

In other words, the *natta* is an enduring trajectory, separate from other *natta*, tracing other trajectories through time. Being separate through time sets it apart from other *natta*. In that apartness there is no assumption that the self is unchanging. The assumption is that however much it may change there is a nucleus in the self with an identity, something identifiable that is constant. There is an identity in substance. Words like "self", "soul", "spirit" do not express this sufficiently. The adjective "individual" in front of "self" or "soul" helps. That which has a separate and enduring identity is an individual self. There is a peg on which to hang a name.

In this there is a doctrine of self-soul atomism. The smallest separate and permanent self is supposed to be that of the individual. There is no sub-individual self. A human body carries a maximum of one soul. On the other hand, the doctrine of separability, meaning that a border can be drawn around an individual self separating "it" from other selves implies that the individual self atom is also the largest unit of self around. In other words, this is not only spiritual atomism, but a doctrine of (chemically) inert gases, of individual self atoms incapable of linking up with other atoms, forming separate and enduring unions (known as molecules). The correct label for a self of that kind is the first pronoun singular. It is "I", "me", "my", "mine". That self recognizes itself, and is recognized by others, as such.

This model of the human self fits the semitic (occidental) religions particularly well. Separability corresponds to occidental individualism with the individual as a spiritual unit of account, leading to individual ethical accounting practices. Enduring should even be understood as "eternal". It also fits Hinduism if the word "enduring" is not taken to mean "eternal". An occidental soul is given only one life on earth in which it is tested; then comes "eternal life" in the bliss of heaven or the pain of hell. The name tag sticks to the self/soul all along the trajectory. A Hindu self may be given a second, a third and so on chance through transmigration, being tested again and again, but with a chance to improve. Sooner or later the soul may be released from the cycle of transmigration and lose its separate character in a union of self/atman - the small, individual soul - with Self/Atman/Brahman, the great universal soul. In Hinduism this union is referred to as nirvana. In a caste system like Hinduism we would not expect that bliss automatically to be available for all. Nor is it; being "twice-born" is for the upper castes.

The model fits Western atheism/agnosticism/humanism only where separability is concerned. The atheist/humanist self does not endure since an afterlife for the self(beyond reputation, sedimented in history) is denied. Since the self cannot exist independently of the body separability of the individual self is assumed, however. General body separation, but with occasional union are taken as indicative of the topology of the individual selves. Body and mind/self/soul/spirit are supposed to be in correspondence under a general doctrine of material individualism. The body is an event, demonstrably not something enduring. The body decays and is dismantled; so, presumably, is the self. The body is separate from other bodies; so, accordingly, are the selves.

There are only three exceptions to the general rule of separation with union occurring:

-- a sexual relation of partial and temporal incorporation of one body in the other. This is taken as indicative that the selves do or should do something similar, if possible at the same moment. That union of selves, with the selves imitating the bodies in being intimate, is called love.

-- a mother-child relation of total and temporal incorporation of one body in the other. This is taken as indicative that the corresponding selves can enter/should enter the same type of relationship. This is called the special mother-child relation.

-- congenitally united twins ("Siamese"), a partial fusion of two bodies. The fusion, permanent for the duration of the bodies, is regarded as being against nature, and as being harmful. With surgical separation of the bodies it is probably assumed that a corresponding separation of selves will not threaten the doctrine of spiritual atomism known as individualism.

It should be noted that in the two "natural" cases of union, as opposed to the "unnatural" case of congenitally united twins, it is the adult woman who incorporates the man or the child, not vice versa. If this topology is replicated for the selves, according to the general doctrine of correspondence, a doctrine of female superiority, strength, power, inclusiveness would be hard to avoid. The correspondence principle would lead to the conclusion that the adult, female self accommodates / embraces / engulfs the male and fetus/embryo/infant/child selves and not vice

versa. A very concrete reason for male revolt, trying to assert themselves by incorporating the woman, suppressing her using political, cultural, economic and even military/coercive power (witch-burning)? It should be emphasized, however, that the theory of body/self correspondence was needed to arrive at this conclusion.

The Buddhist stand on these issues is as extreme and dramatic as it is clear: both characteristics of the self are denied according to the *anatta* doctrine. There is no such thing as self with a separate and enduring identity. However, since Buddhist philosophy assumes consciousness as a part of being human, as one of the five constituents of the body (after physicality, feelings, perceptions and dispositions) there clearly is *something*. There is some kind of self, capable of thinking, among other things, Buddhist thoughts. Obviously there are limits to the extent to which the Buddhist self thinks away itself by thinking its own non-existence. But Buddhism does not deny consciousness. A Buddhist self, reflecting on these issues, comes to the atheist conclusion in denying any enduring identity. But in addition, unlike atheism, the Buddhist self also denies that it has separate identity. What does this mean, particularly given the Buddhist doctrine of rebirth?

One possible formula could be this: Buddhism asserts a general *continuity of process* of the self, rather than the occidental and Hindu *identity of substance*. In a sense this is a specification of the general Buddhist doctrine of interconnectedness. If everything is interconnected in a web of conditional causal relationships, why should this not also apply to the Buddhist selves? That continuity of process could be seen as carried by "vital forces" that emanate from the force center of the body (of every body). "At death the vital forces cohere and precipitate again into a

biological birth. This rebirth will continue until one is enlightened."

Thus, there is a process that is continuous through time. But there is no permanent identity carried by that process, just as a body is no longer the same when all molecules have been exchanged for new molecules (objection: there might still be an invariance at the level of organization of molecules). In addition the process comes to an end. Like for Hinduism there is a release from *samsara,* the cycle of birth, death and rebirth. Unlike Hinduism, however, Buddhism is democratic: enlightenment and *nirvana* are for everybody. The time perspective is somewhat baffling, but principal hope applies to all. There is a potential Buddha in every sentient being.

However, I think the process-continuity of Buddhism also applies in space. Denial of separability implies denial of any borderline in the community of sentient being, which in turn is an affirmation of the unity-of-life principle. If separability of an individual self is impossible/meaningless then it must be because some kind of link-up with other selves is possible. The question is how that "link-up" can be envisaged. A number of models are conceivable.

First, there is the possibility of inclusion, even incorporation of Other into Self, and by implication, of Self into Other. We might distinguish between two cases here, single or asymmetric inclusion on the one hand and double, symmetric, mutual inclusion on the other. Drawing the second might defy our abilities, not only to draw but also to conceive of such relations. But why should the topology of self/selves be easy to understand?

Second, there is the possibility of both being included into something bigger, greater and undergoing a fusion with each other by being incorporated in the Super-self, the Self. Hinduism has built into it this possibility.

Third, there is the possibility of the selves establishing linkages with each other in a network, much like a network of friends or acquaintances. In that network there would be flows of "vital forces" in all directions. A network is a net, with points and lines, or nodes and links. And we could now imagine three different models of a network, emphasizing the nodes, emphasizing them about equally or emphasizing the links, as done in Figure 4.

Figure (4) Three models of networks
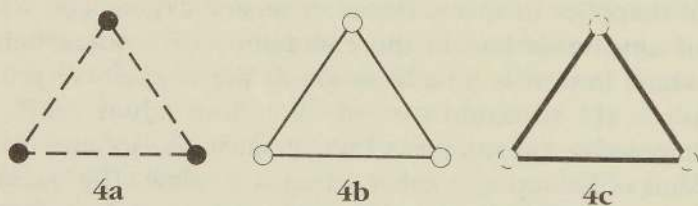

4a   4b   4c

Figure 4a would correspond to the patriarchal, occidental model of self with a very heavy emphasis on the nodes, the links receding into the background, although some links are more important than others. Figure 4c would correspond to the Buddhist (and not only Buddhist, very many non-Western cultures would be like that) model of non-self, with the links, the ties to all other nodes being very strongly emphasized and the nodes receding into the background - somewhat like the Cheshire cat in Alice in Wonderland. But in that case, what would correspond to

the famous smile of that famous cat? Enlightened consciousness, and that particular smile - very different from the grin of that cat or the "inscrutable" smile of Mona Lisa - captured in the Buddha image.

Obviously, Figure 4b is an in-between station; the process from a via b to c being one of increasing enlightenment, guided by the Three marks of *dukkha* (suffering), *anicca* (impermanence) and *anatta* (non-self). Ultimately the illusion of self as separate and enduring disappears through a process of enlightenment overcoming the two obstacles that tie human beings to the illusion of a separate and enduring identity: ignorance and craving. Ignorance about the true *anatta* nature of reality as in Figure 4c, insisting on the "I"; craving in the sense of clinging to the "mine" not realizing its true *anicca* nature. And that is the content of the first three of the Four Noble Truths. The fourth truth is the Eightfold Noble Path, with *pancha shila* and *pancha dhamma* as ways of spelling it out in more detail. Guided by the Buddha as an inspiration, the Dhamma as his teachings and the Sangha as enactment. The Triple Gem.

However, this is a presentation of Buddhism like many others, no doubt flawed (like most others). Let me try to add to this a more personal touch, based on personal experience.

I like the epistemology of Buddhism, both the emphasis on impermanence, and on conditional causation in all directions. Since this will be spelled out in chapter 5 below I shall not dwell on it here except to praise its realism, its absence of idealist metaphysics, the clinging to illusions of the constant and invariant, characteristic of so much occidental thought (but more so in the liberal/conservative than in the marxist variety). It is the absence, not the presence of mysticism that characterizes Buddhism.

I like, very much, the idea of seeing oneself, one's self, as a part of a world-encompassing network of sentient beings; and feeling this so strongly that not only my self, but also those of others, diminish in significance. The network looks like a set of links rather than a set of nodes. This goes very well with modern social science emphasis on structure rather than actor, focussing more on the inter-action pattern than on the characteristics of the actors (regions, countries, nations, persons; here called nodes).

I like even more the idea of conceiving of the essence of enlightenment in terms of stretching out, reaching others everywhere. Being one with them, not with oneself only or those nearest to oneself. As my idea of my own uniqueness diminishes in significance relative to the sensation of that wonderful myriad of life all over, out there and in me, I feel that some progress is being made. Thus, death matters less. My body is extinguished. So what? Life continues, and I have made my contribution. My vital forces are ready to cohere. But, does it have to be in one body only? Could it not be better distributed, so to speak?

I like the implicit rejection of the other ways of con-ceiving of unity. In the incorporation/inclusion idea there is something imperialistic, domineering. Symmetric, mutual incorporation helps. But it is still too dyadic, whereas absorption in a higher Self and a network admits of any number simultaneously. Absorption in the higher Self, however, is vertically dyadic: it becomes a metaphor for my self relative to the universal Self, not for my self rela-tive to others. Obviously we are dealing here with a figure in-between the Buddhist not only no-self but also no-Self idea and the occidental idea of union with God-the-Creator.

Then, if I like it all so much, where do I have difficul-ties? Essentially at one point. Where is this self capable of

achieving all this enlightenment? Does it self-destruct, so to speak, in the sense that the moment self realizes its own non-existence it follows suit and no longer is? Certainly not, it was not there in the more precise sense of being separate and enduring in the first run. But, what happens to that consciousness that became aware of the illusion of a separate and enduring self? It sprang from the conscious- ness somehow housed in my body, grew in enlightenment with my body and mind meditating on these matters. Does that consciousness really have no name-tag on it? Was there no name-tag on the Buddha's awareness when he became enlightened?

Well, well. As will be pointed out in chapter 5; whatev- er contradiction there is here, I can live with it and work on it. In fact, I do so and find it the best *koan* I ever encountered. In the meantime an other process can con- tinue, the process that to me as a peace researcher is most important: the process of expanding empathy as a prelude for *metta-karuna*, compassion, with all sentient life.

Travel , deep immersion in other human conditions through testimony, including reading, exposure in general, openness to the life of others. A cosmopolitan, even nomadic life style is neither a necessary, nor a sufficient condition. But it may help. Having done that for my entire adult life I became more and more aware of a glaring omission: my relation to non-human life, and to my own body, treating all of them badly. The transition to vegetari- anism (with occasional slips) is very much inspired by immersion in Buddhism, and by my own children becom- ing vegetarian. Sample:

Fredrik: "How does this differ from cannibalism?" - and I looked at the meat in front of me.

Irene: "I was in the zoo today. I always used to like zoos. Today I found it just terrible, to put animals in prison like that. So I walked up to one of them and whispered, I cannot do anything today, but one day I may come and help you get out. "Of course I needed the additional argument from a physician. Dr. J.A. McDougall supplied both convincing arguments and Fumi, my wife, convincing diets. Being in it I am struck everyday by how similar being vegetarian is to true peace and development politics. You forego some immediate pleasure or "benefit" for which you will have to pay dearly later in terms of the resistance of the body, the poor and exploited, the suppressed and dominated. You gain in health, peace and development. You can look animals in the eyes. You train your body for social and world tasks. And you grow in the process, feeling not only lighter but more enlightened.

Chapter Four
BUDDHISM AND NATURE BALANCE

1. Five religions; one nature

"In autumn 1986, a unique alliance was forged between conservation and five of the world's great religions." [1] Below are some key quotes from their declarations:

Jewish Declaration on Nature:

> Our ancestor Abraham inherited his passion for nature from Adam. The later rabbis never forgot it. Some twenty centuries ago they told the story of two men who were out on the water in a rowboat. Suddenly, one of them started to saw under his feet. He maintained that it was his right to do whatever he wished with the place which belonged to him. The other answered him that they were in the rowboat together; the hole that he was making would sink both of them. (Vayikra Rabbah; 4:6)

Christian Declaration on Nature:

> .....man's dominion cannot be understood as licence to abuse, spoil, squander or destroy what God has made to manifest his glory. That dominion cannot be anything else than a stewardship in symbiosis with all creatures......

Every human act of irresponsibility towards creatures is an abomination. According to its gravity, it is an offence against that divine wisdom which sustains and gives purpose to the interdependent harmony of the universe.

The Muslim Declaration on Nature:

The word "Islam" has the dual meaning of submission and peace.

For the Muslim, mankind's role on earth is that of khalifa, vice-regent or trustees of God. We are God's stewards and agents on earth. We are not masters of this earth; it does not belong to us to do with it what we wish.

Unity, trusteeship and accountability, that is *tawheed, khalifa* and *akhrah,* the three central concepts of Islam, are also the pillars of the environmental ethics of Islam. They constitute the basic values taught by the Qur'an. It is these values which led Muhamad, the Prophet of Islam, to say: "Whoever plants a tree and diligently looks after it until it matures and bears fruit is rewarded," and "the world is green and beautiful and God has appointed you his stewards over it."

Hindu Declaration on Nature:

This leads necessarily to reverence for animal life. The Yajurveda lays down that "no person should kill animals helpful to all. Rather, by serving them, one should attain happiness." (Yajurveda 13.47)

.....the natural environment also received the close attention of the ancient Hindu scriptures. Forests and groves were considered sacred, and flowering trees received special reverence. The Mahabharata says that "even if there is only one tree full of flowers and fruits in a village, that place becomes worthy of worship and respect......"

Buddhist Declaration on Nature:

The simple underlying reason why beings other than humans need to be taken into account is that like human beings they too are sensitive to happiness and suffering: they too, just like the human species, primarily seek happiness and shun suffering.

Presumably the representatives of these religions have done their very best to find good backing for a conservationist stand in their basic texts and ways of approaching reality. The texts are interesting as an introduction because they show an Occident-Orient axis, and in favour of the latter from a conservationist point of view. Thus, only the Buddhist declaration talks about "beings other than humans" as something like us, in being" sensitive to happiness and suffering". In the Jewish declaration there is actually no reference to nature at all, only to the finite earth argument which is the basic premise in a more rational, scientific approach. In the Christian and Muslim declarations there is the idea of the good steward as a part of God's order - but clearly with Man above Nature, not on an equal footing with nature. And the Hindu declaration is somewhere in the middle between the three occidental and the Buddhist.

With this as an introduction to the problematique, let us try to set this issue in a broader context.

2. The religious approach to nature

How does Man relate to Nature? - And is there anything in this relation that can be built upon to protect Nature from Man's tremendous destructiveness? To that destructiveness history bears ample testimony. And yet, there must also have been something staving man's destructive hand, otherwise even more would have been destroyed and the environmental basis for human existence would have deteriorated even further, to the point of extinction of human settlements, and not only in some areas but all over the world.

Man acts on Nature, Nature acts on Man - there is an *actio-reactio* relation both ways. But that does not mean that the relation is interactive from man's point of view. For that to happen nature has to be seen as an actor, capable of formulating goals and even strategies for achieving them in the relationship to man. So the basic distinction comes right at that point; to what extent is nature seen as *animate* in the sense of having *anima*, soul; to what extent is nature seen as inanimate, as being soulless, even desouled, "entgöttert?"

Since religion is the institution defining the distribution of soul or sacredness in the universe the answer to this question would have to be "depends on which religion, what parts of nature". Some typologies are needed and the two typologies introduced here are simple, hardly controversial.

With regard to religion I shall make use of a somewhat broader concept, civilization, and more particularly the code, or cosmology, of civilizations[2] where religions certainly play a rather major role. More particularly, mention

will be made of seven civilizations or civilization categories:

1. *Occidental civilization in expansion:* or Judaism-Christianity-Islam, hard version.

2. *Occidental civilization in contraction:* or Judaism-Christianity-Islam, soft version

3. *Hindu civilization*

4. *Buddhist civilization*

5. *Chinese civilization*
   - Daoism
   - Confucianism
   - Buddhism

6. *Japanese civilization*
   - Shintoism
   - Confucianism
   - Buddhism

7. *Indigenous civilizations*

As will be seen no distinction is made between civilizations and other cultures or macro-cultures since any such distinction carries a connotation of "higher" (for civilizations) and "lower" (for other cultures). However, it should be noted that "civilization" carries the connotation of *civis*, city, which already indicates a contradiction relative to nature. Perhaps the word "macro-culture" might be more appropriate as "civilization" often behaves in a manner very far from being "civilized" in any conventional sense. On the other hand only passing remarks will be made in connection with category number seven above, and mainly for contrast with numbers one to six.

With regard to nature the typology is also fairly uncontroversial:

1. *Biosphere*
   - Animals (higher, lower)
   - Plants (higher, lower)
   - Micro-organisms
2. *Lithosphere*
3. *Hydrosphere*
4. *Atmosphere*
5. *Cosmosphere* (outer space, the rest of the universe)

No finer distinctions are needed, nor meaningful in the context of this discussion. Moreover, the precise borderline between "higher" and "lower" is not easily drawn as we are here dealing with normative culture, and more particularly with religions, not with zoology, botany, ecology with endless sub-classifications.

Given these two typologies the basic stance taken by the religious component of major civilizations can be mapped out, with many question marks, as will be done below. As mentioned it all depends on how soul, *anima* is distributed. Religions classified under the headings of *animatism/animism/pantheism* are unproblematic. By definition there is that of soul everywhere, hardly ever in a uniform distribution, but certainly all over the environment, not only reserved for human beings.

Also unproblematic is *atheism* with its denial of soul and the sacred. There is nothing to distribute, hence man and environment are in principle equal, symmetrical partners in the universe. The rest is a question of cost-benefit analysis, guided by rational scientific research. And that is where the symmetry disappears, with man doing research on nature, but presumably not vice versa.

Much more problematic are the cases of *polytheism/monotheism*. In both cases, but particularly that of monotheism there is a tremendous concentration of soulforce at a selected point in the universe, the god(s). It is as if these points soak up the soul substance there is, leaving nothing for nature in general except for that self-appointed apex of nature, the human beings, and its self-appointed apex: the believers in those particular gods, not to mention that particular God, in the case of monotheism (Occident).

But in that case there would be nothing in the unmediated relationship to nature that could stand in the way of destruction. All would depend on God's words in these matters, and what kind of sanctions would be at His disposal against those who defile or destroy nature; showing up in the first run as bad conscience, later on possibly even as punishment. The sacred text revealed by God via his prophets would be decisive. If they, for instance the occidental religions, say little or nothing on such matters as that of killing of animals, then destructiveness would be in order (the Jewish *kosher* rules, for instance, are not against killing, but about how to kill). The alternative is a switch to the second mode of orientation to nature: the rational approach. But in that case there may be a carry-over from the polytheistic/monotheistic idea of Man as a chosen species over the rest of nature; built into the way "natural" science is carried out. The sole criterion would be what ultimately serves man.

On the next page the reader will find an effort to elaborate religious stands on nature in tabular form. There are 49 combinations altogether in the Table. One of them is a blank since I do not think in general we can assume indigenous civilizations to have particular views on micro-organisms (in this I may be entirely wrong), leaving a total

Table 6. *Is nature sacred? - The views of the major civilizations*

	Occidental in expansion	Occidental in contraction	Hinduism	Buddhism	Chinese civilization	Japanese civilization	Indigenous civilizations	
Animals	NO	?	?	YES	?	?	?	
Plants	NO	?	NO	YES	NO?	NO?	?	
Micro-organisms	NO	NO?	NO	YES (JAINISM)	NO?	NO	-	
Lithosphere	NO	NO?	NO	NO	NO?	NO	?	
Hydrosphere	NO	NO?	NO	NO	NO?	NO	?	
Atmosphere	NO	NO?	NO	NO	NO?	NO	?	
Cosmosphere	?	?	NO	NO	NO	NO	?	
SUM NO	6	0	6	4	1	5	0	22
NO?	0	4	0	0	5	1	0	10
?	1	3	1	0	1	1	6	13
YES	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3

of 48. Of these 48 the highest frequency is for a flat *no* where sacredness is concerned, 22 cases. In about as many cases, 23 of them, there is a possibility, a question mark. And only three cases are characterized as a relative unambiguous stand in favour of positive sacredness, all of them under the heading of Buddhism.

It goes without saying that all of this should be taken *cum grano salis*, to put it mildly. But it does not seem so far fetched to identify the occidental civilization of the expansionist variety, carried religiously by the harder aspects of Judaism, Christianity and Islam to be almost ambiguously devoid of any notion of sacredness of nature, except for the cosmosphere. A question mark has been put there. Is that not above, the yonder where God has His abode? If He is that awesome should that not inspire some respect, and make people hesitate before they litter the universe with all kinds of space junk? But so far the normative restraints where outer space is concerned seem to have been minimal relative to rational constraints, and even those rational constraints do not look very impressive. The best grade that can be offered seems to be a question mark in this particular category.

But then there is the softer variety of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, much more positive to nature. It may be objected that in religion hard and soft go together. But the historical experience seems to be that they separate both geographically and historically, in area and era; and sociologically in age, gender, class and nation categories. Different people believe different things in different places and periods. In soft Christianity nothing is entirely desouled although nothing is absolutely besouled either - except, possibly, human beings to whom the old Roman adage *homo res sacra hominibus* (man should be sacred for men) would apply. Can "nature" be substituted for

"man" in this sentence? The answer is neither a clear yes nor a clear no. The whole column is an exercise in doubt. I simply do not think one can talk about an unambiguous ecological message in Christianity, and the same appears to go for Judaism and Islam. There are certainly soft approaches, but there are also hard. And the hard often becomes mainstream religion.

This does not change much when we come to Hinduism. After all, the untouchable/casteless/pariahs are what they are among other reasons because they are butchers, indicating that animals are not totally sacred, except to those on the higher rungs of the caste system who neither will kill nor eat animals. But they alone do not constitute a civilization. There is the peculiar position of the cow symbolic of the sacredness of life, possibly not only of animals but of all sentient beings. But, cows alone do not an environment make. And Hinduism as such is much more polytheistic than pantheistic, consequently not in itself a source of *general* sacredness of nature.

Regardless of what might be said about Hinduism, Buddhism is so much more clear.[3] Not only human beings, also animals, possibly also plants, have Buddha nature. This extends to all sentient life. In Jainism, which emerged historically in a way parallel to Buddhism, both of them from Hinduism, it is quite clear that micro-organisms are sacred, hence the proverbial filtering of the air before it enters the human mouth when breathing, lest micro-organisms be ingested. No doubt such humans would be very soft on nature, although it does not follow as a direct consequence that there would be softness relative to litho-hydro - and atmosphere. On the other hand, in Jainism there is also the idea of not disturbing air or water as organisms in their own right.

In Chinese civilization we do not have the clarity of Buddhism even though there is the Buddhist element in the Chinese amalgam. There is also the highly pragmatic, one might say rational-minded approach of Confucianism, even if unaided by what in the West is referred to as science. On top of these two, however, there is Daoism with its natural philosophy inspired by a dialectic so lively that it is hardly stretching the matter too far to say that there is an element of pantheism in Daoism. But the element is not so normatively compelling as in Buddhism with its basic assumption of unity-of-life (not only unity-of-human beings).

Somewhat similar comments can be made about the Japanese amalgam. There is the Buddhist component in the semi-sacredness, if one may put it that way, of animals and plants, probably also a *shinto* element. That latter element, incidentally, would also be found in selective parts of nature such as the sacred mountain *Fujisama* -an hypothesis that was not tested since there was no fighting on the Japanese main islands during the Pacific War that might have touched the sacred mountain.

On the other hand, there is no Daoist influence in Japan that could extend the question marks downward in the hierarchy in spheres as has been done for the Chinese case. And the result is for everybody to see - the nature cult is *en minature, bonsai.*

Finally, there are the "minor" civilizations, the indigenous cultures, all wrapped into one column. All I can do is to put question marks indicating that there is no general, definite conclusion in either direction, but an opening towards sacredness and a morally induced abstention from destructiveness. Obviously the variations in this category are so enormous as to defy any *clear* classification.

Let me try to summarize the conclusions from Table 6, conceding that some of the signs are highly debatable, but not that the conclusions are not robust enough to hold up against some minor revisions.

First, the general picture is that of a humankind removed from nature, or at least not deeply immersed in it. Phrased in religious terms the major factors of removal seem to be the monotheism of occidental religion, the polytheism of Hinduism and the atheism (combined with diluted pantheism via the Buddhist influence) of the Chinese and Japanese amalgams. Immersion in nature is found in indigenous civilizations and in Buddhism, but even so only partly, never completely.

Second, the two extremes are occidental civilization in expansion on the one hand and Buddhism on the other. I would draw from this the tentative conclusion that the environment is worse off when steered by confirmed occidentals, be that of the (hard) Jewish, Christian or Muslim varieties. And the environment is probably best off when administered by Buddhists. It belongs to the picture that whereas the latter is a decreasing and relatively small minority in the total world conglomerate of religions the former is increasing on the way to majority status in the world population.

Third, the total picture is worse than emerges from Table 6 because occidental expansionist civilization is invading all the other six, being an overlayer for all of them, inside and on top of many of their members, and particularly those in the elites. There is invasion of the occidental periphery as well as of all indigenous peoples; invasion of the Hindu civilization in India and of the Buddhist civilization in Southeast and East Asia. China and Japan have managed to remain more autonomous, but on

the other hand these are also the civilizations where religion constitutes less of a bulwark against man's nastiness to nature.

But what about vegetarianism, one might wonder, as a very important expression of a non-killing attitude to nature? Do we not have vegetarianism both in the Hindu, Buddhist, Chinese and Japanese civilizations, if not complete at least partial? Yes, that is definitely true and this may be both the cause and the effect of a sense of sacredness of all sentient life. But that would at most extend to animate nature, not to inanimate nature. With animals being increasingly herded together in animal reserves, national parks etc. one might imagine that these reserves would be set off as sufficiently sacred to represent "open nature" - like an "open city", not to be touched by the extreme insults of warfare. This is certainly more than nothing, but considerably less than what is needed for general protection of nature. They all come together, atmosphere, hydrosphere, lithosphere, micro-organisms and plants needed for the successful operation of photosynthesis which in turn is the basis for the food chains on which we all depend.

So I would take the vegetarianism of the Hindu, Buddhist, and (to some extent) Chinese and Japanese civilizations to be indicative of a deeper connection with animate nature than found in the two occidental civilizations; and also, incidentally, in many of the highly carnivorous indigenous civilizations. With the additional note that in Buddhism the relation is deeper, extending to more spheres. And maybe I would go one step further. In being vegetarian there is an implicit pact with animate nature; some sort of peaceful co-existence. As mentioned, I do not think one should assume that this pact extends automatically to the inanimate spheres - that would require insights not ever found explicitly in Buddhism.

But Buddhist culture has vegetarianism as a fundamental element. Those who, like myself, also want other, often called more "rational" underpinnings can easily pick them up:

From world space: vegetarianism is softer on nature, hence more compatible with national self-reliance, which in turn means less dependence on other countries for soil, fodder, energy, and less conflict deriving from this dependence. *From social space:* vegetarianism is softer on nature, hence more compatible with local self-reliance and less dependence on other parts of the country. Moreover, vegetarianism liberates soil, fodder, energy for other purposes; making it possible to satisfy the basic needs of many more people.

From human space: vegetarianism is more healthy for the *body,* particularly in fighting killer no. 1, cardio-vascular diseases; healthy for the mind, in giving us peace with animate nature; for the *spirit* in making the intake of food less of a carnal literally speaking and more of a spiritual experience-enjoying, and being grateful, for every bit of food.

From nature space: in extending our compassion to include all sentient life in its own right, for their own sake. A civilization that kills animals may easily kill fellow human beings by defining them as "beasts" - that option would be less available for a civilization that does not kill animals, and not even regards them as beasts, but as things.

Hence, in a certain sense, Buddhist vegetarianism links all five spaces. The vegetarianism comes out of culture, of a way of thinking. The implications in the other four spaces, world, social, human and nature are so beneficial in terms of the goals for those spaces that a conclusion is very close: There must be some basic cultural adequacy in Buddhism.

Chapter Five
BUDDHISM AND CULTURAL ADEQUACY

Origins

Back to the *origins,* that sounds like a program. And in this introductory effort to explore relations between methodology, epistemology and cosmology this program will be pursued taking the word "origin" in two senses. Religion is the "origin" of our efforts to comprehend the nature of the universe, certainly shaping - and being shaped by - people's minds much before anything called explicit and systematic science entered the arena. And then there is "origin" in the second sense; the origin of the universe. How did it all start? And how did it evolve? What does religion have to say about that?

On this point Christianity, and of course Judaism and for that matter Islam, have strong and very explicit views. The first four chapters of Genesis, the first book in the Old Testament, is a gold mine for anyone who wants to understand occidental thought; a necessary if not sufficient source. And that gold mine, like Buddhist teachings, have been with us for more than 2,500 years. It has been transmitted from one generation to the next, subject to enormous amounts of discussion and interpretation and reinterpretation, been read and reread by priests, monks and later on by the population at large - for long periods, in

many places unrivalled as a source of understanding of how the universe works, and not only from a moral point of view but also in purely cognitive terms, whatever that may mean. Does it not stand to reason that such rivers of comprehension, with countless tributaries, ultimately forming some kind of epistemological Amazonas, one in the west and one in the east, are more important in shaping that which shapes our understanding than some recent fads and fashions in some journal of philosophy or methodology? That the latter are, at most, ripples on the waves of those rivers?

Working now at a fairly simple, common sense level of what Christianity and Buddhism are about, let us try to come to grips with the basic understanding of the universe from a more cognitive point of view, leaving out most of the moral aspects of the message. Thus, here I am less concerned with what the two religions have to say about what is right and wrong, good and bad than with what they say is true and false, not to mention what they hold implicitly to be valid or invalid assumptions about how to arrive at what is true and false. It may be objected from the very beginning that one cannot detach the moral messages from two of the world's greatest religions and focus on their theory of knowledge, the epistemology of these religions. But even if this separation might be illegitimate from some theoretical point of view I hope in the following pages to show that it may nevertheless work in practice; in other words that something simple, yet rich, meaningful and recognizable may be gleaned from basic teachings in the two religions.

Christianity

Let me start with Christianity. I assume the very first and most basic message (Genesis 1:1) simply to be that

there is a separation between creator and created. There is God-over-Humanity; there is Humanity-over-Nature and by implication God-over-Nature - the implication actually being stated in the very beginning.

From this simple point of origin, in the two senses of that word mentioned above, four relatively rich sets of consequences seem to follow, two of them pertaining to humanity, two of them to nature. In the schematic overview on the next page the reader will find the point of origin referred to as CA (C for "Christian," A for the first), and the four more or less logical derivatives as CB and CC for those pertaining to humanity, and CD and CE for those pertaining to nature. Finally there is CF pertaining to validation of knowledge.

To start with CB: from Humanity-over-Nature subject-object separation should follow, or at least now be far away. But there is a difference. In subject-object separation something in Humanity separates from the rest of Humanity and becomes a permanent, separate subject, a soul or in less religious parlance, a mind. Nature is left behind as an object. Together with Nature is the human body, which then becomes a part of objective reality, something which the consciousness as part of the mind, is capable of observing and reflecting upon: the beginning of medical science. But within the mind a further separation takes place, between a spirit which then becomes a subject to the mind as an object, capable of reflecting on what goes on in the mind. In other words, the seat of the celebrated *self-awareness*, by many in this tradition held to be the distinguishing characteristic between human beings and animals. Through this process a relatively steep hierarchy of subject-object separation is established, and this is then reflected in the construction of reality, in CD and CE.

Table 7: *Two worlds, two ways of looking at two worlds*

CHRISTIANITY

Some epistemological tenets

CA	Creator -created separation God-over-Humanity Humanity-over-Nature God-over-Nature
CB	Subject-object separation Permanent separate subject; soul Consciousness capable of observing and reflecting stable reality
CC	Consciousness *tabula rasa* Prepare by filling with mediated knowledge through study Basic rule: Laws of thought; *adequatio* with reality Contradiction-free, *tertium non datur* Basic mode: deductive trees
CD	Reality originally *tabula rasa*, then Nature space from atoms Human space from cognitions, emotions Social space from individuals World space from nations Reality *atomistic;* individual ethical budget
CE	Reality fixed through creation; *being* Static universe: Aristotelian, *Substanz* Dynamic universe: Galilean, *Funktion* Reality basically invariant and contradiction-free Laws diachronic; casual trees Time linear; finite, bounded Prime Mover
CF	Validation of theory with reality Empiricism, positivism

BUDDHISM

Some epistemological tenets

BA	Creator-created unity God-in-Humanity Humanity-in-Nature God-in-Nature
BB	Subject-object-unity No permanent separate subject, *anatta* Consciousness-in-reality; capable of moving/ improving with reality in two way causation

BC	Consciousness "impure", "noisy"; to be "cleaned"
	Prepare for unmediated stream of consciousness
	    through meditation; also study
	Basic rule: Laws of thought; *adequatio* with reality
	Contradictory, transcending; decreasing *dukkha*,
	    increasing *sukha*
	Basic mode: wheels of connectedness

BD	Reality *organic* from eternity to eternity with Nature space-in- Human space-in- Social space -in- World space -in- Reality *wholistic*; collective ethical budget, *Karma*
BE	Reality always being created; *becoming* Universe not static; but dynamic Dynamism not invariant; but transcending Reality basically impermanent, *anicca*, and contradictory Processes synchronic; multi-causal-webs Time cyclical; actio-reactio, endless, unbounded No Prime Mover
BF	Validation of reality with value Criticism, construction

The second derivative from the point of origin in CA, CC, wold have as its point of departure a conceptualization of consciousness as *tabula rasa*. I am not quite sure that this can be seen as part of Christian doctrine. After all God said, "let us make a Humanity - *someone like ourselves*, to be the Master upon all life upon the earth and in the skies and in the seas" (Genesis 1:26, italics ours). And according to Genesis 2:7 "God formed a man's body from the dust of the ground and breathed into it the breath of life". Both quotations seem to indicate that humanity has a consciousness with at least some God-like attributes. But then there is the parable of the Tree of Conscience, giving knowledge of Good and Bad (Genesis 2:9) which seems to indicate that at least before The Fall the slate was clean, and innocent. If this is a metaphor not only for phylogenetic but also for the ontogenetic development of the individual then I would stand by the statement. If not, I could argue that only knowledge of Good and Bad (and hence no excuse in making the wrong choice) was implanted in Humanity.

This is rich in implications. What it means is that consciousness has to be prepared, presumably filling it with mediated knowledge prepared somewhere else. Filling consciousness would be like eating the proverbial apple. It would also mean that Humanity somehow has to learn to think. And for that thinking to be adequate to the reality it is supposed to reflect it has to have some of the same structure as that reality. If reality is contradiction-free, then thought also has to be contradiction-free. Thus we get the laws of (occidental) thought: The law of (no) contradiction, the Law of the Excluded Middle (*territum non datur*), and the Law of Identity. With this the basis is laid - on the assumption that God's creation is itself contradiction-free-for deductive thinking leading to deductive tree or pyramids with a low number of axioms on the top and

potentially an enormous number of logical derivatives, theorems, at the bottom. If contradictions were to be permitted then anything can be obtained by deduction. The limiting, narrowing function of deductive, "logical" reasoning, would disappear. After all, God created this world, not another, and reasoning is supposed to reflect precisely this world by making only some (correctly formulated) theorems true; not all possible theorems (or worlds).

That leads us to the reality side, starting with CD in the light of CA again. Reading Genesis reality must have been very much a *tabula rasa*. Nature space with all kinds of components, ultimately with atoms, building, in that order, cosmosphere (light!), then atmosphere and hydrosphere followed, and after that lithosphere and biosphere. At the end comes homosphere, as if God had read Darwin. Or, was it rather Darwin who had read the Bible? And only departed from Genesis in a minor way by describing the mechanism instead of the rather sweeping statements made in the first pages of the Bible - having to pay for that discrepancy, instead of being celebrated for his adherence to Christian teachings of the order of the universe and its genesis!

However, that may be. God "formed a man's body from the dust of the ground and breathed into it the breath of life, "presumably" filling human space with cognitions and emotions" in the terse language of our days. By implication God filled social space with individuals, because (Genesis 2:18) "it isn't good for man to be alone; I will make a companion for him, a helper suited to his needs. "And God said to the woman (Genesis 3:16) "you shall bear children in intense pain and suffering"; yet even so, you shall welcome your husband's affections and he shall be your master." In short, not only social relations but even patriarchal ones, endowing the incipient *social space*

potentially an enormous number of logical derivatives, theorems, at the bottom. If contradictions were to be permitted then anything can be obtained by deduction. The limiting, narrowing function of deductive, "logical" reasoning, would disappear. After all, God created this world, not another, and reasoning is supposed to reflect precisely this world by making only some (correctly formulated) theorems true; not all possible theorems (or worlds).

That leads us to the reality side, starting with CD in the light of CA again. Reading Genesis reality must have been very much a *tabula rasa*. Nature space with all kinds of components, ultimately with atoms, building, in that order, cosmosphere (light!), then atmosphere and hydrosphere followed, and after that lithosphere and biosphere. At the end comes homosphere, as if God had read Darwin. Or, was it rather Darwin who had read the Bible? And only departed from Genesis in a minor way by describing the mechanism instead of the rather sweeping statements made in the first pages of the Bible - having to pay for that discrepancy, instead of being celebrated for his adherence to Christian teachings of the order of the universe and its genesis!

However, that may be. God "formed a man's body from the dust of the ground and breathed into it the breath of life, "presumably" filling human space with cognitions and emotions" in the terse language of our days. By implication God filled social space with individuals, because (Genesis 2:18) "it isn't good for man to be alone; I will make a companion for him, a helper suited to his needs. "And God said to the woman (Genesis 3:16) "you shall bear children in intense pain and suffering"; yet even so, you shall welcome your husband's affections and he shall be your master." In short, not only social relations but even patriarchal ones, endowing the incipient *social space*

with that structure from the very beginning. And in addition to that the punishment for the woman ("intense pain and suffering") with another punishment in stock for the man (Genesis 3:17): "I have placed a curse upon the soil. All your life you will struggle to extract a living from it." But at this point we are venturing far into the morality of Christian faith, beyond its picture of reality, except for the element of invariance, *original* sin.

Fairly quickly a *world space* emerges in Genesis, filled with societies or nations; in full bloom after the flood, as described in Genesis 10 (these are the families of Shem, Ham and Japheth...). The basic point, however, is how these spaces have been filled with building blocks, from the bottom up, so to speak.

It does not seem far-fetched to claim that the Bible understands reality as atomistic (at about the same time as the Greeks were working intellectually with that concept), and that this is reflected in both individualism and nationalism as the atoms of social and world spaces respectively, endowed with individual and national ethical budgets. The latter is reflected today in the economic conceptualization of the world in terms of national, economic, budgets, and indicators as if each nation were separate.

But the basic point in the way I have tried to conceptualize reality as constructed by the Creator lies in the time order: Prime Mover surrounded by Tabula Rasa, then filling Tabula Rasa with units (atoms, cognitions/emotions, individuals, nations). Only then comes structure. Of course, nature space is structured even before human individuals come to life; human space is structured before social space; and nations are structured before world space. In short, reality is constructed from the bottom up, by adding new levels of organization. This image of

Creation probably is reflected today in the strength of atomistic and particle thinking over field and wave thinking in physics; the weakness of biological field thinking (*elan vital*) in biology; the strength of behaviouralism in psychology and linguistics as opposed to *Gestalt* thinking and deep structure thinking; of the actor-oriented as opposed to the structure-oriented paradigms in sociology and political science; the view of the world as an inter-state system as opposed to the view of world *structure* as primordial in international relations. Needless to say, in referring to such contemporary debates, raging precisely at our time in large parts of the world and not only in academia, I am also indicating that more is at stake than purely intellectual stands and that much of the new thinking will tend .to come from quarters outside the Christian orbit.

In the fourth derivative from CA, CE the theme is then taken further by emphasizing not the act of creation but the result of creation. Reality is fixed, set, presumably forever or as long as it pleases God. There are two basic and rather different conceptualizations: a static universe, not moving, not changing where movement and change are considered transitory to the point of being irreality (the Aristotelian concept, Cassirer's *Substanzbegriff)* and a dynamic universe where movement and change are admitted as legitimate parts of God's creation, but then according to fixed, set laws (the Galilean concept, Cassirer's *Funktionsbegriff).* Reality is seen as basically invariant,and contradition-free. But the laws expressing these mutually consistent invariances may be deep-lying, and require painstaking, restless, efforts to be uncovered. Nevertheless, as there is a Truth somewhere, namely the way in which God set the universe, the search for Truth can be understood in terms of asymptotic convergence to a fixed point. The metaphor is increasingly accurate estimates of the

with that structure from the very beginning. And in addition to that the punishment for the woman ("intense pain and suffering") with another punishment in stock for the man (Genesis 3:17): "I have placed a curse upon the soil. All your life you will struggle to extract a living from it." But at this point we are venturing far into the morality of Christian faith, beyond its picture of reality, except for the element of invariance, *original* sin.

Fairly quickly a *world space* emerges in Genesis, filled with societies or nations; in full bloom after the flood, as described in Genesis 10 (these are the families of Shem, Ham and Japheth...). The basic point, however, is how these spaces have been filled with building blocks, from the bottom up, so to speak.

It does not seem far-fetched to claim that the Bible understands reality as atomistic (at about the same time as the Greeks were working intellectually with that concept), and that this is reflected in both individualism and nationalism as the atoms of social and world spaces respectively, endowed with individual and national ethical budgets. The latter is reflected today in the economic conceptualization of the world in terms of national, economic, budgets, and indicators as if each nation were separate.

But the basic point in the way I have tried to conceptualize reality as constructed by the Creator lies in the time order: Prime Mover surrounded by Tabula Rasa, then filling Tabula Rasa with units (atoms, cognitions/emotions, individuals, nations). Only then comes structure. Of course, nature space is structured even before human individuals come to life; human space is structured before social space; and nations are structured before world space. In short, reality is constructed from the bottom up, by adding new levels of organization. This image of

Creation probably is reflected today in the strength of atomistic and particle thinking over field and wave thinking in physics; the weakness of biological field thinking (*elan vital*) in biology; the strength of behaviouralism in psychology and linguistics as opposed to *Gestalt* thinking and deep structure thinking; of the actor-oriented as opposed to the structure-oriented paradigms in sociology and political science; the view of the world as an interstate system as opposed to the view of world *structure* as primordial in international relations. Needless to say, in referring to such contemporary debates, raging precisely at our time in large parts of the world and not only in academia, I am also indicating that more is at stake than purely intellectual stands and that much of the new thinking will tend ,to come from quarters outside the Christian orbit.

In the fourth derivative from CA, CE the theme is then taken further by emphasizing not the act of creation but the result of creation. Reality is fixed, set, presumably forever or as long as it pleases God. There are two basic and rather different conceptualizations: a static universe, not moving, not changing where movement and change are considered transitory to the point of being irreality (the Aristotelian concept, Cassirer's *Substanzbegriff*) and a dynamic universe where movement and change are admitted as legitimate parts of God's creation, but then according to fixed, set laws (the Galilean concept, Cassirer's *Funktionsbegriff*). Reality is seen as basically invariant,and contradition-free. But the laws expressing these mutually consistent invariances may be deep-lying, and require painstaking, restless, efforts to be uncovered. Nevertheless, as there is a Truth somewhere, namely the way in which God set the universe, the search for Truth can be understood in terms of asymptotic convergence to a fixed point. The metaphor is increasingly accurate estimates of the

basic parameters of the universe, such as coefficients of attraction of bodies, or the speed of light, or the mechanical equivalent of heat and the absolute zero.

Laws are fundamentally seen as diachronic, as casual chains branching into trees, with the Prime Mover theme being repeated in the shape of "initial" or "primary" causes. The typical causal chain has a beginning and an end, like Christian time. It has to be rooted in something satisfactory to the occidental mind, and it ends in the phenomenon being explored. Thus finiteness of time is introduced together with the notion of linear time unfolding along causal paths, later on to be chopped into equidistant intervals as defined by some celestial (in other words, closer to God) events: years, months, days, hours, etc.

The crowning achievement of the dynamic quest for knowledge about an essentially stable (although not necessarily static) universe is the validation of theory with reality. In this confrontation of theory-sentences with reality-sentences, of what is derived from theory with what is observed in reality there is a basic asymmetry. In principle reality is the final arbiter; if theory does not reflect reality then theory has to yield. Why? - essentially because reality is God-made and theory is humanity-made, and for theory to get the upper hand humanity has to place itself above God, and act of extreme blasphemy. I assume that this is at the roots of a basic doctrine in occidental epistemology, *empiricism*. From that there is but a short step to *positivism,* which I take to be the doctrine that what *is* is also what will *be* in the future, in order words that transcendence is impossible. Knowledge valid today will also be valid tomorrow and the day after. Positivists as the latter-day Christians!

Buddhism [1]

Let us then turn to the Buddhist side of the story. We are then entering a different world, not to mention a different way of looking at a different world. What certainly remains the same is the problems of *adequatio*, that consciousness in some way as to be isomorphic to that which it relates to, the rest of reality. And just as for Christian epistemology there are many demands to be satisfied for isomorphism to obtain in the total system.

Back to the origins - in the sense of teachings, yes. But one basic aspect of Buddhist teaching is that there is no point of origin. Time is unbounded, moving from eternity to eternity. The webs of conditional causality know no beginning, no end. There is no creation *ex nihilo*, and no separation between creator and created since there is not Creator. That does not mean that creation is not going on, in fact all the time, with creator-created unity as a basic assumption. Buddhists reject the idea of a self in the sense of a separate and enduring identity, and also the idea of a universal self. But they do not reject the idea of seeing oneself as a process continuous with other human beings and forms of life in past, present and future. That sense of highly dynamic unity would be the closest to God in Christian understanding. But this "god" is in humanity, and humanity is in nature, none of them being above the other. And by implication god is in nature, with at least live nature, participating at the same level as man in this dramatic, highly dynamic, continuous creation. Immanent, not transcendent.

In other words, we are midly speaking, dealing with a very different conceptualization, leaving aside the problem of whether any single mind, be that the present author or the present reader, is at all able to fathom such a span in

conceptualization. (With what kind of mind is that done?) What now has to be explored is not what could be called the logical implications that follow from this primary position. That deductive approach is already occidental. Rather, we shall look for other ways of stating the same, presented in such a way as to be comparable to what has been said about Christian epistemology. If what has been said so far is BA (B for Buddhist) then we shall move on to BB and BC exploring the consciousness side, and BD and BE exploring the reality side, doing so with great hesitation since we are already departing, in so doing, from the basic assumption of consciousness-reality unity. And finally BF, pertaining to validation of knowledge.

So, let that be the first point in BB: subject-object unity. About this subject, however, there is the particular and important Buddhist assumption: that there is no enduring, separate subject. There is a self, but this self is itself subject to the law of impermanence to be explored later, the principle of *anicca*. Applying the principle of *anicca* to humans one arrives at the principle of *anatta*, often translated as "no soul" where a better translation would be "no enduring, separate self. "Maybe it means that to the extent it is enduring then it is not separate.

All of this is compatible with the basic idea of consciousness-in-reality. Consciousness is capable of moving/improving together with reality in a pattern of two-way causation. Consciousness may be seen as acting on reality, but at the same time reality acts on consciousness. To the Buddhist "I walk down the street" is a very incomplete formulation of what is going on concerning the street, my acting upon the street. The formulation should be seen as incomplete, the complement being "the street is moving up on me," or something similar. What actually goes on is captured the moment consciousness

manages to hold these two complementary visions simultaneously so that a transcendence to a higher vision of reality through some kind of "click" takes place. Something like understanding a coin by seeing both sides at the same time, not only, "knowing" that the other side is there, talking about it from past experience, perhaps turning the coin around - even very quickly - to verify statements derived from those past experiences, using mirrors and so on.

But if both consciousness and reality outside consciousness are constantly changing, moving, how then is it possible to come to grips with what is going on at all? Don't we need some kind of fixed point in the universe? This is where the role of *meditation* enters Buddhist epistemology. Preparation for the meeting with reality does not take place by filling an empty consciousness with mediated knowledge, but by cleaning an "impure," "noisy," consciousness, making a clean slate so as to open for the stream of consciousness, of unmediated knowledge, presumably by having reality work on consciousness directly. A vulgar simile: a photo is generally considered more adequate when the film receives the impression through a single exposure, not through a second, third or fourth exposure on top of exposures already there.

There are also laws of how thought should be organized. Like in Christianity there are conditions for *adequatio* to obtain. A basic condition is to permit contradictory thoughts, or at least images that at first glance seem contradictory, until some kind of transcendence is obtained (the street example above might serve as an indication). The process is goal-directed: to reduce suffering *(dukkha)* and to increase happiness *(sukha)*. Needless to say, this is not only done through right understanding, but also through the other seven parts of the Noble Eightfold Path, bringing us far into the ethics of Buddhism.

The question then arises how understanding should be organized. And here the basic mode in Buddhist epistemology is clear: in wheels of connectedness. These wheels will differ from the deductive trees of occidental though by placing no insight, no understanding above the others. Thus, the Four Noble Truths and the Noble Eightfold Path" should not be seen as an axiomatic system, but probably rather as a set of insight, all of them related to each other. If reality has unity, why should not understanding also have unity, and would not a hierarchical organization of understanding destroy some of that unity, with axioms above theorems, etc.?

Basically, moving now to BD and BE, reality is seen as organically related, from eternity to eternity, with process continuity everywhere. There is nature-space-in-human-space-in-social-space-in-world-space. The borderlines between one space and the other are blurred. Such borderlines may be useful to thought, but do not reflect reality. Reality can only be conceived of in a wholistic fashion. Thus, although I am also responsible for my own acts, I share that responsibility with others. What I do of good also comes to my brothers and sisters because knowingly or not they helped me; what I do of bad also reflects upon them because knowingly or not they did not prevent me from doing so. There is *karma* sewing the constituent parts together, not only in the diachronic individualistic sense of "whatever you say and whatever you do, sooner or later comes back to you" (written on The Wall separating the two Berlins, as a very meaningful graffiti), but also in the synchronic collectivist sense of tying together sentient beings at the same point in time.

This introduces a much more wholistic way of conceiving of everything, be that in nature space, human space, social space and world space, not to mention in the rela-

tions among them. Not that people who have grown up in Christian epistemology, more or less capable of reflecting upon its implicit assumptions to the point of accepting them, are not capable of also arriving at wholistic insights. The point is that in Buddhist epistemology such insights come automatically: in Christian epistemology they will come through agony and struggle, fighting against the stream (not to mention the mainstream!), against deeply ingrained inclinations, sedimented in one's own mind and collectively shared.

For reality according to Buddhism is always being created, always becoming. The universe is not static but dynamic, and that dynamism is not invariant but transcendent. The laws as they appear to us are impermanent, because reality is impermanent, *anicca*. And laws about laws in the sense of laws about how laws change would also be impermanent. The only impermanence that is not impermanent would be impermanence itself - one of these contradictions in thought of which Buddhists might say "you can live with that one". Why? Because reality itself is contradictory, a struggle between opposites all the time, and it would be false to assume that a mind incapable of harbouring contradictions would be capable of participating in the consciousness-in-reality (or reality-in-consciousness) stream. With higher levels of consciousness contradictions may disappear. But for contradictions to disappear we have to be able to accommodate them in the first run and use them as material - like a *koan* - for our own enlightenment.

Processes are synchronic, not in the sense that they do not unfold in time, but in the sense that they take place at the same time in any part of reality. The causal chain or tree (a chain with branches of Christian epistemology) is unsatisfactory not because of any denial of causality but

because causal processes are organized along a linear time dimension. In Buddhist epistemology there is cause and effect, but then always two-way. There is always *actio* and *reactio* like in any dialectical thinking, not only *actio*. The expression "multi-causal webs" covers this to some extent, but more felicitous expressions could perhaps also be found. The wheel serves this purpose as a metaphor.

This view has a very important, and highly practical consequence. How does one go about changing reality, from the point of view of Christian and Buddhist epistemology? Assuming the point of origin in Christian epistemology the logical procedure would be to find something corresponding to the Prime Mover, some lever or button that can be pressed or pushed, starting a chain of processes. This is what liberals do when they conceive of social change in terms of economic growth and economic growth in terms of saving and investment, which in turn would have some preconditions. And this is what marxists do when they conceive of social change in terms of revolution, and revolution in terms of class consciousness and class mobilization, under the leadership of the Party (as Prime Mover) - again there would be some preconditions. But the Buddhist approach would be to look for a number of processes that should be engaged in simultaneously, working at reality from a high number of angles and corners at the same time, so to speak. Better some progress on fifteen dimensions than great progress on one, not because that might be the wrong one (a finding that in the Occident would only lead to the search for another Prime Mover), but because proceeding that way you may end up not even getting the one with which you started (since the non-change on the other fourteen will cancel your "progress").

How then, do Buddhists validate their understanding? The basic *form* of validation does not necessarily differ from the one found in Christian epistemology. Something is compared with, held up against something else. But the *content* differs. In occidental cosmology *theory* would be validated with *reality*, on the assumption that theory would have to change if it does not correspond to a pre-set reality. In Buddhist cosmology *reality* would be validated with *value*, on the assumption that reality would have to be changed if it does not correspond with value. And the basic values have already been given: decreasing *dukkha*, increasing sukha. The value orientation applies to all sentient beings, thereby introducing an arrow and an idea of progress into the universe - but not with the assumption that progress will come automatically. Like everything else it is conditional. Time is cyclical in this conceptualization of reality. It goes up and down at the individual as well as collective levels. But the moral light shining from the Buddha serves as guidance in this seemingly highly disorganized, ever-changing, ever-transcending reality-with-consciousness. So, where Christian epistemology finds its expression in empiricism and even in positivism, Buddhist cosmology will find its expression in *criticism* (and the Four Noble Truths are already an expression of that criticism) and *constructivism* (and the Noble Eightfold Path is an expression of that constructivism).

The Christian tree and the Buddhist wheel

In short: two different worlds, two different ways of conceiving of two different worlds. Can we use the laws of thought of one in order to try to come to grips with the reality of the other? I think so, but we will of course see other things than what is built into the epistemology, under the assumption of *adequatio*. Reduce the *adequatio*

How then, do Buddhists validate their understanding? The basic *form* of validation does not necessarily differ from the one found in Christian epistemology. Something is compared with, held up against something else. But the *content* differs. In occidental cosmology *theory* would be validated with *reality*, on the assumption that theory would have to change if it does not correspond to a pre-set reality. In Buddhist cosmology *reality* would be validated with *value*, on the assumption that reality would have to be changed if it does not correspond with value. And the basic values have already been given: decreasing *dukkha*, increasing sukha. The value orientation applies to all sentient beings, thereby introducing an arrow and an idea of progress into the universe - but not with the assumption that progress will come automatically. Like everything else it is conditional. Time is cyclical in this conceptualization of reality. It goes up and down at the individual as well as collective levels. But the moral light shining from the Buddha serves as guidance in this seemingly highly disorganized, ever-changing, ever-transcending reality-with-consciousness. So, where Christian epistemology finds its expression in empiricism and even in positivism, Buddhist cosmology will find its expression in *criticism* (and the Four Noble Truths are already an expression of that criticism) and *constructivism* (and the Noble Eightfold Path is an expression of that constructivism).

The Christian tree and the Buddhist wheel

In short: two different worlds, two different ways of conceiving of two different worlds. Can we use the laws of thought of one in order to try to come to grips with the reality of the other? I think so, but we will of course see other things than what is built into the epistemology, under the assumption of *adequatio*. Reduce the *adequatio*

and a tension, even contradiction, arises that in itself may be fruitful.

At this point I would like to end the present exercise with an effort to summarize the structure relating these components of basic thought about the origins. There are not that many structures, the tree and the wheel being two of them.

Figure 5: different ways of organizing two different ways of looking at two different worlds.
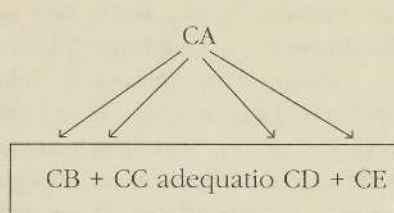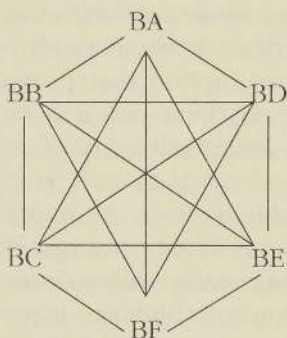
A Christian tree   **A Buddhist tree**

The figure to the left gives the Christian tree of Christian epistemology, rooted in the assumption that at some place validation has to take place with consciousness and reality coming together in the sense of correspondence, and that this is made possible by the *adequatio* between consciousness and reality. But all of this derives from the basic assumption at the top of creator-created separation.

To the right in the Figure is the Buddhist wheel of Buddhist epistemology with six insights linked together in a web of interrelations. The reader may take anyone of the fifteen and find all of them expressing some kind of correspondence, some kind of *adequatio*. The basic *adequatio* from an epistemological point of view is in the BC-BE relation. But there are other themes that fill the wheel with content, on the one hand the *anicca-anatta* assumption of impermanence, and on the other hand the *dukkha-sukha* assumption of directedness; of perfectibility. These two assumptions are related. How can there be perfectibility unless there is impermanence? Would not the assumption of permanence, of basic invariance, contradict the assumption of perfectibility? Is not an assumption of basic transcendence necessary?

Christian epistemology may be said to resolve their dilemma by making the soul capable of transcendence by admitting the basic invariance, rooted in original sin, asking for Jesus Christ to intercede, hoping for the grace of God. In Buddhist epistemology the dilemma does not arise. Transcendence is possible precisely because we are impermanent. And that transcendence, of course, is what religion is basically about: union with that which transcends. God in the Christian universe, *nirvana* in the Buddhist universe. From a religious point of view what is here referred to as "epistemology" is like a scaffolding to support the structure that leads to deeper religious conclusions. But they are outside the present concern which is precisely with that scaffolding - the epistemologies themselves.

And the conclusion is this: Buddhist epistemology, structure of thought in general of Buddhist culture to use the broadest term has a very high level of *adequatio* for the type of thought, speech and action that could lead to

higher levels of world peace, social development, human enlightenment and nature balance. Whether that correspondence is made use of is another matter. It could also be a case of those understanding very much doing very little, and those doing very much mainly from the west .... understanding very little. A good case for coming closer together.

Epilogue:
THE ROLE OF BUDDHISM IN
THE CREATION OF UNITY AND PEACE

In my view there are three basic threats to peace: *direct violence, structural violence* and *cultural violence.* How does Buddhism relate to these three?

The basic contribution of Buddhism in the creation of peace lies in its absolute rejection of direct violence: the doctrine of *ahimsa,* of non-violence. The five precepts of the *pancha shila* are very clear in this regard:

I undertake to observe the rule
to abstain from taking life;
to abstain from taking what is not given;
to abstain from sensuous misconduct;
to abstain from false speech;
to abstain from toxicants as tending to cloud the mind.

Buddhagosa [1] explains that "taking life is then the will to kill anything that one perceives as having life, to act so as to terminate the life-force in it, so far as the will finds expression in bodily action or in speech. With regard to animals it is worse to kill large ones than small, because a more extensive effort is involved. Even where the effort is the same the difference in substance must be considered.

In the case of human beings the killing is the more blame-worthy the more virtuous they are. Apart from that, the extent of the offence is proportionate to the intensity of the wish to kill."

Very clear. And he goes on to list the five factors that are involved in killing: not only life but also the perception of life; not only the thought of murder but also carrying it out; "and death as a result of it".

I know of no other religion with such an unambiguous norm against taking life. That there are gradations accord-ing to the intensity of the intention and the gravity of the consequence does not diminish the ethical force of this command. All killing is bad; some killing is even worse. Moreover, the norm is extended to all life. this is impor-tant, because it means that the Buddhist has to live up to this norm every day. e.g. by being a practising vegetarian. Other people, concerned only with not killing other human beings do not so often come across situations where the norm makes a difference. After all, most humans usually do not see killing as a possible action to be engaged in except under very special circumstances, such as a war.

Now, with this very positive point of departure, let us look more closely at the *ahimsa* norm in the light of the requirements for peace. To create peace no doubt has to do with eliminating or at least reducing violence. The problem is that there are several kinds of violence. One is very clear: the *direct violence* described in the first pre-cept, involving the five factors mentioned with the preci-sion of a modern lawyer.

But then there is *structural violence;* the violence that kills slowly, built into a structure. Of the five factors only

three apply: there is life and perception of life, but then there is no thought of murder and hence no "carrying it out". There is "death as a result of -," of what? not of "it" in the sense of "carrying it out", but "it" in the sense of flagrantly unjust social structures giving very much to the few and extremely little to the many. Is this form of violence covered by the five precepts?

Possibly by the second precept, "to abstain from taking what is not given." Buddhagosa explains again [2] that five elements are involved: some one else's belongings, awareness that they are someone else's, the thought of theft and carrying it out, and theft as a result of it. But this is *theft*; not quite the same as structural violence. Something is taken. But there may be no awareness anywhere that this happens. A landowner has land; the landless has nothing but their ability to till the land; The landowner says: "You may till my land, but you have to give me 70% of the harvest," to give a figure fairly typical of Marcos', and Aquino's Philippines. The landowner may feel he is generous, the alternative could have been a tractor. The peasant may feel grateful; the alternative could have been starvation. And yet we feel that something is morally wrong. Scientifically this feeling leads to an hypothesis: there will be forces counteracting this structure. To maintain a structure of that kind something is needed, like keeping the peasants apart so that they cannot organize any revolt, or giving them an ideology or even a religion telling them that nothing is wrong with the structure. What matters is salvation in the afterlife.

Is Buddhism a religion of that kind? I would say no. But in saying so I cannot quote Buddhist scriptures as directly as I can for direct violence. I would have to refer to another Buddhist rule, the principle of "neither too little, not too much." If a social structure can be shown to produce both

too much (the landowner) and too little (the peasants); in the great chain of being, would this not mean that the structure is wrong? Not necessarily. It could also be taken as a plea for a welfare state: tax the landowner and use the tax money to give free health and education to the peasants, plus subsidized meals at school. I do not think Buddhism can be seen as implying radical structural transformation to obtain what one might call structural justice. But Buddhism can certainly be seen as implying, as a minimum, distributive justice, coming out of a basic sense of compassion.

Let us then look at the third type of violence, *cultural violence.* I define it as any element in the culture, meaning particularly in religion and/or ideology, that legitimizes direct and/or structural violence. Again a very strong point for Buddhism. Of course there are Buddhists in past and present, and there will also be in the future, committing direct violence and participating in structural violence. But they will not find any backing in Buddhist scriptures telling them that this is right, that this would have pleased the Lord Buddha. Whoever says so will break the fourth precept, "to abstain from false speech. "That precept, however, is more about lying in the conventional sense than in legitimizing violence. But if Buddhism is invoked in favour of violence I think it can be argued that we have an act of lying.

No doubt Buddhism is a very strong ethical system for peace. But there is a weakness. Strength in personal commitment is combined with a certain weakness in understanding those silent mechanisms of evil, the wrong structures. The bigger they are, such as the nation state and the big corporations, or traditional marriage for that matter, and the more we are used to them, the more violent they become. Thus, can a Buddhist do military service? The government tells him that time has come to "defend his

country." The Buddhist may be exemplary, treat his soldiers admirably if he is an officer, yet engage in the old game of "killing-in-order-not-to-be-killed." He, like many others, may not be able to see the structure at work here. It is not merely one country against another, but a tacit alliance of governments against the silent masses of citizens giving the government a right to order their citizens to kill for the national interest as defined by the government.

But is that not a political more than a moral issue? Both, of course. And the big question is exactly how the ethical inspiration from Buddhism might enlighten politics by being bold enough to question structures, not only the single acts of individuals and countries. And to question corporations. Why is it that corporations do so little for the basic needs of the common man and woman everywhere, that they are so good at producing "too much, and so bad at helping where there is "too little?" Answer: because there is not much money to make on basic needs (such as the Buddhist requisites of food, clothes, shelter and medicine), but much money to make on basic greed. And as a consequence precious resources are wasted, not only on arms, but also on luxury goods for the few. A Buddhist should be able to see through this and bend these big structures in other directions.

Conclusion: the world needs Buddhist ethics in the struggle to create peace, and not only among human beings, but also with nature - a very strong point in Buddhism. But Buddhism has to confront the real world issues relevant for peace and enter the struggle - also when that struggle is political. There is no acceptable way of staying permanently outside that struggle. And Buddhism has so much to contribute! Above all Buddhism sends a message of unity, of all, with all. A very strong basis for peace, indeed.

NOTES

Prologue

1) See the epilogue for a discussion of what is meant, in more precise terms, with this basic assumption in Buddhism. Vegetarianism does not apply to Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhists, however.

2) Thus, the *sangha,* the Buddhist community, traditionally consisted of four groups, monks and nuns, and laymen and women (notice the systematic listing, so typical of Indian thought). In the excellent book by Diana Y. Paul, *Women in Buddhism: Images of the Feminine in the Mahayana Tradition,* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1988, the Buddha is quoted as saying: "The female's defects - greed, hate and delusion and other defilements - are greater than the male's. Because I wish to be freed from the impurities of the woman's body, I will acquire the beautiful and fresh body of a man" (p. 308). The distinction made here between a female or male body as a host, and that which is hosted, neither male nor female, possibly facilitated the emergence of "the most popular Mahayana texts (that) did not support hostile arguments against women who endavoured to realize their spiritual goals" (p. 303). The point was not that women were not capable of proceeding on the path to Buddhahood, but that it was more difficult for them, with "more attachment to home and children" (p.304). And no religion can be proud of the treatment of women.

3) To the contrary, even if national Buddhist cultures are racially homogeneous the Buddhist international commu-

nity gives the impression of being colour-blind in spite of the non-white origin of Buddhism.

4) Thus, the community of Buddhist nations, if we may speak of such a thing, does not have a clear center, nor the world Fellowship of Buddhists. No nation stands out as carrying more of the mantle than the others. This does not mean, however, that Buddhism and Buddhists are immune to bring used, for instance, by Japanese militarism; but there is no basis for that (ab) use in the Buddhist texts.

5) "In contrast to Brahmanism which rested firmly upon the rigid four-class division of Indian society, Buddhism from the first showed itself superior to distinctions of class and nationality and was therefore able to develop into a world religion," as pointed out by Daisaku Ikeda, in his *Buddhism, The First Millenium,* Tokyo, Kodansha, 1977, p. 79.

6) On the other hand, even if nobody is chosen, the Buddhist has to choose, and is free to accept or reject the Four Noble Truths, with the Noble Eightfold Path and all that follows. And nobody chooses for the Buddhist if the Buddhist chooses to accept. The Buddhist is on his and her own: "There is no accommodation within the context of Buddha Dhamma to give reliance to "revelations' or "divine messages". It is acquiring of knowledge from a down-to-earth understanding and experiencing the true nature of self and all that exists" (Mangala, *Buddhists need not change their religion,* Kuala Lumpur, BMS Publication, p. 12). The Boddisatva movement can be seen in this light, talking on the role as an example.

Chapter 1. Buddhism and World Peace

1) Japan emerged with one power center, Europe with at least two after the Catholic-Protestant split; Japan tended to develop power monopoly theories, Europe balance of power theories. Japan was isolated for a large part of her history and hence not in need of an interactionist power theory; European countries certainly were not isolated. But that does not explain why Japanese gardens tend to

have one center, not necessarily located inside a garden, as usually conceived of, whereas European gardens, particularly the French ones, tend to be based on symmetry. So, maybe there are deeper forces at work, more at the level of cosmology than ideology, expressing themselves on the one hand in international theory and practice and, on the other hand in gardens?

2) For an exploration of this, see Johan Galtung, "Entropy and the General Theory of Peace," *Essays in Peace Research*, Vol. I Copenhagen, Ejlers, 1975, Chapter 5.

3) This perspective, derived from general thinking in ecology on "system maturity" is basic to my own understanding not only of alternative peace theory but also alternative development theory, as explored in *Development: Goals and processes, concepts and theories* (forthcoming).

4) Three obvious ways of combining capitalism and socialism would be (a) to have them in different parts of the country, for instance in a federal structure permitting high levels of autonomy, also in basic economic policy, (b) to have the country go through capitalist and socialist phases in succession, more or less planned, and (c) to have a functional mix, some sectors of society run in a capitalist/market manner, other sectors in a socialist/plan manner. Option (c) is also known as the social democratic approach, option (b) is perhaps what China has been undergoing since the revolution, whereas option (a) may be a fascinating possibility for the future, for instance in a Korean or a German confederation. There are some approximations already in the German Federal Republic, within a capitalist framework.

5) See my *There are alternatives!* Spokesman, Nottingham, 1984, Chapter 3.2, also in Norwegian, Swedish, Dutch, German, Italian, Spanish and Japanese translations.

6) *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

7) For one description of the consequences of nuclear war, emphasizing and exploring the sociological and psychological aspects more than is usually done, see my *Environment, Development and Military Activity*, Oslo Norwegian Universities Press, 1982, Chapter 3 (also in Italiam translation).

8) I am using the words "occidental," "oriental," not geo-
graphically in the "West of Suez"/"East of Suez" sense, but
as a description of a religious/civilizational reality.
Occidental space is dominated by the religions that came
out of the Old Testament (Judaism, Christianity, Islam),
whereas oriental space, as I use these terms, is influenced
by Buddhist teaching. It should be noted that this would
place the Philippines and Indonesia in the occident, not in
the Orient.

9) This is in line with the general occidental tendency to see
relations as competitive, as "I win, you lose," or vice versa.
In Buddhism there is a strong emphasis on the possibility
of growing together, and also of declining together because
of the linkages of individuals with each other. It is the net-
work of individuals rather than these individals themselves
that matters: the relations rather that the elements that are
related; the net rather than the knots.

10) See my *Gandhi Today*, in German (Peter Hammer, 1987)
and Italian (Abele, 1987) translations (English edition forth-
coming), Chapter 3.

11) And this is the basic thesis of *There are alternatives!*, as
developed in some detail. in Chapter 5.2.

12) See the article "Non-violence," in *International
Encyclopedia of Peace by Michael Nagler.* This is standard
construction in Sanskrit. Thus, courage = nonfear.

13) See "An editorial, "*Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. I, No. 1,
1964.

14) See Johan Galtung, "Self-reliance: Towards alternative eco-
nomic theory, "Keynote speech given at the Other
Economic Summit (TOES) London, May 1985.

15) The Report of the Palme Commission is called *Common
Security* London, 1983. My critique of that report is found in
There are alternatives! Chapter 4.3, pp. 138-45.

16) For a further explanation of this see the excellent book by
Dieter Fischer, *Preventing War in the Nuclear Age,* Totowa,
New Jersey, 1984. Rowman & Allanheld.

17) To this, however, it could be objected, that if there is real
conflict about very basic interests, or one of the countries is
expansionist come what may, all such considerations would
be brushed aside.

18) The Buddha, when passing away: "Strive on with diligence. Work out your own salvation" (Mangala, *op. cit.,* p. 12). And Mangala quotes Ashoka (*op. cit.,* p. 3): "One should not honour only one's own religion and condemn the religion of others; but one should also honour others' religions."

19) This is beautifully illustrated and documented by one of the major books of our century, Nakamura Hajime's right-ly famous, *The Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples,* Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1964.

20) I will forever remain grateful to my Buddhist friends in the Malaysian Buddhist Meditation Centre, Green Lane, Penang, Malaysia for showing me so gently how this works in practice, starting with chants in Pali, continuing with exchanges of merits and demerits, ending with short talks on Buddhist topics, followed by discussions. The point was not only that the size of the groups doing this was small, but also that it was a *group* in the sense of not being an organization with a hierarchy, meaning a priest officiating on top. The role of the monk, the brother, was more like a brother than like a priest.

21) Having attended some working groups with Soka Gakkai in Tokyo, e.g., a women's group on peace problems, I can testify to their very high quality. As an example see the excellent book compiled by Women's Division of Soka Gakkai, *Women Against War,* Kodansha International Ltd., Tokyo, 1986.

22) Ikeda, Daisaku sees Hinayāna, "lesser vehicle" Buddhism as aiming at personal salvation, being retreatist and monastic and not proselytizing whereas Mahāyāna, "great vehicle" Buddhism is for many, participatory, aiming at improving society and proselytizing. Hinayāna Buddhism is found in Sri Lanka, Thailand, Burma, Kampuchea and Laos and insists on exact wording in a pedantic, literal approach with monks and text specialists-according to Ikeda typical of the Aryan Brahmanism that was the origin of Buddhism. Mahayana is found further away from the source and is freer, more creative, population oriented, directly concerned with laity in everyday life, more practi-cal, down-to-earth, *(Buddhism:The first Millennium)*

23) It is interesting to relate this to the theory of indirect democracy. When the system is based on political parties the struggle among them is horizontal, people deciding through their votes which party or combination of parties should rule. But the distance between ruler and ruled may still be considerable. There may be rulers and ruled in all parties, and what changes when the parties change is the composition of the group of rulers. When the system is based on referenda, and public votes in general, over issues, chances are that the distance between ruler and ruled may become less. The rulers will have to rule more in accordance with the concrete and specific wishes of the ruled because the votes are over real issues, not over those issue-bundles referred to as "party programs", permitting the rulers to interpret an election victory almost any way they want. What is missing in the referenda type of system is the horizontal struggle among political parties over interests and values. And thus it is that the horizontal struggle comes to the forefront in systems based on parties, retaining considerable distrust for the ruled and distance between ruler and ruled, whereas that vertical distance is decreased in systems (like the Swiss system) based on referenda, at the expense of a considerable lack of horizontal dynamism inspired by party struggles.

24) This is a major finding of the Correlates of War project directed by J. David Singer of the University of Michigan. It is also a rather important argument underlying the "Small is beautiful" thesis.

25) One reason for this populist character would be that Buddhism is too egalitarian for the tastes of the upper classes. The acetic lifestyle of the *bhikkhu* is also too modest, for instance in comparison with the upper rungs of the ladder of the Christian hierarchy, to be promising from the point of view of the upper classes. The power of the *bhikkhu* is based on conspicuous sacrifice. The power of the Christian hierarchy quite often on conspicuous consumption. It is interesting to contemplate the background of the founders of the religions: Buddha was of royal birth and Buddhism became egalitarian. Christ was of humble origin and Christianity became anything but egalitarian.

The kings may look about the same in the two systems; the high priests certainly do not.

26) These terms, "self" for the individual and "Self" for the collectivity, are only used metaphorically here. No separate existence of them as something permanent is intended. They refer to disposition towards the individual's own self at the expense of less empathy with other sentient beings in the universe on the one hand, and the effort to reach out towards all life on the other.

27) This is a major point in Hindu, and for that matter also in Buddhist philosophy: if one pursues only one goal or value (e.g. only one of *dharma, artha, kama, moksha)* single mindedly at the expense of the others, chances are that one will not even obtain that one, precisely because of this "complex web of interrelations."

28) The Chinese expression for this, transliterated, is "Yi guo, liang zhi."

29) For further exploration of this theme, see Johan Galtung, *Methodology and Development,* Ejlers, Copenhagen, 1988, Chapter 1.

30) Thus, the first Noble Truth is sometimes seen as an incomplete message, as it indeed is if Buddha's teachings are valid. If the Dhamma is valid the situation should be better 2,500 years later, at least for the Buddhists. And the chapter on "Soka Gakkai," in Heinrich Dumoulin, *Buddhism in the World,* Macmillian, New York, 1976, says: "To become Buddha means to live everywhere a joyous, pleasant life, from the time you get up in the morning to the time you go to sleep in the evening. To call a life happy and pleasant when it is without clothing or money, with sickness in the home and debt collectors at the door-that is of no use." (p.267).

31) To quote the Mongolian Buddhist Ochirbal, at the "Buddhism and leadership for peace" conference in Tokyo, December 1984: "What matters is not Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna, but Buddhayāna!"

32) An optimistic interpretation: "When a peak is reached and the way seems to lead downward, in truth it leads only up for even the descent must be part of a total rising development" (from Sekiguchi Shindaji) *Zen: A Manual for*

Westerners, Japan Publications, Tokyo, 1970, p.111).

33)   And this, of course, would relate to Chinese and Japanese time perspectives in general: less linear, more cyclical than what is found in the occident.

34)   I often wonder whether this dissolution-into-nothing interpretation so often found in the West is something made by Christian priests in order to make Buddhism appear less attractive! Clearly, Christianity derives much of its strength from its promise of eternal life. What Buddhism promises is release from the cycles of rebirth, just as Hinduism promises release from the cycles of transmigration. Rather than dissolution *nirvana* can be seen as a state of maximum entropy, a state of union where the individual is no longer discernible. This can happen while still alive (*nirvana*) or after the body has ceased to function (*parinirvana*).

35)   But then Buddhism is also a state religion in Thailand. And, as Ienaga Saburo, in *The Pacific War 1931-1945,* New York, Panthean Book, 1978, notes: Buddhism has always locked the capacity to challenge the "state," and Japanese Buddhism rallied behind the war."

36)   The Japanese income distribution seems to have three major characteristics. The statistical indices of dispersion are very low; relatively constant over time meaning that there are few fluctuations with diverging and converging patterns, *but,* of course, not all benefits can be expressed in monetary terms, thus escaping such measures. The latter point should be kept in mind before one becomes too lyrical about the Japanese system. The perks, the expense accounts, the gifts accruing to those in power are considerable.

37)   Daisaku Ikeda, in his *Buddhism, The First Millennium,* Tokyo, Kodansha, 1977, points out that the "Buddhist king," Ashoka (3rd century BC) is often compared to the Roman emperor Constantine, but Ashoka never made Buddhism a religion of state.".... though Ashoka himself was an ardent Buddhist, he made no attempt to suppress other religious groups. On the contrary, he lent them positive aid and encouragement. - He did not attempt to impose Buddhist ideals upon the populace as religious

dogma that they were required to embrace" (p.49).

38) To the West "freedom is insight in necessity". However, promulgated by leading Western philosophers, this has always been seen as the philosophy of the *Knecht*. The *Herr* used to live more according to "freedom is insight in sufficiency," meaning his own sufficiency, his self-sufficiency, himself as sufficient for others to obey. The result is occidental,elitist expansionism. To the Orient "freedom is insight in necessity" seems to have been much more acceptable across the board, leading to a fatalism passing as a wisdom that may become a cloak for conservatism. As a result oriental elites have been threats to their own people and occidental elites not only to their own people but also to elites and people everywhere else in the world.

39) I think Christianity, like other religions and ideologies in the Occident, comes in two versions: one hard and one soft; one made for expansion and one for contraction. This makes for considerable adaptability to the changing phases of occidental history. When one of them fails, turn to the other one.

40) See the last chapter of the book by the Swiss theologian Hans Küng, *Christ Sein*. Aslo, read the beautiful *preghiera semplice* by Francesco d'Assisi. Where is the christological aspect of Christianity in those two? Where is the grace of God? Is it not rather "wer immer strebend sich bemuht...?" Goethe as Christ as Buddhist?

41) Ikeda, in a speech for the Soka University campus in Los Angeles in 1987, pays me the honour of quoting this particular sentence, and adds:

"Undeniably Buddhism, and especially the Buddhism of Nichiren Daishonin - the essence of Mahāyāna - in which we put our faith historically remained untapped and thus represents an enormous potential. Because it has remained unsullied by the corruptive influences of history, we who believe in it must concern ourselves with ways of contributing to lasting peace. The United States is not the only place facing the need to revive the power of the spirit. The world is indeed replete with what Dr. Galtung calls corruptive influences and structural violence. The only

way to deal with these forces is to call on the spirit welling up from the depths of the universal life-force and to create bonds of spiritual affinity extending to all the peoples of the world. "But something may be needed for anything like this to happen: "What we need now is an outstanding' literary figure who can translate the ideals and philosophical principles of Buddhism." From *Buddhism: The First Millennium,* p, 94. No doubt the form of presentation is important.

For further reading see U.N. Jayatillake, *Buddhism and Peace,* Kandy, Buddhist Publication Society, 1969.

Chapter 2. Buddhism and Social Development

1) To save oneself rather than saving others may certainly stimulate the impression of being self-centered. To be very concerned with saving of others may correspondingly lead to an impression of being power-oriented, particularly if own behaviour and state of mind seem not to be up to the levels prescribed for others. One way out of the dilemma might lie in the direction of less sharp self-other distinctions, cultivating the group/network as the setting for the attainment of higher levels (see chapter 3). In the Dalai Lama's words (*An Introduction to Buddhism,* New Delhi, 1965) "Hīnayānists basically seek to attain Nirvāna for the individual's own sake. - Mahāyānists aim at attaining the highest stage of Nirvana, Buddhahood, for the sake not only of the individual but for all other sentient beings" (pp.11-12).

2) Sri Lanka is often quoted as an example of a Buddhist society with a low crime rate.

3) This is a point repeatedly made on the basis of the East European experience, eg. by Professor Kolakowsky: it is when a utopia has been prescribed that things go wrong. The difficulty with that position is to draw a line between a utopia and political program. Maybe the basic distinction lies in the willingness to revise the utopia/program in the light of experience? This is also the major theme of my *Hitlerism, Stalinism, Reaganism; Three Variations on a Theme by Orwell* (Norwegian, Spanish and German edi-

tions, 1984, 1985, 1987; English edition forthcoming), the theme being time to make a social order irreversible.

4)   But how could it be otherwise, being framed by some-body deeply steeped in the Judeo-Christian *Weltanschauung,* yet not given the privilege, eg through travel, seeing that world from the outside? See chapter 5, *Hitlerism, Stalinism, Reaganism* for an effort to describe the occidental cosmology as coming out of the Judeo-Christian understanding of the world.

5)   "So that day Jehovah made this covenant with Abram: "I have given this land to your descendants from the Wadi-el-Arish to the river Euphrates. And I give to them these nations - (Genesis 15:18). This is then elaborated in some detail in Genesis 17:5-14 and confirmed in the Second Covenant with Moses, in Exodus.

6)   For an excellent discussion of Islam and interest (usury) see "Islam and Modern Economic Change" by J.T. Cummings, H. Askari and A. Austafa, chapter 2 in J.L. Esposito, ed., *Islam and Deveopment,* Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1980, particularly pp. 32-34. The argu-ment is, roughly, that in Islam interest and/or usury tends to "direct wealth into the control of the few", that gain is not balanced by being subject to a loss and that "wealth should be accumulated through personal activity and hard work".

7)   The Weberian argument in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* New York, Scribner, 1958, is well known. Less known is the counterargument by Amintore Fanfani in his *Catholicism, Protestantism and Capitalism,* New York, Sheed and Ward, 1955, who concludes "that the Catholic *ethos* is anti-capitalistic; that Catholicism has opposed the establishment of capitalism, even if in certain ways it has favoured its progress in this or that direction" (p. 159). But his conclusion is racist, not in favour of Weber's thesis: the dolichocephalic are counter productive for economic activity, the brachycephalic contribute to economic revival. And to Kurt Samuelson, in his very well reasoned *Rellgion and Economic Action,* New York, Basic Books, 1961 the ethos of capitalism came from "Mercantilism, the Enlightenment, Darwinism, economic

liberalism" (p.151). And his conclusion is clear: "whether we start from the doctrine of Puritanism and "capitalism" or from the actual concept of a correlation between religious and economic action, we can find no support for Weber's theories. Almost all the evidence contradicts them" (p. 154). As mentioned my own position is that the linkage is so obvious that Weber has overlooked it: individualism and the isomorphism between saving your individual soul and saving capital; credit in the heaven and credit in the bank.

8) See footnote 5 above.

9) I am thinking of the general idea of the Japanese as chosen by the Sun Goddess Ameterasu Okami during the very creation of the Earth, predestined to assemble the eight corners of the world under one roof *(hakko ichiu)*. See Ienaga, op.cit., chapter 1 for some very concrete expressions of this type of thinking during the period of Japanese militarism.

10) There is also in Buddhism an admonition to spread the word: "Go ye forth, o bhikkhus, on your journey, for the profit of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the welfare, the profit, the bliss of the devas ("gods") and mankind. Go out, any two together. Proclaim, o bhikkhus, the Dhamma, glorious in the beginning, glorious in the middle, glorious in the ending". But the effort to spread the word is not the essence of missionarism as seen here. The problem arises when the word is offered at the tip of the sword and backed up with ample remuneration to the converts.

11) The missionary command, as taken from Matthew 28:18-20 is very clear: "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always, to the close of the age". The reward/punishment dimension is explicit: "I am with you always", the implication being if you do not do this I shall not be with you always. However, I am more thinking of how the Christian missionary command was combined with punishment and rewards that were part and parcel of Western colonialism.

According to Ananda Mangala Archbishop Lourdesamy points out that "of the two and one half billion inhabitants of Asia, more than two thirds of the world's population..... only 2% recognize Christ as the Light of their life. For the other 98% .... these Asian peoples, because of their great religions, are enlightened by rays of reflected light which are related to the true light and could lead to the direct source of light, Christ". I share Mangala's feeling that this is arrogant and his feeling that it would be better if "the Christians cease to chase after the 'heathen, pagan infidel' and the 'free thinker'. As Mangala says, "If only all people can make a united effort to accept the world as one-serve and promote the welfare of the needy, the poor, the hungry and shelterless - the World will be beautiful" (Mangala, *op.cit.*, pp. 5, 26).

12) Possibly, the confrontation with a highly expansionist occidental faith, Islam not only displaced Buddhism southward, but also served to harden Hinduism.

13) I define cultural violence as any element in a culture (religion, ideology, science certainly including social science in general and economics in particular, art, language etc., anything symbolic producing meaning) that legitimizes direct and/or structural violence.

14) There is a simple relation between the five spaces (nature, human, social, world and culture), the four classes of needs (for survival, well-being, freedom and identity), the four types of power (military, economic, political, cultural) and the five chapters of this book. The five chapters correspond to the five spaces; and the four classes of needs to the four types of power. Chapter 1 of the book relates to survival/"peace" and alternatives to military power. Chapter 2 relates to well-being and freedom (for all)/ "development" and alternative expressions of economic and political power, putting two needs/power categories into one chapter. Chapter 3 relates to the fourth need/power category, identity/cultural power. Chapter 4 deals with the nature space value, ecological balance. And chapter 5 deals with culture space and how it relates to the other four chapters.

15) Ikeda, op.cit, p.72, also operates with a central region

concept "distinct from both East and West" that gave birth to both Christianity and Buddhism (and before that to Judaism and Hinduism) from Western Asia to the Mediterranean. And Ikeda concludes: "Perhaps time has passed when we can go on thinking in terms of this hard and fast dualism of East and West. What is wanted in our present age is a consciousness of world unity and oneness. In my book *World Politics of Peace and War* (forthcoming) I make implicitly use of a similar distinction in seeing Judeo-Christian faith as essential for the understanding of the first world, and the Sino-Japanese way of thinking as essential in understanding what in that book is referred to as the fourth world. The Islamic-Hindu-Buddhist and the Amerindian-African-Pacific are in the third world. But then there is the second socialist world which also, deeper down, is Judeo-Christian. And I see more conflict than unity and oneness between these worlds.

16) In a forthcoming book, *Indicators for development*, this is a point of departure in an effort to develop indicators not of countries but of economic formations or systems. Not easy because socio-economic formations have no distinct territorial borders whereas countries have, since that is the way our present state system is constructed.

17) On the other hand, a brutal caste system may also treat the convert away from Hindusim even more harshly, unless a sufficient support system is emerging.

For other author's efforts to relate Buddhism and development see the excellent articles by E.F. Schumacher, "Buddhist Economics", chapter 4 in *Small Is Beautiful; A Study of Economics as If People Mattered*, London, Blond Briggs 1973. Schumacher makes the important point that to a Buddhist work is not done to produce wealth but to "bring forth the goods and services needed for a becoming existence", and to "develop-faculties" and "joining with other people in a common task".

Sulak Sivaraksa, "Buddhism and Development - Is Small Beautiful?" in *Gandhi Marg*, March 1980, pp. 775ff. Sivaraksa is along the same line: "If people were temper-

ate in their desires, being satisfied in the material sense with the four Buddhist requisites-with each one wanting to help the other as way typical of our Buddhist village life in former times, then capitalism would fail".

Chapter 3. Buddhism and Human Enlightenment

1) In this chapter I have been inspired by Buddhist writing and Buddhist practice, and particularly by my numerous discussions with plain, ordinary Buddhists. I have, however er found the following three books particularly useful: Alexandra David-Neel, *Buddhism, Its Doctrines and Its Methods,* New York: 1979; David J. Kalupahana *Buddhist Philosophy, A Historical Analysis,* Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1976 and Walpola Rahula, *What the Buddha Taught,* New York, Grove Press, 1959.

2) I also am much indebted to my Norwegian friend, the philosopher Jon Wetlesen for his writings on early Buddhism and reincarnation/rebirth.

Chapter 4. Buddhism and Nature Balance

1) From World Wildlife Fund "The Assisi Declarations. "*The New Road.* The Bulletin of the WWF Network on Conservation and Religion, Winter 86/87, 2.

2) See Galtung, J., Rudeng, E. and Heiestad, T. 1979. "On the Last 2,500 Years in Western History, And Some Remarks On the Coming 500," in Burke, P. ed., *The New Cambridge Modern History,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979, 318-361.

3) Hinduism, however, has a clear "life-force" conception. Manu, the Hindu sage, taught that:

> All trees and plants are full of consciousness within themselves and are endowed with the feeling of pleasure and pain. (Basak; 1953: 106)
>
> White has told how he was first led to formulate his thesis by watching Buddhists in Ceylon build a road. Noting cones of earth left undisturbed upon the intended roadbed, he discovered that these

were the nests of snakes. The Buddhists would not destroy the cones until the snakes departed of their own accord from the scene of activity. Among other things, White could not help reflecting that had the road builders been Christian, the snakes would have suffered a different fate. (Spring, D. and Spring, E. *Ecology and Religion in History*, New York: Harper, 1979, pp. 4f)

But then the first of the Five Precepts of Buddhism is:

I undertake to observe the rule to abstain from taking life. (Conze, ed., *Buddhist Scriptures*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1959, p. 70)

That has a much wider meaning than is usually attributed to the Biblical commandment - Thou shalt not kill! - for as the Pali commentary to that precept explains:

"Taking life' means to murder anything that lives..... 'Anything that lives', - ordinary people speak here of a "living being,' but more philosophically we speak of 'anything that has the life-force.' (Conze, *loc. cit)*

For Buddhists, all of live nature has the life-force and so all of it is, in theory, protected by the first precept, but, given that man does have to provide for himself, there is something of a hierarchy based on differing amounts of life-force. Thus, for example:

With regard to animals it is worse to kill large ones than small. (Conze, *loc. cit.)*

The use of the adjective "worse" suggests that it is still bad to kill small animals and it should be avoided if possible, though it would not be as bad as killing a larger animal presumably with more life-force.

Chapter 5. Buddhism and Cultural Adequacy

1)   I have found David J. Kalupahana, *Buddhist Philosophy, A Historical Analysis,* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1976) and Christmas Humphreys, *The Buddhist Way of Life* (London, Mandala Books, 1980) particularly useful for this section; in addition to numerous discussions with Buddhists.

Epilogue: The Role of Buddhism in the Creation of Unity and Peace

1) From E. Conze, *Buddhist Scriptures,* London 1959, pp. 70-1
2) *loc. cit.* The KinMaMu-Ti Temple in Kyoto used the formulation "not to take what has not been given to me, again much broader than stealing.

The Four Noble Truths:

(1) Life is discontinuity, dissatisfaction, suffering *(dukkha)*
(2) The cause is ignorance and craving
(3) The cure is reduction of ignorance and craving
(4) The prescriptions are in the noble eightfold path

The Noble Eightfold Path:

(1) Right understanding - of the Four Noble Truths
(2) Right thought - aims, will, values, motives, goals
(3) Right speech - no gossip
(4) Right action - being an example for others
(5) Right livelihood - making a living the right way
(6) Right effort - diligence
(7) Right mindfulness - enduring attentiveness
(8) Right concentration - meditation

Pancha Shila: The five negative precepts

(1) Abstain from taking life (non-violence, *ahimsa)*
(2) Abstain from taking what is not given
(3) Abstain from adultery and sexual misconduct
(4) Abstain from lying
(5) Abstain from intoxicating substances

Pancha Dhamma: The Five Positive Deeds

(1) Compassion *(karuna)*
(2) Good vocation (no sale/making of weapons/intoxicants)
(3) Control of sexual life and passions
(4) Telling the truth
(5) Attentiveness, mindfulness, care

The Trible Gem

(1) The Buddha (but avoid idolatry!)
(2) The Dhamma (the teachings)
(3) The Sangha (the community of monks, *bhikkhus)*

The Three Marks

(1) Impermanence *(anicca)* - everything is always arising/ceasing
(2) Suffering *(dukkha)* - discontinuity, imbalance, dissatisfaction
(3) Non-self *(anatta)* - no enduring, separate self

The Five Constituents	The Four Requisites
(1) Form, extension	(1) Food
(2) Feelings	(2) Clothing
(3) Perceptions	(3) Shelter
(4) Consciousness	(4) Medicine

A BUDDHIST CREED

Our religion teaches that truth and virtue must be realized through spiritual evolution. They cannot be acquired by merely assenting to creeds or believing doctrines. The following ideas which are widely held among Buddhists are offered solely as helpful signposts set up by those who have travelled the Way before us.

I

We believe that universes originate, develop, change and perish through the operation of natural and inherent causes, and that this series of cycles has neither beginning nor end.

II

We believe that man is not a mixture of physical form and everlasting spiritual substance, but a complex of processes which persists as long as it functions, just as a fire lives only while its fuel lasts.

III

We believe that at death the vital forces cohere and precipitate again into a biological birth. This rebirth will continue until one is enlightened.

IV

We believe that the unenlightened life is suffering, transitory, and empty, and we heartily aspire to be free from it.

V

We believe that sin is thought, speech and action which spring from wrong views and evil passions, and which obstruct compassion and insight.

VI

We believe that evil deeds are to be avoided and good deeds are to be done, not through fear of punishment or through desire for reward, but rather through understanding and compassion, and through unselfish devotion to virtue.

VII

We believe that the object of living is not the pursuit of wealth and pleasure, but the increase of virtue and wisdom.

VIII

We believe that when the clouds of passion and ignorance are dispelled, the sun of insight will illuminate this world, and will reveal its true nature is Buddhahood.

IX

We believe that Buddhahood is perfect wisdom, perfect compassion, perfect power of accomplishing good, the underlying ground of all existing things, and the seed of enlightenment which lies within all living beings.