



6-1996

Creating Global-Local Cultures of Peace

Paul Smoker

Linda Groff

Follow this and additional works at: <https://nsuworks.nova.edu/pcs>



Part of the [Peace and Conflict Studies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Smoker, Paul and Groff, Linda (1996) "Creating Global-Local Cultures of Peace," *Peace and Conflict Studies*: Vol. 3 : No. 1 , Article 3.

DOI: 10.46743/1082-7307/1996.1170

Available at: <https://nsuworks.nova.edu/pcs/vol3/iss1/3>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Peace & Conflict Studies at NSUWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Peace and Conflict Studies by an authorized editor of NSUWorks. For more information, please contact nsuworks@nova.edu.

CREATING GLOBAL-LOCAL CULTURES OF PEACE

Linda Groff and Paul Smoker

INTRODUCTION

During the last few years, the term "a culture of peace" has become increasingly popular-- thanks to the leadership of UNESCO--but there is at present no clear consensus as to how the term should be interpreted. Should it be the culture of peace, or should it be a culture of peace, or should we think in a more pluralistic fashion about cultures of peace, thus incorporating part of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO's) operational definition that a culture of peace cannot be imported or imposed from outside, but must develop out of the culture of the people concerned? There are many different ways to define the concept "cultures of peace," and we will consider some of them in this article, but whichever definition is used, it is important to recognize that culture has both micro or local aspects, as well as macro or global aspects--for example Western or Eastern-- and that there are many different cultural traditions that need to be included in any "cultures of peace" concept. This also raises the issue of peace within cultures and peace between cultures. There are too many historical examples of a nation or group cooperating and organizing internally in order to undertake violence or wage war on an external group--indeed inner cohesion and collaboration is often a necessary condition for such actions. From a systems point of view, every "cultures of peace" concept needs to apply within and between cultures, to be a property of both the local parts and the global whole. UNESCO recognizes this fact in their operational definition of culture of peace when they stress "that local programmes are embedded in a national and perhaps sub-regional context, as well as the global context of the United Nations and its specialized agencies."

The problem of deciding what we mean by the term "culture(s) of peace" is further complicated by the various interpretations of the two key elements "culture" and "peace," as noted below. After looking at different definitions of culture, and the evolution of six different perspectives on peace--largely within Western peace research, this paper will then discuss six perspectives on cultures of peace, six perspectives on nonviolence as it relates to peace on each of these six areas, on International Non Governmental Organizations (INGOS) and Non Governmental Organizations (NGOS) active in each of these six peace areas, on possible international and national early warning systems for detecting negative developments in each of these six peace areas, and on the importance of developing positive, multicultural visions of the six types of peace that we want to create in the world (not only negative views of what we want to eliminate in each of the six peace areas)--if peace is to be achieved for the world in the coming century. This paper will include a section on each of the above topics.

Culture: Different Definitions

There are a number of different definitions of culture, a few of which will be explored here. First, it must be noted that there are both narrow and broad definitions of culture. Narrow definitions focus on the arts--including literature, poetry, music, theatre, painting, dance, etc. Broader definitions--which are used in Anthropology and Intercultural Communication fields--include all our socially-learned behavior. Thus one Anthropological definition of culture is that it is "learned, shared, patterned behavior, as reflected in technology/tools, social organizations (including economic, political, social, religious, educational, family, and other organizations) and ideas/beliefs. " The key point is that culture is not something one is born with, but something that is learned after one is born; it is also passed down from one generation to the next. Culture is also shared by a group of people together, and all the different aspects of one's culture must somehow **fit** together into an overall pattern.

Another definition of culture is "what gives meaning to life." A third definition of culture looks at deeper, hidden levels of meaning, in addition to surface-level, more apparent meanings. Here culture is defined as "common symbols, rituals and hero figures (visible), shared by a group of people, based on a set of values and underlying assumptions about reality (hidden)." This definition is illustrated in Figure 1.

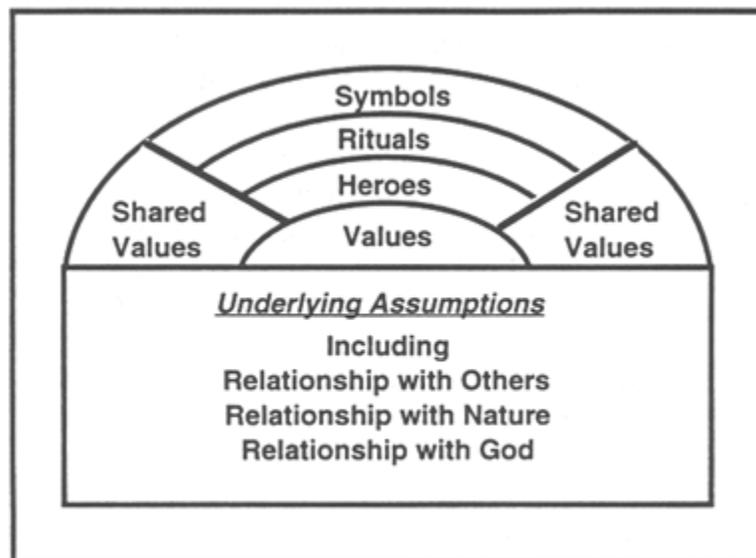


Figure 1: Culture: Visible and Hidden Dimensions

Evolution of Tire Peace Concept-- Especially in Western Peace Research: Six Stages

The term "peace," like "culture", has a wide range of interpretations. This section outlines six broad categories of peace thinking that have emerged historically within Western peace research--especially over the past fifty years (since the end of World War 11). These six categories roughly correspond to the evolution of peace thinking in Western peace research. This does not

mean that all scholars once thought one way and now think another, nor that the majority of peace researchers now adopt the sixth type of peace thinking, the holistic inner-outer peace paradigm. Rather it argues that overall there has been a trend in peace research away from the traditional idea that peace is simply the absence of war towards a more holistic view, as seen in Figure 2:

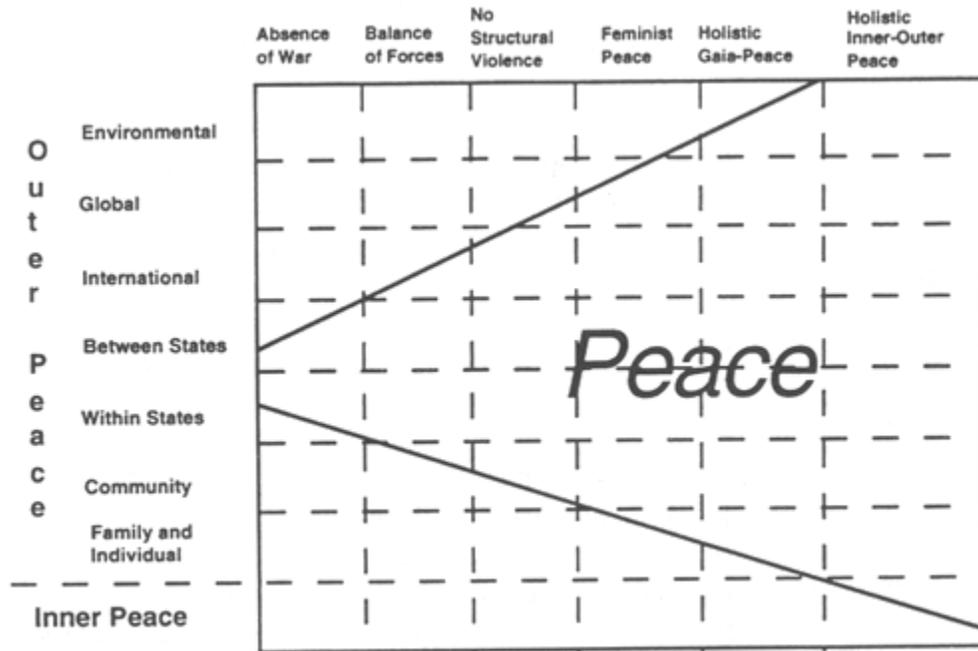


Figure 2: Six Concepts in the Evolution of Peace

These stages in the evolution of the peace concept include the following:

Peace as Absence of War

Figure 2 summarizes six perspectives on peace in terms of the levels of analysis and theoretical focus that each includes. The first perspective, peace as the absence of war, is applied to violent conflict between and within states--war and civil war. This view of peace is still widely held among general populations and politicians. In certain situations, it can be argued, this is still a legitimate objective, at least until the killing stops and it is possible to ask for more out of life than avoiding death in war. Furthermore, all six definitions of peace discussed here require absence of war as a necessary precondition for peace.

Peace as Balance of Forces in the International System

Quincy Wright (1941) modified this absence of war idea to suggest that peace was a dynamic balance involving political, social, cultural and technological factors, and that war occurred when this balance broke down. Wright argued that this balance of forces occurred in the international

system--defined for him in terms of the overall pattern of relationships between states and International Governmental Organizations (IGOs)--as well as between and within states. Wright also discussed the role of domestic public opinion within a state--which involves the community level of analysis. His model assumed that any significant change in one of the factors involved in the peace balance would require corresponding changes in other factors to restore the balance. For example, Robert Oppenheimer, the much misunderstood "father of the atomic bomb," adopted Wright's view when he insisted on continuing to develop the bomb so that a global political institution, the United Nations (U.N.), would have to be created to help control the new global military technology.

Peace as Negative Peace (No War) and Positive Peace (No Structural Violence)

Galtung (1969) further modified Wright's view, using the categories "negative peace" and "positive peace" that Wright had first put forward some 28 years earlier. Galtung developed a third position and argued that negative peace was the absence of war and that positive peace was the absence of "structural violence", a concept defined in terms of the numbers of avoidable deaths caused simply by the way social, economic and other structures were organized. Thus if people starve to death when there is food to feed them somewhere in the world, or die from sickness when there is medicine to cure them, then structural violence exists since alternative structures could, in theory, prevent such deaths. Peace under this rubric involves both positive peace and negative peace being present. Galtung's model (in addition to the community, within states, between states, and international levels of analysis) includes the global level of analysis, such as the global economy which is influenced by non-state actors, such as INGOs and Multi National Corporations (MNCs).

Feminist Peace: Macro and Micro Levels of Peace

During the 1970s and 80s, a fourth perspective was ushered in by feminist peace researchers, who extended both negative peace and positive peace to include violence and structural violence down to the individual level. (Brock-Utne, 1989) The new definition of peace then included not only the abolition of macro level organized violence, such as war, but also doing away with micro level unorganized violence, such as rape in war or in the home. In addition, the concept of structural violence was similarly expanded to include personal, micro and macro-level structures that harm or discriminate against particular individuals or groups. This feminist peace model came to include all types of violence, broadly defined, against people, from the individual to the global level, arguing that this is a necessary condition for a peaceful planet.

Holistic Gaia-Peace: Peace With the Environment

The 1990's has seen the emergence of two types of holistic peace thinking. (Dreher, 1991; Macy, 1991; Smoker, 1991) Here, as with the feminist model, peace between people applies across all levels of analysis--from the family and individual level to the global level. In addition, Gaia-peace theory places a very high value on the relationship of humans to bioenvironmental systems --the environmental level of analysis. Peace with the environment is seen as central for this type of holistic peace theory, where human beings are seen as one of many species inhabiting the earth, and the fate of the planet is seen as the most important goal. This type of

holistic peace thinking does not have a spiritual dimension, peace being defined in terms of all forms of physical violence against people and the environment.

Holistic Inner and Outer Peace

This sixth view of peace sees inner, esoteric (spiritual) aspects of peace as essential. Spiritually based peace theory stresses the centrality of inner peace, believing that all aspects of outer peace, from the individual to the environmental levels, must be based on inner peace. In addition to the relationships of human beings with each other and the world--including the environment-- a spiritual dimension is added to Gaia-peace theory. This dimension is expressed in different ways by peace researchers, depending on their cultural context. As in Fritjov Capra's *The Tao of Physics*, where new paradigms in physics resonate with worldviews found in Eastern mysticism, this new paradigm in peace research resonates with much thinking in world spiritual and religions traditions. Peace has truly become indivisible.

Summary on Evolution of the Peace Concept: From Single to Multifaceted Definitions; From Single to Multiple (Macro & Micro) Levels; From Negative to Positive Conceptions; and From Outer Peace Only to Both Inner and Outer Peace

The above discussion illustrates a number of important changes in the peace concept in Western peace research during the last fifty years. The idea that peace can be defined in terms of the single factor, "absence of war, " has been replaced in subsequent peace theories by multifaceted theories that include a number of other requirements, such as no structural violence or peace with the environment. While the absence of war remains a necessary condition for all peace definitions, it is no longer a sufficient one in most formulations of peace. At the same time, there has been a shift from including just the state level of analysis in absence of war definitions, to peace theories that include (for outer peace) multiple levels of analysis from the individual to the environmental. Multifactor, multilevel concepts of peace are, as a consequence, considerably more complex than simple, absence of war theories.

Two other important issues in the evolution of the Western peace concept concern the various interpretations of "positive peace" (which, following Galtung, was expressed in terms of absence of structural violence) and "nonviolence" (the verbal construction of which suggests an "absence of violence" framework, i.e. nonviolence--somewhat parallel to the peace as absence of war perspective). In this section of the paper, we would like to consider the evolution from negative to positive views of peace, including the evolution of the "positive peace" concept itself.

Schmidt, in his critical Marxist analysis, "Politics and Peace Research," (1968) argued that value positive concepts of peace were doomed to failure within peace research, because it would not be possible for peace researchers to achieve a consensus on what constituted a positive view of peace. He put forward the view that peace researchers could only agree on what they were against--for example war, starvation, and poverty. Schmidt's article was arguably the main stimulus to Galtung's 1969 rejoinder, in which he redefined Quincy Wright's concept "positive peace" to mean the absence of "structural violence"--harmful social, political and economic structures that are responsible for avoidable human deaths through preventable starvation or treatable illness. Galtung's positive peace concept --the absence of structural violence, like his

negative peace concept --the absence of war, did not include an inner or spiritual dimension. Peace of both sorts took place in the outer world and positive peace was a function of human social structures.

Feminist theory, the fourth perspective defined above, broadened the positive peace concept to include micro structures, such as the family, as well as Galtung's macro structures, but for the most part it still emphasized elimination of the undesirable--such as war and wife beating. At the same time, however, there was an increasing emphasis on value positive thinking (stressing desirable alternatives, such as visualizing alternative futures as a part of the process of moving towards those futures--the work on imaging positive futures by Elise Boulding in the peace research community being an excellent example).

An earlier paper (Smoker, 1981) discussed the extent to which peace research--as reflected in the pages of a defining journal, such as the *Journal of Peace Research*--had focused almost entirely on negative concerns, such as how to avoid or control war, aggression, physical violence and structural violence. Since that article--which was part of a special issue of the *Journal of Peace Research* on peace--the situation has not changed significantly.

This has not been true in Futures Studies, where a focus not only on trends (negative and positive), but also on creating desirable, alternative futures, has contributed towards the development of both negative and positive conceptualizations. There is a sizable group of people within the Western futures community--but by no means all futurists--whose visioning of positive alternative futures is also based, at least in part, on a spiritual, holistic, perspective. The works of Barbara Marx Hubbard, Marilyn Ferguson, and Jean Houston--an outstanding group of women futurists--are particularly notable examples.

The emergence of holistic peace paradigms in peace research--whether spiritual and/or environmental--has included an increasing emphasis on positive conceptions of peace. In part, this is because of our realization that, whatever our nationality, culture or religious tradition, we are all interconnected and interdependent. Viewed from space, planet Earth is a blue-green sphere, we cannot see national boundaries, but we can see the land and the water, ice caps, deserts and forests. The Earth is clearly a whole complex system, a living being perhaps. We as individuals and groups are but a part of the planet, as the planet itself is a part of the solar system, galaxy and universe. The new thinking, it can be argued, represents a return to wholeness, not in the sense of uniformity, but in the sense of complexity dynamically balanced in interaction, the whole as integrated synergy, syntegration. This mindset enables an appreciation of the interdependence of species in the global ecosystem, of particular cultural meanings in the context of the total global cultural system, and of particular faiths in the rich diversity of global religions. The whole is more than the sum of the parts, and the greater the variety of the parts, the richer the expression of the global whole.

Whereas "peace as absence of war" typifies the conceptual framework for most popular "peace thinking," there are other aspects to peace. The answer to the question "if you think about peace, how would you define it?" might, in the majority of cases, very well be "absence of war" or "absence of violence". But the answer to the question "when you are at peace, what does it feel like?" will almost certainly describe some form of inner peace experience involving "being at

one with," or being "peaceful" or "calm". This is because the actual experiences of peace that most, if not all, of us have as human beings--in Western or Eastern culture--are related to inner peace. Inner peace also involves an inner knowing or intuitive dimension--beyond the feeling dimension--where one suddenly understands patterns and relationships between things which were not understood before. This is the classic "aha" type experience which is the basis for creativity, and tapping this source would also do much to enrich peace researchers visions of a positive future world at peace.

Holistic peace paradigms that include spiritual and/or environmental concerns resonate with our positive peace experiences and, as a result, are better able to add value positive images to their intellectual frameworks. Positive peace can therefore be seen as an evolving concept, a concept that does not yet exist in the initial "peace as absence of war" definition, but a concept that subsequently takes on different meanings as the peace concept expands.

Cultures of Peace: Six Perspectives (Based on Evolution of the Peace Concept)

The term a "culture of peace" has recently become an important focus for UNESCO--both in academic terms, as witnessed by the 1993 and 1994 Barcelona conferences on "Contributions of the World's Religions to a Culture of Peace," and in practical terms, as evidenced by the launching of UNESCO field projects in the South around this concept. An important theoretical question concerns the possible meanings of the term "cultures of peace", particularly since the previous sections of this paper illustrated the broad range of interpretations given to the words "culture" and "peace." Therefore this section of the paper is best seen as a contribution to a preliminary discussion of cultures of peace concepts, a discussion that is likely to continue for some time.

Earlier in this paper, we noted that culture can be defined as learned, shared, patterned behavior, as reflected in technology and tools; social organizations, including economics, politics, religion, media, education, and the family; and ideas. Under this view, socialization is the process through which culture is learned, including our religious beliefs and practices, and the agents of socialization include language, politics, economics, religion, education, family, and media. Culture under this view provides the medium through which we interpret the world, context of meanings, small and large, that makes coherence possible. A culture of peace, therefore, would be a culture that made peace possible, and, as we have seen in the previous section, what is meant by a culture of peace will almost certainly vary according to the concept of peace that is used.

Culture of Peace for Peace as Absence of War

If peace is just the absence of war between and within states, then a culture of peace would be a culture that made war between or within states increasingly unlikely, until eventually interstate and intrastate war would cease. Such a culture of peace has long been established in certain parts of the world and between certain states, for example, between Canada and the United States, the

U.K. and France, or Australia and New Zealand. It has been argued elsewhere that there has been a worldwide trend towards such a culture of peace for some centuries. (Smoker, 1984) The steadily decreasing frequency of interstate warfare in Europe, for example, has taken place over a period of some hundreds of years, such that there is now this sort of culture of peace between all members of the European Community. Similarly, worldwide there has been a clear trend away from interstate warfare being the dominant mode, as was the case before 1938; through intrastate armed conflict with foreign military intervention being the dominant mode, for example the Vietnam or Afghanistan wars, as was the case up to the middle 1980s; to the present situation, where intrastate armed conflict--usually between nations (as distinct from states) or culturally distinct ethnic groups--without armed foreign military intervention, is the dominant form of violent conflict, for example, in the former Yugoslavia, Myanmar and Rwanda.

So while at one level, that is between states, much progress towards a culture of peace (as absence of war) has been made, the same is not true within states, particularly where culturally distinct nations or ethnic groups are concerned. A consideration of culture of peace as balance of forces in the international system is necessary to explore this problem.

Culture of Peace for Peace as Balance of Forces in the International System

The establishment of a balance of forces culture of peace has been explained by various theorists in terms of increased economic, social and political interdependencies between states in the international system, making violent conflict between states less likely. Thus the idea of a war between France and Germany is now unthinkable to either side, despite the fact that just 50 years ago these two states provided a battlefield for the bloodiest war in human history. The same is probably not true for India and Pakistan, Argentina and Chile, or North and South Korea, although integration theorists would, and do, argue that the danger of war between any of these states has in most cases lessened and will certainly diminish in future with increased economic, social and political interdependencies. This functional integration argument, which is closely related to the balance of forces point of view, suggests that if peace is seen as a balance of forces in the international system that enables change to be dealt with nonviolently at the state level, then the globalization process, in line with the integrationist arguments detailed above, should strengthen the culture of peace. This is particularly true for the period since the Second World War, following the establishment of the United Nations and the dramatic expansion in International Governmental Organizations (IGOs), International Non Governmental Organizations (INGOS) and multinational - (MNCS) and transnational corporations (TNCs). During this period, a "balance of forces" culture of peace has grown substantially, as indexed by the dramatic fall in cross-border wars between states. A culture of peace in this sense refers to the structures, norms and customs that have grown up in the international system, and within states, and that are increasingly accepted as appropriate, if not yet required, conditions to be an accepted member of the "community of states."

Theorists such as Kenneth Boulding have argued that the development of zones of peace, in the peace as absence of war sense, has in part resulted from the "movement for peace". For Boulding the movement for peace is an indirect consequence of increased economic and social interdependencies between two states in the international system, while the "peace movement" is represented by individuals and groups who actively campaign against war, nuclear weapons and

other undesirable features of the international system. Zones of peace are areas in which war between, or within, states has become increasingly unlikely, because of the multiple interdependencies between both states and nations within the zone.

Culture of Peace for Negative Peace (No War) and Positive Peace (No Structural Violence)

If we turn to a culture of peace in the Galtungian framework, and we focus on the issue of structural violence, then the world picture is less positive, but by no means entirely negative. At the nongovernmental level, large numbers of international citizen's groups have emerged who struggle to create the economic, social and political context to overcome the harshest manifestations of structural violence, namely poverty, starvation and preventable disease. In addition, many governments contribute to humanitarian missions worldwide as a matter of duty, accepting some measure of shared responsibility for the human tragedies that daily appear on our television screens. While it can, with some legitimacy, be argued that the global economic and political structures of the world continue to contribute substantially to global structural violence through the activities of multinational and transnational corporations and the inevitable consequences of the current international economic system, it has to be recognized that a number of multimillion dollar private enterprises, and thousands of similar smaller groups, work to overcome "structural violence" using economic, social and political approaches. While this interpretation of the culture of peace has not yet succeeded in changing values or economic, political, and social structures sufficiently to create a world in which structural violence becomes progressively less likely, there is strong evidence to suggest the emergence of a culture of peace of this sort. The actions of citizens and governments in humanitarian aid, while often inadequate, are nevertheless an established part of international relations--they are the norm, rather than the exception.

Culture of Peace for Feminist Peace--on Macro and Micro Levels

If the concept culture of peace is interpreted in the feminist framework, then the cultural conditions necessary for peace do not exist in any country. Physical and structural violence at the micro level, in the community and family, on the streets and in the schools, are widespread, and the cultural, social, political and economic changes required to create a feminist culture of peace represent a major challenge to every national society on Earth, as well as in most, if not all, institutions, including many religious institutions. While the three previously discussed models of peace have stressed peace at macro levels of analysis, the feminist models are firmly rooted in personal experience, and are based around how peace feels to individuals. The evolution of the peace concept towards holistic peace, which includes both inner and outer aspects, required this shift which, it can be argued, represented the biggest single contribution of feminist peace theory. Whereas the three previous models tended to conceptualize peace using abstract, general concepts applied towards the more global level, the feminist models turned these conceptions upside down and clearly defined peace from the personal, experiential level. Feminist notions of "structure" stress circular complex patterns as opposed to the complex, hierarchical notions associated with Galtungian definitions of structural violence. In this regard, the feminist theories also represent a shift towards value positive perceptions of peace which stress holistic, non-hierarchical interaction between human beings.

This is not to say that global problems cannot be addressed using such a perspective: they can, as the following example illustrates. A recent article in the *Los Angeles Times*, entitled "Asia's Response to AIDS Marked by Fear, Denial" (*Los Angeles Times*, 1994) describes how, in 1993, more than one third of the estimated 1.4 million new AIDS cases worldwide were women and how, by the end of the century, we might expect equal numbers of new cases from women and men each year. The article, reporting on an August 1994 global gathering of AIDS experts in Japan, pointed out that "women are subject to the whims of fathers, brothers, husbands and pimps, with no divorce or inheritance rights of their own. Men often feel no responsibility to the women--whom they view as little better than disposable property--and thus are immune to exhortations to use condoms and adopt other safe sex practices." *The Los Angeles Times* quotes Dr. Jonathan Mann of Harvard University, who was the first head of the World Health Organization's Programme on AIDS, as saying that "even if all the envisaged educational and control programs were implemented in developing countries, they would fail to halt the impending catastrophe because they do not take into account human rights issues, especially the rights of women." This sentiment is further elaborated by the current Director of VMO's AIDS Programme, Dr. Michael Merson, who is quoted as saying: "Disempowered people are vulnerable, consider the untold numbers of women who fear infection from their partner, but do not have the power to insist on condom use or the economic power to leave the relationship." Dr. Mann further argues that "No matter how hard we try, traditional public health programs cannot make up for the negative impact of this difference in societal status and realization of rights. A group of women lawyers in Uganda has convinced me that the first step in fighting AIDS must be to rewrite the divorce and inheritance statutes."

A feminist culture of peace, based on personal, experiential analyses, requires fundamental changes in societal values, in the North as well as the South, if the conditions conducive to the creation of peace, in the feminist sense, are to be achieved. The AIDS issue highlights the centrality of culture in overcoming micro-level structural violence. Likewise, issues such as domestic violence and child abuse, which have been highlighted by feminist scholars, will require similar fundamental changes in cultural values. While much feminist scholarship has stressed micro violence--such as wife beating--there has also been a focus on macro structural questions--such as the pervasive effects of patriarchal structures. As a consequence, feminist conceptions of a culture of peace will also require societal wide changes in personal cultural values.

Culture of Peace for Holistic Gaia-Peace: Peace With the Environment

A holistic Gaia-peace interpretation of a culture of peace presents an even broader set of concerns that must be brought into play. Whereas the environment was, until fairly recently in Western Civilization, seen as a resource to exploit, that was separate from human beings, it is now seen as connected to us. The extension of outer peace to include peace with the environment represents an important and necessary evolution of the peace concept, whether the environment is seen as just a tightly integrated biochemical system, or as the Goddess Gaia, a living being, a whole system integrated both in functional and meaningful (logico meaningful) terms. The shift in values towards a concern for peace with the environment has not yet led to widespread, radical changes in cultural values, but perhaps that process has begun. In a period of less than twenty years, there has been a shift towards environmentalism in most societies on the planet, green

peace has become more than the name of an important environmental pressure group, and there is now widespread verbal recognition of the need to live in harmony with the environment—a need that for some may be purely functional, but which for many if not most, is based on a vision of planet earth as sacred.

Culture of Peace for Holistic Inner and Outer Peace

For Western peace research, this represents a shift from secular towards spiritual peace paradigms, a realization that inner peace and outer peace—spiritual and material—are interconnected and interdependent. It is here that the contributions of the world's religious and spiritual traditions can help us better understand holistic peace. For example, the idea that the collective external world of outer peace is in some way a representation or image of the collective inner world of spiritual peace, may be of particular importance in the creation of a holistic, inner and outer global culture of peace. The variety and diversity of humanity's religious life, as celebrated in the ecumenical tradition, would then provide a dynamic link between the inner and outer worlds, such that inner-outer peace would be manifest in all aspects of a culture of peace—including macro and micro social and economic institutions, local and global values, art, literature, music, technology, meditation and prayer. The resulting culture of peace would display a Gaia-like global pattern, where the interacting local cultures are manifestations of the inner unity and outer diversity principle spread throughout the whole system. Definitions of reality would be fundamentally different under such a paradigm. Whereas reality in Western Peace Theory has previously been defined in terms of aspects of the material world, leading to a concentration on economic, military and political questions, "reality" under a holistic peace paradigm includes both material and spiritual components. A holistic culture of peace (balancing inner and outer, feminine and masculine, material and spiritual in a both/and framework) will lead to a completely different outcome to peace theories that concentrate on changing the outer world, but do not balance such concerns with a parallel and interdependent exploration of the inner.

Conclusions on the Cultures of Peace

The previous sections describe various interpretations of the culture of peace concept ranging from a narrow view that stresses the creation of cultural conditions that make war between states impossible, to a broad view that requires the transformation of every culture to a state that makes holistic inner-outer peace achievable. If we use this framework then there are, in practical terms, at least three strategies that can be followed to create global cultures of peace.

The first strategy would emphasize the importance of the international system in creating global cultures of peace. In the short term, the existing trends towards an international society in which war between states is no longer seen as acceptable can be strengthened which, in the longer term, would make it possible to work for local cultural conditions to support broader definitions of peace, such as feminist ideas that include eliminating micro level physical and structural violence against individuals as well as against nations and states. The second strategy would stress the bottom up approach to creating global cultures of peace, arguing that we should, as individuals, work in the short term in our own cultural communities and contexts to transform our own local cultures into cultures of peace, and in this way, in the longterm, build a global culture of peace.

The third strategy would combine both global and local initiatives, working with international, national and local organizations and groups to create appropriate cultural conditions for peace. At the global level, peace might be more appropriately defined, at least to begin with, in terms of eliminating large scale physical and structural violence. At the local level peace might initially be defined more in terms of eliminating individual or small scale physical and structural violence, as well as in terms of creating inner and outer aspects of peace.

Nonviolence: Six Perspectives (Based on Evolution of the Peace Concept)

The concept "nonviolence", like the concept "peace", has various meanings in different cultural and political contexts. In this section of the paper, we would like to briefly describe six different interpretations of nonviolence, using the peace theories framework developed above.

Nonviolence as Any Action to Prevent War

During the period of the Cold War, the theory of nuclear deterrence adopted by the United States and Soviet Union required each side to develop and maintain substantial military forces--including nuclear weapons arsenals capable of destroying the world several times over. Strategists on both sides argued that the nuclear deterrent kept the peace in Europe and prevented a nuclear or conventional war between the then two military superpowers. Peace can be defined as a state of non-war, as we have discussed above, and actions that maintain such a peace can similarly be defined as nonviolent--even when they involve threatening to use military force. So nuclear deterrence is an example of nonviolent action under this view of peace. The United States' Strategic Air Command--which helped the US implement nuclear deterrence through their state of constant readiness to launch a massive nuclear attack against the Soviet Union--adopted this view of nonviolent action, as illustrated in their motto: "Peace is Our Profession".. (The movie "Dr.Strangelove" was a spoof of this interpretation of peace. Nonetheless, many people, in the military and politics in both countries and their allies--given the dynamics of the Cold War--sincerely believed that nuclear weapons were a necessary deterrent to war.)

Nonviolence as Actions to Maintain the Balance in the International System

For Quincy Wright's "balance of forces" perspective, where public opinion at the "within states" level is also seen as important, the idea of nonviolence as "war without weapons, " (Boserup and Mack, 1975) based on Gene Sharp's functional interpretation of nonviolence, (Sharp, 1973) becomes appropriate for maintaining and adjusting the balance of forces. Sharp's model of fragile power--as opposed to the monolith model of power assumed in nuclear deterrence--argues that power is fragile because the balance of social forces that maintain it can be changed by concerted, group nonviolent action. Wright similarly assumed peace involved a dynamic balance between various social, economic, political and technological forces, although he placed more emphasis on the international system level of analysis, and Sharp focused more on the community level of analysis.

Structural Nonviolence

Galtung's structural view added the idea that certain structures, both in the international system and in the community, can be either violent or nonviolent, and that changing such structures was a fundamental task for peace research. Nonviolence under this rubric expands beyond Gene Sharp's original conception, as Sharp himself did in his study of social power and political freedom, (1980) to include not only group actions, but also the social, economic and political structures within which they occur. For example, the international system, which prior to Galtung's theory had been viewed by most peace researchers as a positive contribution to peace, was the focus of intense criticism from peace researchers after the theory was published in 1969. Previously it had been seen as evidence of increased cooperation between states, but after 1969 it was redefined as an oppressive, violent, macro structure that caused the deaths of millions of people per year through the starvation and inequalities it caused. For example, even though there is enough food in the world to feed everyone, millions die from starvation every year because of the structure of the international economic system. A nonviolent international (or domestic) economic system would ensure that no one would starve as long as there was enough food in the world (or country) to feed them.

Feminist Nonviolence--on Macro and Micro Levels

The feminist perspective further extended the concept of nonviolence, in keeping with its extension of the concept of peace, to include nonviolent relationships and structures on all levels of human society, both macro and micro. Feminist nonviolence is not limited to the behavior of states or the structure of the international system; it includes nonviolent behavior in the community and the home, and nonviolent political, economic and social structures at all levels of society. The feminist critique of patriarchy provides a good illustration of the extension of the idea of nonviolence to include all levels and institutions of society. Patriarchy is seen as a pervasive violent structure that acts against women in all of society's major institutions--including marriage, business institutions, churches, community organizations, and even peace movements. Feminist nonviolence also involves peaceful behavior between individuals, as well as between states.

Holistic Gaia Peace and Nonviolence

The Gaia Peace view of nonviolence is a natural extension of the original feminist position. Indeed, many feminists (following Rachel Carson's lead) have expanded their original ideas into ecofeminism, where a peaceful relationship with the environment is seen as paramount, embodying, as it does, the central feminist principle of "power with" rather than "power over." This view of nonviolence includes nonviolent actions at every level, nonviolent structures at every level, and nonviolent processes and relationships between all living beings. Nonviolence of this sort is clearly visible in the West, where environmentalism, vegetarianism, and animal welfare issues are becoming increasingly popular.

Holistic Inner and Outer Peace and Nonviolence

Holistic definitions of nonviolence have of course been present in the Western literature for a considerable time, with Eastern traditions in general, and Gandhi in particular, having made the greatest contribution to our understanding of this spiritually-based type of nonviolence. The distinction between nonviolent action as a technique of struggle versus nonviolence as a philosophy and way of life has provided the basis for discussing nonviolence in the West, thanks to the work of Gene Sharp in the West and Mahatma Gandhi in the East and their respective perspectives. Whereas Sharp has stressed the functionality of nonviolent action and its value as a technique for waging conflicts--a technique he believes to be superior in pragmatic terms to violence--the Gandhian nonviolence as a way of life school has always adopted a deeper view of nonviolence, based on a centuries-old Eastern tradition that stresses an inner, spiritual peace component.

Gandhi's Spiritually-Based Nonviolence: Nonviolence as a Philosophy of Life: A Link Between Inner and Outer Forms of Peace

One of Mahatma Gandhi's most important statements was that "the means are as important as the ends. " This is a central part of using nonviolence as part of a whole philosophy of life, rather than as just a temporary tactic. There have been various practitioners of nonviolence as a philosophy of life, including Gandhi, and before **him** Izo Tolstoy in Russia and Henry David Thoreau in the United States, as well as after **him** Martin Luther King and Cesar Chavez in the United States. What distinguishes all of these people--besides the fact that they each influenced those who came after them in the use of nonviolence--is that their use of nonviolence as a philosophy of life was grounded in deep spiritual principles and practices. In short, all of these people tried to live a life based on these spiritual principles, including the idea that how we live our lives everyday is as important as the ends or goals that we seek via these means. In a nonviolent struggle, one therefore has the goal of not dehumanizing one's opponent and also trying to not let one's opponent dehumanize oneself, since it is this dehumanization which is part of the process that people go through before justifying using violence against other human beings in the world.

Gandhi never took action in the world until he had first meditated and asked for inner guidance on what to do. When Gandhi's movement also became violent, he called off further action until people could be adequately trained in nonviolence. Gandhi did not see nonviolence as passive, but rather as active struggle against unjust laws or policies. Gandhi also believed that one should not oppose all laws, only the unjust ones. Gandhi had **five** stages in his nonviolent struggle, as noted below, and believed that one must exhaust all possibilities of each stage before going on to the next stage.

Stage I: Utilization of All Regular Constitutional Machinery. In this first stage, the existing legal constitutional machinery is used to try to deal with the conflict within the system and achieve a satisfactory resolution.

Stage II: Agitation Stage. If stage one was fruitless, a stage of agitation is undertaken to heighten the awareness and educate the people as to what the conflict is all about. In a totalitarian society, the network of communication that is established to implement this phase is built outside the normal channels, and is thus more difficult, since it must be undertaken in secret.

Stage III: Ultimatum Stage. This stage involves the presentation to the establishment of a document listing the people's needs and stating that continued opposition would produce some sort of direct action. If, however, this document fails to produce a favorable response, then members of the movement begin their preparation for direct action.

Stage IV: Self-Purification Stage. This stage is used by those preparing for nonviolent action to develop ahimsa (the spirit of harmlessness), which is seen as a prerequisite to action that is untainted with self interest. During this time members question their inner strength, noting if they have enough self respect to command the respect of the opposition. The ability of each member to avoid the pitfall of reducing their opponent to an "enemy," thereby dehumanizing them and allowing violence to occur as a result, is of the highest importance.

Stage V: Direct Action Stage. In this fifth stage, after exhausting all regular constitutional machinery, heightening the awareness of the population at large about the issue, and understanding intensive soul searching and inner preparedness, nonviolent action is undertaken. This action can take many forms, including economic boycotts, sit-down strikes, non payment of taxes, mass resignations from public office, and deliberate and organized disobedience to certain laws that are considered unjust. Gandhi, relying heavily on his opponents' lack of preparation, felt that some combination of these methods, coupled with sympathy from within the ranks of the authority being challenged, could open channels for discussion. On the other hand, if resistance continued, the end result could be the complete collapse of the government's power, shifting power to the Satyagrahis, who could then constitute a new government.

Relevance of Gandhi Today

Having explored Gandhi's philosophy and practice of nonviolence above, as he used it against the British first in South Africa, and then in India, an interesting question is: what relevance do Gandhi's ideas have for today? The first obvious answer is that with the destructive potential of nuclear weapons today, the world can no longer afford to solve its conflicts via violence and weapons of mass destruction--if we want a future for ourselves, our children, and the earth. Gandhi was the first person to take ideas of nonviolence and apply them in a mass movement for social and political change, that showed that a party to a conflict can win via nonviolent means against a much stronger party, 'if' the former can appeal to the moral conscience of their opponent, and the world, and convince them that they have a just cause which deserves to be listened to and addressed in a constructive manner. Certainly the world can use such an approach today. Being willing to listen to inner spiritual guidance, and then to undergo purification (to be sure one's motives are pure) before embarking on political action in the world are other characteristics of spiritually-based nonviolence, which distinguish it from both temporary uses of nonviolence for functional purposes, and from violent efforts at socialpolitical change. Such-spiritually based nonviolence carries a much bigger moral authority and influence because it is not undertaken for personal power or ego reasons, and because it does not dehumanize one's opponent, which is a necessary step before people can justify killing other human beings in the world. All of these values, if adopted by the world's different peoples, cultures, and religions today would do much to create a more peaceful world in the 21st century. It is also significant that religious leaders of many of the world's religions would agree today that when violent actions are undertaken in the name of religion, the party concerned is not being true to the spirit

or the letter of that religion. (Certainly religious cults today or fundamentalist religious factions that advocate and engage in violence against others with different perspectives than their own are not being true to the spirit of the original founders of their professed religions.)

INGOs (International Non-governmental Organizations) and NGOs (Non-governmental Organizations) Roles in Support of the Six Perspectives on Peace

There are both International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs), as well as national Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOS) that exist to support peace-building efforts in all six areas of peace outlined in the paper above. These are all citizens' groups that are concerned about and active in efforts towards peace in any one or more of the above peace perspective areas. As such, these INGOs and NGOs play a pivotally important role in the international system and in their own respective countries, in mobilizing citizens to work towards better conditions of life in each of these areas and in also lobbying their governmental representatives to adopt more responsible policies to deal with issues in each of these areas.

It is also noteworthy that as the world has become more complex and moved from a bipolar world (characterizing the Cold War era) to a multipolar world (at least economically), that the number of different types of actors in the international system has increased--including an increasingly important role for NGO's to influence the future direction of the international system. INGOs and NGO's are also, in many respects, the conscience of the international community, since they are often the most progressive and concerned and active citizens of the world, who are trying to educate government officials and the broader public about important issues that the human community needs to address, if a better world is to be created for future generations. In each of the peace areas noted below, there are, in effect, hundreds, even thousands of INGOs and NGOs that are active. A few prominent examples under each peace area are noted below, to illustrate their activities.

Anti-War and Anti-Nuclear NGOs (Peace as Absence of War)

The anti-war movement has a long history in the West, where groups such as the War Resisters International (WRI) and Peace Pledge Union (PPU) have taken a consistently anti-war stance for many decades. These groups put forward an absolutist position on war, arguing that it is never justified and should never be used, even when faced with a totalitarian, fascist dictator such as Hitler. - A few countries, such as Switzerland, Sweden and Costa Rica also refrain from participation in war, while Japan still supports a constitution which forever precludes the use of war by Japan. Other anti-war groups oppose particular wars, for example, many citizens groups in Europe, North America and Asia opposed the Vietnam war and U.S. involvement. Unlike the members of WRI or PPU, most of the citizens involved in anti-Vietnam War demonstrations

were not pacifists and would have been in favor of World War II against fascism in Germany, Italy and Japan.

Following the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, many anti-nuclear groups have campaigned worldwide for the elimination of nuclear weapons. As in the case of citizens groups opposed to the Vietnam or Afghanistan wars, nuclear pacifists are not necessarily opposed to all wars, rather they oppose the use, or threat of use, of nuclear weapons. The discovery of radioactive isotopes in mothers' milk and babies' teeth following extensive nuclear testing in the atmosphere prompted the formation of anti-atmospheric testing groups during the 1950s. These were followed in Europe in the late 1950s by groups such as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) and then by European Nuclear Disarmament (END) in the 1970s. These groups played an important role in raising public awareness of the nuclear issue during the Cold War, as did SANE/FREEZE in the United States. In addition, various scientific and social scientific INGOs contributed to anti-nuclear sentiment through the publication of research on issues such as the effects of nuclear weapons on people, the consequences of a nuclear war--including the nuclear winter hypothesis, and the dangers of accidental nuclear war--the unintended launching of thousands of missiles through a combination of human and computer error during periods of tension.

Some anti-nuclear groups have also campaigned against nuclear generation of electricity, basing their objections on a number of factors including: the potential link through the nuclear fuel cycle between civilian and military uses of nuclear technology, including various ways that nuclear power stations can be used to help make nuclear weapons; the dangers of a Chernobyl, Windscale or Three Mile Island type of accident in a nuclear power plant; the problem of safe longterm storage of nuclear waste for tens of thousands of years--periods of time in excess of the life span of any human civilization; and the economic cost of nuclear power generation.

Some INGOS, such as Greenpeace, operate on a global basis against all of these aspects of nuclear technology as well as for environmental issues, using direct action to publicize the issues. Greenpeace has become a truly global actor, with its own computer network for communication, a navy of small boats, and offices and membership worldwide. For example, during the early summer of 1995, the new Rainbow Warrior, part of the unarmed Greenpeace Navy, sailed into the Pacific to try to prevent French nuclear testing and to highlight the issues involved. At the same time, Greenpeace activists on the other side of the world occupied an oil rig in the North Sea of the British coast in order to prevent the sinking of the obsolete rig by the oil company.

Friendship and United Nations Support Groups (Peace as Balance of Forces in the International System)

The United Nations Association (UNA) and UNESCO clubs and associations worldwide are good examples of citizens groups who are actively working to strengthen the international system. The idea that a balance of forces in the international system helps control war requires the development of a strong international system that is able to control or balance the excesses of nationalism. While the U.N. system is an organization of States, NGOs and INGOs have had an increasing influence on the system during recent years. Agencies, such as UNESCO, have

multiple linkages with NGOs and INGOS, while annual U.N. Conferences, each on a different theme--such as the meeting on Environment and Development, and the upcoming meeting on Women--are invariably interfaced with a parallel NGO Forum that both supports and challenges the intergovernmental deliberations.

Citizen diplomacy has also been an important nongovernmental activity in this regard. During the Cold War, groups of U.S. and Soviet citizens worked to establish genuine friendships across the ideological divide that separated their countries. Exchanges between doctors, housewives, scientists, students and teachers provided a human link at a time when fear, mistrust and hostility dominated the normal relationships between the United States and the Soviet Union. It is difficult to estimate the contributions of these exchanges to keeping the peace, that is avoiding war, but there is no doubt that they served as one of the building blocks for the future and did help counterbalance the otherwise overwhelming negative mutual misperceptions prevalent at that time.

On a more general level, there are numerous examples of friendship groups between the citizens of different countries. In some cases, these groups take the form of national friendship societies, for example, Japan and Korea or the United States and Cuba. In other cases, they take the form of person to person links between towns or cities, for example the Sister City movement, whereby a city or town will establish a sister relationship with cities in other countries in order to promote an international perspective among its citizens and build friendship between the citizens of their city or town and those of another city or town in one or more countries. Many thousands of cities and towns are linked worldwide in the Sister City movement, and many millions of citizens have had an international experience and made international friends through this route. In addition, a number of countries, as well as large towns, have hosted international "expos", primarily--though not exclusively-- for economic reasons.

All of the activities discussed in this section strengthen the international system at its roots and help build friendships and links between citizens of different countries. More recently, this person to person international interaction has been broadened through the rapidly expanding use of the Internet. Whereas international pen friend organizations have been in existence for many years, and have contributed much to increasing international understanding, the Internet has accelerated the communication process and made it easier for some of the citizens of the world to freely communicate with each other on a regular basis. Millions of individuals now interact with each other through cyberspace, although many parts of the world are not yet connected to computer networks. In the future, cyberspace will play an increasing role in connecting people in an interactive way, worldwide.

Anti-Poverty, Social Justice, and Human..Rights NGOs (Peace as Negative Peace--No War and Positive Peace--No Structural Violence)

Global telecommunications have also helped inform the citizens of the world about structural violence issues. With the spread of television and global communications, not only wars, but also major tragedies--such as famines, homelessness, the plight of refugees and human rights abuses--are graphically portrayed on our television screens. Citizens groups, such as Amnesty

International, OXFAM, and Save the Children, have as a result been able to reach millions of citizens throughout the world.

Amnesty International is perhaps the best known of the global INGOs working in the area of human rights. With its worldwide membership and clearly defined goals, it has been able to intervene in thousands of cases where a nonviolent individual was being imprisoned or persecuted because of their beliefs. Like Greenpeace, Amnesty has developed national branches in many countries throughout the world and has its own computer networks that are used to link its members and share information worldwide. While Amnesty tends to work through letter writing campaigns and publicity in national and international media, some groups, such as Peace Brigades International (PBI) concentrate on nonviolent intervention to help protect activists working nonviolently for political or social change in dangerous, often life-threatening, situations. PBI sends specially trained observers to accompany nonviolent social activists, observers who are linked to national media outlets and politicians in leading countries, such as the United States. If an activist is killed or unjustly treated by local authorities, PBI can act as "whistle blowers" and ensure that the general population and political elites in all major democratic countries are informed.

At different times, national and international citizens groups, such as the Anti-Apartheid Campaign, have campaigned against structural violence directed at particular minority, or majority, ethnic or racial groups. The recent radical changes in South Africa have come about in part as a consequence of prolonged, intensive actions by a broad range of citizen and business groups opposed to Apartheid.

When we consider issues related to poverty and homelessness, international and national citizens' groups have played an increasingly important role during recent years, partly at least because of the increased awareness among general populations in developed countries about current crises through watching television. Groups such as OXFAM and Save the Children, often working hand in hand with local, governmental and United Nations relief and peacekeeping operations, have helped distribute millions of dollars worth of aid to people in need throughout the South. In addition, they have increasingly worked to help local populations establish longer term viable support systems.

Feminist and Women's Issues NGOs (Feminist Peace)

It is a historical fact that -women have traditionally played a leading role in peace movements, as illustrated in the historical analyses of feminist scholars such as Elise Boulding. (1992) In this century, groups such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) have campaigned and educated around a broad range of issues from women's suffrage to violence against women in war or in the home. In recent years, with the rise of feminist scholarship and the associated increase in social and political activism by women worldwide, national and international groups of women have increasingly impacted local, national, regional, and global policies of both governments and international organizations.

Given the person-centered analysis of feminist scholarship, it is not surprising that large numbers of local women's' groups are now active throughout the world. The Manila-based Batis Center

for Women is in many ways a typical example. This center, in collaboration with the International Center for Rights of the Child, is working to reunite Japanese-Filipino children with their Japanese fathers. About 10,000 Japanese-Filipino children have been abandoned by their Japanese fathers--most of whom have Japanese families--and so far about 20 of the 50 fathers contacted by the center have agreed to see their children and provide some financial support. Like many womens' organizations, the Batis Center is working to overcome some of the negative effects of exploitative behavior by many men.

The United Nations is organizing a conference on women in Beijing in September 1995 and womens' groups and organizations from around the world are participating in the parallel NGO Forum. The womens' NGO gathering will undoubtedly receive significant media coverage and will provide an opportunity for a whole range of groups to raise womens' issues in a global forum. The now well established tradition of parallel NGO meetings, whenever a major global U.N. or Governmental conference takes place, illustrates the degree to which NGOs are now directly impacting on the policy process and on international public opinion.

Environmental Groups (Holistic Gaia-Peace)

While the activities of Greenpeace have been mentioned above, it is important to stress that the concepts "green" and "peace" have become interconnected for many millions of people, regardless of whether or not they are members of the organization. Environmental consciousness has increased dramatically in many countries, in part at least through the activities of concerned citizens in groups such as Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, the Sierra Club or the World Wildlife Fund. Again the growth in environmental activism is a worldwide phenomenon, whether it is directed towards saving the rain forest, protecting whales, controlling the emissions of greenhouse gases, or promoting the development of alternative technologies for using renewable resources.

As was the case with opposition to nuclear weapons, NGOs and INGOs have been a major factor in developing an informed public opinion on environmental issues. New academic concepts like the Gaia Hypothesis (which defines the planet as a single living system) have helped provide environmentalists with a framework for action, as have the teachings of traditional indigenous cultures, where environmental values are often highly developed. The growing pressure from citizens throughout the world has impacted on governmental policy, while the input from scientific environmental INGOs has influenced the United Nations System as well as other International Governmental Organizations. As with womens' groups, holistic Gaiapeace groups have often arisen at the local level to deal with local issues. The catch phrase "think globally, act locally" has become a guiding principle for such groups.

Computer networks, such as Green Net and Environet are now enhancing interconnections between local environmental groups. By exchanging information and experiences, a considerable body of quickly available material is now available through the Internet, and an ongoing dialogue between groups all over the world has become possible. It is likely that this will in the not too distant future make it possible for coordinated local environmental actions involving many different groups throughout the world. On some issues, such as the transportation of nuclear waste, there is already global coordination between local environmental groups such as

the Plutonium Action Network in Kyoto and various anti-nuclear groups in countries along the route of ships transporting radio-active waste from France or the LTK to Japan. In the future this coordination of plans and actions is likely to increase and to become more effective. Such a worldwide citizens watch on the transportation of radioactive materials could also at a later date become a part of a global inspection system to prevent the illegal manufacture of nuclear weapons. The networks of anti-nuclear and environmental groups, if properly connected through modern computer technology, can become an important part of social inspection and nuclear whistle blowing worldwide.

Nonviolent Religious Groups (Holistic Inner and Outer Peace)

Throughout the world there are spiritually based groups from all the world's religious traditions who are working for peace. Some groups, such as Pax Christi or the Buddhist Peace Fellowship, come from particular religious traditions and base their peace work on the spiritual practices and beliefs of those traditions. Others, such as the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR) and interdenominational and interreligious peace organizations, work across religious traditions. In both cases, nonviolent religious groups who base their peace testimony on spiritual principles, have throughout history been an essential component of the peace movement.

Religious peace groups and individuals have often been able to work in extremely difficult conditions, for example, the Quaker ambulance teams who tended the wounded at the front lines in the First World War, or Mother Theresa who tends the poor and sick in India. Sometimes, though not always, their purity of purpose can make it possible for such groups to go where others could not, for example the nonviolent interventions of IFOR in the ongoing war in Myanmar and of the Buddhist monks in Vietnam. Much attention is given in peace research to the role of religion and religious groups in conflict, particularly ethnic conflict where leaders from different religious backgrounds often use religion as a basis for war. Far less attention has been given to the moderating influence of religions and of religious peace groups in controlling war, though also significant.

The Movement for Peace

A previous study (Smoker, 1965) explored the relationship between the formation of INGOs and changes in the international system using empirical data from the *Yearbook of International Associations*, which classified INGOs into the following 19 categories.

1. Health
2. Science
3. Sport and Recreation
4. International Relations
5. Transport and Travel

6. Technology
7. Social Science
8. Arts and Literature
9. Education and Youth
10. Religion and Ethics
11. Law and Administration
12. Agriculture
13. Commerce and Industry
14. Bibliography, Documentation and Press
15. Professions and Employers
16. Social Welfare
17. Trade Union Organizations
18. Economics
19. Politics

The results of that study are consistent with the "movement for peace" hypothesis suggested by Kenneth Boulding. As mentioned earlier in this paper, Boulding made an important distinction between "the peace movement" (organizations which overtly and consciously exist to promote peace activities in any of the above or other six broad peace areas) and "the movement for peace" (including any type of international cooperative activities that lead to the functional integration of the international system and which therefore indirectly support the creation of peace in the world, even though that is not their overt or conscious purpose). Thus even those INGOs who are not concerned with promotion of peace in any of the six senses discussed above do, indirectly, contribute to strengthening the international system and maintaining peace, in terms of absence of war. In addition, some types of INGOS, such as those involved in sports or politics, appear to be particularly vulnerable to increased tension in the international system, while others, such as agriculture or health, are particularly resistant to increased tension.

A second empirical simulation study (Smoker, 1969) also supported the "movement for peace" hypothesis. In this study conflict patterns for two types of world were compared. The first world had a small international system and states were the main actors. The second world had a much stronger international system that included many actors --multinational corporations, international governmental organizations and international nongovernmental organizations. In

the state dominated world, wars were frequent, but when the international system was strengthened, wars between states became much less frequent, while micro level conflict within states increased. A similar trend has in fact occurred in the real world during the last **fifty** years, as discussed earlier in this paper.

NGOs and INGOs thus contribute to peace in two ways: directly through the activities of peace movements of various sorts as detailed above, and indirectly through the movement for peace which strengthens the fabric of the international system.

Introduction to a Global Monitoring System--including Early Warning Systems for Negative Developments, and Positive Public Recognition for Positive , Multicultural Visions and Developments, Relating to Each of the Six Perspectives on Peace

The terms "negative peace" and "positive peace" have now become associated with Galtung's structural violence model--negative peace being the absence of physical violence, and positive peace being the absence of structural violence. In the final two sections of the article, we will be focusing on the negative conditions (that need to be eliminated if peace is to occur, Section VII) and the positive conditions (that need to be created if peace is to occur, Section VIII). Whenever we use the terms negative and positive in this section, it is important to remember this distinction and our focus on negative conditions that need to be eliminated and positive conditions that need to be created, and the importance of creating some kind of global monitoring system to track both types of developments, negative and positive, in each of the six areas of peace. The term "early warning system" is traditionally used to refer to the tracking of negative developments, but we feel the tracking of positive developments is equally important for world peace. Such a combined system we are calling a "global monitoring system" here.

The **final** section of this paper deals with positive multicultural visions for each of the six perspectives on peace. Any effective global monitoring system would have to include not only negative developments, but also positive ones in its' mandate. There has been a tendency in Western peace research to focus on negative aspects of peace. Even Galtung's definition of positive peace is framed in terms of absence of undesirable factors, and there is a similar tendency in newspapers and on radio and television to highlight negative events. Cultivating cultures of peace requires a greater balance between the negative and positive aspects of peace, and any global monitoring system needs to include such a balanced perspective.

One of the interesting possibilities for helping to create a more peaceful world would be the creation internationally, as well as nationally within countries, of an effective worldwide monitoring system--most probably under U.N. auspices--that would develop indicators of negative conditions for peace, as well as indicators of movements towards positive conditions for peace, in each of the six areas of peace noted above. Then a permanent group could be assigned to monitor events in the world and within countries around the world that would tell humanity as a whole where peace was endangered--and in what areas, as well as where progress was being made towards establishing firm foundations for peace in the world. These assessments, and the indicators (of both negative and -positive developments) on which these assessments were based,

could also be regularly supplied to the world's media to inform world public opinion on these issues, and where necessary, to mobilize world support for U.N. or other action to prevent a worsening of negative conditions of peace--where they emerged, as well as to support continuing improvements in positive conditions of peace--where they emerged. International prizes and recognition could also be given for groups and individuals doing outstanding work for peace in any area, which could help educate others on models of peacemaking and peacebuilding that are working around the world.

The global monitoring system would be based on a number of interacting parts, and would use information and expertise from the United Nations, governmental and private research institutes, NGOs and INGOs of the various sorts discussed above, and private citizens worldwide. The system would also make extensive use of the Internet as a vehicle for sharing information quickly and in a decentralized way. The Internet has spread rapidly from North America and Western Europe, where it is now widely available to millions of people, to other North countries such as Japan and Australia, where access is now rapidly increasing. Every country in South America, as well as the majority of countries in Asia and Africa, are now on line, and within a few years, there is little doubt that at a minimum all but a handful of countries will have a significant number of access points to the Internet, and at best some form of complete global interconnectivity will have been achieved.

At the same time, the technical capabilities of the Internet will continue to improve. During the last two years, Internet software, such as Mosaic and Netscape, has been developed to exploit the advantages of the World Wide Web, an Internet protocol that allows easy access to text, pictures and sound. The rapid spread of this software across the net has resulted in a dramatic increase in the quality of information available and the ease with which it can be obtained. The Internet, which began as a technically awkward communications device between mainframe computers for specialist researchers, is now becoming a user-friendly, interactive, multimedia tool for millions of people around the world. This trend, like the geographic spread trend towards global inter-connectivity, is technologically driven and will continue into the next century when additional features, such as automatic translation between languages and interactive, person to person television on the net, will become standard. In the shorter term, global monitoring systems should use the Internet as one way to collect and share information. The United Nations can play a leadership role in facilitating this development.

Early Warning Systems for Negative Developments Relating to Each of The Six Perspectives on Peace

This section of the paper discusses some of the indicators of negative developments associated with each of the six areas of peace. These indicators could all be included in any early warning system and would allow the detection of crises early in their development, so appropriate actions and interventions could be devised and implemented before full blown crises occurred.

Peace as Absence of War

If we define a nation as a people who have their own history, shared experiences together, customs and traditions, and often their own religion and language that further holds them together, then, at the present time, internal wars between nations or ethnic groups are by far the most common type of war in the world. In 1993, for example, only one of the more than forty wars was not an internal war. An important part of early warning systems for those who view peace as absence of war will concentrate on monitoring tensions between national and ethnic groups throughout the world. In addition, a broadened view of peacekeeping could emerge that involved teams of mediators and specialists in cross cultural conflict resolution being dispatched to potential conflict areas, preferably under U.N. auspices with the full cooperation of the states within whose territory the latent conflict exists. These peace keepers might better be called peacebuilders or conflict mediators. In addition, NGOs and INGOs with appropriate skills, for example in cross cultural conflict resolution or nonviolent action, would work with the U.N. personnel and the national or ethnic communities in seeking constructive ways forward in their disputes.

The peacebuilders would also work with the states in the region to develop political, economic and social institutions that contribute to nonviolent resolution of national and ethnic conflicts. The longterm role of educational institutions in both equipping students with nonviolent conflict resolution skills and fostering positive multicultural frameworks that honor and celebrate national and cultural diversity should also be stressed in such situations. If educational institutions, including schools, colleges and religious organizations, lack such perspectives in situations of national or ethnic tension, then this is an indicator of potential conflict in the future.

Other indicators of potential conflict include a lack of interchange between the two or more national or ethnic groups involved. For example, in Northern Ireland at various historical periods, violence has broken out between the Catholic and Protestant communities. Shortly before the latest "troubles", various surveys of attitudes and interactions between the two communities demonstrated a deeply polarized situation in which, for the most part, Catholics and Protestants lived in separate enclaves, went to separate schools where they learned the history of their own community but not the other's, worked in separate places, did not intermarry, and generally received a broad socialization that stressed the rightness of their own group and the wrongness of the other. Peace researchers warned, before the event, that this was a dangerous situation that could easily become violent, but there was no mechanism, no institution that could intervene in the situation and attempt to mediate. While the violence in Northern Ireland began in 1969 and has only recently ended after more than 25 years, many much more recent internal wars have displayed a number of similar characteristics. The experience that has been gained by peace researchers and others in understanding such internal conflicts could be applied to early warning, if the sort of early warning system outlined above could be put into place.

Peace as Balance of Forces in the International System

This view of peace requires constant strengthening of the international system, particularly in regions of the world where international interconnections are weak or underdeveloped. For example, if two or more potentially hostile states, such as India and Pakistan, Brazil and Argentina, Israel and her Arab neighbors, or North and South Korea, have relatively few connections through links such as trade, INGOs or IGOS, or if such linkages show signs of

weakening, then there is serious cause for concern, since such interconnections provide a kind of global or regional infrastructure for peace. An earlier study (Smoker, 1965) demonstrated how INGO linkages between states provided a good indicator of connectivity, and how uneven this social fabric of the international system can be. There are in fact numerous indicators of interconnectivity between states, and research institutes could construct various measures covering economic, social and political links. These might include indicators of tourism, sister cities, joint projects, trade flow, airline patterns, telephone calls, mail, electronic mail, mutual investment, joint memberships in governmental and nongovernmental organizations, and joint memberships in bilateral and multilateral treaties and conventions.

At the same time a range of negative empirical indicators have been used by social scientists to study tension between states. Some of these indicators concentrate on what are called international events, such as threats, protests and accusations between governments, troop movements, diplomatic events--including expelling or recalling ambassadors, and anti-foreign demonstrations. Others concentrate on macro indicators, such as the proportion of the national budget or GNP spent on defense--an indicator that has in the past been used to predict eventual hostilities between two or more states.

The United Nations is unquestionably an appropriate institution for facilitating mediation between potentially hostile states when early warning indicators suggest relations may be deteriorating. The Secretary General's office, or the Security Council, could attempt preconflict mediation based upon evidence from early warning indicators. In addition, a number of global or regional governmental organizations now exist in North America, South America, Europe, Africa and Asia, many of which could participate in early warning activities. For example, the Group of Seven (G-7) major industrial countries at its June 1995 meeting in Halifax, Nova Scotia recommended the establishment of an early warning system for violent conflict between actors in the international system.

Peace as Negative Peace (No War) and Positive Peace (No Structural Violence)

In addition to the indicators and proposed interventions suggested above, a range of indicators exists for structural violence concerns. In the area of human rights, groups such as Amnesty International have developed human rights profiles for every country in the world. This information, which is already available on the Internet, is published in the world's newspapers and on television, and is frequently referred to in television documentaries and other programs. Similarly for poverty and famine issues, INGOs such as OXFAM constantly monitor developments worldwide through their field workers, and through cooperation with research institutes, and governmental and United Nations relief efforts. The global network of poverty and famine relief agencies that now exists--could act as an effective vehicle for early warning, if greater connectivity between the groups could be established. In future this would be possible through the Internet based early warning information system discussed above.

Death through preventable disease is an everyday occurrence in many parts of the world. United Nations agencies such as the World Health Organization (WUO), and nongovernmental agencies, such as the Save the Children Fund, face enormous global health problems, primarily in the South, where issues such as infant mortality and infectious disease present an enormous

challenge, but also in the North, where cancer and heart attacks are common killers. In addition, new challenges such as AIDS, the spread of which can be lessened by social and cultural changes as discussed previously in this paper, are stretching global health resources to the limit. Monitoring health trends, and the associated economic, social and cultural contexts, can continue to provide early warning of potential tragedies. Prevention requires various interventions, including the provision of appropriate medical facilities, therapies and technologies; the establishment of a local economy that provides a livelihood for all members of the community and does not force women into prostitution; and the changing of local cultures away from a culture of structural violence--for example when AIDS is spread because established social and cultural norms support male participation in the sex trade while at the same time preventing the use of condoms--towards a culture of structural peace.

Multinational Companies (MNCs) are key actors when issues of large scale structural violence are concerned and monitoring the activities of MNCs would be another aspect of any early warning system concerned with Galtungian positive peace. MNCs have had a major impact on local economic systems throughout the world, sometimes displacing poor people from their traditional lands and homes, and often transforming local agriculture away from a self sufficiency focus towards a cash crop for export perspective. If the longterm relationships between global MNCs and local communities is to become less structurally violent, then social, cultural and ethical concerns must become a part of MNC agendas. Indicators that measure the positive and negative impacts of MNCs on local communities should be an integral part of positive peace early warning systems.

In the political arena, the degree of democratization of a society is an indicator of the extent to which individuals have access to the political process. In dictatorships and pre democratic societies, unequal access to the political process represents a political form of structural violence. Early warning systems need to develop indicators of the degree of democratic participation that is possible in societies. Similarly structural discrimination against minority or majority groups needs to be continually monitored in order to gauge the extent to which basic political, social and economic rights are being eroded or enhanced in any society.

Feminist Peace--on Macro and Micro Levels

Womens' groups in IGOs and Governmental agencies, together with INGOs and NGOs that deal with women's issues, have broadened social and political agendas to include both physical and structural violence against women. These groups have a wealth of information and experience that can be used to construct early warning indicators. Feminist peace does not yet exist in any country, although the situation is improving in some parts of the world, but womens' groups can provide a broad range of indicators to help provide early warning of increasing or decreasing violence or discrimination against women and children. These indicators would include rape, wife beating, prostitution, and child molestation on the one hand and structural inequalities, such as unequal pay, fewer job opportunities, and discrimination against mothers on the other.

Discrimination against women is deeply embedded in many cultural traditions, and the creation of a feminist culture of peace is a significantly greater challenge than for the other models of peace we have so far discussed. For this reason the educational component of an early warning

program is likely to be significant for a feminist culture of peace. Groups such as UNESCO have placed a high priority on educating women, partly because of the current discrimination that exists in many cultures and partly because it is one of the most powerful mechanisms there is in dealing with global problems such as birth control, infant mortality, health issues and emancipation of women in the political process. Given the fact that feminist peace does not exist in any country, early warning principles require expanded educational programs and opportunities for women throughout the world. Similar educational opportunities are also necessary for minorities within any society. Such programs are a necessary, but by no means sufficient condition, to establish feminist cultures of peace. As with Galtungian structural violence, feminist peace also challenges the past roles of MNCs in the countries of the South, where women workers often form the bulk of the work force. Special consideration should be given to monitoring the conditions of women factory workers in the South.

Holistic Gaia Peace: Peace With the Environment

The environmental movement has arisen in part at least because of accumulated data on global warming, deforestation, desertification, pollution and environmental degradation. While there is not universal agreement on how to interpret the global environmental data that has been collected during the last 50 years, most people accept, at least in principle, that industrialized society cannot continue indefinitely on its present path. In fact, early warning data has been used by NGOs, INGOs and others to put pressure on governments, IGOs and the U.N., and in a relatively short space of time, environmental concerns have become central to issues of development. As with the feminist model of peace, environmental peace does not exist in any country in the world, and there is a great need for sustained education and discussion on environmental issues.

Another area in which early warning for gaia-peace can be established relates to the degree to which significant problems, such as starvation, war and war preparation, and poverty are seen as separate. Holistic peace theories are based on the interconnections between different aspects of reality, and as a consequence holistic peace does not exist when major issues are treated as if they are unconnected. In the educational area, holistic peace requires that at least as much emphasis is laid on cross disciplinary and interdisciplinary work as on traditional disciplines such as physics, mathematics, economics or history. In cultural terms the current shift in Western culture towards paradigms that stress interdependence and interconnectivity represent a move in the right direction.

Holistic Inner and Outer Peace

While holistic inner and outer peace requires all the early warning elements outlined above, it also requires a shift towards the inter faith perspective in which the outer cultural manifestations of all religions are recognized as representations of an underlying spiritual unity. Tendencies such as fundamentalism in the Christian tradition or extremism in the Islamic tradition are not compatible with holistic inner and outer peace that involves many different outer forms of religion being expressed through a variety of different cultural forms. Indicators of interreligious intolerance and of interfaith harmony would be essential to monitor peace, or its absence, in this area.

In educational terms, religious education can no longer concentrate on the teachings of one particular tradition or faith as the embodiment of all truth. Instead, the validity of all traditions can be celebrated within the context of a broader view of humanity's multifaceted religious life. The Barcelona Declaration (UNESCO, 1994) provides a basis for establishing inner-outer peace, stressing as it does the fundamental importance of inner peace and the need for nonviolent, interreligious harmony. Groups such as the World Council of Churches and UNESCO could play an important leadership role in this regard.

Summary on Early Warning Systems for Negative Developments Moving Away From Peace

The brief discussion above sketches some of the ways in which an early warning system could work to combat negative movements for various definitions of peace. The early warning system would involve both the development of indicators, the sharing of information worldwide—including the use of the Internet to facilitate this process, and direct intervention by appropriate groups.

**Reframing from Negative to Positive Conceptions of Peace:
Positive, Multicultural Visions for Each of the Six Perspectives on Peace**

Earlier in this paper we have described how peace research, as it has developed in the West, has often had a tendency to focus primarily on the negative factors that it wants to eliminate, but less on the positive alternative visions that it would like to create, in order for a more peaceful world to be established. Yet it can be argued that "a civilization without positive images of itself is doomed," as Fred Polak noted in his famous study on the importance of positive visioning of the kind of future that we want to create. (Polak, 1973) Indeed, it can be argued that knowing what you don't want is not sufficient to get people to change their behavior. People also need positive visions of the alternatives they want to create, *and* these alternatives must also seem viable—if most people are going to be willing to give up their old, familiar ways of doing things in favor of some alternative, even when the old ways are clearly dysfunctional.

The Institute for World Order, in its World Order Models Project (WOMP), has always been concerned with articulating normative values on which to create alternative, more desirable futures. They were thus astute in stating four core value areas for creating a desirable world future, not only in negative terms (what they would like to eliminate), but also in positive terms (what they would like to create as an alternative). (Mendlovitz, 1975) Their core values were:

- * Peace (positive), not War (negative)
- * Social and Political Justice (positive), not Injustice (negative)
- * Economic Wellbeing (positive), not Poverty (negative)
- * Ecological Balance (positive), not Decay (negative)

For each of the six perspectives on peace, elaborated earlier in this paper, we would like to explore below how each could be positively envisioned (not just what needs to be eliminated in each area). We would also like to suggest that in our globally interdependent world, these positive visions of peace in each area need to be based on a synthesis of some of the best ideas from different cultures around the world on what, ideally, peace could and should look like. A few suggestions follow in each area; these suggestions are by no means definitive, just preliminary and exploratory. It is hoped that further discussions will occur in the future on how different cultures around the world can contribute positive ideas for peace in each of these six areas.

Peace as Absence of War

This view of peace is usually stated as a negative, i.e., peace requires the absence or elimination of war. It would seem that most cultures of the world would accept this as a necessary, though not sufficient, condition for peace in the world. Nonetheless, Western religions have all had, in varying degrees, some idea of holy wars or crusades or jihads to convert people to their faith, which seems to go against this idea. Hinduism may also believe to some extent--as in the Bagavad Gita--that one must go to war and do battle, although it is certainly possible to question whether this was meant literally to do battle physically in the external world, or whether it was meant more allegorically, i.e., that one must do battle with one's own internal self, and one's own demons, to develop internal mastery over one's baser emotions, if peace is to be achieved--in oneself, or in the world. There are many variations of this idea, including: "There never was a war that was not inward: I must fight till I have conquered in myself what causes war." --Marianne Moore; "When we do not find peace within ourselves, it is vain to seek for it elsewhere." --Duc Francois de la Rochefoucauld; and "He had so much security inside that he could afford to go without any outside." --said about Kagawa, a Japanese pacifist. (Larsen, et. al., 1987) Certainly this is a more positive formulation of "doing battle" in the nuclear age today, and one that fits well with mystical traditions in all the world's religions.

A positive restating of this idea of eliminating war, as a precondition for peace in the world, also comes from Western Biblical text, where it says: "They shall beat their swords into plowshares." and "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." (Matthew 5:9). These are certainly positive visions implying that someday peace is possible.

Peace as Balance of Forces in the International System

This view of peace originated with Quincy Wright in 1941 in the U.S. It may also parallel and build on the earlier European idea of changing alliances to balance power blocs in Europe, so that no country or bloc of countries gained too much power--though it is clear that this idea sometimes broke down in Europe, resulting in wars. The interesting question is whether any comparable idea of peace as a balance of forces exists in Eastern cultures historically? Interestingly, there is a theory in Japan, about how Japanese politics and society is organized, called "the hollow centered balanced theory," which holds that there is no person or principle at the center of power in Japan (unlike Western cultures), but that instead power is balanced around a void center (so to speak) by different groups--much like different feudal lords each balancing

off their different feifdoms or kingdoms. In feudal England, the King also played off one feudal lord against another to maintain a balance of power system, to his own benefit.

In international relations today, the idea of balance can be translated into the many United Nations Associations and support groups in different countries who are concerned citizens who work in support of the United Nations, as well as bilateral friendship societies between citizens in many pairs of countries in the world, who also work towards better relations between their two countries. Citizens diplomacy groups which support exchanges and dialogue between citizens in countries that have been in conflict, such as the U.S. and the former Soviet Union, are also excellent examples of people taking positive action to improve relations and create greater interdependence and understanding between people in different countries and cultures in the world, thereby creating better "balance" in the world. Such groups all help create a global network of interconnections between the citizens of the earth, making us all more interdependent and hopefully more aware and understanding of each other's cultures and traditions as well. Such groups, through numerous NGOs and INGOS, also help create the underlying fabric for a more peaceful world in the 21st century.

Peace as Negative Peace (No War) and Positive Peace (No Structural Violence)

Johan Galtung first propounded the idea of positive peace as no structural violence--in the international system or within domestic systems. This view of peace says that if people are starving and there is food in the world to feed them, or if people are sick and dying and there is medicine in the world to treat them, then the failure of this to happen are examples of structural violence. Abuses of human rights, as documented by Amnesty International in various countries around the world, are additional examples of structural violence. One might also add that authoritarian or dictatorial political systems that deny individuals basic human rights, or legal protections under the law, with the right to have their case heard if they feel their rights have been abused, are further examples of structural violence in the political area. All of these ideas seem to originate in Western cultures, where individualism (a Western invention based on individual identity) is seen as a necessary foundation for Western democracy, which is in turn based--for its effective functioning--on individual rights and responsibilities. Since political democracy is now a global trend, this will hopefully lead to increased opportunities for more members to participate politically in their countries in future.

Positive reformulations of the above would include peace based on social and political justice, protection of basic human and individual rights, along with opportunities for everyone in a society--including minorities and women--to get a good education, so that they will all have positive opportunities to better their life situation and as a result also be able to make constructive contributions back to their societies and cultures.

Feminist Peace--on Macro and Micro Levels:

The women's movement, which says that peace must occur not only on macro political, economic, and social levels, but also on micro family levels that apply to women and children, first arose in Western, democratic countries, but has now spread to cultures around the world. While the situation of women and the major problems faced by women vary in different cultures

around the world, there has emerged almost universal acceptance today (as seen in the recent United Nations Conference on Population in Cairo, Egypt) that world population, food, energy, and environmental issues and development issues of different countries around the world will not be able to be adequately addressed until women, like men, gain access to adequate education and health care. Improving the status of women will help to solve many of the issues haunting humanity today. Increasingly, countries are realizing that women are an important resource that can help the world to establish peace. Indeed, women have often been quite active in peace movements in the world, and have resisted efforts of men to send their sons off to fight wars. The existence of religions historically or still today based on the goddess, or a combination of both gods and goddesses, also indicates that women once held more power at certain times historically than they often do today in both Western and non-Western cultures.

Holistic Gaia-Peace: Peace With the Environment

There is no question that non-Western cultures, including Eastern cultures, that developed before the industrial revolution, had more of a cultural value of living in harmony with nature, since they saw themselves as part of nature, not separate from it. With Western individualism came the idea that we are all separate individuals and also separate from nature. Thus the goal changed to how we could control and "harness the forces of nature" for human ends. This was also coupled with the industrial revolution, which began in Europe and the West, but which is now sweeping the planet. Even in non-Western cultures, which have a cultural value of being part of nature and living in harmony with nature, this cultural value has often been lost as such countries moved rapidly ahead with industrialization, modernization, and economic development, often initiated from the top down, leaving behind a trail of pollution in countries--Western, Socialist, and non-Western--throughout the world.

While it would be easy to conclude that Western individualism is the source of all this environmental pollution, one positive thing can be said for such individualism. Democracy is based on the idea of individual rights and responsibilities. This idea has often empowered individuals in Western countries to believe that they have a responsibility to take personal initiative on issues that they perceive to be important--whether that be the environment, peace, women's rights, or whatever. In this respect, there are a number of individuals and groups in Western countries that are active on environmental issues around the world. Sometimes countries with group cultures may take longer to develop a group consensus and to mobilize people on such issues before group action can be undertaken by their society.

In summary, it would be a positive development in the environmental area if we could combine the Eastern value of living in harmony with nature with the Western democratic value of taking responsibility for one's own actions based on an internalized value of the need for all of us to be caretakers of planet earth.

Holistic Inner and Outer Peace

There is no question that the focus on achieving inner peace as the best way to achieve peace in the world is a stronger view in Eastern religions (such as Hinduism and Buddhism), where the mystical traditions of their religions are still stronger, than in Western religions (Judaism,

Christianity, and Islam), where more exoteric, outer forms of organized religion are more dominant, even though all religions, including Western religions, began by someone who had a mystical revelatory experience which they then tried to share with others, who became their followers and who often helped create a new organized religion around the teaching of their original founder. (See the authors' article for UNESCO, 1995, on "Spirituality, Religion, and Peace: Exploring the Foundations for Inner-Outer Peace in the 21st Century" for more substantiation and elaboration on this point.) It is thus not surprising that Western religions tend to focus more on achieving social justice and human rights in the world as a necessary precondition for achieving peace in the world. We are arguing here that both perspectives are necessary. Either perspective alone makes it more difficult to achieve the other perspective. For example, if one tries to achieve outer peace in the world only, but does not deal with inner peace, then one's inner conflicts can be projected out onto the world, making it difficult to achieve outer peace--the supposed goal. Likewise, if one tries to achieve inner peace only, but does not pay attention to creating outer peace in the world, then the social injustices and structural violence in the world will make it more difficult for most people experiencing those conditions to be able to find inner peace--the supposed goal. Thus the achievement of either inner or outer peace helps create the conditions necessary for the creation of the other type of peace

Summary: Developing Indicators of Positive, Multicultural Visions of Peace

Concerning each of the areas of peace, it is interesting that from the examples cited above, Eastern cultures have made especially strong contributions in each of the last two more holistic areas of peace (environmental and inner spiritual), while Western cultures have made especially strong contributions in the previous four areas, focusing more on changes in the external world, including social justice and human rights issues, and women's issues. There are also a number of Western activists in the environmental area. In the anti-war/peace area, there is especially strong citizens' support for peace in the form of opposing the sending of national troops abroad in both Japan and Germany, due to the consequences of such actions in the past. It would appear that as different cultures and countries, there are important things that we can all learn from each other about the many dimensions of creating a peaceful world. Hopefully, we can move towards some kind of a global consensus on these issues over time.

Once some kind of global consensus could be developed that transcended different cultures, but yet was based on input from the best ideas and traditions from various cultures around the world, the next step would be to try to develop indicators that could measure movement in a positive direction in each of the six different areas of peace discussed in this paper. Then some kind of international U.N. or private group could monitor events and activities around the world for progress in each area. These positive developments could then be highlighted by the world's media and by the U.N. to give publicity to what is working in a positive sense in the world, which could then serve as possible models that others could also emulate or learn from. International recognition and awards or prizes could also be offered to groups and people making the most progress in developing new ways to create the foundations and conditions for peace in a positive sense in each of the six areas. In this regard, even behavioral, social learning theory notes that people are more likely to change their behavior--especially over the long run--if they are rewarded for positive behavior, than if they are just punished for negative behavior (which only modifies their negative behavior in the short run, while the threat of punishment is there). A

more permanent modification of behavior in a positive direction requires that people be recognized and positively rewarded when they do things that contribute positively to world peace as well. Beyond this external recognition for positive behavior which contributes to peace, it is of course also desirable and ultimately necessary that people develop internalized peaceful values which they are willing to commit their lives to and live by.

There is not time in this paper to articulate adequate indicators for creating positive conditions for peace in each of the six areas outlined above. Real multicultural dialogue must continue until some kind of global consensus emerges that includes the best ideas from different cultures around the world on how we can best create peace in each of the six areas. This paper only suggests a few multicultural visions of peace in each area of peace (above); many more good ideas await inclusion in this global, multicultural dialogue. The authors of this paper would welcome further suggestions in each of the above areas

References

Appleby, R. Scott. *Religious Fundamentalisms and Global Conflict*. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1994.

Badiner, Allan Hunt. *Dharma Gaia: A Harvest of Essays in Buddhism and Ecology*. Parallax Press, Berkeley, 1990.

Boserup, Anders and Andrew Mack. *War Without Weapons: Non Violence in National Defense*. New York: Schocken, 1975.

Boulding, Kenneth. "Foreword" in *The Gaia Atlas of Future Worlds*. Edited by Norman Myers. New York: AnchorBooks, Doubleday, 1990.

Boulding, Elise. *The Underside of History: A View of Women Through Time*, Vols. 1 & 2. Revised Ed., Newbury Park, CA.: Sage Publications, 1992.

Brock-Utne, Birgit. *Feminist Perspectives on Peace and Peace Education*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1989.

Capra, Fritjov. *the Tao of Physics: An Exploration of the Parallels Between Modern Physics and Eastern Mysticism*. Third Ed., Updated. Boston: Shambhala, 1991.

Capra, Fritjov. *The Turning Point: Science, Society, and the Rising Culture*. New York: Bantam, 1982.

Clark, Dr. Peter B., Consulting Editor. *The World's Religions: Understanding the Living Faiths*. Pleasantville, N.Y.: Reader's Digest, 1993.

Dreher, Diane. *The Tao of Inner Peace*. Harper Perennial, 1991.

Easwaran, Eknath. *Gandhi the Man*. Second Ed., Petaluma, CA: Nilgiri Press, 1978.

Eliade, Mircea, General Editor. *Encyclopedia of Religion*. New York: Macmillan, 1986.

Fisher, Louis. *Gandhi: His Life and Message for the World*. New York: New American Library, 1954.

Galtung, Johan. "Violence, Peace and Peace Research" in *Journal of Peace Research*, No. 3, (1969).

Gawain, Shakti. *the Path of Transformation: How Healing Ourselves Can Change the World*. Mill Valley, CA: Nataraj Publishing, 1993.

A Global Ethic: The *Declaration of the Parliament of the World's Religions*. With Commentaries by Hans Kung and Karl-Josef Kuschel. Special Edition, New York: The Continuum Publishing Co.

Groff, Linda. "Global Unity & Diversity: Creating Tolerance for Cultural, Religious, & National Diversity in an Interdependent World." Paper, Third International Conference on "Building Understanding and Respect Between People of Diverse Religions or Beliefs," New Delhi, India, January 1991. (To Implement 1981 UN Declaration on Eliminating All Forms of Intolerance & Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief)

Groff, Linda. "Intercultural Communication, Negotiation, & Conflict Management: Insights on the United States-Japanese Relationship." Paper, International Studies Association Conference, Atlanta, Georgia, March 31-April 4, 1992.

Groff, Linda. "On the Values of Cultural and Ecological Diversity and Their Importance to an Effectively Functioning World--Including the UN & UNESCO," Paper & Testimony, US Commission on Improving the Effectiveness of the UN, Los Angeles, Ca., Feb., 1993.

Hunter, Doris A., and Mallick, Krishna. *Nonviolence: A Reader in the Ethics of Action*. Second Edition.. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, Inc., 1990.

Huntington, Samuel, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1993), pp. 21-49.

Larson, Jeanne, and Michels-Cyrus, Madge. *Seeds of Peace: A Catalogue of Quotations*. Philadelphia PA: New Society Publishers, 1987

Lovelock, J.E. *Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth*. Fifth Ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Macy, Joanna. *World as Lover, World as Sey'*. Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1991.

Mendlovitz, Saul H. *On the Creation of a Just World Order*. New York: The Free Press (Macmillan), 1975.

Moynihan, Daniel Patrick. *Pandaemonium: Ethnicity in International Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Nicholson, Shirley, ed. *the Goddess Re-Awakening: The Feminine Principle Today*. Wheaton, Ill.: The Theosophical Publishing House, 1989.

"Nonviolence," Special Issue, *Gandhi Marg*, Vol. 14, No. I (April-June 1992).

O'Gorman, Angie, Ed. *The Universe Bends Toward Justice: A Reader on Christian Nonviolence in the U.S.* Philadelphia and Santa Cruz: New Society Publishers, 1990.

Paige, Glenn D.; Satha-Anand, Chaiwat; and Gilliatt, Sarah, Eds. *Islam and Nonviolence*. Honolulu: Center for Global Non-Violence Planning Project, Matsunaga Institute for Peace, University of Hawaii, 1993.

Panikkar, Raimon. "Epistula de pace." Response to: *Philosophia pacis*. Homenaje a Raiinon Panikkar. Madrid: Simbolo Editorial, 1989.

Polak, Fred. *The Image of the Future*. New York: Elsevier, 1973. Translated and abridged edition by Elise Boulding.

Richardson, Lewis Fry. *Statistics of Deadly Quarrels*. Quadrangle Books, Chicago, 1960.

Ruether, Rosemary Radford. *Gaia and God: An Ecofeminist Theology of Earth Healing*. Harper San Francisco, 1992.

Schmidt, Herman. "Politics and Peace Research" in *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (1968)

Schuon, Frithjof. *The Transcendent Unity of Religions*. Introduction by Huston Smith. Wheaton, Ill.: The Theosophical Publishing House, 1984.

Sharp, Gene. *the Politics of Nonviolent Action*. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973. Sharp, Gene. *Social Power and Political Freedom*. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1980. Sibley, Mulford Q., Ed. *The Quiet Battle: Writings on the Theory and Practice of Non-Violent Resistance*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1963.

Smith, Huston. *Forgotten Truth: The Common Vision of the World's Religions*. Harper San Francisco, 1976.

Smith, Huston. *the World's Religions: Our Great Wisdom Traditions*. Completely Revised & Updated Edition of *the Religions of Man*. Harper San Francisco, 1991.

Smoker, Paul. "A Preliminary Empirical Study of an International Integrative Subsystem" in *International Associations*, No. 11 (1 965), pp. 63 8-646.

Smoker, Paul. "Social Research for Social Anticipation" *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. XII, No.6 (July-August 1969), pp.7-13.

Smoker, Paul. "Small Peace" in *Journal of Peace Research*, 1981.

Smoker, Paul. "Exploding Nuclear Myths: Evidence from Conflict Research" in *Coexistence*, Vol.21 (1984) pp 93-106

Smoker, Paul. "Towards a New Definition of Global Security" in *Ritsumeikan Review*, (1991).

Smoker, Paul, and Groff, Linda. "Spirituality, Religion, and Peace: Exploring the Foundations for Inner-Outer Peace in the 21st Century. " Conference Proceedings, Second UNESCO Conference on "Contributions of Religions to a Culture of Peace," Barcelona, 1995. (Conference was Dec. 1994)

World Scripture: A Comparative Anthology of Sacred Texts. A Project of the International Religious Foundation. New York: Paragon House, 1991. Quotations from sacred scriptures of different religions around the world organized by different topics.

"What Does Science Tell Us About God?" *Time Magazine*, Vol. 140, No. 26 (Dec. 28, 1992), pp. 3 8-44.

Wright, Quincy. *A Study of War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.