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PEACE THEORY: AN INTRODUCTION

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January, 1986

1.   A world divided; peace concepts divided

Peace, like health, covers conceptually a vast territory; and, like disease, comes in many varieties. Is it at all possible, meaningful, to develop a peace theory? In the same way as it is meaningful to develop a general health theory. There are general perspectives on conditions for a healthy body, mind and spirit. And one can also reflect on the condition for a healthy "world body " of people, human beings, suspended between nature and culture, divided by age, sex, race, nation and class and opposed to each other through agism, sexism, racism, nationalism and "class-ism," and structurally organized territorially and non-territorially, into communities and countries, the latter with one nation or several nations inside them; but today all of them with an organization in their midst, the state. But the world is much more than an inter-state system. There are also the numerous non-territorial organizations and associations; subnational, transnational, supernational. In short, the world body is a tremendously complex entity, in complexity not that unlike the human body, without pressing any analogy to far. What works for one might also work for the other.

As this complexity moves through history peaks of joy and troughs of pain are experienced by the human beings populating the system; peace studies are usually concerned more with the avoidance of latter, not how to obtain the former. When the suffering is caused by a wound inflicted by one part of this complex system on another one may talk about direct violence; when the structure is made in such a way that one party suffers, systematically, over time, avoidably, one may talk about structural violence. The quest, search, struggle for peace is concerned with reduction of both types of violence, both of the

violence that flares up and subsides, and the violence that has
the less dramatic character, but preciesly for that reason may be
even more destructive. However, strictly speaking this is only
the negative side of peace studies, how to avoid violence. Then
there is also a positive side which would focus more on the "peaks
of joy" mentioned above. A very untilled field, indeed.

People, embedded in structures at the interpersonal, intra-
societal, inter-society, and intra-world levels and at the same
time suspended between the nature of which we are a part and the
culture, the symbolic system that gives meaning to our lives
through religion and ideologies, languages "natural" and artificial,
myths and symbols of all kinds must constitute the point of
departure for any general theory of peace. Figures 1 & 2 reproduce
the terms used, and at the same time fill in some of the important
peace concepts in various cultures. (Figures 1-6, see next page).

To the left are the five spaces- nature, personal, social,
world and culture spaces-with the division into intra and inter
relations. Since so far we have but one world the inter-world
combination has been ruled out and the intra-person combination
is simply people as such, as individuals, not organized into
social structures, territorially, or non-territorially, or with inter-
person relations.

To the right almost the same matrix is reproduced only
that social space is here seen in terms of direct violence and

FIGURE 1. Peace Matrix

CULTURE

	inter	inter	
WORLD			macro
SOCIAL territorial			
SOCIAL non-territorial			
PERSON	People		micro

(diagonal label: STRUCTURE)

NATURE

Figure 2. Peace Concepts

	ho p'ing	p'ing ho
CULTURE	heiwa	wahei

		intra	inter
WORLD		pax	
SOCIAL	direct	pax	pax
SOCIAL	structural	eirene sa la'am shālōm
PERSON		shanti	ahimsā

(↑ Violence ↓)

NATURE   ahimsā

FIGURE 3. Peace Theory Atoms: Examples

CULTURE   One religion/ideology prevails

	intra	inter
WORLD	world central authority	
SOCIAL actor-oriented	liberal democratic capital-human rights ist	balance of power convergence
SOCIAL structure-oriented	marxist anarchy social- no state ist	balance of exchange interdependence
PERSON	innate inclination personal growth	freudian approaches interpersonal competence

NATURE   population resources

FIGURE 4: Peace Theories: Overarching Perspectives

CULTURE : cosmology
STRUCTURE : entropy
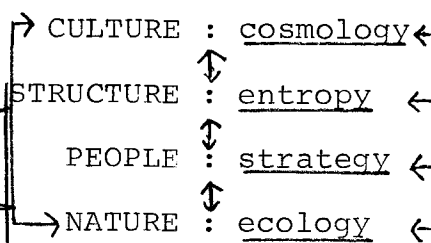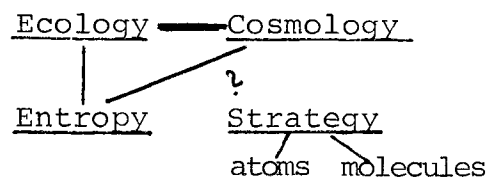PEOPLE : strategy
NATURE : ecology

FIGURE 5: Peace and Related Concepts

CULTURE   adequacy (to the other four
WORLD   peace (active peaceful co-existence)
SOCIAL   development
PERSON   personal growth (health)
NATURE   eco-balance

FIGURE 6: Peace Perspective Compatibility

Ecology ——— Cosmology

Entropy   Strategy
         atoms molecules

structural violence, a distinction that also applies to   inter-
personal relations and intra-world relations. And then <u>words</u> from
various cultures, roughly translated as "peace," are put into the
matrix, reflecting at least some major connotations of these im-
portant words.

Thus, the Roman <u>pax</u> in the usual sense of absence of war,
<u>absentia bellum</u> under the assumption of a set of binding obligations
that are to be observed (<u>pacta sunt servanda</u>) is a concept of world
and social srchitecture, whereby the actors oblige   themselves
not to make use of direct violence. The concept may be celebrated
for its rejection of direct   violence, and also be lamented for
the way in which it permits structural violence to flourish, some-
times protected by the absence of direct violence. A lasting problem in Western
peace theory right into our days--peace being tranquillity to those whose interests are
well served by the structure.

It may then be said that the Greek- Hebrew-Arab concepts of
<u>eirene-sala'am-shalōm</u> pick up peace ideas that also are found in
such concepts as justice, equity, equality, freedom. In short,
these concepts are more directed against structural violence, at
the expense of or in addition to being directed against direct
violence. And these concepts are also found in the occident.

Then, in person space two important concepts in the hindu-
jainist-buddhist traditions stand out: <u>shanti</u> as indicative of
intra-personal peace, peace of the mind, peace of inner man and
woman and <u>ahimsā</u> non-violence, with its clear moral injunction of
not committing violence to any other human being, and indeed also
to nature, meaning the biosphere, animals and plants (for the jains also

the micro-organisms).

Finally, I have put the Chinese pair ho p'ing-p'ing ho
and its Japanese counterpart (using the same Chinese characters)
heiwa-wahei in culture space, as indicative of peace as harmony,
order in the things under the heavens, in world, social and
personal organization, as in nature itself. Maybe the Japanese
concept of order is more vertical and unicentric and the Chinese
concept more horizontal and more multicentric; may also be that
there is not that much distinction between the two. But it is
probably a mistake to interpret the Chinese and Japanese concepts
as relating only to one of the four substantive spaces; they
should rather be seen as general ideas that could permeate both
world, social, person and nature spaces and shape them structurally.

If one now looks at this distribution of peace concepts from
various parts of the world one is struck by differences more than by
similarities. The yogi-commissar distinction is well reflected
in the hindu-buddhist insistence on intra-and inter-personal
peace-and in addition to that peace with nature-on the one hand,
and on the other   the occidental, be that gr eco-roman or
judeo-christian-muslim, commissar with his focus on social and
world architectonics. They are both based on two fundamental
illusions. The commissar illusion is that once we get the structure
right one can put any kind of human beings into it, with all their
unresolved intra-personal conflicts and their lack of inter-
personal human competence. And there is the yogi illusion that

with   the right human beings and the right inter-human rela-

tions the rest will take care of itself regardless of how wrong, viol-

ent the structure; not to mention how many human beings there are around.

In that sense there is more wisdom in the Chinese-Japanese

approach, insisting on basic harmony at all levels, permeating total

reality, alll spaces. The problem with that one is that it remains

somewhat unclear exactly what this "harmony" is, and to the

extent it becomes clear it looks like a rejection of direct violence

at the expense of structural violence, and the more so the more

uni-centric and the more vertical the harmony. In other words, a

harmony in the interest of those at the apex of the system. From

the point of view of peace theory this is simply not good enough.

One could now speculate why the peace concepts of humankind

have been torn apart, scattered and distributed in such an un-

fortunate manner. Why is it that one civilization captures only

a glimpse of peace, preventing us from seeing a totality which perhaps

might be characterized as an occidental structure within which

are placed hindu-buddhist people, all of this inspired by oriental

harmony. It is as if some "big bang" explosion early in human

history tore not only people and civilizations but also concepts

apart One task in peace research must be, in one way or the other,

to bring them together again so as to permit us to see peace under

a more unified perspective. It should be pointed out, however,

that this is not a goal in its own right. The goal of peace

research is peace; with unified or divided peace concepts.

2. Peace theory atoms and peace theory molecules

The traditional approach in peace research would now take the peace matrix of Figure 1 as a point of departure and regard every cell in the matrix as a point of departure for peace theories.

Figure 3 gives examples. Many more can easily be found and classified, but these are some of the most important ones in modern, occidental societies. There is the idea that one religion/ideology should prevail because it is the right one, basic to occidental universalism (a system of belief is valid for the whole world) and singularism (that system of belief is the only valid one). There is the idea of the world central authority sometimes in the form of world government. Then, in social space the two major roads of thinking appear again. Liberal theory, with its political expression as democracy and its economic expression as capitalism claims peace as an automatic consequence once that theory has been implemented in all societies in the world, with the human rights approach as one special case. Correspondingly, marxist theory with its political expression in democratic centralism and economic expression in socialism has the same claim, as does also anarchist theory with its emphasis on the withering away of the state, today.

And there are the corresponding theories at the inter-societal level. The upper road, the actor-oriented perspective picks up balance of power as a way of deterring war, with convergence of societies as a more solid underpinning (this is also where social democracy would tend to anchor its peace theory) and the lower, structure-oriented road correspondingly picks up balance of exchange (equity) as a way of avoiding war by removing a major cause of war in the inter-societal system.

Increasing level of inter-dependence is then seen as a more solid underpinning for a more lasting peace.

We then come to the person space, with its emphasis on personal growth on the one hand and inter-personal competence on the other. A basic idea would be that peace has to be built at the micro level up, partly because human beings have to enact peace at any level, partly because the micro level can serve as a model for the macro level. Personal growth is seen as something needed to overcome the negative aspects of an innate inclination in human beings, their capacity for inflicting untold, unlimited injuries to others of which history bears ample testimony-- while at the same building on the positive inclinations of which human micro history bears N times more testimony. The freudian approach is extremely important here as a metaphor of how to relieve human beings of their traumas by having them relive them.

And then, finally, there are the nature rooted theories of peace and war, looking at people as biomass exercising a pressure on resources that relative to that biomass may be scarce (war) or abundant (peace). In other words, the population/resources ratio.

This is in nosense an exhaustive survey. It serves only to illustrate an approach: that of picking an independent variable rooted in one cell in the matrix, with peace as the dependent variable. In passing it should be noted that this rather simplistic approach also usually is self-serving by emphasising the

variable and the cell in the matrix about which the author claims
to have competence, not to mention self-serving in the sense that
if the theory is to be taken seriously it might also cater to the
material interests of the author and important reference groups of
which he/she is a member. This is further confounded by assuming
that if X is the cause of war, then non-X almost by definition is
a cause of peace; a very common mistake in peace thinking

However, if Figure 2 is seen as a tool kit containing peace
theory atoms, out of which peace theory molecules can be chained
together there is at least a possibility of transcending the
division of reality into the cells in the peace matrix. One
such peace molecule, typical of the western part of the occident,
would see the prevalence of christianity combined with a strong
world central authority to the point of world government, on top of
liberal, democratic, capitalist societies, peopled by an appropriate
number of human beings whose personal growth is seen in terms of
faith in christianity and liberal/democratic/capitalist ideas.
The corresponding eastern part of the occident might put together
a peace molecule based on universal allegiance to marxism and
creation of a socialist system in all countries in the world,
usually without the strong world central authority since presumably
it would not be needed (it would also conflict with the withering
away of the states theory), populated by an appropriate number of
people (usually seen as much higher by marxist than by liberals,
marxists having a more optimistic perspective on what can happen
when productive forces have been liberated) who believe in this
type of world order strongly enough to do what is needed

to make it work. Posited against these two one might find anarchist molecules as reflected both in gandian and buddhist peace thinking: a strong faith in the unity-of-man, no world central authority, the withering away of the state before the revolution, humankind organized in small, self-reliant communities that are tied together in "oceanic circles" (Gandhi) of equitable interaction, providing a setting for unlimited personal growth and inter-personal competence; all of this in harmony with nature.

On a less grandiose level of peace thinking highly concrete peace molecules can also be composed, for instance for alternative security policies in Europe. One such molecule might be composed of the following or peace theory atoms: balance of power and deterrence based on defensive defense rather than offensive (retaliatory) defense; decoupling of the lesser members of the two alliances from their super-powers as long as the super-powers retain their tremendous offensive capability particularly in weapons of mass destruction; a balance of exchange based on equitable relations in all directions to spin webs of inter-dependence; and at the same time the strengthening of societies by making them militarily, economically, culturally, politically independent so they have sufficient staying power in times of crisis. Peace theory molecules or models of that type might also be relevant for the Pacific theater of the cold war, not only for the Atlantic theater.

3. Four unifying peace perspectives

From even a low number of peace theory atoms a very high

number of peace theory molecules can be constructed and are con-

structed, every day, by governmental organizations (states) and NGO's,

(people's organizations), by individuals, everywhere. In the process

of putting together a more comprehensive peace theory new peace

theory atoms will emerge. And yet there is something unsatisfactory

in the approach: something random, atomistic, too inductive.

The approach calls forth a more systematic, holistic, deductive

approach. Again, taking as a point of departure, the logic underlying

the   peace matrix in its simplest form (Figure 1) one might

develop four such perspectives, one more rooted in culture, one

in structure, one in people and one in nature. The perspectives

are referred to with the terms cosmology, entropy, strategy and

ecology respectively (Figure 4).

The ecology perspective

Starting from the bottom: is there a wisdom of nature from

which we can learn how to arrive at a more peaceful world? Taking

as a point of departure the concept of "ecological balance" one

might argue that the basic formula, diversity cum symbiosis holds a

key.For any eco-system to have sufficient resilience or maturity

there has to be a sufficiently rich   variety in biota and abiota,

related in a symbiotic manner, in exchange cycles with a high

reproductive capacity. The objection is obvious: nature is a

brutal place, observing a drop of not too pure water under a micro-

scope with small organisms absorbing each other is in one sense

to observe the more brutal aspects of world history in a microcosm

and with a considerable telescoping of time. Clearly this is unacceptable

from the   point of view of peace theories. Hence, a third

criterion has to be added to diversity and symbiosis: a moral

imperative, something reflecting reciprocity, equity, mutual benefit.

The basic quality of human beings as opposed to the rest

of nature, the spirit with its self-awareness enters. Peace does not

come automatically as the result of clever engineering; there has

to be   an element of exertion. Given this one could argue that

on the human plane a conscious, symbiotic utilization of diverse

personal capabilities is exactly what leads to growth; and perhaps

not only to spiritual and mental health, but also-indirectly-to

somatic health. Correspondingly, it may be argued that on the

social plane a developed society might exactly be one that houses

very diverse components (a capitalist   economy in one corner, a

socialist economy in another corner, an anarchist economy in a

third; various patterns of democratic participation), in symbiotic

and equitable interaction. And finally, at the world level it

could be argued that "active peaceful co-existence between various

systems"would supply the world as a whole, the human habitat so far,

with sufficient resilience.   It should only be added that if this

is good for the world it should also be good for the single society,

in which case it would be difficult to accept "socialism in one

country", not to mention in all countries, as a recipe for peace.

It would be much more easy to accept "one country, two systems,"

 only that there would be no reason to limit the diversity to

two. If one fails, there is still the other.

Seen this way the ecology approach gives us a general formula,

very general, for peace and not only in the world, but also inside

society, inside the person, and in nature under the headings

"development", "personal growth" and "ecological balance" re-
spectively. One could now say that whether "peace is the word
for development at the world level" or "development is the word for
peace at the social level," and so on, is a matter of convenience. What
we are sensitized to is the possibility of some basic underlying
isomorphism (structural similarity) uniting a tremendous richness
in a world with very different societies in it, each society with
very different components, populated by human beings stimulated
to develop their capabilities in many directions, surrounded by
a mature,ecologically balanced nature. It should only be pointed
out in conclusion that as seen from   Figure 3 this is a
peace theory molecule that also picks up the ideas of inter-
dependence (symbiosis) and balance of exchange(equity), at the
same time rejecting the idea of convergence in favor of diversity.
What is new relative to Figure 3 is the multi-space approach:
that the construction to be solid, should be at all levels, isomorphic.

The cosmology perspective

Let us now jump to the other extreme in Figure 4: the
cosmology approach. Cosmology is here used as a concept covering
"deep culture" (with deep ideologies as an important special case)
and "deep structure"--the unquestioned aspects of culture and
structure found in a civilization, both of them taken to define
what is natural and normal. The point is simply that some civiliza-
tions in terms of their cosmologies are more peaceful than others
just like some persons, in terms of their personalities are more
peaceful than others. If the code of a civilization constructs
world space with itself in the center and the rest as a periphery,
possibly with an outer rim of evil nations; if it constructs time

in terms of a golden past, a fall, dark ages, enlightenment, progress, crisis and then the agonizing doubt as to whether the crisis will end with catharrsis or apocalypse (or paradise vs. hell, in simple terms); if knowledge is seen in terms of a limited number of axioms carrying eternal truths from which major insights can be derived; if man is seen as the ruler of nature; if some men are seen as entitled to more power and privilege than other men, some women more than other women, but by and large all men are seen as entitled to more power and privilege than women; and, if finally, on top of this entire construction there is an omnipotent and omniscient god who is not necessarily benevolent, only to his chosen people, not to those who are evil: well,then, is it really to be expected that such a civilization will be dedicated to peaceful pursuits in harmony with the rest of humankind and nature?

Is it not more likely that such a civilization will construct a model of the peaceful world with itself in the center, as the final cause of peace, tolerating nobody else in that role, nobody above, nobody even on its side; that it will be fearful of apocalypse yet attracted by it as one of the courses provided by destiny; that it will conceive of peace as dependent on a very low number of basic ideas such as "balance of power" relative to other countries in the center of that civilization and "power superiority" relative to evil powers; that peace will be seen as compatible with wars that also erase nature; that the military organization, vertical as it is but guaranteeing ample opportunity for individual mobility will be judged more in terms of compatibility with images of what social organizations should look like than by whether it really con-

tributes to peace; and that on top of it all there will be a dedication to god or his successor, the nation-state, construing fights in his or its name as struggles'for peace?

Of course, this is an effort to characterize certain aspects of occidental civilization. Some other civilization, which constructs the world as multi-centric with each part a center in its own right, with a more relaxed image of time with ups and downs, a more holistic approach to knowledge, a more friendly relationship to nature, a more egalitarian and solidary image of human relations, with god and ideology inside rather than above would offer more hopeful prospects for peace than the one just described. Hard line, aggressive christianity and islam offer approximations to the first code, soft line christianity, soft line islam, buddhism, approximations to the second model. There are many other codes around. Suffice it only to point out that hinduism as we know it in general does not stand for aggressive violence (of course, in the name of peace) but through the caste system legitimizes tremendous amounts of structural violence.

In this approach it is the construction of reality built into the civilizational code that matters. A consequence of this entire approach is the rejection of the assumption that all civilizations are equally peaceful. Some are more, some are definitely less. If as a peace researcher I should make a choice I would opt for theravada buddhism as the most "peaceogenic", and hard line christianity (inquisition, religious wars, Gott mit uns -god with us- the inscription on the buckles of the German soldiers during the Second World War) and hard line islam, together with judaism and

shintoism   (the two religions defining chosen peoples) as the

least.   Such issues simply have to be confronted, and we are

still far away from doing so; a major shortcoming in peace practice.

The entropy perspective

The third general, overarching,   approach to peace, the

entropy approach would take its point of departure in the total

social structure.   And in that structure we have all kinds of

positions with all kinds of interaction relations.   Into the

positions we fill actors, individual and collective, from different

groups where age, sex, race, nation and class are concerned and collective,

territorial and non-territorial, actors of all kinds.   Then they

start interacting, positively and negatively.   And the basic idea

conveyed by the term "entropy" is simply this: maximum disorder.

Order is what one has when two groups of countries are pitted

against each other in alliances with all positive interaction with-

in the alliances and all negative interaction, or no interaction at

all, between.   This state of affairs is known as polarization, and

can also be seen as readiness for destructive action.   It becomes a

little bit better when the heads of state come together in a summit

meeting--there is at least some kind of bridge.

However, what this perspective calls for would be a totally

random distribution of positive, zero and negative interaction

(assuming there will always be some negative interaction) on all

possible interaction pairs, triples etc.   There will be no

polarization.   Given two neighboring
countries governments will interact with governments, people with

people, and people with governments, and not only with their own,

They should also interact with the government on the other side, filling the slot for potential interaction with empirical content. Of course some of these links are negative, but there should be no simple pattern in the distribution of negative interaction patterns; between countries, between groups in general.

An example of this perspective in practice would be the stationing of hostages on either side of the conflict order. When there are no members of nations A on the territory of nation B, then that territory is ready for destruction; it is pure in the sense of being purely bad; all that is good, meaning oneself, has been retracted. When Self mixes with Other, as it would on the condition of maximum entropy then destruction of Other also becomes destruction of Self; in addition Other can capture Self and retain it on the spot. It is immediately seen that under the condition of a cosmology that defines all of humankind as one and unitary, any violence against Other becomes violence against Self. This unity-of-man doctrine is basic to gandhism, which in turn may be seen as a further development from hinduism and buddhism. There is also some similarity between the ultimate goal according to buddhist cosmology, nirvana, , the total dissolution of Self one might say not in Other but with Other, and peace as portrayed by this perspective.

One objection to this perspective would be that with maximum entropy energy is low and the potential of the structure

for work, historical jobs that have to be done, is too low. One might even talk of entropy death if it had not been for the open nature of the total system, due to the transcending character of the human spirit. The liberal would say: I cannot organize economic growth under conditions of total disorder; a corporation, national or transnational, is some kind of order. There are highs and lows in this order; I cannot allocate people to positions in the organization and nations to positions in the transnational organization randomly, it has to be according to certain rules for division of labor. And the marxist would say: I cannot change the organizations that the liberal system applauds except by organizing the underdogs as a class, pitted against the top dog; in a pattern of polarization capable of overturning the structure.

To this could be answered that the entropy perspective might serve as a guideline, not as an absolute rule. The basic point is care, attention, when too much order enters the structure. On the one hand good, historical work must be exercised, for instance to fight structural violence; on the other hand the chances of direct violence increase like tetonic plates that are insufficiently integrated with each other, detach themselves from each other and move in a way which is registered as an earthquake up on the ground. High energy may be needed; meaning order, low entropy.

The strategy perspective

Finally, there is the people-rooted perspective, the strategy perspective. In this perspective people are seen as real subjects, shaping through concrete action there own world, in constant struggle for peace. The reader will find on the next page a map of peace strategies, divided into two

major columns depending on whether the struggle is against direct or structural violence, then into two rows depending on whether the approach taken is dissociative or associative. In a sense these two themes, direct vs structural and dissociative vs associative are the basic themes of peace strategies, the basic choices that have to be made before anything is done. It should be noted how conservative peace thinking has a tendency to focus on dissociative approaches to direct violence, keeping antagonists apart through geographical or social means. And, if that does not work, through the delicate mechanisms of balance of power, usually--it seems--too delicate to work. They presuppose a cost-benefit approach to existence, and disregard the possibility that one or both actors might not only make wrong calculations but refuse to make such calculations at all, either out of what is often referred to as "irrationality" or because of obedience to over-riding values, such as, for instance, honor. Better die on the battlefield than submit! Moreover, balance of power approaches based on offensive arms have a tendency to induce offensive arms on the other side who will not be able to distinguish between offensive arms intended for attack, and offensive arms for retaliation. The result is an arms race, the consequence, if there are confrontations, seems very often to be a war.

The dissociative approach to structural violence will probably by many be seen as just the opposite, the very radical approach: through consciousness formation the people at the

bottom (and also often at the top!) become aware of the lack

of correspondence of their values with their interests, organize,

confront, fight and arrive at a higher level of autonomy. They

may then decide to recouple on the basis of equity, meaning

that conditions of diversity have been obtained through the

struggle, and equitable symbiosis through the conflict. This

may then be developed further in the last corner of the table,

the associative approach   to direct conflict where some

further conditions for weaving a peace structure are indicated.

From the point of view of the entropy perspective the

dissociative approaches is for handling direct violence are

unacceptable; both associative perspectives, however, being

highly acceptable. But what about the dissociative approaches

to structural violence? It may look as if they create too much

order out of disorder to be accepted. But the apparent

image of   disorder that was there before was in fact

orderly: the high are on top and the low on the bottom,

usually with a high level of integration among the top dogs

and considerable fragmentation, even marginalization of the

underdogs. Through consciousness formation and organization

such conditions can be counter-acted precisely because any

human interaction system is an open system. There is such

a thing as increasing awareness; and one task of the peace re-

searcher will always be to contribute to that increase. By no

means can this be construed as an invitation to violence: peace

research is the study of how to obtain peace with peaceful

means, and the peace researcher would advocate non-violence,

non-killing approaches when the top dogs and the underdogs are

pitted against each other.But he should be on the side of the underdogs;
unless they become the new topdogs.

4. A plea for eclecticism

If one should now draw some conclusions from this exploration

in peace theory one might consider Figures 5 and 6. In Figure

5 there are two major points: from the ecology perspective the

idea that peace is intimately related to a reasonable definition

of development, of personal growth, and of eco-balance. In

other words, these are concepts somehow belonging to the same

family, and the Chinese and Japanese peace perspectives may

perhaps be said to amount to this: there should be harmony in

that family! The second conclusion derives from the cosmology

perspective: the deep culture of a civilization has to be

adequate, in the sense of being comparable with that family

if peace is to obtain. The most naive fallacy in the field

is not only to believe in global archi-tetonics, that the

structure can be constructed and filled with any kind of actors;

equally naive is to believe that structure is independent of

culture. In addition to simply being empirically untenable

this sheds some additional light on why balance of power theories,

typical of occidental approaches, are among the most invalid

of all approaches.

In Figure 6 it is pointed out that the ecology, cosmology

and entropy perspectives are highly compatible. In fact, the

nirvana concept in buddhism and this entropy concept in peace

theory are intimately related to each other. They are also

comparable with the strategic effort to obtain positive peace

through associative approaches, linking, weaving, tying

actors together in highly complex networks. But, as pointed

out above several times, there is a contradiction between this

and the strategic dissociative approaches to obtain negative

peace by keeping parties apart. On a finite planet with a

growing world system the dissociative approaches to fight

direct violence are probably doomed anyhow. But they would

continue to be necessary to fight structural violence.

And here we touch again the major contradiction in peace theory,

between the efforts to reduce direct violence and to reduce

structural violence. The bridging concept is, of course, non-

violence. The major peace theoretician and practitioner maybe of

the entire human history, M.K. Gandhi, lived in this century. He

is our near neighbor in time, if not in space (to all of us), and

certainly not in conceptual, mental space. Gandhi was amazingly

eclectic, fighting both direct and structural violence, with both

dissociative and associative methods--although usually avoiding the

dissociative approach to direct violence. Balance of power was not

his approach, alternative defense certainly was. Arms races and

alliances were not in his world; civilian defense certainly was,

with an approach spiritually close to buddhism and the bahai faith.

Deterrence did not belong, disarament and detente did. A rich

menu of peace approaches was his diet--but violence was not on the

menu (except as an alternative to cowardice). Human needs, human

rights, self-reliance and world order were the guiding lights--in

harmony with nature. We are lucky to be in the same century as

this giant, so able to walk on so many peaceful roads to peace.

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