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FUNDAMENTAL SOCIAL THEORY FOR THE UNITED NATIONS CITY

City University of New York

PH.D. 1984

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FUNDAMENTAL SOCIAL THEORY FOR

THE UNITED NATIONS CITY

by

HA-SANG YOO

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty
in Sociology in partial fulfillment of the re-
quirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York

1984

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

FUNDAMENTAL SOCIAL THEORY FOR THE UNITED NATIONS CITY

by

Ha-Sang Yoo

The purpose of this research is to develop a fundamental social theory for the United Nations City. In this context, the pivotal issues are: Where do we go from the existing framework of the United Nations? Is it feasible and practical to develop a workable blueprint for the United Nations City? If so, on what theoretical foundations? Would the new concept of United Nations City enhance a better chance for peace? How can we convince every nation to take a positive step in terms of building such a City? How can we redefine the conceptual differences between the governmental power and the people's desire for pacification? Finally, how can we develop a bold new sociological theory for pacification? These are the principal questions we seek to answer in the main chapters of this thesis.

Historically, by and large, the absence of war between nations has been envisioned as peace that allows governance in smooth water by ruling elite power structure.

However, it is a psychological deception because such a transitional peace arrangement could easily be disrupted depending on the nature of the hostility. This is the reason why the traditional approach to peace is inadequate. Therefore, the main thrust of our research is to develop a new concept of peace sociology. Our theory of peace sociology will be structured on the following four basic premises: (1) the historical view of sociology; (2) the nature of peace sociology; (3) the development of peace sociology, and (4) the sociology of equality, freedom and mass consensus.

In analyzing both the ancient and modern phenomena of peace mechanisms, it is appropriate to define the vertical forms of peace in terms of a given age of historical period, and the horizontal forms of peace as an international perspective. In essence, a grasp of this physical structure is an important base for the gradual development of peace sociology and the process of peacification.

Since the development of a peaceful society is predicated on authentic democracy, the social class stratification is anathema to peace and authentic democracy. In other words, peacification and democratization are like the two wheels of a bicycle. How authentic democracy could be generated out of a society that has yet to

experience class conflicts? If a class based society perpetuates, it is most difficult to see how authentic democracy or democratic peace could be developed under the circumstances. The only possibility to develop democratic peace within the class society depends on the historical forces of evolutionary peacification process. Perhaps the social dynamics of such a process may reject unauthentic democracy of class society. This is exactly the primary expectation on the role of the United Nations City.

PREFACE

This dissertation has been completed with the invaluable assistance, encouragement and compassionate support and understanding of the following advisers.

I am so greatly indebted to Professor Bogden Denitch that I wish to express my deepest appreciation for his scholarly encouragement.

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I am looking forward to continue to work with them and share my devotion to peace.

Ha-Sang Yoo
Spring, 1984
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INTRODUCTION

In the most massive demonstration in American history, 800,000 people rallied in New York City on June 12, 1982, for disarmament and meeting human needs. In addition to its size, the demonstration was also one of the most diverse ever, with people from all walks of life from all over the United States and thousands of foreign visitors participating. The action was in support of the United Nations Second Special Session on Disarmament which opened on June 6, 1982. It was the most visible manifestation to date in the United States of the anti-nuclear war sentiment which has been growing rapidly over the past year.¹

It was a sociological kaleidoscope of humanity - young people and old, rich and poor, the famous, the forgotten and countless thousands in between. They spoke in Western twangs and Southern drawls, in the accents of Appalachia, New England, New York and the Middle West, as well as in the tongues of Asia, Europe and Latin America. They represented a rainbow spectrum of religions, ethnic groups, trades, professions, unions, cultural and educational institutions,

1. The New York Times, June 13, 1982, p. 1 and pp. 42-44. The New York Times, June 8, 1982, reported that hundreds of marchers who had walked across the United States in support of the United Nations session on disarmament converged in New York beating drums and chanting a Japanese prayer for peace. p.3.

political organizations and other interests. And there were many who turned out to express just their own deeply held feelings for peace.²

On the other hand, a December 11, 1982 news story quotes President Reagan as telling reporters that "the first man who proposed the nuclear freeze was, on February 21, 1981, in Moscow, Leonid Brezhnev." For Mr. Reagan to suggest that the current Nuclear Freeze Campaign could have grown up in response to Brezhnev's call is to show a lack of experience or understanding of grassroots social movement. There is no doubt that such a social and political movement required years of organizing before it began to achieve its current success.

There has been striking forward movement for peace also on other fronts. For example, the United States Catholic Conference approved a pastoral letter which will, despite strong pressure from the Administration, condemn not only nuclear war but also a nuclear deterrence strategy, and will favor unilateral steps toward disarmament. This is an unprecedented step by what has been considered one of the most conservative Catholic hierarchies in the world.³ In a more humorous rebuttle to the Administration in his Sunday

2. Ibid.

3. The New York Times, November 17, 1982. More than two-thirds of the nation's Roman Catholic bishops basically agree with a proposed pastoral letter that strongly opposes the use of nuclear weapons, according to results of a survey made public.

Observer, Russell Baker hit the nail on the head when he wrote, "The Government ought to stop telling me I'm too dumb to have an opinion on it (Nuclear Freeze Frame)." ⁴ By the same token, are people too dumb to talk about peace? What chance of peace is there when every nation of the world is armed to the teeth, when the best of science is turned to killing? What is the United Nations doing in terms of promoting and maintaining the peace? To begin with, is the United Nations well equipped to obtain such a goal? If not, what are the better alternatives? How can we develop a bold new theory of peace? How can we redefine the relationship between the governmental power and the people's desire for peace? What is the difference between the governmental concept of peace and the people oriented concept of peace? Finally, is it feasible to develop a foundational theory for a United Nations City? These are the principal questions we seek to answer in the proposed thesis: Foundational Theory for a United Nations City.

4. The New York Times Magazine, December 12, 1982. Russell Baker, Nuclear Freez Frame. p. 6.

CHAPTER 1

THE UNITED NATIONS CITY:
PROTOTYPE UNIVERSAL-SOCIALISTIC CONCEPT OF PEACE

Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, in an unusually candid report on the state of the United Nations, acknowledged on September 7, 1982 that the organization was being largely defied or ignored by many nations. He called for measures, including a special Security Council meeting, to strengthen the organization. The first yearly account by Mr. Perez de Cuellar was a sharp break with the reports of Kurt Waldheim and other United Nations leaders, who typically despaired of the state of the world but stressed United Nations achievements. The new Secretary General's blunt appraisal reflected the crisis that longtime officials believe has overtaken the United Nations.⁵

Particularly, the year of 1982 was a period of almost unrelieved failure for the United Nations in its major task, preventing or halting war. For example, Mr. Perez de Cuellar made an intensive effort to mediate the dispute between Argentina and Britain over the Falkland Islands and did not succeed. The Security Council repeatedly and unanimously demanded

5. The New York Times, Wednesday, September 8, 1982. p. 1 and p. 6.

a cease-fire in Lebanon, called on Israel to withdraw its troops and insisted on inserting United Nations observers between Israeli forces and those of the Palestine Liberation Organization. All these demands were rebuffed.

The Secretary General listed other example of "an alarming succession of international crises" in which "the United Nations has been unable to play as effective and decisive a role as the Charter envisaged." He also singled out the 15-member Council, which "often finds itself unable to take decisive action to resolve conflicts, and its resolutions are increasingly defied or ignored by those who feel themselves strong enough to do so." Finally, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, in his report, warned us that:

"We are perilously near to a new international anarchy. I believe we are at present embarked on an exceedingly dangerous course, one symptoms of which is the crisis in the multinational approach to international affairs and the concomitant erosion of the authority and status of world and regional intergovernmental institutions. " 6

It was against this background of "international anarchy" that the first chapter of this thesis is devoted to; a search for an alternative sociological concept of peace. In this context, the pivotal issues are: Where do we go from the existing framework of the United Nations? Is it feasible and practical to develop a workable blueprint for the United

6. Ibid.

Nations City? If so, on what theoretical foundations? How can we convince every nation to take a positive step in participating in building such a model city? Would the new concept of United Nations City enhance a better chance for peace? What, then, is the basic difference between the conventional concept of peace and the new proposed concept of peacification process?

7. Yoshikazu Sakamoto and Richard Falk, A World Demilitarized: A Basic Human Need. A Journal of World Policy, Vols. 1 & 2, Winter, 1980-81.

A. A WORKABLE BLUEPRINT FOR THE UNITED NATIONS CITY

In general, the ideal cities enabled the three planners to show modern design in what they believe was its true context--as an integral part of a culture from which poverty and exploitation had disappeared. These cities, therefore, were complete alternative societies, intended as a revolution in politics and economics as well as in architecture. They were utopian visions of a total environment in which man would live in peace with his fellow man and in harmony with nature. They were social thought in three dimensions. 8

Robert Fishman

To begin with, there are three dimensional approaches to the concept of the United Nations City:

(1) Development of peaceful social conditions based on human rights.

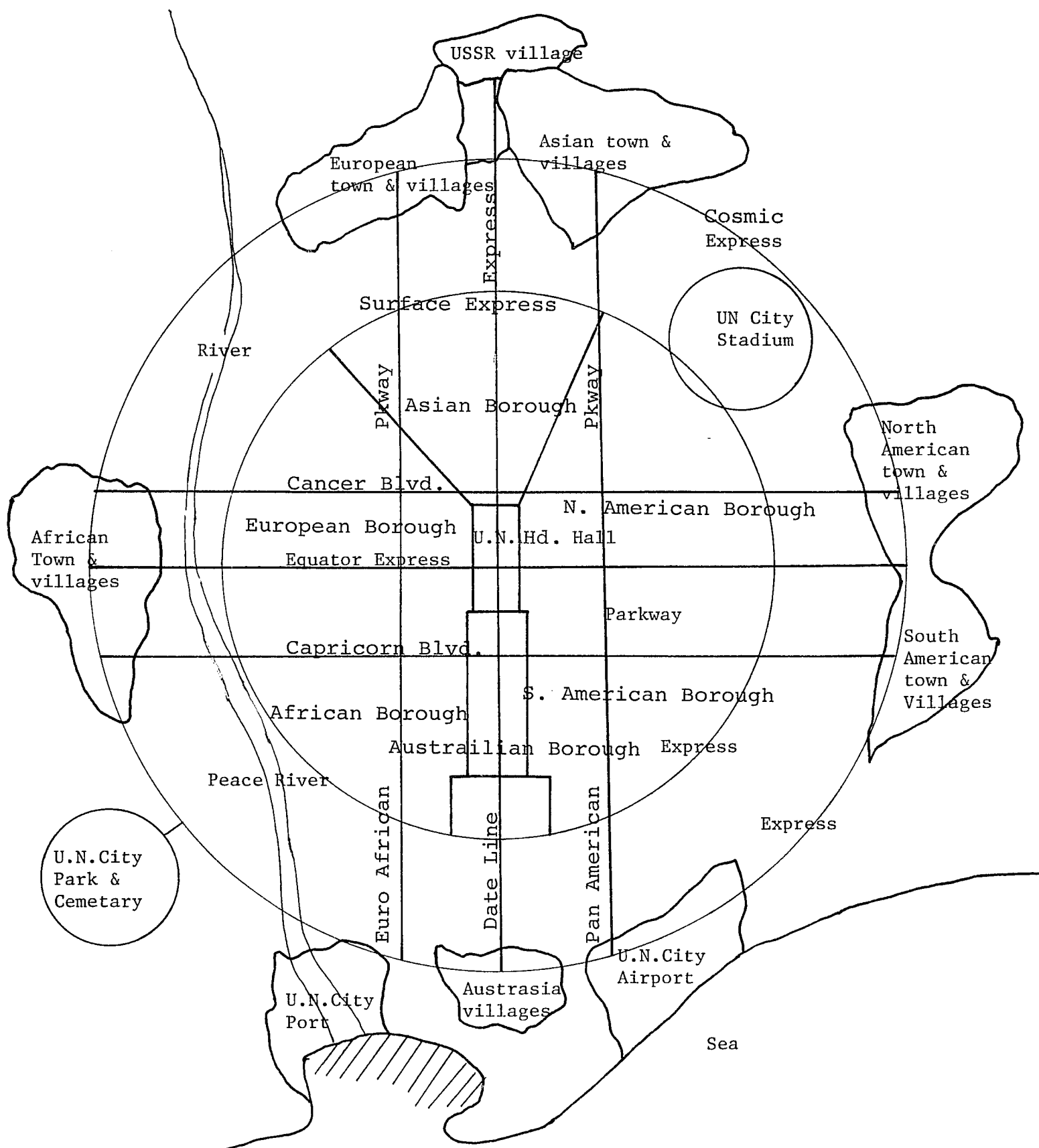
(2) Progressive architectural design for harmonious environment with reasonable planning methodology.

(3) Rational public administration in terms of reflecting the highest degree of human science

How far are we apart from these dimensional approaches? In view of Fishman, there are several critical weaknesses in terms of the existing administrative, organizational and geographical frameworks of the United Nations.

8. Robert Fishman, Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century, Basic Book, Inc., New York 1977. pp. 6-7.

A PROPOSAL FOR THE UNITED NATIONS CITY



(1) The United Nations buildings are located in a congested, polluted and narrow space for all member nations.

(2) The member nation's diplomats are extremely restricted from political activities in the United States.

(3) The existing building structure is very simple and does not reflect any ideal thoughts.

(4) The people centered peace concept is not manifested in its architectural design.⁹

An alternative approach to such shortcomings is the participation of every member nation with its own architectural heritage. For example, the base of the building could be designed by the American architectural experience, the exterior by Chinese, the interior by British, the garden by French and the conference dome by Russian. That is only a part of the total picture.

B. THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS CITY

The human spirit has sought after true peace for many centuries, yet it continually seems to lie just beyond the ever extending flailing arms of rulers, military advisers, philosophers, political economists, sociologists, businessmen, and other disciplinarians. A major reason for this

9. Ibid.

habitual failure has been the division of theory and practice. In other words, the building of real peace, as with the building of anything real, requires a solid integration of theory and practice.

Real peace cannot be built by the writing of another doctoral dissertation, nor can it be built by unenlightened people who do not know the dynamics of human history; real peace, socialistic or universal peace, can only be constructed in a truly conducive setting. Accordingly, the sociological task of designing the prototype concept for the United Nations City must be developed. Ultimately, real peace, universal or socialistic peace, will be created through the cohabitation of heterogeneous peoples in a new social environment whose characteristics will approximate or simulate the United Nations City.

The work of Horkheimer is especially pertinent to this study. He undertakes a radicalization of Hegel's already radical approach to history. According to Habermas:¹⁰

(1) He gives up the theologically motivated belief that progress--whatever it might be--is in any way guaranteed. The progress of history depends on the decision and actions of

10. Jurgen Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1973, p. 11.

historical subjects.

(2) Thought is rooted...in actual history. The question can then be raised: To what concept of truth, if not to Hegel's, can critical theory appeal in legitimating its own standpoint? Horkheimer describes theory as a theory of the contemporary epoch that is guided by an interest in the future, that is, in which men make their own history, will, and consciousness. ¹¹

If Horkheimer's argument is true, then the people must realize that the true rational society is one in which people make their own history by discarding, at least in the initial stage, theologically motivated beliefs that regard progress as inevitable. In view of Haberman, a smoothly running society depends upon:

"The mutual recognition of at least four different types of validity claims that involve the speech act... in normal interaction, these implicitly raised validity claims are naively accepted...when the background consensus is fundamentally called into question." ¹²

Perhaps, this is the way people-centered peace concept, universal or socialistic peace, can enter into the historical process in a rational and valid way.

The people-centered conception itself must focus on the

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid., pp. 13-14.

family, community, and society: people are at the central locus of this conception because they are the agents of familial, communal, and societal organization. This conception is in opposition to former conception that subjugates the people even though one resultant is open conflict between the ruler and the ruled. In this context, Simmel unravels some vectors of this conflict:

The opposition of a member to an associate is no purely negative social factor, if only because such opposition is often the only means for making life with actually unbearable people at least possible. If we did not even have the power and the right to rebel against tyranny, arbitrariness, moodiness, tactlessness, we could not bear to have any relation to people from whose characters we thus suffer.

We should feel pushed to take desperate steps... and these, indeed, would end the relation but do not, perhaps, constitute "conflict." Not only because of the fact that...oppression usually increases if it is suffered calmly and without protest, but also because opposition gives us inner satisfaction, distraction, relief...Our opposition makes us feel that we are not completely victims of the circumstances. 13

The people have protested against ruler's greedy exploitations and have acquired democratic values and procedures. This rebellion not only inhibited ruler's arbitrary control but also created mass culture that finally serves as the bulwark against any encroachments upon the evolutionary developments of the people-centered conception of peace.

13. Lewis Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict*, New York: The Free Press, 1956, p. 39.

Incontrovertibly, mass culture can function as a general means of "safe" release of aggressive drive which are tabooed in other social contexts. ¹⁴

Humanity has never experienced true peace, because the people have been exploited and oppressed by rulers and ruling classes; even in the modern states of the West inequality is found, and in the states of the East limited freedom restricts liberty. Therefore, the people-centered conception of peace has to rest upon equality, freedom, and affinitive human interaction. In order to develop such an environment, the host society must exercise democratic programs in all spheres of social interaction. Because this conception of peace focuses on people, it is the people who must elect all public officials who will administer and manage societal affairs as trustees of the public welfare. This would be a democratic society and a representative government. How might this work? According to Schrag:

In a democracy, a wide range of groups, associations, clubs, and organizations attempt to activate the citizen politically. Their actions affect the distribution of power in a society, and their mode of operation also lends much interest to policies as an area in which we can study social processes. One aspect of this may be brought out by comparing role prescription and role performance with respect to citizen participation in democratic society. ¹⁵

14. Ibid., p. 44.

15. Clarence C. Schrag, et al., Sociology, p. 224.

A society that politically activated its members will encourage an enriched democratic environment in which greater social benefits accrue to the people. Therefore, a stable democratic society is the proper environment for the people's peace. Returning to the prototype concept the thesis proposal, it is necessary to specify a model city where the universal peace, or socialistic peace--the highest form of peace achievable by people--can be established.¹⁶

The newly projected city will be inhabited by people from every corner of the earth who will live under the most advanced democratic system yet known to human society, interacting through mutual trust based on equality, freedom, and friendliness. A disciplined adherence to these qualities, as prescribed in the "Right-of-Man Philosophy," will reduce ethnic and racial discrimination, unemployment, and crime. On the business side, "private" enterprise would be invited to set up shop in industrial parks; however, neither production of war materials nor exhibitions of war would be allowed. It may be possible to extract all of the best features of existing social systems which could then be applied, either unaltered or altered, to structuring and regulating the United Nations City.

For example, the absence of class ranking could be

16. Fishman, op.cit.

adopted from the Chinese experience in their military service structure, the equalitarian distribution of income could be adopted from the Yugoslavian economic policy, and the methods of peace education could be adopted from the Finnish experience. The people could mandate a peace keeping force whose structure could emulate that of People's Liberation Army of China, which does not maintain a hierarchical system of ranks.¹⁷ The Yugoslavian system of income distribution guarantees an annual minimum income level for workers (the income varied in 1963 from 17,600 to 23,800 dinars per month).¹⁸ Since wage calculations consider the output of each worker's respective productive unit of employment, the system is an income sharing system. In fact, the shares are quite possibly too variable; that is, that the highest remunerated technicians and managers receive up to seven times the lowest level of income.¹⁹ Perhaps, in the model United Nations City this variance should be only three to five times.

Once constructed the United Nations City will provide a showcase for the world where new and known styles and systems of life and living will be brought together for the first time. The necessarily close proximity of Eastern and Western

17. Winberg Chai, *The New Politics of Communist China*, California: Goodyear Publishing Co., 1972, p. 1.

18. Rudolf Bicanic, *Economic Policy in Socialist Yugoslavia*, Cambridge: University Press, 1973, p. 107.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

thought, along with the interchange of cultural attitudes, languages, religions, life styles, educational systems, social support systems, ideologies, and the like, will occasion a new field of study for sociology, since the uniqueness of this international exchange will undoubtedly engender original products of human interaction and of commercial interaction.

All aspects of life and living will have to undergo a new and rigorous kind of scrutiny in order to arrive at a consensus that will permit varied nations and cultures to live together in peace and harmony. Human rights, the nature of culture, peace educational techniques, morality, and security systems are but a few areas that will be analyzed anew. The innovative lifestyles and their underlying basal assumptions will generate new academic interest which cannot be fully explicated before the United Nations City materializes.

Human rights will fully guarantee free expression in all forms of communication, whether it be in writing, in speech, through organizations, in the arts, or through unknown forms we have known yet. In essence, all nationalities will have equal standing in the United Nations City and thus equal human rights.²⁰

20. Robert C. Johansen, *The National Interest and the Human Rights: An Analysis of U.S. Foreign Policy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980.

The economics of the United Nations City will acutally depend upon productive units hosted by the individual towns within the City(a city is comprised of many small towns each of which domicile a particular nationality). The financial, managerial, trade, and communicational linkage among the units will provide springboards capable of launching production and services into new areas of creative work. It should be noted that each national town will provide for the housing, feeding, and shelter of its own population. The central city administration will deal with these needs only in a general way.

The taxes will be paid by producer, trader, and business owner, possibly in the form of value added taxes. The tax department could be dually administered by the city and town governments. However, there should be neither income, sales nor user taxes.

Cultural exchange will be easy because all nationalities will reside in proximity; the corresponding intercourse will guide the better aspects of human interaction into prominence and permanence while diverting the unhealthy aspects into disuse (crime, egoism, and discrimination should be largely filtered out of human interactions). The necessity of living together can be highlighted by the meager products spawned by the cultural exchange agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union. The respective citizens of these

nations are just too geographically distant to engage in effective cultural exchange.²¹

Preservation of national heritages carries with it the natural desire to preserve the national tradition and to present it in its best light to outsiders. Competition, therefore, will be very much a part of everyday life in the United Nations City, although it is hoped that all excesses of competition due to nationalism and chauvanism will be kept to a minimum at the beginning and will be virtually eliminated in the long run.

C. THE NEW SOCIETY OF THE UNITED NATION'S CITY

The construction and development of the United Nations City will depend, to a considerable extent, upon the agreement and assistance of the United States. While it is assuredly true that concurrence by the eastern nations, the balance of western nations, and the countries of the third world will be required, the very fact that the present United Nations installation is in New York City makes the support of the United States of primary concern.²²

21. Vincent P. Rock, A Strategy of Independence. New York: Charles Scribners & Sons, 1964, pp. 181-182.

22. Walter R. Sharp. Field Administration in the .N. City System. Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1961, pp. 418-9.

The Rockefeller, Ford, Asian, and Near-East Foundations are examples of independent institutions that are partially funded by the United States and that are contributing to the promotion and development of probable peace. and are guideposts for the disassociating process that must occur between the United Nations and the United States. The present physical location of the United Nations places it in league, in many ways, with the capitalistic United States.

There are numerous factors that can be brought to bear to assist in persuading the United States to agree to change the location of the United Nations in the event that it should object to such a change. It must assume that any objection may well be a factor, since the United States stands to loose (as well as gain) by divesting itself of the responsibility for housing the United Nations. The enormous influx of foreign workers, all with monies available to spend in New York City, may be considered an important part of that city's income, and it is natural to believe that there will be a reluctance to lose it. The same large population of American workers adds considerably to the number of jobs available to New Yorkers, and here again the loss would be felt by the city and its economy. Nevertheless, New York City would stand to gain from the relocation, as well. The extremely large expenditures for additional police strength to protect diplomats and diplomatic property, to guard embassies and

consular offices, etc., would no longer be needed.

The physical plant now housing the United Nations installation could easily and well be put to other productive uses, including the use of many of the present buildings to house future United Nations missions within the United States. Above all, the recognition that would flow from all parts of the world to the United States and to New York City, should they both offer their support and approval of the newly-relocated United Nations City, would go far to enhance to country's and the city's reputation for generosity, liability and the ability to remain flexible and helpful. It is not unreasonable to assume that pressure from other western nations may be helpful in persuading the United States to agree to the change, a pressure that may be brought to bear if all other forms of persuasion should fail.

The approval and support (both financial and moral) of eastern nations is also very important. The existence of a United Nations City, with its homogeneous level of coexistence, will require world-wide approval if it is to succeed. Levers that may be useful in persuading the eastern countries to agree to the United Nations City may well be the prospect of greater diplomatic freedom in the prospective host nation, a much higher level of visibility than was previously available for the eastern styles of social systems

and supports, and the future expansion of trade opportunities. One factor which may inhibit eastern enthusiasm for the kind of broad-based coexistence which will characterize the United Nations City is the exposure of present (and sometimes restrictive) political systems and, also, the eastern emphasis on privacy. It will be important for other nations of the world to reassure eastern countries that individual national identities will be preserved and maintained in the United Nations City.

By the same token, Third World participation will, of course, be the key to the success of the United Nations City. Not only is the physical location of the United Nations City to be in a Third World country, but the nations, non-allied or neutral, of the Third World will have played an important role in bringing the super-powers together to a point of comprehensive agreement and support of the United Nations City. It will be interesting to see the development of Third World nations as they assume an ever more important role in the building of world peace.

The financing of the United Nations City will require full participation and support from all nations in all blocs. That participation, alone, will ensure a measure of cooperative effort and add to the international spirit of coexistence that will characterize the United Nations City. Even

Third World nations will be called upon to help with financial contributions, a prospect that is not beyond the realm of possibility. Even some of the poorest nations of the world have found the financial ability to construct quite elaborate installations when they perceive these as necessary or desirable. Brazil, for example, spent enormous sums to construct its new capital city, India has constructed extensive new buildings in various parts of the country, and many wealthier nations indulge in extensive internal construction efforts. All of these resources can well be redirected and used for the physical construction of the United Nations City.

One of the more serious problems, in terms of services and finances, will be within the future host nation, itself. Presumably, once the host nation is identified, means will be found to provide necessary funding for the construction of roads, public utilities, international and public buildings, geographical subdivisions between the various national towns within the United Nations City, and other common elements that will require the expenditure of large amounts of money. Those means may include grants from the wealthy nations of the world and from international corporations, loans from world banks, and the sale of stock in the United Nations City by the host nation.

Once constructed, the United Nations City will provide a showcase for the world, a place where new and unknown styles and systems of life and living will be brought together for the first time in our history. The necessarily close proximity of east with west, with the interchange of cultural attitudes, languages, religions, lifestyles, educational systems, social support systems, economies, financial dealings, and so forth, will create a new field of study for sociologists, since never before will this kind of international exchange have been available.

Of particular interest will be the study of a single physical location, unified by a common goal, but still fragmented by the maintenance of a large number of individual and individually-maintained national cultures. Ethnicity will be simultaneously preserved and broadened, and this alone will provide much that will be of great interest to scholars. The present United Nations, for example, brings together in New York City a mixed society composed of both the foreign population who are part of the United Nations installations and the society, ethnically mixed, of New York. Nevertheless, the entire population falls within the purview of one governmental authority.

The United Nations City, on the other hand, will be segmented by each of the national cultures located within it,

and each will be autonomous, and responsible for its own government. There will be much that is new and different to investigate, evaluate and study. A sampling of the difference between the society that exists around the present United Nations installation and that envisioned for the future is shown on page 8.

Perhaps, all aspects of life and living will have to undergo a new and rigorous kind of scrutiny in order to arrive at a consensus that will permit various nations and cultures to live together in peace and harmony. Among these included are: human rights, the nature of the economic system, culture and cultural exchanges, educational systems, community standards, security systems, the preservation of national heritages and ethnic differences, and a new form of study and research related to the many innovative life and support systems that will necessarily result from a community that embraces peoples from all parts of the world who will be living in proximity to one another for the first time in human history.

Human Rights will be of paramount importance in all aspects of life and in all parts of the United Nations City. The right of each person to free expression, whether orally, in writing, through organizations, or behavior, or the arts, will be absolutely and fully guaranteed. Each of exchange of

all kinds between and among the nations and their peoples will be encouraged, thus fostering assimilation of cultures. All nationals will have equal standing in all of the national towns of the United Nations City and will be free to move about at will. Employment within the City will be wholly non-discriminatory, whether with regard to nationality, religion, age, sex, or any other artificial division. Those persons, from all nations, who prove themselves over long periods of time to be unemployable will be sent back to their native lands.²³

All members of families of the nationals employed within the City will be welcome as the City residents, with full rights and privileges. Individual national security forces will be granted the right to arrest vagrants and other social offenders, but only for purposes of transferring such deviants to the police or security forces of the host nation. The security and criminal justice system of the host nation will be responsible for the overall maintenance of law and order within the City.

The Economic System of the City will be interesting to develop and study, since true internationalism will have to

23. Wars of liberation logically involve the elimination of slavery and the general liberation of the Rights of Man. Morris R. Cohen, Reason and Law. Glenco, Ill: The Free Press, 1950, p. 13. The same objectives will be realized in the United Nations City but through peaceful means.

prevail. Each national town will, of course, be responsible for the housing, feeding and shelter of its own population, thereby providing the development of industry within the individual national towns of the City, with adherence to overall environmental laws adhered to in order to preserve the quality of life insofar as air, water and land resources are concerned. Business income taxes will be apportioned and paid to the host nation to help cover the costs incurred by the host nation and its responsibilities for the maintenance of the international areas of the City.

Trade between and among the national towns and their populace will be encouraged. and except for dealing in arms, harmful chemicals, drugs, and other undesirable substances, will be unmonitored.²⁴ Trade taxes will be payable to the international company that will be an extension of the United Nations and the body responsible for many of the administrative requirements of the City. Business will be operated by the responsible nation and be as free of restriction as possible. Business taxes will be paid to the central City administration to help defray public costs of maintenance. Prices will be uniform for all purchases, with no opportunities for exploitation.

24. Commercial practices may take their cues from the Yugoslavian self-management system. Also see, Jane Jacob, *The Economy of Cities*. New York: Random House, 1969.

Public transportation will, of course, be critically important if there is to be ease of movement within and between the national towns. All public transportation systems will be managed by the host nation, although private sightseeing systems will be allowed to remain in private hands; taxes on private tourist companies will be payable to the international community.

Hotel accommodations will also be an especially important part of the international life of the City. Certain hotels will be set aside for free international use, with no restriction on the nationalities of the guests who reserve space, but hotels within each national town will be managed by the local nationals and the right to approve or disapprove the accommodation of foreign guests will be a matter of individual national discretion.

In an international community of this size, the kind of money used and allowable is an important part of life. A system will have to be developed to guarantee the acceptance of the specie of the five great nations of the world, as well as that of the host nation.

Value added taxes will be paid by producers, traders, and business owners, who are all franchised by the state (the national town's government). International companies will be audited so that each state will receive its fair tax. Franchising the international corporations will require intense

cooperation between the states which propose to allow the company operating grounds. A supranational committee may be set up to handle the details of such franchises and to make recommendations to the states. If the tax structure is composed and constructed by people of wisdom, international organizations like the United Nations will meet their expenses through collections of value-added taxes and will not be funded through voluntary contributions. Historically the United Nations has had great difficulties with the Soviet Union regarding its contributions to the United Nations. The Soviets have refused to permit more than 25 percent of its contribution to be converted into funds for other countries.²⁵ Therefore, by switching to a tax generated revenue source, the United Nations can avoid such problems.

Cultural Exchange will be easy in the City since people will be living in close conjunction to each other, able to feel, converse, and experience the international and physical environment in similar empathetic terms. This may lead to the assimilation of more fulfilling lifestyles and to the dissimilation of socially unproductive, disruptive habits

25. Arthur Lall, *The United Nations and the Middle East Crisis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1967, p. 218.

and practices which counterpoises the vacuous outcome of such historical cultural exchanges as the one between the United States and the Soviet Union. In 1958, the first cultural agreement was signed between these countries, calling for the exchange of scholars among other issuances. By 1962 only one percent of American University faculty members had spent extended time in the Soviet Union. Even fewer American students studied abroad in the exchange program.²⁶

The sheer social and physical distances between citizens of the United Nations City will facilitate the natural, spontaneous, and smooth performance of programmed and informal methods of cultural exchange. Cultural exchange will be one of the more interesting aspects of international life in the City. In other words, the phrase, "cultural exchange," covers a multitude of lifestyles and needs, and touches upon virtually every aspect of life. For example, the maintenance of individual national traditions is an important part of international coexistence, and rules and regulations will be required to ensure peaceful implementation of holiday celebrations. A ten-day advance notice

26. Vincent P. Rock, *A Strategy of Independence*. New York: Charles Scribner's & Sons, 1964, pp. 181-182.

registration would help to minimize confusion or the scheduling of more than one event in the same place at the same time for outdoor activities of all kinds (parades, festivals, and so forth). The sharing of traditions between one nation and another would be enhanced, as well, by the establishment of national museums for the display of art, music, books, and other national treasures.

Shopping and shopping areas would require some measure of regulation to provide for some uniformity in the exchange of goods and moneys. Advisements on such policies will tap Western expertise in the area of shopping mall planning and design.²⁷ For example, regulations would consider fully the Western finding that shopping atmosphere is a decisive variable among viables determining shopping center economic success. Store hours, for example, would be left to the discretion of the appropriate nation, but the operation of businesses on a 24-hour a day basis would be allowed by those who wanted to allow this. Since some businesses or shops would employ nationals from more than one country, a uniform set of labor and labor union regulations would be required, and the City will have to provide a code to ensure fair labor practices. It is envisioned that all workers will be permitted to unionize, and that labor and management dealings will

27. Victor Gruen, Center for the Urban Environment. Los Angeles, Calif., The Victor Gruen Foundation, 1973, p. 74.

be open and honest.

To foster the internationalism so much a part of the City, a broad range of international student clubs will be encouraged, in the area of sports, arts, the professions, and to provide forums for free and open political debate and discussion. It is, however, also envisioned that war movies, underground movements and undesirable propaganda will not be recommended. In a society which will bring together families from all parts of the world, the prospect of the adoption of a child from one country by the family from another, might pose potentially serious legal questions. It is, therefore, envisioned that each national town will draw up rules guiding the adoption of orphans by their nationals, providing always that the financial means to support such a child are available.

Another aspect of international life, with young people from all parts of the world in such close proximity to one another, is intermarriage between nationals from different countries. In the United Nations City, nationals over the age of 18 will be free to proceed at will; those under 18 years of age will require parental consent, no matter what nationality may be involved. Social exchange and personal relationships between and among the nationalities will not be regulated.

In the City, desires to propagandize political slander must be carefully controlled. For example, some sensational expressions such as "The Russina Bear is Marching Across the World," "American is Reaching Maturity," "England is Moving to the Left," and "Humanity is destroying itself," are more counterproductive than promoting the spirit of the City.²⁸ To put the point another way, certain demeaning social practices will be prohibited, such as prostitution, and other practices, such as homosexuality, will not be publically debated, since such debates would be pointless and confusing to the youth in light of the varying opinions sharply dividing peoples and nations on this matter. For example, Britain and America condemn the practice, other nations tolerate it, while others only mildly disapprove it, such as the Scandinavian nations.²⁹

Education and the systems to implement it will require strict and intensive attention to provide for the comprehensive education of every child in the City. It is envisioned that comprehensive education for children between the age of 9 and 12 years will be compulsory, with the cost of schooling provided by the appropriate government. Education will

28. R. M. Maciver and Charles H. Page. Society. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1949, pp. 43-44.

29. Michael Schofield, Sociological Aspects of Homosexuality. Boston, Mass., Little Brown and Co., 1965, p. 192.

emphasize peaceful modes of living, with military subjects, chauvanistic emphasis, negative values and other undesirable subjects are not recommended. Schools will encourage the international availability of research material dealing with the sciences, will make their libraries available to all members of the international community, will accept foreign exchange students, and encourage genral exchange of educational approaches and systems. The employment of teaching staff from other countries will be encouraged so that there will be increased opportunity for cultural exchange. While each school in each national town will necessarily teach in the language of that nation, the enrollment of students from other countries (providing that space is available) will be encouraged so that there will be greater opportunity for the learning of foreign languages and cultures. Dormitories will be made available to accommodate these students.³⁰ Excellence in scholarship will also be encouraged. Outstanding students will receive considerable recognition for special scholarship, and yearly prize-giving ceremonies will be held so that the recognition will be wide-spread among the international community. At the same time, friendly and non-chauvanistic competition in the areas of sports and athletics will be part of social life, with the possibility of a form of olympics held each year to encourage personal excellence.

30. Michael A. Washburn and Paul Wehr, *Peace and World Order: Teaching and Research*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1976.

Community Standards, the norm of social behavior, assume a critically important role in a close-knit international society. With so many people from such divergent backgrounds and cultures living together, certain form of behavior will require a measure of regulation. The fact that so many cultures and traditions will be available for study will have nothing to do with the daily life of the peoples who are being studied.

Of particular importance in the City will be the need for each person to respect the social behavior of others who come from a quite different tradition. Within the framework of equality for all, and freedom at every level of life, stringent efforts will have to be made to accept that which is new and unfamiliar. Behavior will have to follow a code of etiquette that will protect and preserve national traditions at the same time that it will recognize the right of others to be different.

This kind of standard will apply to other disciplines of life as well. Vehicular traffic, for example, will have to be bound by regulations developed by the host nation, which will also regulate parking. Airports and seaports will also be within the purview of the host nation, and all member nations of the City will bound by common regulations, drawn up jointly by the host nation and the United Nations committee formed to administer the City. Each national

community will be designed with the view that only through rational, careful planning, social and self regulation will the causes of conflict be eliminated and communal harmony attained. "People left to their own devices will live peacefully, and instead of regulation and planning, freedom, and spontaneity are the means for reaching their goal and international peace." 31

Security systems, in a community as complex as the City, are another especailly important part of international life. This applies equally to comprehensive social security systems (with regard to social support systems such as health, education, welfare, the provision of pensions, unemployment benefits, and so forth) and to measures to protect individual safety and the safeguarding of property. It is, of course, the basic policy of the City to provide a full and comprehensive range of human services for the health and welfare needs of all residents. These services include fire fighters, who will be available to serve each and every national town at times of need and who will function under the authority of the host nation, and a health department, also administered by the host nation, to ensure that full emergency medical care is available at all times to every resident.

Systems to ensure citizens' physical safety will entail

31. Sally Falk Moor and Barbara G. Myerhoff, *Symbol and Politics in Communal Ideology*. London: Cornell University Press, 1975, p.27.

a national security guard organization in each national town, to be responsible for the behavior and adherence to social codes of the nationals of that country. The security guard system will, however, function through the authority of the police system of the host nation. Local security guards will nevertheless be granted the power to arrest those of other nationalities for transfer to the police of the host nation. Only the police of the host nation will be permitted to carry weapons during working hours; local security guards and all citizens of all nations will be barred from the possession of any and all dangerous weapons. The police department of the nation will be granted full powers of arrest of those who appear to be suspicious, or who are found wandering far from home at odd hours. The criminal justice system of the City will also be the responsibility of the host nation, and any citizen of any nation who is found guilty of crime or other undesirable activity will be deported. Both the police officers of the host nation and the security guards of the national towns will call upon the citizens of all nations for assistance in apprehending criminals or those suspected of criminal activity. Of course, underground organizations of all kinds will be prohibited in the City, and those found to be participants in such groups will be subject to deportation.

The issue of religion in an international community will require an excessive degree of tact and discretion. Since

some nations are secular and others religious, great care will be required to keep the offense of one group by the other at bay. Certainly a religious nation will be permitted to build its institutions and social structures around its own national boundaries within the City, and to carry out all functions of daily life within the rules affecting that religion. The practice of religion throughout the City, without question, would be all times free of intervention of any kind from other nations and from the host nation.

Since religions vary so broadly from nation to nation, even within a given area of the world, religious ceremonies and displays would be required to be confined to the affected national area, rather than spread through the international areas of the City. This would keep that which offends a different religious group away from the public eye. In addition, religions and religious institutions would be forbidden from public criticism or derogation of other religions or religionists, thereby providing the world with its first view of peaceful coexistence of widely different religions.

The Preservation of National Heritages carries with it the natural desire to present that national tradition to the rest of the world in the best possible light. Competition, therefore, will be very much a part of life in the City, although it is hoped that all excess of nationalism and

chauvanism will be kept to a minimum. One means by which to encourage only healthy and positive competition would be to hold contests to determine which national town has by far the cleanest environment, the lowest crime rate, the most stable price system, the most comprehensive social support systems, the best school system, and so forth. Within such a framework of competitive effort, the quality of life can only improve. With this improved quality of everyday life, it is possible to believe that more time and effort will be devoted to the preservation and enhancement of individual national traditions, art forms, and forth.

At about the same time, the range of innovative life support systems that will spread through the City will provide the political scientists, sociologists, psychologists, social psychologists and numerous scholars in other disciplines with a wealth of material to study, evaluate, analyze, and discuss. Statisticians will develop new studies which may be useful in the study of crime, judicial reforms, and so forth. The extent of new material available may make it possible to improve standards of living around the world, particularly if such studies are coordinated through the offices of the United Nations, which will be in an ideal position to monitor these undertakings and then evaluate them for future application to specific areas of the world.

Heritage implies kinship relations, particularly blood relations, that identify one's lineage, its traditions and accomplishments, stressing the bonds of heredity over those social. This sense of heritage will be downplayed in the City, with emphasis moving away from heredity evolution to social and cultural evolution. This move will be informed by work like Lerner's book, *Heredity Evolution and Society*, that attempts to broaden the academic concept of heredity from its narrow focus on aspects of biology to a broader vision of social and cultural evolution.³²

European nations regard peace as identical with progress, and peace, progress, and capitalism form a national trinity in the mind of European peoples according to Sternberg.³³ Because progress depends on the mental prowess of people's predecessor and on their inventiveness, it is associated with heritage, but in the case of Europe, true peace has never existed in spite of the tremendous progress apparent in Europe's long history. The residuals of colonialism, antagonism, confrontation, and imperialism impair Europe's evolutionary progress toward the complete induction of true peace.

32. Michael Lerner, *Heredity Evolution and Society*. Berkeley: Calif., W. H. Freeman and Co., 1968, p. 9.

33. Fritz Sternberg, *Capitalism and Socialism on Trial*. New York: The John Day Co., 1950, p. 173.

CHAPTER 2

FOUNDATIONAL SOCIAL THEORY FOR THE UNITED NATIONS CITY

A. THE RULING RELATIONSHIP AND PEACE

Historically, by and large, the absence of political struggle and of war between nations has been envisioned as peace. Under such a conventional concept, social conditions were more congenial to governance by the ruling power structures. In other words, the traditional concept of peace describes a social calm that allows governance in smooth water by ruling elite power structures, but they skirt the most fundamental issues of universal people-oriented peace concept and traditional cease-fire conditions between the hostile nations. In a sense, it is a psychological deception because such a transitional peace arrangement could easily be disrupted depending on the nature of the hostility.³⁴

As a result of such theoretical bias and misconception on peace, the ruling elite power structure defined and imposed the elusive concept of peace upon the people in view

34. Richard Falk, *Toward Security for the People*. New York: World Policy Institute, 1983.

the countervailing national interests between the hostile countries. This is the reason why the traditional approach to peace is inadequate. According to John Norton Moore,

Ruling class peace is just that-peace for the ruling class not for the people. Generally it is assumed that the people are in a state of discontent, so peace is that condition when the discontent is minor and contained.

Many theories of peace assume discontent and presume it to be the root cause of social instability and of internal violence, or the converse state of peace. These theoretical orientations led to the task of specifying what social conditions increase or decrease discontent and therefore violence. These social conditions are located or embedded in larger social structures and contests, such as cultural, social and economic contexts, and these larger social entities become the vehicles for directing discontent.

Peace in these theories is equated with minimal discontent; it is not a condition of human satisfaction and true social calm. 35

A close analysis of the traditional concept of peace will reveal that the development of a balanced perspective may reopen the debate on peace and inspire many unanswered new questions. In search of an alternative, we may develop additional variables which would influence the other party or parties counterposed to the ruling elite in the power relationship.

B. PEACE AS THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

35. John Norton Moore, Law and Civil War in the Modern World. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974, p. 84.

The controlling question this chapter is: To what extent can the informed historical sociology, one that fully recognizes conflictive power relations as well as functional requisities, identify, describe, and analyze peace? This question breaches a new area for sociology, which has left questions of peace traditionally to moral philosophy and recently to political science. In this context, a number of auxiliary questions follow the controlling questions: Has peace changed over time? If answerable in the affirmative, then what are the historical types of peace? And, what accounts for the change in types of peace? Is change cyclical, evolutionary, dialectical, or spurious? Shifting to methodological concerns, what analytical variables are empirically useful for dynamically analyzing peace?

If one grants the possibility that tangible answers may be found for the above questions and further assumes, as this thesis does, that the division between sociological theory and sociological practice should be closely monitored and minimized, then additional questions arise. In what ways can the historical sociology of peace contribute to real peace-making? What particular political, social, economic, and ecological conditions are most favorable for peace-making? What configuration of favorable conditions would best facilitate modern peace-making?

Answers to these questions may assist in the real tasks of building people-centered cooperative peace concept which will encompass many societies regardless of their cultural and political outlook. Throughout history the common people have never gained social and psychological satisfaction. Until the modern era, the building of people-centered peace has been suspended often because various conceptions of peace emphasized the ruling power structure and disregarded the real aspiration of people for social and psychological satisfaction. In other words, the means for building peace has been handicapped by the lack of a people-centered methodology capable of articulating and producing a condition for people-centered peace.³⁶

36. The sociologist must be constantly attuned to the distinction between the real and the ideal so that the scientific phases of hypothesizing and operationalizing will be valid. In this context, if equality is more closely associated with true democracy than is liberty, then it follows that equality should be carefully operationalized. But what sort of equality are we scientists of democracy interested in? Surely the real equality. But this is not so easy to distinguish without additional qualifications. In order that we may properly specify and operationalize equality we must first treat democracy in an orderly fashion. Trygve Lie indicates that a clear line divides the will to create democracy and the capacity to create it. Now an exact equivalence between this ideal separation and the real world separation cannot be asserted nor argued but it is clear that the ability to create democracy, by possessing the capacity of creation, is closer to the solution of installing democracy than is the intellectual will hoping for greater democracy. Consequently the measurement of capacity should be of greater value during the operationalizing phase than the measurement of will. In the Cause of Peace. New York: MacMillan Co., 1959, p. 441.

C. THE METHODOLOGY FOR A SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY OF PEACE

The historical nature of the controlling and auxiliary sociological questions makes a historical approach imperative. Therefore, the methods will be those of theoretical review and of secondary data collection. Research efforts will be balanced between the two. On the one hand, the theoretical review--the reading, classifying, and analysis and modern theories of peace--will enable us to specify the prominent theories of peace, their assumptions, and their deficiencies. On the other hand, the collections of secondary data--the reading of histories both ancient and modern--will enable us to specify the validity and reliability of our descriptive and explanatory variables and the congruence of any preliminary classifications and models of peace with substantive history.

First of all, we should examine the relationship between social theories and the traditional concept of peace for analytical study of social conditions. According to Horowitz, "society curbed man's natural propensities, and man through society became reasonable; that society, in effect, was a rationalizing agency; that society acted on the natural man or on the individual presocialized agent in such a way as to mold the person into a rational form."

In view of Horowitz, the socialization of human nature is conditioned by various social environmental factors.³⁷

On the other hand, Max Weber did it in a number of different senses. For example, he spoke of the "rationalization" of modern life. According to Weber, modern life was distinguished by systems of goal and the increasingly precise calculation of the most effective means to achieve them, in contrast to action arising from habit or from traditionalism as a principle."³⁸

The similarities in the two theories are patent. In other words, the rationalization process is a natural propensity and the character development in our human society. Of course, such a development has been evolved over a long period of time. Perhaps, this developmental concept of rationalization may be applied to a new concept of social theory of peace. Since the rationalization process could be utilized as an instrument to develop into the direction of people-centered peace, a gradual development of social theory is within our reach. Historically speaking, the system of dictatorship under a King was not a rational process, but it was imposed upon the mass and forced them to accept

37. Irving Louis Horowitz, *Foundations of Political Sociology*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1972, p. 5.

38. David Beetham, *Max Weber and the Theory of Modern Politics*. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1974, p. 68.

the oligarchy social conditions. Under the circumstances such as this, the true concept of peace was not even debated.

In conjunction with the rationalization process, another aspect to be considered is the process of political system. Perhaps the development of a new social theory of peace is somehow correlated to the developmental process of a democratic political system. By all means, the conservative aristocratic political system is not conducive to a people-centered concept of peace. On the other hand, in a truly democratic and mass oriented political system, the social conditions are much more conducive to develop a mass oriented concept of peace. For example, the democratic voting method is a factual condition to such a development. In an international context, the study of political participation of various groups and strata provides a valuable understanding on the complex interaction of different political systems.

The studies of political socialization include the process of voting and the pattern of influence in terms of interaction between informal political processes and private political ideologies.³⁹ Since the political power comes from

39. S. N. Eisenstadt, Political Sociology. New York: Basic Book Inc., 1971, p. 9

the voting system's result in the democratic society, development of a cohesive social and political system could be an important prerequisite to a new theory of peace.

According to the conventional theory of peace, the terms and conditions of peace are determined by the ruling monarchy, a minority power group and the military junta. Of course, such an oppressive social environment is not conducive to a people-centered theory of peace. Another major obstacle in terms of developing such a theory is the class conflict. Naturally the exploitation by bourgeoisie is on the collision course with the working class. The resolution of such a class conflict itself presents a challenging opportunity to develop a ground work for a new theory of peace.

Marx and Voltaire emphasized the importance of the class conflict between ruling class and be ruled. The past human history has been an empirical process of resolving such a conflict through the major events such as the Magnacarta, French Revolution, Soviet Revolution and the secluarization process in the West. Horowitz argued that "in a literal sense, the conscious defenders of the bourgeoisie's interest- property interest -were with their limitations more correct in their appraisal of social coditions that were the more theoretically advanced philosophies." 40

40. Horowitz, op. cit.

Horowitz also pointed out that "Voltaire, Rousseau and d'Alembert had an advantage over the materials in that they knew, to a greater extent at any rate, the class nature of the conflagrations they were entangled in, whereas Helvetius, Holback and, to a lesser degree, Didrot tended to arrive at utopian conclusions to absolve the harsh realities of class conflict." ⁴¹ Such class oriented conflicts may become the causes for social troubles in the form of oppressive laws, economic crisis, and labor disputes. Under the circumstances of such social conditions, there is not much incentive for the development of people-centered concept of peace. Therefore, a rational method to diffuse not only the class conflicts but personal conflicts becomes the prerequisite to a new social theory of peace.

Since group collaboration does not occur by accident, it must be planned for and developed in order to create a more conducive social condition for peace. By the same token, any egocentric or greedy activities must be discouraged in order to develop a more rational social process. For example, a development of anti-nuclear movement may create an impression that the society is moving toward peace, but as long as the underlying class conflicts continue to exist, the society is not really moving toward real peace. In this

41. Ibid., p. 33.

context, Lundberg raises a pertinent question that "all human social life, whether marked by protest or conformity, is necessarily collective in that it involves some shared understandings. What, then, are the special qualities of the range of phenomena referred to above that lead sociologists to use the term collective behavior in a more restricted way?" 42

Perhaps collective behavior in the classless society may promote a better chance for social peace when it is combined with a peaceful social policy. Such a policy may eliminate social uneasiness by minimizing various crimes, unemployment and other social problems and encourage the respect for human rights. Since the crime rate is related to the psychological complex of the people, stable family life and employment may reduce the crime statistics. According to the World Book Encyclopedia, the social effect of unemployment is defined that

Unemployment involves serious problems for both the individual and society as a whole. For the individual, it means loss of income and, in many cases, of self respect. For society, it results in lost production and, in some cases, criminal or other antisocial behavior. 43

42. George A. Lundberg, Clarence C. Schrag, Otto N. Larsen, William R. Catton, Jr. Sociology. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1968. p. 489.

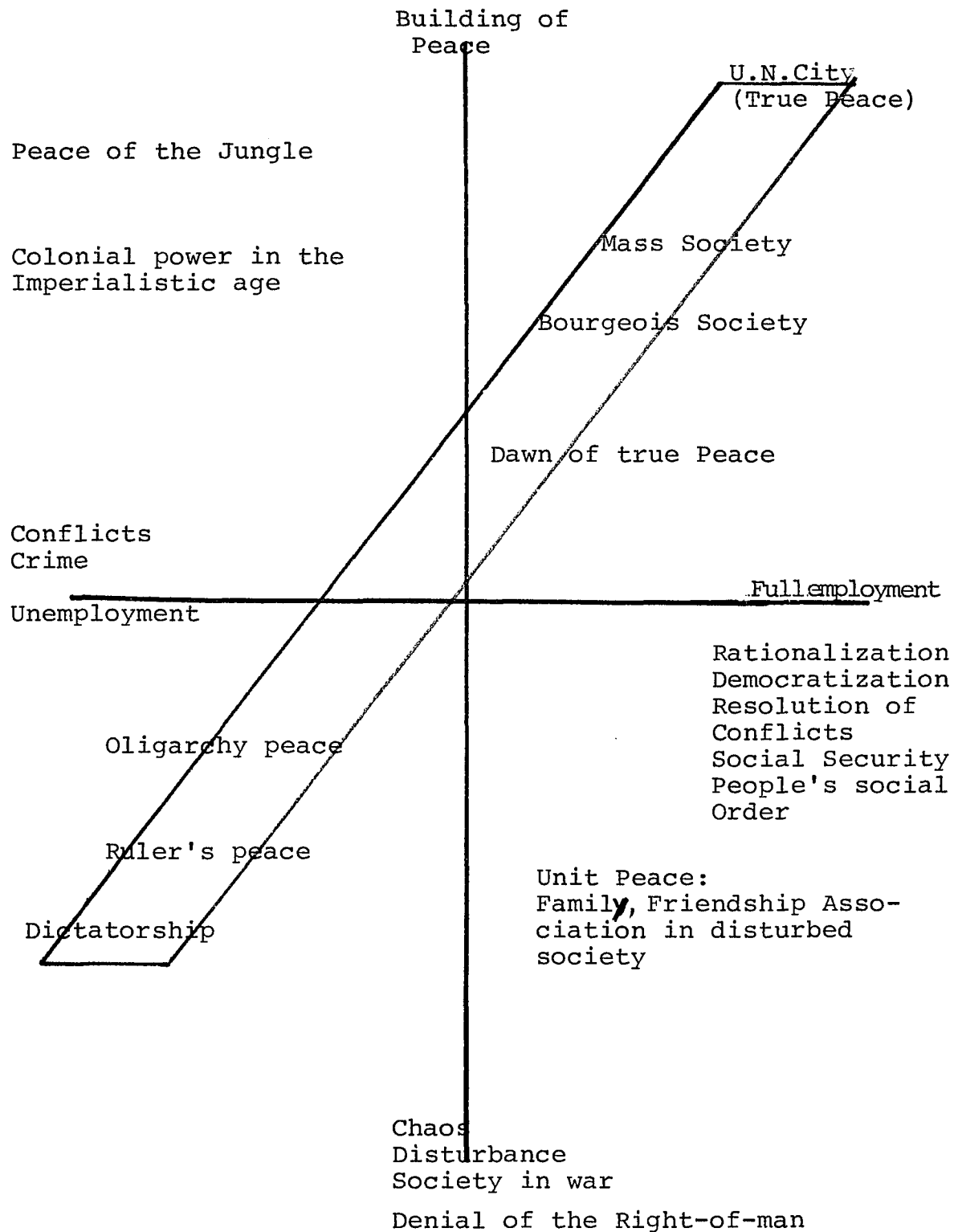
43. The World Book Encyclopedia. Chicago, 1975, Vol. 20, p. 13.

As much as the social security and unemployment benefit systems are designed to alleviate the individual and social problems, the development of a new social theory of peace requires a serious consideration for building a sort of infrasocial structure for peace. Although the insurance system is a branch of social security system, it often becomes the cause for swindle, murder and unethical benefits. By the same token, the insurance company could also use the fund for an exploitative purpose if there are no accident compensation claims.

In view of social realism, perhaps a socialistic society is more conducive in terms of creating favorable social conditions for peace because it discourages senseless individual material pursuit and self-centered egocentric attitude. On the other hand, the secularization in the West is not necessarily promoting the peace process and the Third World is generally having more peculiar problems.

In order to displace the conventional oligarchy peace with more democratic and people-centered terms and conditions of peace, a basic restructuring of social order becomes necessary. For this reason, if a society can provide more empirical rationalization and psychological incentive for peace, the development of a people-centered peaceful society could be within our reach.

VARIOUS TYPES OF PEACE SOCIETY



D. ENVIRONMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR AN IDEAL CITY

Generally speaking, the environment is defined as that which surrounds us on earth. In this chapter, the environment is considered from its two principal aspects: geological and ecological, with the latter subdivided to account, first, for the human element and, second, for all other bio-bodies. Of course, our primary concern is the human element since the environment is controlled by the human who devastated some environmental aspects. In addition, the depth of the ideological differences between the Eastern and Western blocs of power have led the world to the very brink of total disaster. Ironically, the seeds of future peace exactly lie in the arena of such conflicts. The danger has become so real and so profound that it has finally been recognized for what it is. In fact, the survival of human species is linked to that recognition. If the existing stockpile of weapons were brought into use, there would be little or no likelihood of survival and recovery of life as we know it. Therefore, the prospect of such utter destruction is sufficiently compelling to recognize that peace as a public policy warrants serious consideration.

Probably a peaceful environment between and among

nations requires a global concept of democracy, equality, and freedom. How, then, do we develop such a global context of evolution? First of all, any conventional super-nationalism and militarism will have to give way to mutual negotiation and compromise. Perhaps the idea of political supremacy will also have to give way to full and free political debate which is not designed to create a "winner" or "loser."

According to John Dewey, "education has a social function, and education is the particular medium which causes an individual to see and feel things in a uniquely personalized way, to invest himself with certain plans in order that he may act successfully with others, and to strengthen some beliefs and weaken others as a condition for winning the approval of others. The processes of education gradually produce in the individual a certain system of behavior and a certain disposition of action." ⁴⁴ Perhaps this conception of education could be applied to certain assumptions and social programs in the United Nations City.

The City's educational system could integrate Dewey's principles into the curriculum in order to promote a profound understanding on the importance of peaceful ideological exchanges, not only within the environs of the class

44. John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*. New York: The Free Press, 1944. p. 10-11.

room and the City, but eventually beyond the political boundaries of the conventional nation states. A possible step in that direction is to assume a new international definition of the word on "political" in order to disassociate from the war-prone attitudes. Every nation will be called upon to contribute to the development of a new concept of politics which will guarantee the freedom of expression. In conjunction with such a development, the concept of political prisoners will cease to exist because the threat of imprisonment for differing with or questioning the government in power would be eliminated in any part of the world.

Realistically, one cannot anticipate an overnight change in human nature because there will always be the hostile and the bitter; the misfits and the maladjusted. There will always be those who cannot adjust to new systems and organizations, or who consider equality discriminatory. Can we ever achieve a state of equality? In essence, the real equality will not be achieved unless we eliminate the concentration of excess wealth, power and privilege in any one individual or group of individuals. Although the idea of "super-nationalism" has been debated for some time, it does not suggest a possibility of total assimilation into the super-patriotic mold.

The proposed concept of the United Nations City will

not be able to tolerate excessive dissent in terms of maintaining its law and order. Of course, the terrorists, transgressions of international law and lawbreakers in general would be subject to appropriate punishment. A force of security guards, made up of police officers from trained personnel from each nation within the City and members of the host nation's police force, would patrol the inner sections of the City as well as sea and airports, and assist the general police in maintaining order and security.

The police force alone would be permitted arms, and the private weapons would be banned. Lawbreakers would be processed through the criminal justice system of the host nation. To facilitate the implementation of justice, a three-level court system is envisioned. The City courts would handle routine and smallscale offenders and impose appropriate reprimands, fines and prison terms, when necessary. The next level would be the court of the host nation, where the terrorism and all anti-peace activities would be handled. Particularly, the transgressors against the peace would be considered among the most serious offenders.

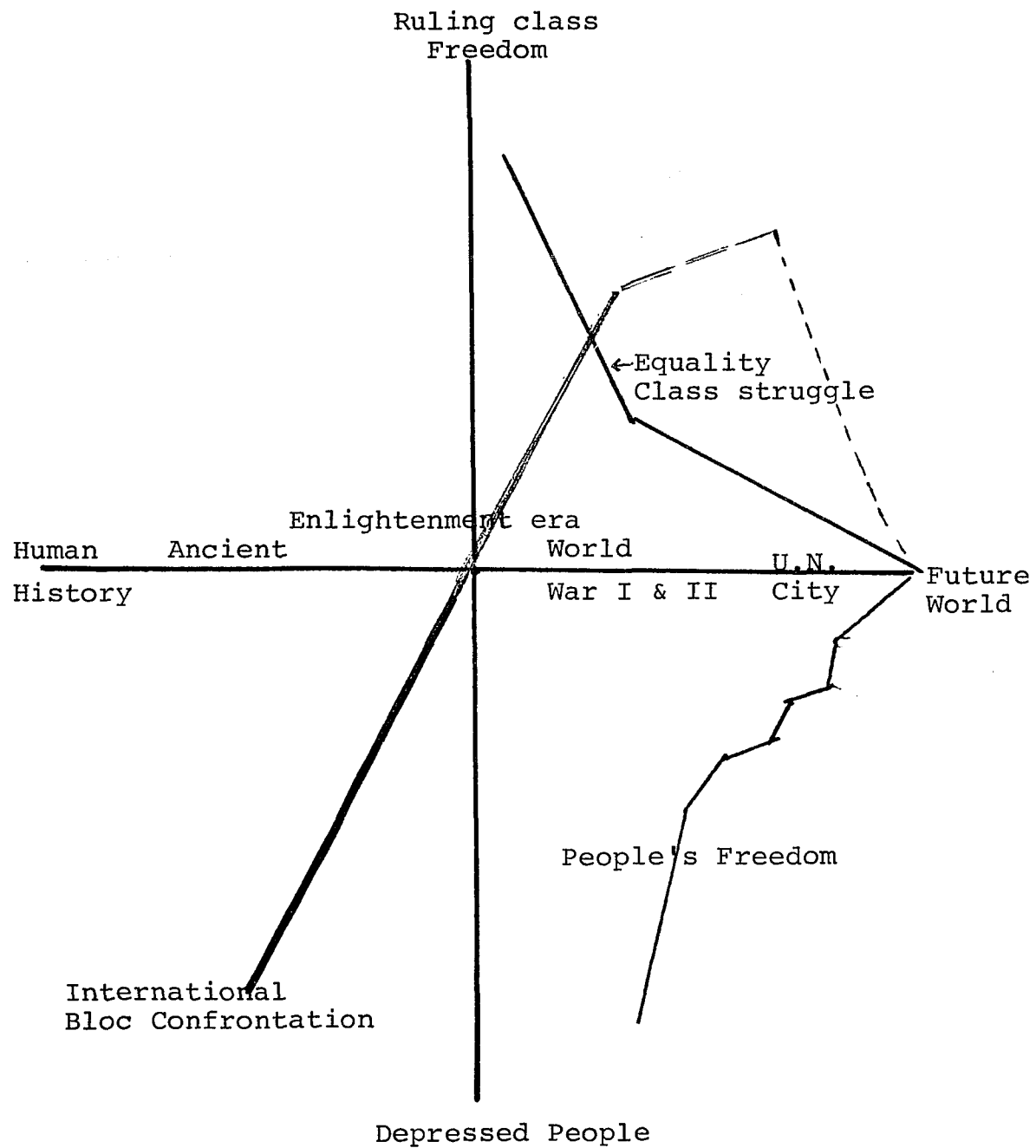
The highest court would be jointly administered by the host nation and the United Nations. The jurisdiction of the court would include any violation of international law, administrative rules of the United Nations, and all subjects

pertinent to relations between the host and the member nations of the City. Since this is the highest tribunal of the United Nations, the final decision is binding on all member nations and there is no appeal procedures.

Since a secure, protected and safe society is a prime requirement to ensure a just peace in the City, it is not necessarily contradictory to organize an effective armed police force within the City. On the other hand, non-human affairs such as geological and ecological problems could be controlled through a proper City agency. In this context, the actual physical site of the City is a matter of primary importance. The environmental conditions such as weather, soil, water, energy and pollution must be taken into consideration in terms of deciding a proper location for the City. As a matter of fact, such suitable sites are available in various geographical areas of the world. For example, any location bordering the Mediterranean Sea, a neutral country in Europe, an available space in the Middle East, an ideal location in Latin America or a site in Canada could be considered. The development of the City in order to enhance the hopes and dreams of mankind for progressive peace, the planning requires the congruence of various factors including an ideal site for the City.

Perhaps the following diagram may illustrate the essence

Equality, Freedom and Class Struggle



of the progressive nature of peace city concept. In fact, this diagram is an attempt to purport the following ideas:

(1) A progressive concept of peace positively rejects the ruling class despotism and insures the basic liberty and freedom;

(2) Diffusion of class conflicts is a prerequisite to the development of progressive peace and the equality is an integral part of that development; and

(3) A general reduction of international tension and negotiation rather than confrontation would alleviate unnecessary conflicts among nations or blocs of nations.

Since the ruling classes have exploited and oppressed the people throughout the human history, true peace has never existed. At the worst, the imperialistic nations have invaded, colonized, enslaved, discriminated and exploited the people all over the world. For this reason, a close analysis of Marx will verify that "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of the class struggles." Therefore, the concept of progressive peace is not compatible with the class system.

Historically, peace or moves toward peace have evolved from a social base of antagonism between the powerful rulers and the weak who are ruled. In other words, the conventional concept of peace was used to describe the truce

rather than the real or permanent peace. Although the underlying social causes for antagonism were not eliminated, the ruling class and the mass simply accepted a temporary truce in order to stabilize the social and economic life. When such a peace making effort is contained in a regional area, it only represented the localized peace structures in spite of the unresolved class conflicts. Perhaps we can define such a condition of peace as "antagonistic peace." By the same token, a similar type of localized peace structure could be expanded to an international scale so that we may define such an internationalized peace as "affirmative peace."

As illustrated in the diagram on page 57, the Eastern class struggle was revolutionary in nature while the Western nations took the course of confrontations, internal and external, zigzagged up and down, reflecting the waxing and waning of imperialism and imperialistic interventions. The path of the Western nations is characterized by numerous confrontations throughout the period of the "Cold War," since the end of World War II. The post-war interventions by the West in the Middle East, Congo, Angola, Cuba, Korea, Vietnam and the recent intervention in Grenada by the United States represent the confrontation strategy to maintain the status quo and to protect the Western interests. However,

there is a tacit agreement among the major powers that no nation wants to escalate a regional political or military hostility to a full-fledged war.

It should also be kept in mind that a measure of maturity regarding the status of international peace is quite discernible since World War II. There has been marked increase in the number of nations accorded freedom and equality in the international community. Since the world entered into the process of decolonization, a number of African nations have attained sovereignty as late as the 1960's and 1970's. There is, at last, the beginning of a realization of the spirit of freedom, equality and peace in the manner that those concepts are embraced by the charter of the United Nations.

Unlike other creatures, human beings are characterized by certain thought processes unique to themselves. That quality may be described as a certain ability for, or inclination toward, symbiosis.⁴⁵ Even in prehistoric times, human beings evolved different life styles in different locales, and the ability to accept differences among our own species has persisted and broadened to touch every field of human endeavor such as science, art, technology,

45. Symbiosis is a general term for the partnership of dissimilar organism, commensalism, mutualism and paratism.

philosophy, ideology, and the application of the principles of every discipline to daily life. It is a unique quality, or ability, that has made it possible for good and evil to co-exist, for class struggle to persist, for confrontations and the threat of intervention by the powerful upon the weak to exist side-by-side and open negotiations on behalf of peace. Human history is filled with examples of such seemingly contradictory efforts.

Perhaps the clearest example of this two-pronged society is seen in the systems that developed in the era of Kings and Tyrants. On the one hand, absolute despotism and absolute power wrested from the masses negate any hope of freedom or justice, and on the other hand, neither of which can be permitted by Tyrants. Nevertheless, the desire for freedom never dies, and can never be completely obliterated, even by the worst of Tyrants. In such a society, an underground network develops which, at the least, affords the oppressed a vent for hostile responses and a forum for expressions of hope; at its developmental peak, that network proves to be a training ground for sedition and revolution.

In a society ruled by a despot, true peace or "affirmative peace" is about as far from realization as it can get, even though in the technical sense there may be a

complete absence of war. The machinations that keep open war with outside or other nations at bay and maintain an uneasy state of internal peace is then, and at best, a tricky peace, an elusive or negative factor, rather than a positive policy. The falseness of this kind of peace is based largely upon oppression and deception and can, therefore, equally be termed a "hazy peace," since it must also rely upon a policy that precludes the possibility of free and open debate and exchange of ideas among the people.

Many philosophers, social scientists, and political ideologists worked during the enlightments. For example, Montesquieu(1689), J.J. Rousseau(1712-1778), and Thomas Hobbs(1588-1679) are especially noted for their contributions to social theory. According to Plamenatz, "Montesquieu was a champion of limited monarchy. Rousseau has claimed for the assemble of the people an authority in some ways more absolute than Hobbs had claimed for the sovereign." ⁴⁶ As has been noted, Montesquieu had hoped for a limitation of absolute regal power in his book, *The Spirit of Laws*(1748). In his view, the regal power was to be divided into three parts enabling people's participation in the processes of government.

46. John Plamenatz, *Man and Society*. New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1969, p. 15.

In this same vein, Hobbs instilled the common man with a larger capacity for participation and creation when he wisely stated that "man is not the victim of society; it is society which is the savior of man."⁴⁷ His description of man creating an environment suitable for happiness, assigns an active role to people who create better social circumstances through forms of agreement. Montesquieu's conception of increased political power for the people and Hobbes' conception of a more agreeable social environment were born of and mark the dawn of modern social development, as it moved away from the oppression and exploitation of absolute kings to the freedom and equality, evident in some countries, of contemporary times. Since Montesquieu and Hobbes emphasized the people's obligation to create a suitable social environment through tactical agreements and governmental participation, they are the original and ideological creators of people-centered concept of peace. The most significant aspect of their contribution is that the people must create social peace in order to dissolve the King's tricky peace.

According to Rousseau, the imprerativeness of the people's assembly in the quest for a rugged and reliable

47. Ibid. p. 40.

foundation upon which the mechanisms of public policy making could be affirmed. Although the superiority of Rousseau's ideas have been demonstrated, his era was just a budding period of people's peace. In spite of the ruling class' greed for exploitation, oppression, and tunnel vision, the cradle of people-centered peace concept was established.

The lesson to be learned from the French history is that the governmental and social organizations, though it took the form in the Middle Ages, were rapidly remodeled in 1700's. Living in great luxury, the French noblemen irrationally dispensed benefits and inequitably taxed the people. French peasants were horribly exploited, forced to work under inhuman conditions and heavily taxed, while the clergy was afforded comfortable living conditions and paying little or no tax. During this period, the people recognized the coherence and persuasiveness of new social thought through the intellectual influence and the writings of Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Hobbes. The new thoughts were presented as counterthrust to the power of the King and the divine nature of monarchical rule. The new thought process emphasized the importance of the participation of people in the government through the assembly and the right and duty of men to create a better social environment.

The idea of the national assembly was an outcome of the

French Revolution in 1789. The French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen proclaimed that "men are born and remain free and equal in rights; social distinctions may be based only upon general usefulness. The aim of every political association is the preservation of the natural and inalienable rights of man." ⁴⁸ The gradual facilitation of peace was made easier through the assertion of the rights of man because they assume equality and freedom to be the basic values in a revolutionary government. However, the bourgeois class became the center of the political power structure. Thus all major agreements were formulated and controlled by the middle class which created an era of the middle class peace.

The political system placed the responsibility for electing the assemblymen on the lower class and encouraged the middle class to develop the political techniques for preserving the middle class-centered peace. In considering the relationship between the French Revolution and the Marxist theory, "the revolutionary violence was used by the proletariat and such violence is the midwife of history. In other words, it destroys the old regime, the world of conflict." ⁴⁹

48. Eisenstadt, op. cit. The French "Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen," August 27, 1789. New York: Basic Book, Inc. 1971, p.341.

49. Amitai Etzioni, The Active Society. New York: The Free Press, p. 355.

It was only since the end of World War II that a movement toward a global concept of peace became the universal concern. This change was nurtured in the ruins of century old colonial system and the renaissance of independence fostered a spirit of coexistence. Such a global desire was eloquently manifested in the Charter of the United Nations. A new concept of internationalism was forged in order to accelerate the process of decolonization of the Third World. In addition, a realization of the appalling consequences of modern warfare compelled many nations to accept the concept of coexistence as a feasible policy under the changing international circumstances.

The international consensus is perhaps best summed up by a proposal for the United Nations City because it can symbolize a global peace concept and provide an international environment for the protection rather than the destruction of the human species. The development of such a City could incontrovertibly demonstrate the viable meaning of international peace. Perhaps we may define such a development as the highest "probable peace."

At this juncture, it is an important task to differentiate the concept of global peace from a utopian dream of peace. On the one hand, a utopian dream of peace is an unobtainable imaginary situation. On the other hand, the

idea of the United Nations City is not an impossible or utopian dream. If the war is a manifestation of socio-economic and political conditioned reflex, peace could also be a subject to socio-economic and political conditioned reflex. Why and how? Since the people-centered peace relies upon the congruence of equality, freedom and sound human relations that extend from the setting of family, to community, to nation, and ultimately to encompass the global community.

Literary utopian cities such as Augustine's "The City of God," Andrae's "The City of Christianopolis," and Thomas Campanella's "City of the Sun" are the products of imagination and dreams. Thus they are not practical models for the human reality and peace. First of all, the City of God isolates itself from the reality of human activities and ecology. By the same token, such a City does not offer a place for atheism and ignores the painful reality of the class conflicts. According to Augustine, "there was indeed on earth, so long as it was needed, a symbol and foreshadowing image of this city."⁵⁰ The City of Christianopolis is a design for the Christian community and excludes such as

50. St. Augustine, *The City of God*. Translated by Marcus Dods. New York: Random House Inc., Modern Library, 1950, p. 479.

Buddist, Confucians, and Mohammedans. For this reason, the concept of a Christian city is not necessarily compatible with the concept of global peace because of an imperialistic personality of the Christian ethic.⁵¹

The ideal state of Thomas Campanella's City of Sun bears a distinct resemblance to the ideal state of Plato, More and Andreae.⁵² For Campanella, the City of Sun is the ideal and absolutely communal state, where all human needs are sufficiently satisfied, and a complete equality between the social strata regulates the human association. Since the development of the Western society has been profoundly influenced by material abundance, the concept of communalism has never been an inspirational or organizational principle in terms of social intercourse. The inability of the Western society to integrate the idea of communalism is largely due to its ability to obtain or exploit any natural resources.

In conclusion, the City of God is only symbolic, the City of Christianopolis is exclusively designed for Christian population, and the City of Sun is an ideal environment for communal or communistic development. Therefore,

51. Harry W. Lardner, History of Socialism. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1950, p. 479.

52. Ibid., p. 35.

these models are not practical instruments for the development of the United Nations City. According to another exponent of the city, a plan for international organization of the Greek city states was indebted to the ancient Greek recommendations for pacifism and its ability to regenerate man found in the works of Euripides and Aristophanes. Perhaps Rousseau had these city states in mind when, one hundred twenty five years later, he wrote a methodology for the attainment of world peace.⁵³ His plan was also an organizational scheme for city states, in the context of European politics and social circumstances that would facilitate the resolution of world conflicts. Unfortunately, these plans are not suitable for the development of world peace because these plans lack the modern aspect of instrumentality and a scientific base for obtaining a global perception of peace.

Another important aspect of the United Nations City is to integrate the concept of equality into the reality. How can we do it? The true concept of equality must encompass every aspect of administrative, economic, judicial, communication and social policies. Since a certain degree

53. F. H. Hinsley, *Power and the Pursuit of Peace*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1963, p. 2.

of authority is necessary for the protection of the species from the natural and social disaster, possibly some exceptions could be made for administrative reasons.

The organizational structure of the United Nations City falls into three logical phases: (1) planning; (2) management and operations; and (3) establishment of policy and goals. These functions would be within the joint purview of a committee of overseers selected from the City residents as well as a managerial group made up of experts from the host country government. The operational and management systems would be organized in accordance to the democratic principles and insure the equal opportunities and treatment regardless of the race and national origin.

In terms of the City administration, the most complex issue is the economic and financial matters due to the various life styles and customs. A particularly significant issue is the method of equitable income distribution. Neither democracy nor equality can flourish where there is a vast difference between the upper and lower income brackets. How do we implement such a fair and equitable income distribution method? Perhaps the Yugoslavian system of income adjustment could be a valuable guide to determine the salary scale for the City employees. For example, the City could adopt a policy that the highest salary to be no more

than 3-5 times that of the lowest-paid workers. The major source of tax revenues for the City is funded by an international conglomerate of business interests and the wages would not be considered taxable. Thus the lower scale wage earners could combine their income with a well established social and family support system of the City.⁵⁴ Is it a workable system? The Yugoslavian model suggests a viable alternative to achieve an equitable income distribution system. It is not exactly a wage or salary system but a kind of guaranteed personal income system.⁵⁵

Another remarkable example of the income system exists in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) since it abolished the personal income tax system in 1974.⁵⁶ As North Korea does, the City administration could expect the tax revenues from (1) the productive industrial organizations, and (2) the import and export duties. Thus the City does not have to depend upon the income tax and would free the individuals from such a tax burden.

54. It should be noted that none of these economic systems are new. Examples of similar income and welfare systems and substitutes for taxes already exist in various parts of the world, although there is no country that uses all of them. The idea of using the best parts of the best and workable systems is a widespread practice among the nations.

For example, Yugoslavian autonomous income sharing method is 5-7 times. However, the United Nations City could adopt a system of 3-5 times because there will be only three job classifications.

55. Rudolf Bicanic, *Economic Policy in Socialist Yugoslavia*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1973, p. 107.

56. P. W. Moeller, *Area Handbook for North Korea*. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976, p. 305.

Perhaps the Yugoslavian experience in industrial management such as self management system could be adopted by the City because the system encourages individual participation and collective behavior in the human interaction.⁵⁷ Another experience from China could also improve the organizational morale and perhaps eliminate the class conflicts within the organization. The People's Liberation Army in China abolished the system of ranks and grades in 1965.⁵⁸ According to the Chinese practice, the job titles are only identifications on duty, but there is no separate dining-room, different uniform, and special privileges for generals.

The United Nations City administration could also adopt the best lessons from the most comprehensive social welfare systems in the northern European nations. In addition, the City could improve the local economy by encouraging the development of small national industries in each national region. Within the framework of the national town, each nation can encourage to establish its own tax-free shopping centers for residents as well as visitors. It would provide an opportunity for each nation to display its own unique native products. Although the City could decide on five

57. B. Denitch, *The Legitimation of a Revolution: The Yugoslavia Case*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976, pp.162-163.

58. Winberg Chai, *The New Politics of Communist China*. California: Goodyear Publishing Co., 1972, p. 112.

major currencies as the official exchange bases, all national currencies would be exchangeable in every bank in the City.

The economy of the City would benefit from peaceful relations among the member nations. Each national enclave would produce the native foods and vegetables. In addition, any native products from the home states could be imported for the purpose of promoting a climate for true internationalism. Eventually this type of economic activities may stimulate the social and cultural exchanges. Each member nation could sponsor a traditional festival in order to encourage further cultural understanding. A similar approach could also develop an avenue for cosmopolitan foods and restaurants.

Another important aspect of the City is to develop more "affinitive" social and human relations through various sports. The international sports competition is an open forum for better international understanding rather than a place for nationalism, chauvanism and political competition. According to Harry Edwards:

Sports sociology show that, in its broadest sense, this field of sports sociology should be concerned with the description and explanation of the inter-relation sports and other social components; more specifically, these gragmentary writings have been concerned with the functions of athletics in relation

to basic social institution and processes-the sociological approach to sports, as distinct from that of psychology, has been the focus upon sport in its functions as a component of social organization. 59

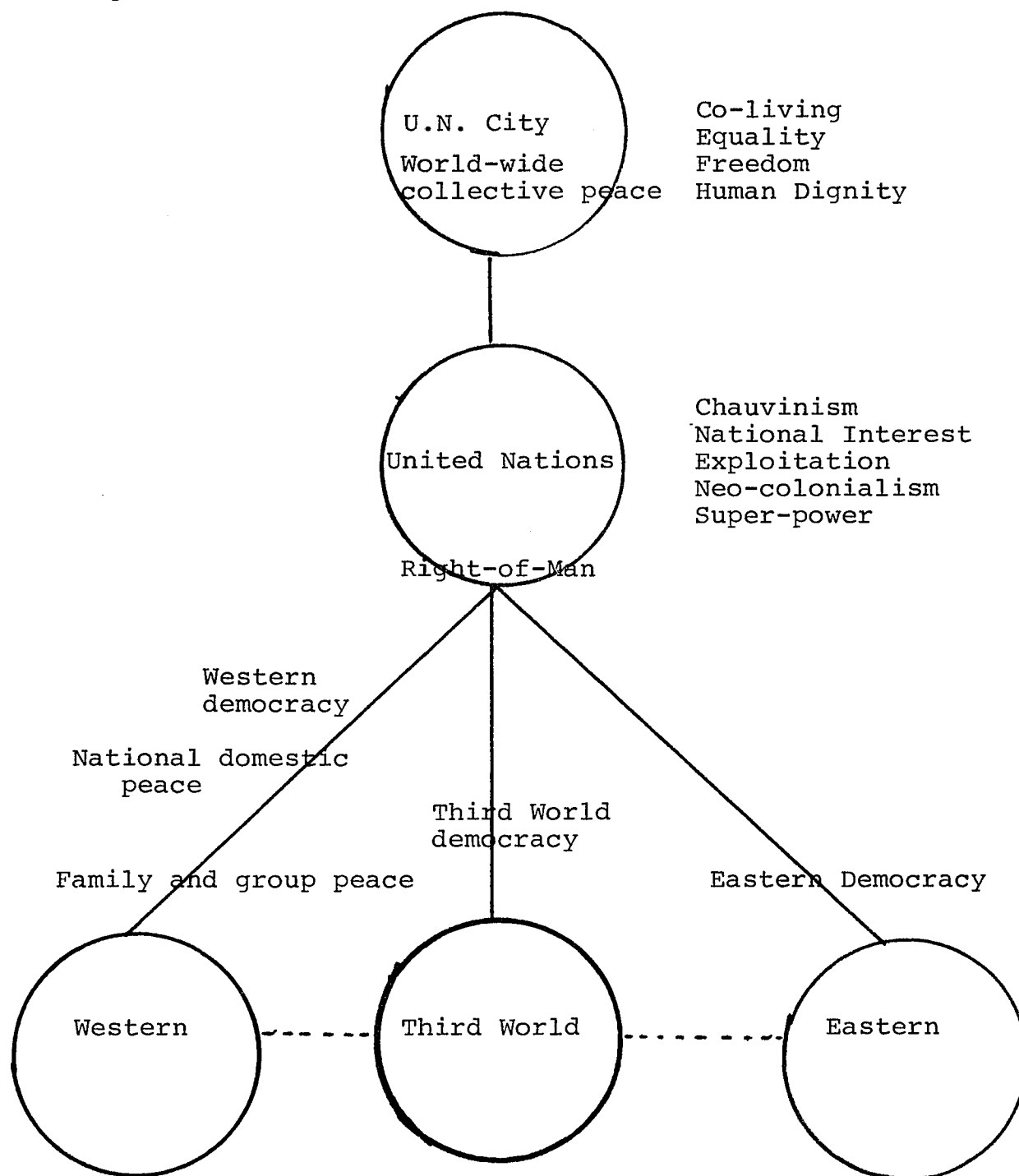
The nature of personal family relationship is an overriding factor in terms of building a broader context of international peace in the City. Undoubtedly, the seeds of a broader base of peace are deeply rooted in a peaceful family relationship. In essence, the family is a starting point to encourage the positive human qualities such as kindness, love, empathy, consideration, honor, trust, respect and discipline. When the family peace is firmly established, it would provide a sound basis for national as well as international peace. Therefore, in terms of building an international or global concept of peace, the idea of domestic peace is an indispensable ingredient.

What is a proper definition of "freedom" in a truly free and classless society? Certainly the essence of freedom has to be manifested in the context of political, social and religious activities. Then, what is detrimental to the basic freedom? For example, the traditional class privileges, an excessive personal wealth, any individual ownership of deadly weapons of any and every kind and the riots present

59. Harry Edwards, *Sociology of Sport*. Homewood, Illinois, 1973, pp. 10-11.

TRUE PEACE

Peace relationship from family unit to international organization.



an imminent and clear danger to freedom. The most difficult task is to draw the line between permissible and impermissible extent of freedom. On the one hand, certain personal liberties would have to be curtailed for the greater benefit for the society. On the other hand, the government oppression, martial law, police brutality and the denial of human rights are equally detrimental to the basic concept of freedom.

To what extent "freedom of expression" to be guaranteed? Free expressions such as national festival, memorial services, celebrations, cultural and art exhibitions are not only education but also beneficial to all residents. By the same token, to what extent the "freedom of press" to be free? What do we do about pornography? What criteria for film censorship? These questions are within the proper jurisdiction of each national policy committee.⁶⁰

The educational system would encourage free exchange of foreign students among the member nations and provide the greatest incentive for personal contact without governmental hinderances and bureaucratic regulations. It is not too difficult to imagine that such an environment will be conducive to greater academic freedom, creativity and common

60. Richard S. Randall, *Censorship of the Movies*. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969, p. 136.

understandings. The City will also encourage any visitors from the outside to have free and easy access to almost every aspect of the City life.

Another crucial question is: Where are we going to build the United Nations City? Would it be ideal to build the City in a politically neutral Third World country? Perhaps a location in any Third World country would offer a unique opportunity for such a noble experiment in co-existence or co-living of the human species. Certainly such an experiment would create a positive impact in terms of changing the traditional peace concept-the absence of war-to a new community of peace. In other words, a psychological task is to transform the frame of mind of the people from self-centered greed and egoistic indifference to integrate the importance of communalism, interrelationship and interdependence into the realm of everyday social life. In view of "the right of man," perhaps this is a rationalization process to remold the family, community and finally the society. One approach to this problem has been suggested by Arnold W. Green who argues that:

How much democratic ideology merely rationalized the contraction of economic inequality within industrial society, and how much democratic ideology itself contributed to the emergence of a near classless society, is open to debate. In either even, democratic ideology is and on the basic issue of equality. 61

61. Arnold W. Green, *Sociology*, New Jersey: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1972, p. 177.

Psychologically the rationalization process for peaceful social order could come from the conscious efforts to sacrifice the egoistic greed and selfishness. According to Salvator R. Maddi and Paul T. Costa:

It is largely the rationality they attribute to man that leads Allport, Maslow, and Murray to take subjective experience and self-report to be data of cardinal importance for an understanding of functioning... If people are rational, they will know themselves, and be able to give adequate accounts and predictions of their own behavior. 62

In conjunction with this view, perhaps the democratic process which is designed to promote peace as the highest value could be developed by a rationalization process. In other words, a psychological remolding process requires a highly sophisticated method of human behavior control. The principle of majority rule is predicated upon certain compromise and sacrifice on the part of minority in the process of achieving the social peace. If the high degree of social democracy is combined with the individual willingness to substitute the egoistic greed and selfishness for the highest organizational and social interests, the rationalization process could become a reality rather than a hypothesis.

To put the point another way, Blau and Scott stated that:

62. S. R. Maddi and Paul T. Costa, *Humanism in Personology*. New Jersey: Aldine Atherton, Inc., 1972, p. 26.

Weber analyses bureaucratic organizations not empirically but as an ideal type. He does not characterize the "average" administrative organization; rather, he seeks to bring together those characteristics that are distinctive of this type. Just as we can imagine physicians constructing a model of the perfectly healthy man, so Weber attempts to characterize a perfectly bureaucratized organization. 63

Could Weber's "perfectly healthy man" concept be applied to the organizational structure of the United Nations City? To begin with, there are two major objections. The first reason is that Weber's "perfectly healthy man" type of organization cannot exist in a real human society. Perhaps the second reason is that such an organizational concept is more akin to aristocratic rule under the King rather than people-centered democratic public service organization.

If we accept the people-centered peace as our goal value, it becomes a necessary task to build a common cause to rally the people through the process of social rationalization. In other words, a perfect combination of the peaceful goal values with the social instrument would give us a better chance to realize the positive peace rather than a transient stage of peace. How, then, do we develop a common value and peace oriented social norms? According to Blau and Scott:

That this attitude is a mere rationalization would

63. Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott, *Formal Organizations*. San Francisco, Calif., Chandler Publishing Co., 1962, p. 33.

be indicated by the fact that once the coercive power were withdrawn he would not continue to comply. If, however, an entire group finds itself in the same situation, and if its members share the beliefs that it is good and right and, indeed, in their best interest to obey, the rationalization of individuals become transformed into a common value orientation. For group agreement and approval of what is right constitute a social value that validate the beliefs of individuals and thereby makes them "really" right. Given the development of social norms that certain orders of superiors ought to be obeyed, the members of the group will enforce compliance with these orders as part of their enforcement of conformity to group norms. The group's demand that orders of the superior be obeyed makes such obedience partly independent of his coercive power or persuasive influence over individual subordinates and thus transforms these other kinds of social control into authority. 64

As has been shown earlier, if the "right of man" concept is accepted as a universal goal value, the true peace process can draw strength and purpose from both the peace "rationalization of individuals" and the participatory democracy. By the same token, the nations must begin to re-examine their commitment to "national interests" and to reorient that framework toward a new concept of "global interests" as much as the individuals are expected to follow the rationalization process for peace.

Perhaps the founding spirit of the United Nations was consonant with the concept of the "right of man." However, the built-in veto power for major powers became a serious

64. Ibid., p. 29.

obstacle and detriment to the organization because the major powers exercised the veto power to protect their self-interests. To make the matter worst, the United States prevented China to succeed its seat at the United Nations by distorting the question as the "admission" of China rather than the "rightful succession" for so many years. By all means, the behavior of the United States was not consistent with the "right of man" concept.⁶⁵

If the democracy is practiced by all member nations in its true context, it will provide a formidable basis to restructure the international relations. By the same token, the international law will gain the respect, consistency, and the universality. Since the democracy is the process of organizational consensus for political will, if we could integrate peace as an emotional condition into that process, we will be able to elevate the democracy and peace to the level of one dimensional force to rebuild an international community. If the democracy is developed through a peaceful voting process, the concept of peace could be manifested as an integral part of collective moral behavior and the

65. Louis Henkin, *How Nations Behave*. New Jersey: Council for Foreign Relations, Inc., 1979, pp. 137-138. "A realist" would suggest that the law could have worked only if the U.S. and the Soviet Union had been prepared to cooperate to enforce peace.

In fact, the United States and the Soviet Unions were exactly motivated to preserve self-interests and the concept of human rights has been used to discredit each other.

rational social environment. In other words, when we achieve a consensus on peace as our highest goal value, then the process of democracy becomes an indispensable instrument to achieve that goal. In the same vein, the democratic process and peace become the two wheels of one bicycle, shadow and body, and electro-magnetic phenomena in the international community.

Finally, perhaps we may be able to obtain a state of peace when the democratic process becomes an instrument to obtain such a goal. If the family peace is a basic unit of kinship organization, the same idea could be extended to a larger social, communal, and international community.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF PEACE

A. A SOCIOLOGICAL DEFINITION OF PEACE

If a sociological analysis assumes that the universal human spirit exhibits a drive for acquiring happiness within a peaceful society, then what social and environmental conditions are prerequisite to a sociological definition of peace? As has been shown earlier, perhaps the starting point for sociological peace could be the family peace. If a family could achieve the consensus on the bases of freedom and equality, it would create a microcosmic unit of peace which could eventually be enlarged to social, communal, and international peace.

To begin with, what is a sociological definition of peace? Is a simple social calmness an acceptable sociological definition of peace? Is a society without disturbance peaceful society? Any concept of peace, whether it is conceived in a family, a business organization, a political arena, or in the general social order, requires more positive articulation of social conditions under which a socialistic, or universal peace could be obtained. This is the

reason why Aron said that "this time we shall take peace as our point of departure because peace is rationally the goal sought by societies." ⁶⁶

Muzumbar, the author of the Grammar of Sociology, links the consensual participation by the people to the development of peace. According Muzumbar, the concept of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people is more conducive to peace, both internal and external.⁶⁷ How do we implement the concept to a human society? Does it imply the absence of class conflict? Historically, the social order has been maintained through the administration of oppressive laws by a ruling monarchy. By definition, it is a state of negative peace rather than a state of positive peace. By all means, a modern concept of peace requires a consensual participation by the people.

The most viable concept in terms of defining the basic philosophical framework for peace is the "right of man." Perhaps the mutual consensus based on the right of man may open an avenue for a democratic social peace or a people-centered peace. Thus the degree of democracy in modern society could be measured by the degree of consensus between

66. Raymond Aron, Democracy and Totalitarianism, New York, N.Y. Preager, 1969, p. 87.

the ruling class and the people. If the elected government harmoniously represents the constituency and administers the social services effectively, a high degree of cooperative relationship could be developed which is conducive to positive social peace. Contrary to this, if a society is under a despotic or military rule, it can only maintain a negative peace.

In essence, the degree of overall social peace and democracy could be measured by the quality of consensus and the level of affinitive interactions. In addition, the ability of the society in terms of controlling the crime, unemployment and social aggression is indispensable to achieve the social peace. To put the point another way, If a society could encourage the expression of positive human qualities such as humility, compassion and moral, and mitigate the destructive urges, certainly it could nurture a better climate for social peace.

Traditional peace concept failed to articulate the intervening variables by simply assuming that power can create democracy which in turn can produce peace. Since a democratic society not only rests upon the application of legitimate power, but also the internalization of democratic values by the people and their active compliance and support for political and economic decisions made.

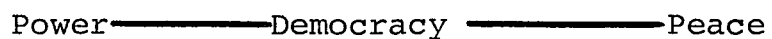
Our research indicates that the intervening social variables exist between the power structure and the principles of democracy. Contrary to the traditional models, these intervening social variables are not easily measured in their reflective form by the democratic standards. The diagram indicates that the balance of power has been shifting depending upon the nature of the conflicts and the relative power relationship between the two or more parties. A close analysis will show that any change on the balance of power has a direct impact on the daily administration of the government and of the economy. Certainly the same process affects the degree of freedom and equality experienced by the common people. Perhaps the interrelationship between the democratic process and peace are the resultants of these interplays. Although the democracy is a concept of political order and the peace is one of the more inclusive moral order, our research indicates the interplays between these two concepts.

B. THE PEACE CONCEPT AND THE POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

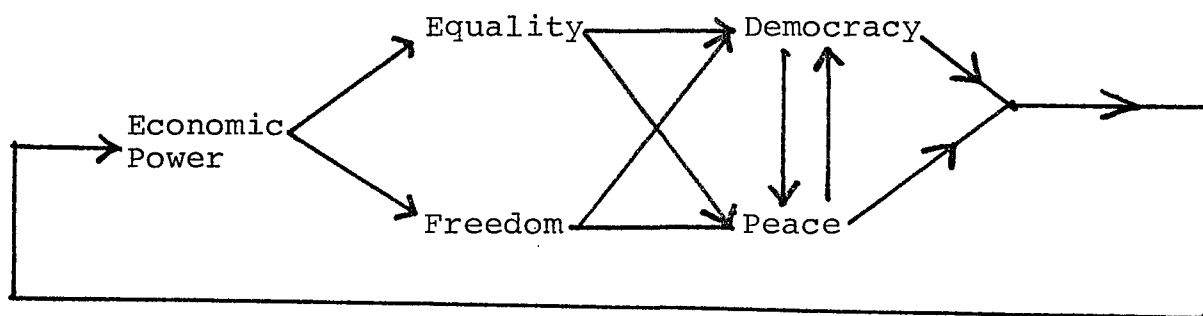
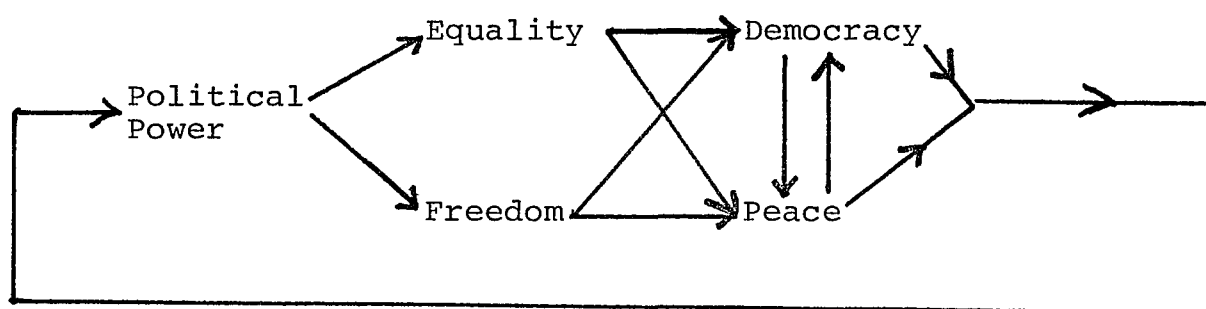
The main topic of this chapter is to analyze the relationship between peace and democracy in terms of political sociology. According to Coser, the three major approaches

MODELS FOR PEACE

(1) Traditional Model



(2) Proposed Model⁶⁷



67. Richard Falk and Samuel Kim, *An Approach to World Order Studies and the World System*, New York: World Policy Institute, 1982.

of political sociology are consisted of behavioral, correlational, and evolutionary studies:

(1) The behavioral outlook implies a psychological approach to politics, in which individuals are the unit of analysis. In this context, the voting process is carefully studied;

(2) Usually, typology of governments is set up, and the types of social conditions that tend to exist within each type are identified; and

(3) Essential to the evolutionary point of view is its concern with history.⁶⁸

In view of the political sociology, the concept of peace has always been among the threads of the human fabric. As the political processes have reflected ambition, pragmatism, and the mundane, so the concept of peace has embraced the highest and purest values to which the human spirit can aspire. Perhaps, the politics and peace may be considered the mirror image of one another. In fact, the image of peace has always been blurred, or unclear and unreal. However, insofar as the politics is related to the management of society, in this same vein the peace is the social and psychological mirror of the human experience. Occasionally,

68. Lewis A. Coser, *Political Sociology*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1966, p. 3.

the blurred image of peace has acquired the hint of lustrous reality, as when the oppressed have risen or when enlightenment has hovered almost within reach. Unfortunately, the kind of true democratic state in which an honest, vital, true and absolute peace can flourish has never existed for long.

It is frequently argued that the dream of peace has never died, and will never die. The quest for peace has engaged human imagination for as long as there is recorded history. It has survived the eras of Kings and the Kingdoms of tyrants; it has survived when multitudes have been oppressed and exploited. Against all odds, the concept of peace has taken irreversible hold of human aspiration. Such few experiments in true democracy as the world has experienced demonstrate that the concept of peace is susceptible to translation into standard, realizable and international terms. It is, in fact, gradually assuming proportions that link peace as a concept to the realities of politics, possibly only because in the modern world there is no sensible alternative to broad-based peace on an international scale.

Whatever the reason, there would seem to exist today a real hope for the future, or, at least, the prospect that the human species will permit itself to survive and, possibly, even allow the realization of peace. Where oppression

is absent, where there is freedom and equality, there is hope. There is ever and ever a greater awareness of the value of freedom and equality throughout the world. In this same vein, a greater awareness of the possibilities for peace and a realizable system of world government.

At the present time, the elements required for international peace are largely conceptual rather than real. On the international level, the foremost requirement is the total and absolute liquidation of imperialism and colonialism. At the very least, the friendly diplomatic relations among all nations are essential, and any disruption in their flow, no matter how minor, must be perceived as a serious threat to the whole fabric of international peace. The concept of supremacy, whether in economic terms, or related to arms and defense, or with reference to the development of human resources, would have to give way to mutual assistance pacts. The substitution of plowshare for sword would not, by itself, be enough, not even as a beginning. Perhaps the system of world government could mandate that the plowshare be made available by the wealthy nations to those bound by poverty.

We have come closest to this ideal when the United Nations was established after World War II. In spite of numerous noble assumptions manifested in the Charter, major

powers are still exerting political and economic pressure on a weak nation in utter disregard of the presumption of equality among all nations and the founding spirit of the United Nations. This is the reason why this thesis is dedicated to the idea that the most probable environment to foster the ideals of the United Nations and to translate those ideals into a global reality is to build the United Nations City.

The vision of the City is a microcosm of peaceful co-existence side by side, a system of free flowing international exchange, a system of comprehensive social and human services, a system of bold educational experiment, a system of imaginative commercial exchange, and after all an opportunity to explore the greatest human peace potential and resources.

The definition of peace under the imperialistic system is the "peace in jungle" because nobody could predict when, which nation, how and why invades or encroaches upon a weak nation. At least, the United Nations Charter provided a conceptual framework to restore a civilized international order.⁶⁹ Of course, there are countless contradictions and obstacles encountered in attempting to translate even the concept of

69. Leland M. Goodrich, *The United Nations*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1959, p. 197.

peace to a realizable living environment. A potentially more difficult situation arises when we deal with the frailties of human nature, selfishness, antagonism, hostility, ambition, frustration and avarice, to name a few. If the governmental systems are designed to foster inner peace, perhaps we may be able to ameliorate these negative factors.

In addition, there are some broader problems such as chauvanism or excessive nationalism and their logical extensions, despotism and oppression, the natural difference of bureaucracies and bureaucrats, economic greed and its outgrowths, exploitation and monopolism, expansionism and social injustices. The lesson to be learned from the past human experience is that when the oppression or injustice has gotten out of control, the masses have risen to overthrow the ruling powers as we witnessed in France, England, Russia, America, and China. In each case, the revolution has resulted in a system of social reforms, or economic gains by the masses, or broader and more secularized democratic systems of government.

According to Marx's theory, "a revolution is the characteristic form of the final, political transition from one socioeconomic formation to another, and such transition is the basic explanation for the phenomenon of social revolutions, such as the English and French. Political struggle,

which culminates in revolution, occurs when the masses unite and become constituted into a class in itself-the struggle becomes a political one between classes."⁷⁰ In this view, the goal of class struggle is the building of social peace and the political revolution for basic social reformation. In this same vein, the energies of the oppressed have been harnessed on behalf of a collective good. To a considerable extent, the hope for peace lies in the potential of that energy and the ability of nations to gather and direct it on behalf of the common good, and having gathered and directed it, to use its might to implement a unified and common global goal of peace.

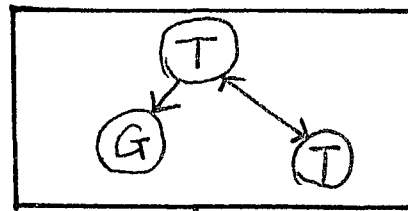
Why many American sociologists are apathetic about the issue of global peace? According to Lement, "some individual sociologists have played prominent roles in the peace movement, but their professional association, the American Sociological Association, has studiously avoided taking a position on this question, as it has on other matters of social action." The main thrust of the criticism is, as Lement puts it, "that this appears consistent with the Association's long standing policy of apoliticism."⁷¹

70. Werner J. Cahman and Alvin Boskoff, *Sociology and History*. New York: The Free Press, 1964, pp. 67-69.

71. Edwin M. Lement, *The ASA and Public Policy-Letter to the Editor*. *American Sociological Review*, XXX. No. 1(February, 1965), p. 131.

The relationship between social and economic development and the changing concept of peace.

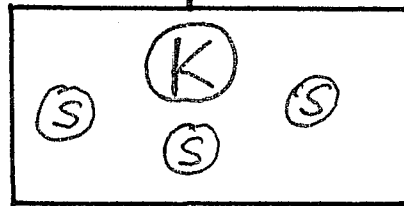
1. Primitive Age



Natural or Primitive peace

(T) Trib
(K) King
(G) Group
(S) Slave
(:) Working people

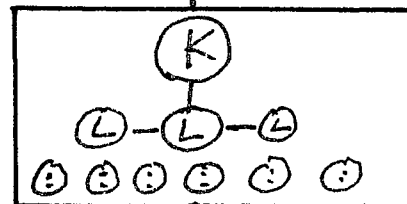
2. Despotic peace Age



Slaves never lived in a state of peace

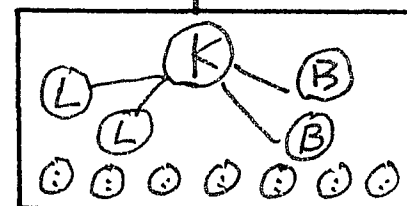
(B) Bourgeois
(L) Lord(Master)
(P) President
(C) Capitalist
(M) Party member

3. Feudal peace Age



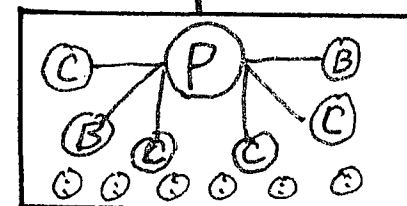
Feudal Farm Economy

4. Bourgeois peace Age



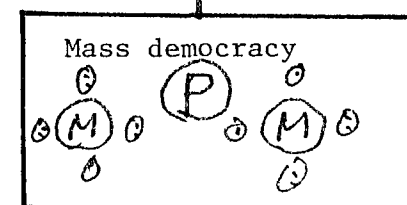
Production, trade and distribution were controlled by bourgeois class under the King

5. Capitalistic Age



Capitalistic democracy

6. Working class Age



Mass democracy

7. Likeliest Peace

Rationally created society based on mutuality.

On the other hand, there are several prominent sociologists who demonstrated their positive interests in peace. For example, Alex Inkeles, Talcott Parsons, Seymore M Lipset, and P. F. Lazarsfeld are the celebrated sociologists among the thirty-eight members of the American Faculty Council for the Gradualist Way to Peace. Charles E. Osgood, who served as the president of the American Psychological Association, published a popular book outlining a policy leading toward peace in the year of his election and used his office to interact with decision makers in Washington.⁷²

As we have suggested earlier, the new popular approach to urban renewal, which has been given various names such as human renewal, community development, and social planning, would possibly be integrated into the programmatic quest for global peace.⁷³ In conjunction with such an approach, what we need is a combined effort in terms of the communal environmental renewals and the development of an articulate peace ideology.⁷⁴ To free the human energies to work on behalf of a common goal, perhaps it would require broad changes in social policy. For example, the community would be required to give up the narrow goals in exchange

72. Paul F. Lazarsfeld, William H. Sewell, Harold L. Wilensky, Amiti Etzioni, *Nonconventional uses of sociology as illustrated by peace research. The Uses of Sociology*, New York: Basic Book Inc., 1967, p. 831.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid., p. 440.

for opportunities to effect a larger goal. By the same token, the central or national government would also redirect its resources and energies to strengthen the framework of equitable social justice and human services.

There is no doubt that a national effort to redirect its resources and energies to the peace process would evolve over a period of time that would provide a learning opportunity and accelerate the transitional process from the national peace to a global peace. The gradual elimination of social contradictions such as oppression, injustice, poverty, hunger, exploitation, inequity and discrimination, may renew a social determination to develop the new national ethos. When the new national ethos becomes a fact of life in nation after nation, it would provide a positive basis for global peace.

In view of the existing international human reality, the attainment of global peace is even difficult to imagine. Nevertheless, as we have suggested earlier, there are several practical steps that can be taken now to encourage the translation of a peace concept into an imaginable reality. By all means, a positive step toward that goal is to build the United Nations City. Since the present United Nations is hindered in its pursuit of global peace by differences in national interests, antagonistic ideologies, and the major

differences in social and political structures among the member states.

How effective was the United Nations in its pursuit of global peace? What went wrong with the United Nations? Consideration of past experience does not yield optimistic answers. Carl von Horn has said that:

I am a firm believer in the United Nations and I still am. Though nowadays painfully aware of the need, long overdue, of an agonized reappraisal of the whole sector of peace keeping operations, where many hard-won lessons seem forgotten. 75

Under the present circumstances, no matter how impaired, the United Nations is the only international forum dedicated to the construction of peace. At least, it provides a forum where the diplomats of world governments can debate and exchange their opposing viewpoints.

No one can deny that the humanity has been yearning for global peace. Many philosophers, scientists, and religious leaders have described the concept of peace. For example, Kant wrote an essay on peace, *Zum Ewigen Frieden*, about 140 years ago and Veblen explored Kant's work one step further.⁷⁶ By all means, the importance of such efforts cannot be underestimated since we need a workable blueprint and methodology for peace. The concept of the United Nations

75. Carl von Horn, *Soldiering for Peace*. New York: David McKay Co., 1966. Horn was Commander of the UN Peacekeeping forces in Palestine.

76. Thorstein Veblen, *The Nature of Peace*. New York: Sentry Press, 1919.

distinguishable from the strained, uneasy, and polarized situation at the United Nations. Once the United Nations City is built, it will exhibit traits diametrically opposed to those repugnant traits so dear to dictatorial and imperial regimes. A significant step to break away from such traits is to remove the United Nations from the United States and to find a political neutral Third World nation, where all permanent or temporary residents would be accorded absolute equality in all aspects of life. Thus the City may become a living symbol of the ideals manifested in the Charter of the United Nations. Perhaps the City could be a living testimony of the noble experiment in coexistence and peaceful internationalism.

C. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PEACE SOCIOLOGY

How do we define the peace sociology? This is the heart of the problem with the peace sociology. Gerhard Lenski went on to comment that society exists to the degree that a territorially bounded population of animals of a single species maintains ties of association and interdependence and enjoy autonomy.⁷⁷ A critical task for the peace sociology is to

77. Gerhard Lenski, *Human Societies*. New York: McGraw Hill, Inc., 1970, p. 9.

examine the process of autonomy in order to find a way to integrate the concept of peace into that process. Our theory of peace sociology is structured on the following four basic premises: (1) the historical view of sociology; (2) the nature of peace sociology; (3) the development of peace sociology, and (4) the sociology of equality, freedom, and class.

(1) THE HISTORICAL VIEW OF SOCIOLOGY

Since the concept of peace sociology is a new field of social science, the main thrust of our research is to investigate the history of peace. Many historical thinkers have been rather oblivious to the problems of peace and have dwelled upon the problems of politics, economics, and religion. For example, Plato and Aristotle emphasized political aspects of government in their teachings. By the time of Roman Empire, refined legal codes instructed those bound to the Empire in ways of conduct consistent with the politically imperial nature of the Empire. During the feudal period the people were contented with their status of great subservience by fully subscribing to the political indications of the established church.

The right of man philosophy inspired the reform movement

and encouraged to deemphasize the political aspects of government by considering a broader concept of rights including the social right of individuals. The movement culminated in the French Revolution which must have inspired August Comte, a French philosopher, who forcefully stated his deliberations about the queen of science-sociology.⁷⁸ In this same vein, Von Laue pointed out that "through mass media, industry, science...their lives are closely intertwined. They have indeed been the chief promoters of the science called sociology, which was born from the clash of metropolitan rationalism with the metropolitan view of man and society."⁷⁹ Thus, aside from the impact of the French Revolution and its liberating political ideals, sociology may be a child of urbanism.

In its earlier years, sociology was closely associated with social reformers and social critics who sought after improved social conditions. In other words, the movements of social reform, pacifism, and labor have normally formulated non-violent tactics in their goals of bringing the progress and peace to reality. On the other hand, we can not negate the positive contributions to peace and progress made

78. The World Book Encyclopedia. Chicago, Ill., Field Educational Corp., 1975, Vol. 18, p. 460.

79. Theodore H. Von Laue, The Global City. New York: J.P. Lippincott Co., 1969, p. 165-166.

by socially disruptive rebellion and terrorism. Labor riots, pacifist civil disobedience, and radical disturbances have created political change diverting the direction of development away from more elite control toward more participation from the lower quarters of social strata.

Although social terrorism has been regarded as socially dysfunctional, Schlesinger argues that "the term terrorism is conventionally related to the question of legitimate political activity and to the concept of political rationality." Therefore, the act of terrorism is not simply chaotic and anarchic force, but actively asserts a critique of political power and simultaneously attempts to impose institutional modifications or alternative institutions so that the political power could be more authentically legitimized.

Since the notion of ideology overshadows the relationship between idea and society, it must be dissected in order to explain the historical progress of social thought and its bearing on the development of peace sociology. According to Iglitzin, ideology is defined by the powers for four specific purposes:

- (a) To signify the internal relations or quality of a set of ideas about society;
- (b) To characterize the use of those ideas in society;
- (c) To describe their origin in relation to society; and
- (d) To stress their effect on society.

After some introspection on these purposes of ideology

by contemporary America, she wrote that America is a symbol of freedom and discussion, of rational thought, of tolerance for new ideas, and of equality and freedom.⁸⁰

She raises what for us is the heart of the problem. Although she glibly linked equality and freedom together, they are not necessarily complimentary to each other. In fact, the evolutionary development of freedom far exceeded that of equality in the West, with the reverse case holding for the East. In search for the major currents of evolutionary social thought and their relation to peace sociology, it is quite significant to separate the ideological components for freedom and equality. As has been shown earlier, freedom and equality are two axes of peacification stipulation.

(a) PREHISTORIC SOCIETY

A theory of prehistoric society indicates that a social balance between opposing forces deterred aggressive impulses. Perhaps this balance escalated helpful actions of individuals onto a level of mutual interaction that has not been duplicated since prehistory. Relying upon the prehistoric

80. Lynne B. Iglitzin, Violence and American Democracy. (Edited by Vernon L. Allen). Journal of Social Issues, Winter 1970, Vol. 26, No.1, p. 165.

artifacts of craft, it is not difficult to assume that a certain degree of mutuality existed. In other words, the pictorial productions of craft were characterized by a simplicity of line, color, and perspective. At the same time, the musical productions of craft were also characterized by a simplicity of melody, harmony, and dynamism. Perhaps it may be conjectured that this simplicity disposed the ancient people to form the lifestyles of mutuality. The prehistorical artcrafts frequently show us a world of relative peace in which the major occupations of man were constructive and not destructive.

After reviewing all the pertinent facts, it is not too difficult to assume that the social stratification was virtually absent from prehistoric society. The collective needs of the basic family unit and the tribe were met through a very simple division of labor. The miniscule pool of human innovation coupled with the uncontrollable natural force, made men seekers of cooperation and not agents of competition. Although it does not follow that an advance division of labor causes a highly stratified social class system, the prospect of a simple division of labor causing or sustaining a highly stratified social class system is unlikely.

It may well be that the great Neolithic innovations in farming and stock-raising began to recognize the economic

divisions of labor. The prehistoric men discovered that greater reliance could be placed on the technical manipulation of land, water, and animals which effectively reduced their reliance on cooperation with other men. These innovations were nonreflectively integrated into the lifestyles of primitives which also led to the formation of permanent village settlement. Some historians argue that the prehistoric equality was a condition arising out of dependency on nature. Subsequently, it became a condition arising out of distribution of human products.⁸¹

(b) THE AGE OF MONARCHY

As the agricultural innovations differentiated the economic division of labor, those men with dubious intentions gained advantages over their fellow men by using surplus time formerly devoted to the struggle with nature for extracting loyalty and contributions in a scheme for the betterment not of the whole but for the greedy few. These men became tyrants, exacerbating familial and tribal conflicts in an attempt to parlay their martial resolutions to these conflicts into general power.

81. Kurt B. Mayer, *Class and Society*. New York: Random House, 1955, p. 9.

The Machiavellian aggressions of a few corrupted men insidiously formented divisiveness. When aggressive action lost its genuinely receptive object and became partially diverted to the conquest of other humans, social heterogeneity grew. According to Freeman and other exponents of the Freudian theory, "aggressive traits cause strict hierarchy, dominance, and class division."⁸² Incipient rule by exploitation signaled the inevitable decline of equality. In other words, equality became a dispensation of the power of the King which was handed out according to one's service rendered to the tyrant. As service varied according to social grouping, equality varied as function of social grouping. The King, who stood at the apex of human social structure, generated equality. He transcended those social relations circumscribed by notions of equality.

The aristocrats and nobles, who served and exercised some independence in minor political decision making, and therefore lived with a measured equality that provided them differently larger incomes and prestige than was provided to the peasants. It is frequently argued that peasants had neither equality of opportunity nor of substance. At the bottom of social scaling, they responded to the directives

82. Erich Fromm, *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*. New York: Rinehart and Winston, 1973, p. 166.

of regal power just as primitives had responded to the forces of nature.

(c) THE AGE OF OLIGARCHY

As the fruits of exploitation brought more power into the hand of tyrant, the direction of authority became a two-way system. In other words, the ruler could not single-handedly watch over their ever widening forum of affairs, and found it efficacious to delegate the power to subordinates. Although such a diffusion of power began in the age of King, it reached maturity during the age of oligarchy. As intermediaries, the aristocrats forged a working alliance with the peasants, using them to lever power from the tyrant.

As has been noted, the Magna Carta became the touchstone of oligarchic society. The Barons blamed the taxation system under the King and persuaded King John to make unusual concessions which pushed along the devolution of power toward its final state in this era-when equality became a function of the relation between tyrant and baron to the exclusion of peasantry. Whereas equality was formerly granted by the tyrant it now became a function of the politically utilitarian relation between tyrant and baron. Thus, informal grants became the codified concessions and protections.

The major negotiation of the Magna Carta sent the scene for similar politicking and realignments in thought and action eventually led to important literary works published toward the end of the age of oligarchy. However, no serious critiques appeared of the prevailing political system because the tyrants controlled the creation of literature. As a consequence, the study of science advanced mathematics, physics and optics, but no author dared to ask questions about human organization and the relationship between equality, freedom and human organization.

The reversal of the tyrannical tide began with Luther's Theses and the idealization of classic civilization during the Renaissance stimulated the propensity for secularization. The views of three major writers at this stage of oligarchy were most influential in terms of shaping the social ideology.

Machiavelli (1469-1527) wrote "The Prince," by exposing completely amoral principles as possible guideposts for the ruling class.⁸³ His theory was the exact opposite of that theory espoused by tyrants that the divine right theory which conceptualized power to be vouchsafed by God to the Kings. Machiavelli did not ponder the truth, fairness,

83. S. N. Eisenstadt, Political Sociology. New York: Basic Book, Inc., 1971, p. 533-534.

equality, or freedom. He pronounced that the craft, cunning, deceit, and treachery are valuable to the men who manipulate the political power. While his views are offensive and repugnant, it represents a clear contradiction to the regal theory of power. In other words, his theory regarded the political power as a commodity not divine in nature. In essence, he advised disenfranchised men to exploit regal power for their own gains.

Adam Smith(1723-1790) wrote "The Wealth of Nations" in 1776, analyzing the economic processes and reassessing the mercantilist thought. He reevaluated moral nature and social commitments. His major insight was finding the central role of markets in industrial society and its dynamic role that often negates the greedy propensities of manufacturers, traders, and retailers. If a manufacturer beckons buyers with the price increase postings, then another, propelled by his greed, advertises price declines or price stability in the hope of acquiring more buyers. In this manner the markets calculate, aligning demand and supply on the basis of price. Thus the avaricious traders are forced to compete with each other in a relatively open manner for the voluntary purchases of a large public.⁸⁴

84. Ibid.

Charles Montesquieu(1689-1755) wrote "The Spirit of the Law" in 1748 propounding the theory that law underpinned all things such as human, natural and devine.⁸⁵ As Machiavelli and Smith tread on new grounds exploring social theory, he attempted to develop a theory in conjunction with the main stream of social thought which preserved the traditional forms of theory and practice. At this stage, the productions of painting, music and writing were relatively supportive of the aristocratic system.

A turning point in the direction of support came with the work of J. J. Rousseau(1712-1778) who devised a critical theory of society. Having witnessed the cruel treatment of lower classes, he argued for the superiority of empathy over philosophical retrospection and of emotion over rationality. In doing so, he emphasized peace, unity, and equality. In his view, equality for all became a goal. That is to say, a reality of equality would replace the limited equality of aristocrats and King.

(d) THE AGE OF BOURGEOISIE

85. J.J. Rousseau, *The General Will*. Ed. by S. N. Eisenstadt, *Political Sociology*, op. cit., p. 361.

The writings of Rousseau had a profound effect upon intellectual current extant during the enlightenment period. French revolutionary activists adopted his notion that rationality could not by itself create a culture capable of allaying the dissatisfactions and the displeasures experienced by the great numbers of people deprived of political and economic power. As the bourgeoisie grew in strength, it swept into focus on the "Right of Man" philosophy. The French revolution became a gigantic thrust by the bourgeoisie to eternally abolish the aristocratic exploitation and to set the path of societal development along the course of equality for all. In other words, the concept of equality was specifically used to advance the bourgeoisie interests.

A political elaboration of the intent under the "Right of Man" philosophy produced an entirely new set of social goals, including the development of peaceful society, the legislating of a republican constitution, and the administering of a new system of social justice. Therefore, the lesson be be learned from the French revolution is that it marked the resurgence of a comprehensive idea for universally acceptable peace.⁸⁶ The principal importance of such

86. The World Book Encyclopedia, op. cit., p. 452.

a resurgence was that the concept of peace became a function of real society and human interaction accross the social lines.

A philosophical analysis led us to believe that science and technology could not serve the entire set of human interests in spite of its tremendous contributions to humanity. Rousseau was a voiceferous spokesman for such a viewpoint and Beethoven(1770-1827) expressed a similar thought in his musical compositions, particularly in his Fifth Symphony.⁸⁷ According to Rousseau, each individual's psychological fullfillment had to be constructed in terms of two elements such as a satisfying labor and mental accomplishment. In this context, the mental activities are combined with a rational calculation and emotional fullfillment.

The controversy over the expression of art has been enlarged by the ideological content of political expression. Until the new political ideoloty is well integrated into the daily life, the power of such an ideology will remain to be the power of symbolism and a distant dream. For example, Beethoven was a master of classical and romantic music and his power of expression was confined within the

87. Ibid., Vol. 13, p. 796.

concert hall. In conjunction with the power of expression, there is a famous story about his displeasure with Napoleon's dictatorial shift, which lucidly informs reader how severely artistic expression can be circumscribed, utterly without political impact. According to the legend, several of his intimate friends saw a copy of the score lying upon his table, with the word "Bonaparte" at the extreme top of the title page, and at the extreme bottom "Luigi van Beethoven." One of his friends described Beethoven's power of expression:

"The intelligence that Bonaparte had proclaimed himself emperor, whereupon he flew into a rage and cried out: Is he then, too, nothing more than an ordinary human being? Now he too, will indulge only his ambition. He will exalt himself above all others, become a tyrant.

Beethoven went to the table, took hold of the title page by the top, tore it in two and threw it on the floor. The first page was rewritten and only then did the symphony receive the title: Sinfonia Eroica." 88

This retitling action may have had an exculpatory effect, but it did not significantly alter the direction of Napoleon's political career.

Another example of the power of expression involves the artistic works of Pablo Picasso(1881-1973). His open hatred of war was most vividly expressed in the monumental

88. Ellit Forbes, Thayer's Life of Beethoven. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969, pp. 348-349.

painting "Guernica(1937)," which depicts melancholic bombing scenes during the Spanish Civil War.⁸⁹ The Guernica fiercely embodied Picasso's uninhibited desire for pacifism and was painted in 1937 just two years away from the World War. No reputable analyst has ever argued that Guernica delayed or mitigated the violence of the war.

The age of bourgeoisie encouraged a new academic discipline-sociology. Since much of sociological training consists of analyzing the efforts and contribution of the founding fathers such as Comte, Weber, Durkheim and Pareto, it is apparent that early sociological analytical systems and findings remain valid, at least on the level of intellectual acceptance. When one applies Comte's three-fold theory of human development to the French revolutionary period, several assumptions are developed:

- (1) That social injustice can not be continued indefinitely and the theological basis of power eventually explodes;
- (2) That social injustice results from evolutionary change, and its cure does not lie in metaphysical exercises(as Rousseau so aptly argued); and
- (3) That the reduction of social injustice came about in the French Revolution from the application of social principles derived from the study of natural law and human behavior from an innovative viewpoint.

89. World Book Encyclopedia, op. cit., Vol. 15, p. 401.

A close analysis of the social maxim of the French Revolution will show that:

- (1) That the parasitic ruling systems, such as monarchies, could be disassembled by the will of the people;
- (2) That the will of the people is a powerful force in politics and specifically in the process of pacification;
- (3) That a social change will eventually strengthen the element of mutuality for the society;
- (4) That when the people are in control of the society, it is more conducive for peace; and
- (5) That when the democratic values are firmly established, it creates an environment more suitable for the Right of Man principles. 90

The most important revolution since the French Revolution has been the Russian Revolution. It was a socialist revolution based on an entirely different strategy than all preceding revolutions. The Russians tried to put into practice the often quoted passage of Engels: "The state becomes the real representative of the whole of society." 91

(e) CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGIES

The tradition of Western sociology as an academic

90. George A. Lundberg, Clarence S. Schrag, Otto N. Larsen and William R. Catton, Jr., *Sociology*. New York: Harper & Row Publisher, 1954, p. 48. *The World Book Encyclopedia*, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 746.

91. P. Stuchka, *The Last Act of the State: It Withers Away*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1967, p. 243.

science lies in philosophical roots. Its rise can be directly traced from the introduction of humanism and the Right of Man values toward the turn of the Eighteenth Century. Therefore, it inherits the progression of social history at least since that time and questions, hypotheses, and theories about society that were part of that progression. The market theory of *laissez faire* enterprise is one of such theories. It has paralleled the rise of sociology from its very beginning. And from it, sociology has encountered and incorporated a dualism.

Specifically a separation of the instrumental means from the purposes of economic action must be regarded as one of the basic presumptions of Western market theory. Though this dualism is most clearly perceivable in the exposition of economic theory, it generally may be found in most forms of Western exposition. For example, Babbitt and More commented on the changing nature of dualism found in American humanism:

Modern American humanism is a quite indirect descendant of its progenitors. They opposed the sanctification of natural man and loathed sentimentalism. There was no belief in a religion of humanity, holding instead that a social being can function only in the presence of outer as well as inner controls. They stressed the dualism of the natural and supernatural worlds, yet viewed man's nature and all of his strivings as being ultimately grounded in religion. 90

As has been stated, this dualism, found in all Western intellectual output, between instrumentality and purpose, has facilitated the application of social research toward the resolution of social maladies. Often the application is one of resisting the manifestation of behaviors deemed detrimental to social stability; behaviors that are instrumental expressions of social values or social goals. A concrete example of this interplay between research and policy lies in one of America's responses to a deeply seated social ill-racial discrimination. Massive social research indicated the systematic deployment of racial discrimination by both public and private organizations. This type of research helped to instigate the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VII of the Act forbade discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. The legislation was aimed at altering social practice and thereby altering social attitude.

Social practice is a type of instrumentality, and the possibility of directing legislation toward the modification of social practice exists because a dualism exists, means and ends separated from one another. What happened, then, in the Act, was the treatment of instrumental social behavior in hopes of altering social attitude. In this case the application of social research and of law was used as a

symptomatic remedy. One cannot question the validity of this application, given the persistence and prevalence of Western dualism, but one can wonder about the reliability of measures and methods utilized for the creation, modification, or elimination of social goals and social attitudes.

The unexampled record of Western economic success includes the refinement and elevation of personal freedom to extremely high levels. Democratizing forces within Western society have also advanced, moving in more rationalized ways, leaving in their wake institutions more harmonic in form with democratic ideals. In spite of these developments a certain stagnation has set into the progressive spirit of Western social evolution. All the basic social factors, equality, freedom, and secularization-must be advanced simultaneously for the future development of democratization and peacification. In this context, a role of social science is to emphasize this concurrent approach by suggesting systems cognizant of the basic social factors and redressing social stagnation for the purpose of building peace and resolving social conflict.

On the other hand, Eastern sociology has its roots in the Russian Revolution. In counterdistinction to the persisting Western emphasis on freedom, revolutionary reforms have created an enduring Eastern emphasis on equality. The

Revolution was a socialist revolution and accordingly it extinguished private capital rendering all property entitlements to the state. This transformation of private goods into public goods was just one example of the general propensity exhibited by the Revolutionary regime, for the cause of public welfare took priority over the cause of private welfare. The individual and his privacy became secondary to the preservation of public social justice in terms of social thought.

Revolutionary ideology was rooted in dialectical materialism, which contrasted to philosophical materialism. Thus it was a theory of real ideas not of cognitive ideas. It reflected the material reality, but it was not confined to an explanation of physical reality. In other words, "dialectical materialism may best be described as a general theory of nature, where nature is conceived of in the broadest, all-inclusive sense, compassing the material world, the social world, and the world of ideas." ⁹¹

As a result of the revolution, the Eastern statecraft produced an administrative dogma consistent with dialectical materialistic ideology. This dogma created an entire body

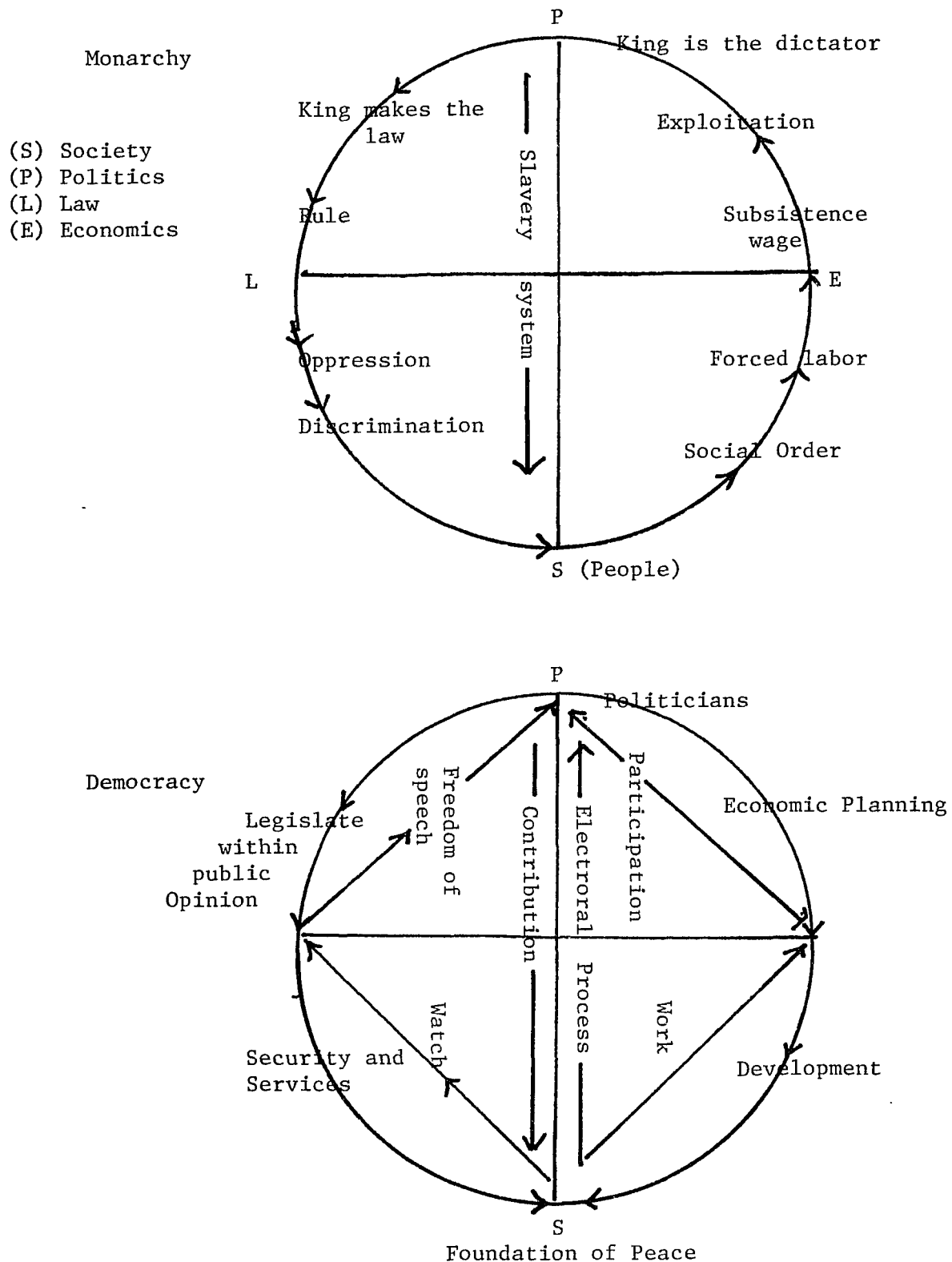
91. Michael Jaworskyj, *Dialectical Materialism*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1967, p. 9.

of public institutions committed to the enhancement of the public good. It also allowed the structure of public institutions to be formed that implanted an elitest leadership at the controlling helm of the whole structure. It was the people's mass democratic party that resided at the helm, directing political, social, and economic policies from the enclave of the supreme political party which solely possessed legitimate political authority. Social studies came to be an adjunct activity of the party's political activities. As such, social studies continued to supplement the theory and method of equality but failed to confront the absolute need for further gains in freedom.

Society may be thought of as consisting of social relations and of infrastructural sectors. The exact compositions of sectors and their combination have changed along with evolving changes in general human development. The process of such a development is graphically illustrated in the next page. The long horizontal axes divide the infrastructure sectors from the sector of social relations. The infrastructure sectors are the basic realms of potentially active assertions that remain latent, or idealistic, until called upon as argumentative input and organizational principles in human relations.

The relative development and importance of each sector

The Dynamics of Monarchy and Democratic Society



is represented graphically by the size of each sector. In other words, the two elements of infrastructure were virtually nonexistent until the bourgeoisie. However, the importance of politics decreases from the age of monarchy to the future era of the possible peace oriented society. As the human history progresses, the society becomes buoyant mainly through the principles of enlightened democracy that scorn repressive, unaccountable power and inequality.

D. THE NATURE OF PEACE SOCIOLOGY

The dynamics of monarchical system flows vertically. Thus the law, rules, and oppression are the outcomes of uninhibited and unaccountable elite decisions. On the other hand, the social order, economic production, and physical exploitation are the outcomes of labor that is nakedly exposed to results of elite decisions. Under the circumstances, the elite group would reap all the economic benefits because they define the rules of social conduct and production and hold the power not as representatives of legitimate power but as the absolute authority accountable to no social entity.

A potentially more different situation arises under the democratic system because the legislative authority flows

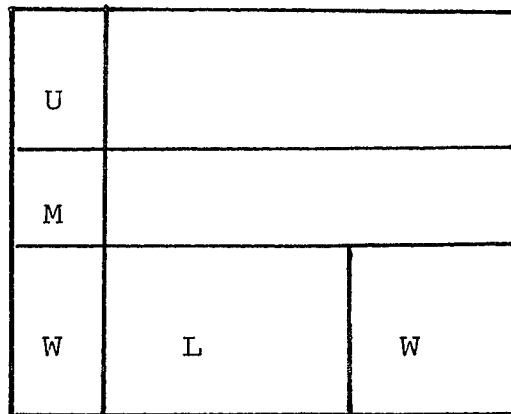
downward and its basis in legislated codes reflect not the whim of elite leadership but the application of laws formed by the representatives of society and therefore embodies legalistic, managerial, and judicial relationships between the representative leadership and the masses of the society. Accordingly, the leadership formulates economic policy but in doing so it considers the wants and desires of mass society and develops plans that adequately distribute not only the product of labor but also the surplus of labor.

Perhaps the most characteristic difference between monarchy and democracy is that the leadership may be changed through the electoral processes whereby the masses decide upon who will take the leadership positions and the questions of public and economic policy should be. Therefore, the concept of people centered peace based on equality and freedom is the crux of the peace sociology. Toward this goal the agenda of peace sociology must include and encourage the research methods devoted to the discovery of theories which would reduce the class conflicts, psychological hostilities, and social uneasiness.

In order to advance the cause of peacification process, a comparative analysis on the Eastern and Western societies would provide a rational alternative in terms of developing a blue print for peace sociology. The pivotal issue here is

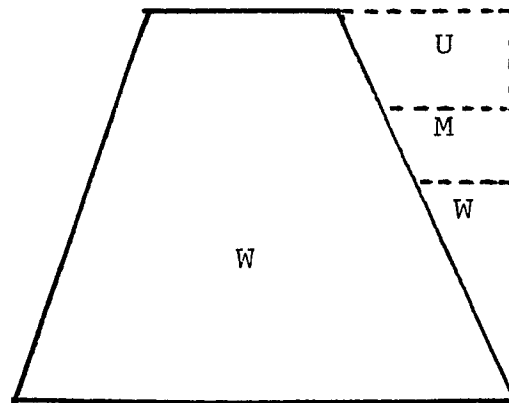
Comparative Analysis on Social Equality

Western
society

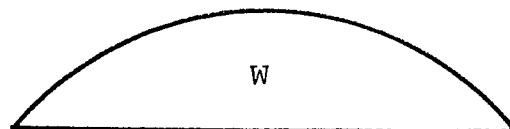
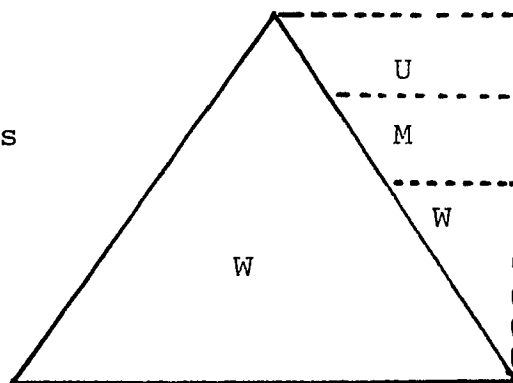


U: Upper class
M: Middle class
W: Working class
L: Unemployed or
on welfare

Eastern
Society



Ideal status



Classless Society

the equality of economic distribution which must prevail in the United Nations City. The property differentiates the people into the social classes in the West. In other words, a small number of upper class people, who are wealthy from the political or business ventures, own or control most of the society's physical assets. The middle class people, who are small business, middle level managers, and minor landlords, own or control some minor segment of the asset base. Most people are of the working class, just eking out of their economic labors a sum sufficient for covering the most rudimentary needs. The unemployed must be distinguished, yet they are part of the working class. Unable to apply their labor to productive work, they frequently fall into illegitimate enterprises, contributing to socially dysfunctional forms of human expression, such as to enterprises of theft and drug dealing. Since unemployment and social economic inequality lie at the root of many socially dysfunctional behavior, the new concept of peace sociology must emphasize the social policies that would demolish the economic inequality and unemployment.

From a comparative point of view, the access to the political power differentiates the people into the political classes in the East. The ideal of a classless society is an integral part of the the socialist policy that created

high levels of economic equality. The leadership has access to many channels of political power and effectively wields concentrated forms of power. Accordingly, the middle levels of society consist of managers and workers in the state owned enterprises who are isolated from the channels of state power, contributing to their organization in various ways. The lower levels of working people are placed at a disadvantage in the economic consuming process.

There are several historical instances of enormous political power falling into the hand of one socialist leader. For example, Stalin (1879-1953) ruled Russia for over thirty years, and Mao Tse-Tung ruled China for twenty-five years. That is only a part of the picture. Although the denigrations of Stalin and Mao do not in any conceivable manner negate their positive accomplishments, the tendency toward the concentration of political power in the hand of a single leader is a real defect of socialism.⁹² In other words, Stalin completed the establishment of socialism in Russia, and Mao unified China paving the way for its modernization. However, both leaders were imperfect users of political power, and many examples of misguided exercises of power,

92. Bernard P. Kiernan, *The United States, Communism, and the emergent World*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1972. Professor Kiernan presents a comprehensive analysis on the left-wing dictatorship in the Third World.

political wrangles, and internecine exchanges of chronicle their political careers.

For example, in February of 1956, Nikita Khrushchev, then the leader of the U.S.S.R., excoriated Stalin's reign in a secret speech before the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of Moscow. Leakage from this speech gradually tutored the Russian people in the terrible story of Stalin's crimes. With the perceived support of the public for liberalizing reforms, Khrushchev initiated a policy of "Destalinization" that strove to eradicate lingering influences on Russia by Stalin's reign: those fearful symbols of socialism invoking reverence, awe, and national loyalty--gigantic portraits and assorted monuments--were destroyed.⁹³ By the same token, Mao's Cultural Revolution was criticized by many people after his death. Denunciations in the media and in the political gathering places led to formal charges against the living remnants of Mao's regime. Tribunal judges of Mao's wife and her Gang of Four sentenced these adjuncts to Mao's political misconduct to prison terms.⁹⁴ Thus it is seen in these two examples how extended exercises of political power in socialist nations can cause social dislocation by the

93. The World Book Encyclopedia. Chicago, Ill.: Field Enterprises Educational Corp., 1975, Vol. 11, p. 241.

94. Edward E. Rice, *Mao's Way*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1972, pp. 231-232.

passing of power and the definitional relations of new power to old power. These results must be considered in reference to the Western mode of power transition which generally provides for new personages to fill elected roles every five to ten years. When the power is actually transferred in this manner, it does not allow the concentration of political power in the hands of one leader for extended time periods.

What exactly are the grounds for peace sociology? For example, peace sociology could be the key science providing the methods in order to defuse the scintillating ideological and physical border lines juxtaposing socialist bloc to capitalist bloc. In other words, perhaps the best social structure may be derived from the best components of the East and the West. The socialist component of equality could be combined with the capitalist component of freedom. There is a trend in this direction. In addition to these two components, the concepts of the right of man and the peacification process are the essential grounds for peace sociology.

Since the possibility of peace exists both in the West and the East, peace could be the social reality by implementing the right of man philosophy and promoting the affinitive social relations in the social and political processes. The basic task for peace sociology is to extend the family based

peace concept to the global or universal peace. The crucial question is how to develop peace sociology.

E. HOW TO DEVELOP PEACE SOCIOLOGY?

With regard to the developmental process of peace sociology, three types of peace development process could be elucidated. Such a process may include (1) resolution of the class conflicts, (2) homogenization of the leadership pool, and (3) the development of perpetual aspiration for peace. Perhaps an orderly observance of these processes in actual social practice will develop a more conducive social environment for coexistence regardless of the national or cultural differences. For example, Switzerland and the Scandinavian nations stand as examples of the orderly observance of peace development processes.

Peace development through the resolution of class conflict remains to be a real process until the human society obtains authentic democracy and extinguishes the social class stratification. Perhaps a classless society may not exhibit the major social conflicts caused by the social class and would be able to take a positive step toward a peaceful society. If the ruling government is organized by elected representatives and gives the highest priority to the real

needs of the people, an authentic democratic government could be developed. Such a development may forclose a class based governmental structure that hinges on the existence of class based governmental structure.

Since the development of a peaceful society is predicated on authentic democracy, the social class stratification is anathema to peace and authentic democracy. How authentic democracy could be generated out of society that has yet to experience class conflicts? If a class based society perpetuates, it is most difficult to see how authentic democracy or democratic peace could be developed under the circumstances. The only possibility to develop democratic peace within the class society depends on the historical forces of evolutionary peacification process. Perhaps the social dynamics of such a process may reject unauthentic democracy of class society. This is exactly the primary expectation on the role of the United Nations City.

Peace development through the homogenization of the leadership pool is a never ending task of democratic society. Accomplished through the equalization of educational opportunity and through the circulating system of work participation, homogenization may create an equality of social position and status among the entire social membership. Perhaps

an equivalence of inducements and contributions across all social categories of work, traditional and non-traditional categories, functions as both cause and effect of the homogenization of the leadership pool. Particularly, a major reduction in the range of annual worker income would increase inducements and contributions from that segment of workers who now feel disenfranchised--in contemporary America this would be the majority of workers, or the membership of the middle and working classes. In a classless society some differentiation of responsibility and skill would exist, so it would be expected that some slight differential in pay scale would prevail, but it would be slight.

Leadership would take into account the diverse needs of all those represented by government in its formulation of social policy and would produce a social security system that adequately meets the varied needs of the people. In this same vein, peace development through perpetual aspiration is a function that relies heavily upon the intellectual labors of leadership, especially those who committed to academic labors. At the same time, perpetual aspiration for peace is predicated on the development of authentic democracy. In a sense, perpetual aspiration for peace depends on the symbloic reality of utopian conceptions since it expresses a desire to gain perfection. Of course, it is

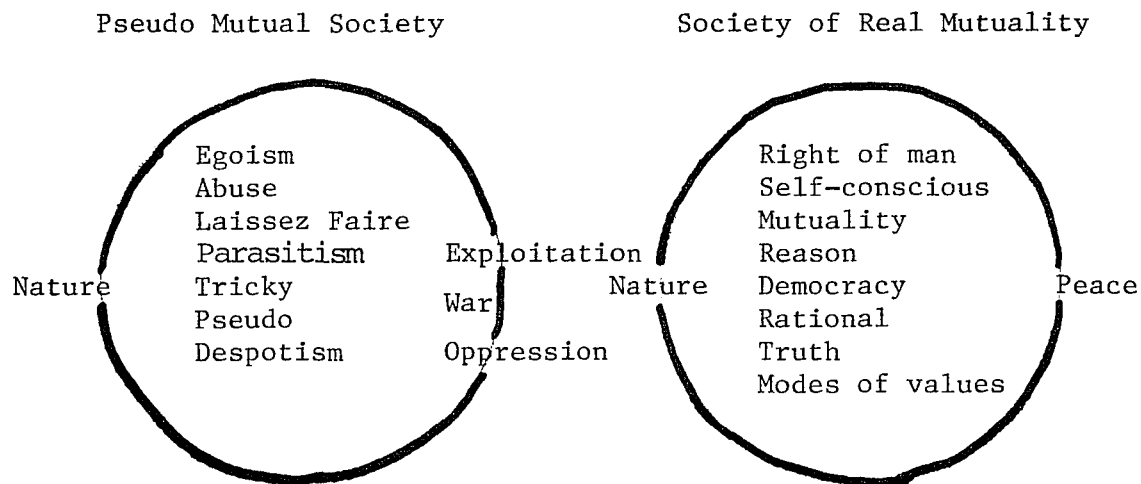
possible to recognize an intellectual division between the perfect goal and its imperfect realization. However, peace sociology does not hold that the intellectual division between means and ends is eternally valid.

On the contrary, peace sociology supposes and manifestly expresses a belief in an objective social reality. Accordingly, the perfect goal of perpetual aspiration for peace is very much an objective part of social reality and may exist in a tangible way within imperfect realization of peace. Perhaps this is the way utopian orientations enter into the real world of objective social reality. However, if the utopian aspects are perversely stressed, then objective social reality becomes overly colored with intellectual products that remain affixed to theoretical structures, bearing little relation to the real world of action.

Peace sociology may be thought of as the tracing of and contributing to the transformation of society from a system of pseudo-mutuality to a system of real mutuality. Society may be thought of as a crystal, multifaced but unitary in essence. At its core are the fundamental assumptions about society's regulation, purpose, and meaning. Every face refracts these essential assumptions in a slightly different way so that economic relations may be apparent to the observer of one of the crystal's face while political relations

may be apparent to the same crystal. As has been noted, one can designate two crystals. One depicting social systems of pseudo mutuality, the other systems of real mutuality. The following diagram dimensionally represents these two social systems: the pseudo mutual crystal of society and the society of real mutuality.

Polyfaced Crystals of Society



To the left of each crystal may be found the nature which stands for the repository of physical and human tangibles somewhat opaque in form for the want of development

or refinement through the application of human theory, desire, or evolutionary development. Each crystal is an outgrowth of nature. Nature is more comprehensive than a crystal, it must be refracted through the crystal to give it substance to the human participant in society or the observer of society. Each crystal's central column represents the values of the essence and human modes of behavior formed in compliance with the essence. All of these values may be observed synchronically and diachronically in every face of the crystal and are in one sense the means whereby society transforms nature into social products.

History is, in a most grossly simplified way, the shifting from the pseudo mutual crystal of society to the society of real mutuality. To the right of each crystal can be seen the product of society in terms of the concept of peace sociology. As has been shown earlier in the section of prehistory, it is not difficult to conclude that mutual interchange prevailed during the prehistoric period. Therefore, technically speaking, the crystal of mutuality existed prior to the crystal of pseudo mutuality. Of course, the exact social conditions of prehistoric period is the subject to a high degree of intellectual speculation.

Relying upon the available historical materials, it is not too difficult to assume that the mutual crystal was the

original human treasure and the pseudo crystal has been polished by a long stream of egoistic rulers from early history till our era. One of the primary tasks of peace sociology is to analyze those polishes and elucidate how the original treasure of human quality can be rediscovered, replanted, and nurtured into a brilliant maturity. The process of the development of peace sociology could be divided into four major categories such as (1) failed peace society of disturbance, (2) feudal peace society, (3) bourgeois peace society, and (4) socialist peace society.⁹⁵

F. EQUALITY, FREEDOM AND MASS CONSENSUS

The most pivotal issues in terms of developing peace sociology are equality, freedom and mass consensus. The United Nations Charter of 1945 may be the real beginning of modern peace because it is the first modern document to fully incorporate these three concepts into its purpose. Although the United Nations Charter incorporated these concepts into the document, the definitions are interpreted differently by hemisphere.⁹⁶ To begin with, the basic concept of equality does not merely apply to evenness of employment opportunity, but in its broad sense (that sense used by the sociology

95. See page 135.

96. See the appendix.

Comparative Evolutionary Social Structure

	Types of society			
	Failed peace society	Developing	People-centered	Societies
Comparative Factors	War & Disturbance	Feudal	Bourgeois	Socialist
Form of Government	Military/police	King and Aristocratic	Bourgeois democratic	True democracy
Conflict & Agreement	confront enemy	Class conflict	Partially agd.	Fully agreed
Economic system	Industry under Martial law	Exploitative	Commercial & profit	Welfare & masses
Dominant class	High ranking militia	Upper	Bourgeoise	Mass workers
Ruling class	Election under junta	Nomination among upper class	Elite & bourgeois election	Working class voting system
Social order	Disturbed status	Order by oppression	Intermediate	People centered

Mass Consensus is the basic ingredient of democracy in a society and the premise would apply to the international relations in order to solidify the foundation of peace. The above analysis is the range of mass consensus in view of the historical developments.

of peace) denotes social, political, and legal equalities. A high degree of equality is indicated by an equality of employment opportunity, a low level of unemployment, the diminishing importance of class stratifications, a small differential between low and upper incomes in the working place, and the lack of discrimination based on sex, ethnicity, or ideological background. All of these conditions may be reflected in the general lifestyles observable within a given society.

A high level of equality promotes social stability. Such a situation does not exist in the West due to the large differentials in income and wealth. On the other hand, the political elite group is separated from the workers in the Socialist bloc due to the large differentials in the political status.

An understanding of the relationship between freedom and will is vital for the understanding of freedom. For example, it has been said that a man is free to do what he wills, but not to do what he does not will.⁹⁷ This is a concise explanation of the Western concept of freedom which is basically individualistic. Since the will of one person does not necessarily intersect the will of another, some

97. Jonathan Edwards, *Freedom of the Will*. New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1957, p. 13.

common system of morals or values could be imposed as the linking component between individual actions of freedom.

The private direction of will may be freedom, but it is a freedom for social deviation. For example, a freedom for the mentally ill or sadists cannot rationally contribute to the maintenance or creation of a society which is seeking peace. On the other hand, there exists a social freedom based on positive notions of decision that could support the functions and maintenance of the society. Muller postulates the positive concept of freedom on a dual base. In his view, it must be ejected from a base of voluntarism, and on the other hand, from a base of social recognition that the public good and the social correctness of action must be visible in the same range of individualistic decisions.⁹⁸

Freedom is a function of an individual expression as well as of a public expression. The individual expression may be quantified along a scale that specifies one's attitude toward social status, while the public expression may be quantified along a scale ranging from privatizing to publicizing; that is, from a position of relying exclusively on private decisions for policy making, or from a position of relying on participatory democracy for policy making. To

98. Herbert J. Muller, *Freedom in the Modern World*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1966, p. 9.

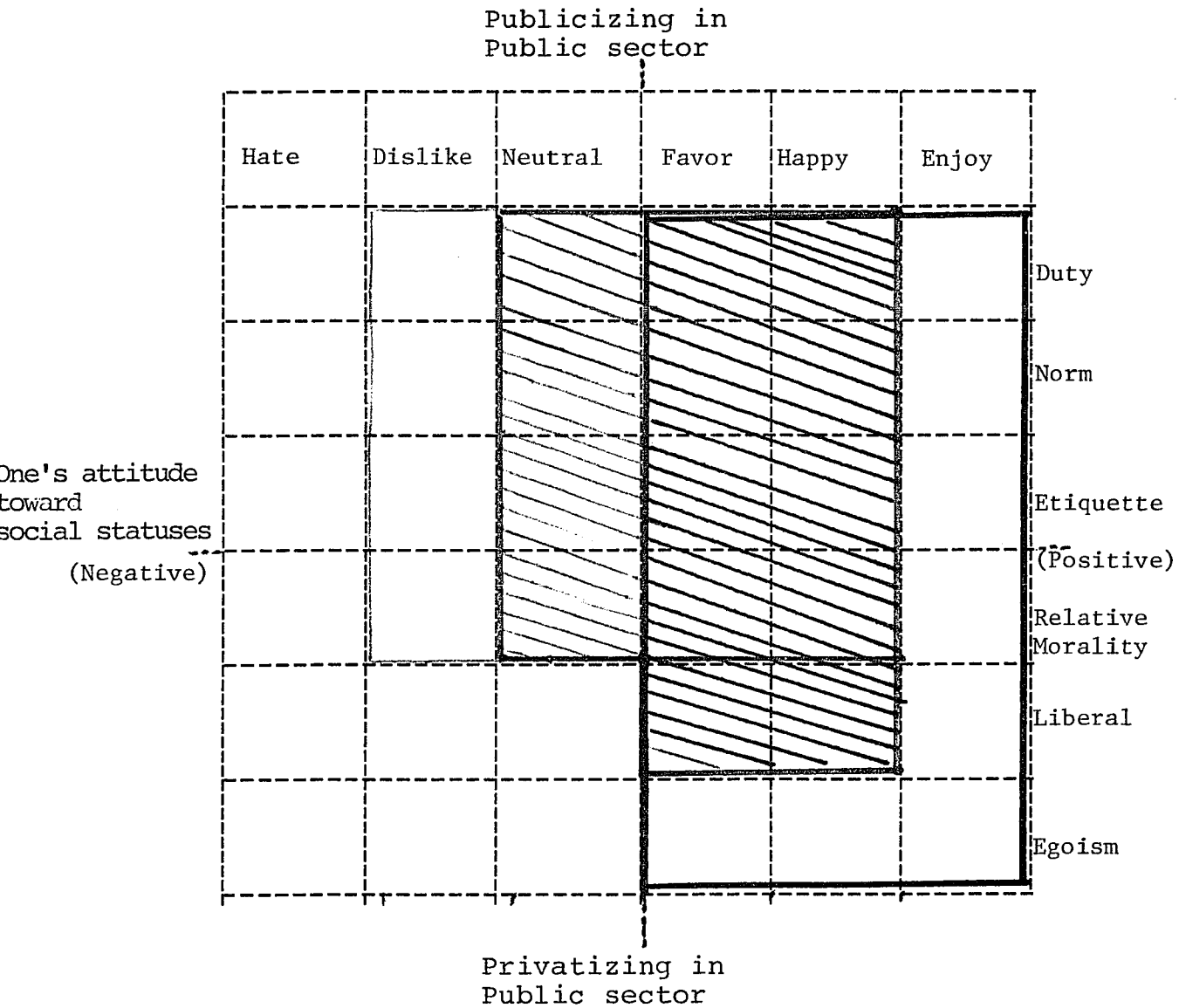
privatize the individual expression is the characteristic of the West and to publicize the individual expression is the characteristic of the East.

Consequently, Eastern workers have greater freedom in the workplace than Western workers, while freedom of speech is greater in the West than in the East.⁹⁹ As has been noted, an extreme degree of privatizing is associated with egoism, alienation, and individualism, all of which are socially dysfunctional. For example, when the public expression of freedom is overly privatized, crime and other signs of social disorientation appear, finally growing to unacceptable proportions. On the other hand, when public expression becomes overly publicized, the pressure for conformity overwhelms individuals, causing the need for social regulation by the state to enforce what frequently seems to be artificial regularity, just for the sake of regularity itself. The various expressions of individual freedom are associated with public society's expressiveness, whether it be publicizing or privatizing, and this association allows one to plot the extent of Western, Eastern, and the United Nations City society.¹⁰⁰

99. F. Ksenofontov, *Revolution, Dictatorship and Civil Freedom*. Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1967, p. 197.

100. See page 139.

The Status of Freedom



Western 

Eastern 

Proposed 

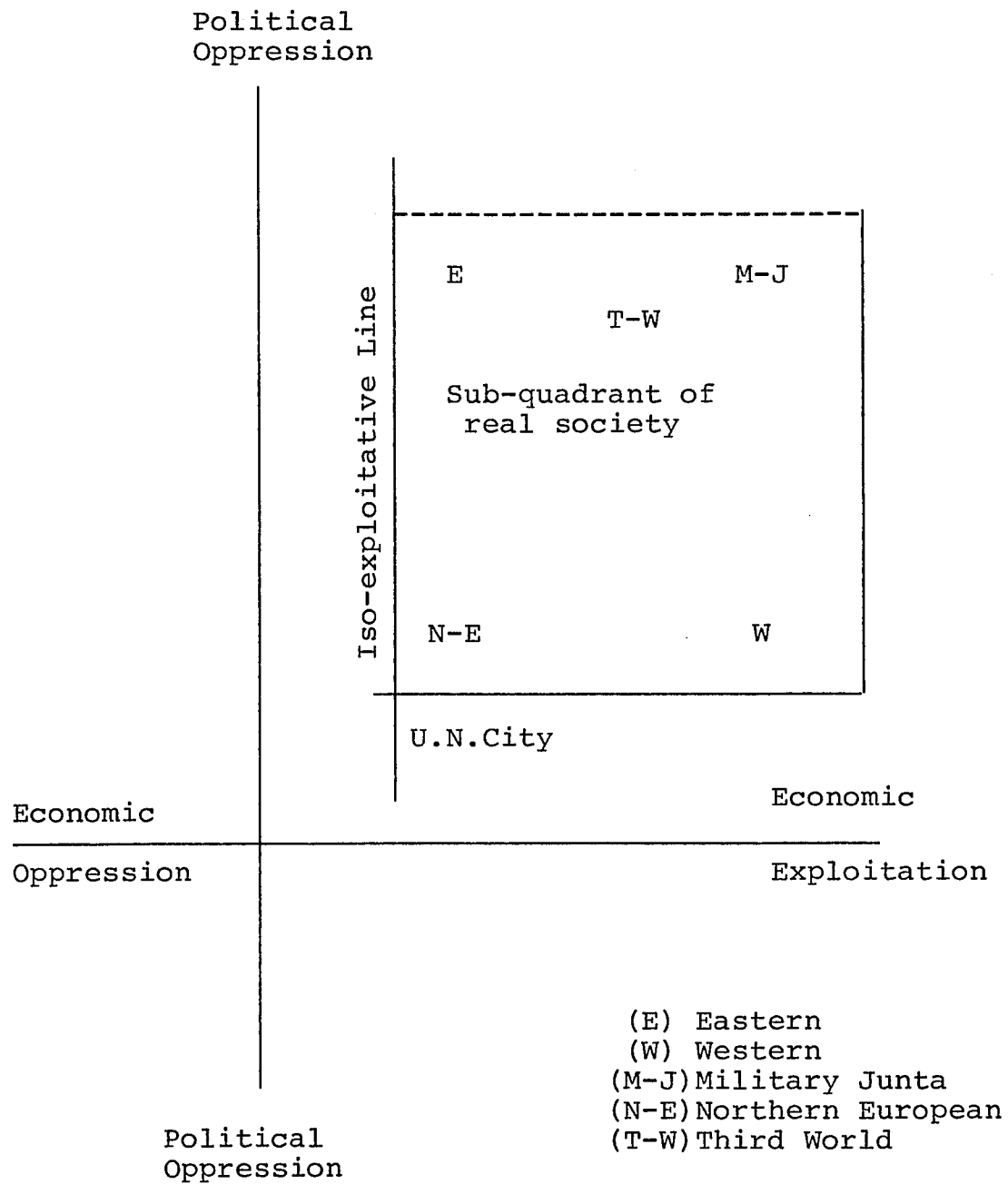
Modern states may exercise the political and economic powers. For the purpose of our analysis these two modes of realizing power may be thought to be independently applicable to real problems confronting the modern states. For example, Western nations use relatively high levels of economic exploitation in their exercise of state power but use low levels of political exploitation. On the other hand, Eastern nations directly reverse the Western pattern.¹⁰¹

Marx and Engels viewed social differentiation in the division of labor as giving rise to political inequalities and inequalities of prestige. As has been shown earlier, the social differentiation based on the division of labor has a long history, probably dates back to the latter stages of prehistory. The elite leadership that this division of labor created changed in form and substance from historical era to historical era but its exploitative nature remained constant, extracting surplus from labor, and using that surplus to better itself, the elite.

The ruling exploiters never intended on revoking their supreme mandates, but through the vigilant application of democratic theory the labor has been able to wield some portion of political and economic power, improving its position and simultaneously improving the prospect for the final

101. See page 141 diagram and explanation.

Comparative Status of Modern Societies



stage of peacification--universal peace or true democratic peace. The peaceful transition of political power that occurs in democratic electoral system, while reserving abundant power in the camp of capitalists and state socialists, does allow a gradual devolution of power into the camp of labor who can use that power in leveraging actions targeted to the acquisition of additional political power.

According to our projection, there will be only three groups of people in the United Nations City. For example, one working group will address the problems of policy making and policy management. The second group will deal with the problems of general management and management of labor, and the last group will deal with the larger questions of cultural, political, and evolutionary direction. By all means, such a grouping of the people does not imply a structured class system.

After all, the City may be able to offer an environment in which "a peaceful career, devoted to self-perfection through the harmonious and unceasing activity of all the elements of political and social organization, is the true ideal, and that which involves complete happiness for both state and people." 102

102. William A. Dunning, *A History of Political Theories*. New York: The MacMillan Co., 1935, p. 81.

G. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF THE UN CITY

Once the United Nations City is established and populated by residents from every nation on earth, it is proposed that the first generation of children born in the City be registered by the governing body to ensure their future devotion to the cause of world peace. This group will be the first generation of children born into a peaceful environment and educated in schools which will include the emphasis on peace development in their curricula, and they will be in a unique position to contribute to the implementation of peace throughout the world.

Peace development or building is one of the most complex issues. Therefore, a large number of social, legal, political, economic and design issues require an extensive commitment from the theoreticians as well as the practitioners in many fields. The primary task is to integrate these issues into a coherent peace development policy. In order to accomplish such a task, the education and training programs should be designed to insure the uninterrupted contributions of maturing youth to the objectives of peace-making.¹⁰³ For example, at age 18, these native-born City children

103. Peter M. Wolf, *The Future of the City*. New York: Watson-Guptil Publications, 1974, p. 10.

will begin their employment career as a part of the City's peace development staff.

It is also envisioned that when these children become old enough to serve in the United Nations armed forces, men and women are encouraged to enlist in the armed services. The primary task of the armed forces is to serve as the mediators between the antagonists, or as the catalysts to encourage arms reduction in the East and the West. The armed forces will also serve as an observer or supervisor of negotiations between the combatants. The City will also offer non-military peace development assignments to its children.

The City will designate a department for "Peace Development." The department will only maintain the three categories of job classification such as (1) command executive, (2) middle management, and (3) service workers. Any visible symbols, class rank, or badges will be utilized in order to avoid any implication of militarism or elite system. By the same token, the salary scale will not produce any salary higher than twice or three times that of the lowest range.

Those persons who have reached adulthood in the City and who are employed in the non-military peace development activities are the natural choice to form a cadre of

volunteer workers on behalf of world peace. If some of them wish to return to their native countries, they could make a valuable contribution to the cause of peace since they are educated in the nuance of peace development. As the citizens of the City, they will carry with them an aura of universality and neutrality and are, therefore, the ideal group of persons to carry forth the message of peace. For this reason, they could be accepted everywhere as neutral and non-allied messengers of peace.

It is not unreasonable to believe that the City will be staffed at most levels of employment by those born within the confines of the City, thereby centering control of the United Nations in the hands of those qualified and knowledgeable with regard to peace. Perhaps such a state could be achieved within fifty years after the establishment of the City. By the same token, the United Nations armed forces will be comprised largely of the City residents, strengthening the peace-keeping functions of that force.

With the control of the United Nations in the hands of those best qualified to work on behalf of the peace, it is reasonable to believe that the United Nations Charter will be strengthened and broadened, and that the role of the General Assembly will be enlarged. By these measures, the hope for world peace is much enhanced. The prospect is

sufficiently exciting to believe that some of these constructive measures could be realized within the fifty years.¹⁰⁴

104. Role development of the United Nations City resident is envisioned as follows:

- (1) Life external to the United Nations City or born to the parents who are residents of the City;
- (2) Registration as an official resident of the City on a voluntary basis;
- (3) Peace Education
- (4) Acceptance of official City duties as an officer or staff member; and
- (5) Acceptance of world-wide staff position.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF PEACE

The historical analysis of peace in this chapter represents some of the most important theoretical assumptions. Since the study of war and peace is one of the most carefully studied human activities, literally tens of thousands of books and tracts have been written about it. Thus the findings by conflict researchers in various disciplines are exchanged at dozens of national and international conferences annually. Peace research has by now generated many scientific findings and spawned several distinct schools of thought.¹⁰⁵

In each major historical period the empirically independent process of politics and economics meshed differently and created various products one of which was the conception of peace. Under the early despotic social orders, the arbitrary rules were formulated by rulers in a process quite independent of the people. In the modern era, on the other hand, the industrial-social administration used the social contract, which reputedly brought together parties

105. Michael A. Washburn and Paul Wehr, *Peace and World Order Systems: Teaching and Research*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1976.

each endowed with comparable levels of voluntarism, to create peace. Progress is seen in this modal change, and the proposal can be made that the gradual development of political-social development and of economic-social development--whether it was revolutionary or evolutionary--stimulated the gradual progression of peace concepts and their implementation throughout human history.

In essence, these gradual historical developments are analytically divisible by historical period and by the two values of the variable power that we have hewn out of our preliminary research--political and economic powers. In the following sections we attempt to outline our findings on peace in terms of the social political and social economic aspects.

A. THE POLITICAL SOCIOLOGICAL POINT OF VIEW ON PEACE

The gradual development of peace concept has paralleled political-epochal changes over time. This section will briefly focus upon the relationship between political processes and peace concept in the six types of peace perceivable from the political sociological point of view.

(1) Prehistoric Peace

In a sense, the symbiosis of prehistoric time facili-

tated the only comprehensive peace ever known to this world. All forms of life were closely and absolutely interdependent in multitudinous ways.

(2) Classic Peace

As the cave dwellers developed skills in the art of living, it became apparent to them that life could be more than the crude realities of simple survival so people migrated away from the caves into "urbanizing" areas. Tyrants sprang up who declared their personal forms of theft as legally authorized forms. However, it did not follow that legitimation bestowed morality upon the thefts. Immorality was not conducive to true and just peace, and the people in their wariness revolted against the tyrants. With the dominance of arms, tyrants were able to continue their oppression of the people and classic peace was maintained.

(3) Medieval Peace

Nevertheless, even the worst tyrant required the allegiance of his immediate associates, and it was this need that eventually led to the beginning of an oligarchical peace. For example, the Magna Carta of King Jhon, signed in 1215, ushered in the age of medieval peace.

(4) Republic Peace

Republic peace, as defined here, relates to the growing importance of the people's will in the shaping of

governmental activities. The participation of the masses in government automatically meant that no single ruler could hold absolute power. This type of peace was derived from humanistic philosophy which stressed the importance of freely asserted public opinion along with the enhancement of people's participation in governmental affairs.

(5) Democratic Peace

Democratic peace, as defined here, relates to the position of the working class, as classically described by Marx and Engels. In a society which allows the mass of people to hold power, it is certain that the government is truly organized and administered by the people for the benefit of the people. Mass peace took its rise during the Russian Revolution of 1918 which consummated the people's thrust for implementation of democracy.

(6) Universal Peace

Equality, freedom, and propinquity will characterize the most highly developed state of possible peace in human society. A special environment, not now extant, is needed for the nourishment of the possible peace. Therefore, we would apply the results of studying peace concept as input to a modeling routine whose product will be specifications for a model city-The United Nations City. If the preceding analysis is correct, the most pivotal issue here is to

develop an alternative to the existing framework of the United Nations because the concept of peace has undergone a considerable change since the modern era possesses the immature sproutings of universal peace. What we need now is the proper environment for its flourishing.

Since the absolute peace is too idealistic in the realm of dream in the land of paradise, it is unrealizable by humans under the existing circumstances. Although it is pure and idealistic, it is not directly linked to real life in human society. We conceptualize this type of peace as concession to human ability of boundless perception, which at times appears to be faultless, and to the spiritual dimensions of human thought that have sustained images of heavenly cities. In this context, it is necessary to analyze the concept of pseudo peace by investigating the social dimensions of some real conditions in the world. For example, a state of pseudo peace exists in the North-Eastern part of Thailand as well as in El Salvador since these areas are ruled by martial law. A study of such a state of pseudo peace will clarify the typology of peace.

B. THE ECONOMIC SOCIOLOGICAL POINT OF VIEW ON PEACE

Just as the gradual development of peace concept has

paralleled political-epochal changes over time as has it paralleled economic changes over time. At this juncture, we will attempt to describe the six types of peace perceivable from the economic sociological point of view on peace.

(1) Provincial (Symbiotic) Peace

Primitive people resided in caves and depended upon techniques of hunting and gathering to fulfill their gastronomic needs. Their lives were subservient to and regulated by nature. For example, clothing was constructed from leaves and raw animal skins in the most rudimentary fashions. Primitive democracy regulated their social relations because nature imposed a brutal equality upon societal members caused by dearth of resources. Perhaps we can define this era as of provincial peace.

(2) Imperial Peace

As people discovered the principles of dividing work tasks into specialized functions, divisions grew not only between work functions but also between general social groupings. A vertical social structure was developed, whereby a King at the summit ruled everyone below in an absolute manner. This despotic exploitation created an oppressed people whose lives were subject to the ruler's unilaterally installed ordinances. Therefore, it is appropriate to

define this era as of imperial peace.

(3) Feudal Peace

The domestication of food production, the refinement of mechanical operations, particularly in tool making and textile production, and the more highly segmented vertical division of labor all contributed to a social environment orchestrated by Lords in concert with their vassals--it was the era of feudal peace.

(4) Capitalistic Peace

The industrial revolution brought about the prosperity of a new class--the middle class--who lived largely in cities. The merchants became wealthy from trading while the factory owners became wealthy from exploiting workers. This was the era of capitalistic peace.

(5) Monopolistic Peace

The capitalistic system, under control by monopolizing tycoons, perpetuated cycles of expansion and contraction which caused depressions and inflations. Closely associated with these "economic" phenomena were political cycles of internationalism and statism which caused trade wars and military wars. However, capitalism was not an immutable monolith. Since an important transformation was developed in the capitalistic system during the 1930's, the concept of the right of man philosophy was strongly reasserted.

Thus the era of monopolistic peace existed prior to the 1930's.

(6) Socialistic Peace

The working class seized the political power and abolished the social class system in Russia. As a result of these changes, a system of full employment was realized and the social order became more cohesive. In fact, a visionary form of social justice permeated methods of social regulation. In the Eastern bloc, where these changes happened, social theoreticians have called their democracy, "the tru democracy." It is frequently argued that their peace as the era of "true democratic peace." Many of these changes have retrogressed in the years following the Russian Revolution. Even beyond this fact, objective social scientists should be vigilant in their search for the social realities.

C. METHODOLOGY FOR PEACE ANALYSIS

With regard to the methodology for peace analysis, we postulate the four major categories such as (1) historical, (2) international, (3) comparative analysis of peace theories, and (4) probing the concept of peace.

(1) Historical Analysis

Historically the political power has gradually pyramided downward from peak(a monarch) to a base(the masses in a democratic society). The first significant step was taken by the Magna Carta(1215) and the second step was the French Revolution(1789). The third step was seen in Russia and China, where the lower classes wrested power from its locus during the peoples' revolutions around the times of World War I and World War II. The advent of the third step has brought about the eclipse of centrally located class struggles since the political power point gravitated downward from the political elite to the masses. Indeed, such changes cannot be held back because the historical flood sweeping across centuries with its increasing form of rights for all people, greater equality and freedom continues to inundate social theories and social practices. For example, the rise of secularism has meant that religion has lost its control over education, welfare and legal practices.

Regardless of what theory is selected to analyze the history of any particular country, the genesis has been the same everywhere in the world. In other word, peace has come to the people after they have rested it from despots in a struggle to free themselves from oppression. In the contemporary world, such peace as existed internationally might be called a "trustee peace," as differentiated from peace that

comes from one power conquering another.

In analyzing both the ancient and modern phenomena of peace mechanisms, it is appropriate to define the vertical forms of peace in terms of a given age of historical period, and the horizontal forms of peace as an international perspective. In essence, a grasp of this physical structure is an important base for the gradual developmental process of peace, particularly if the processes of the horizontal and vertical peace development systems are combined. In other words, such a merging of approaches can provide a stable core out of which a reasonable and sound social structure could be built that would offer a measure of assurance to a system of global peace. In addition, any analysis of modern concept of peace keeping methods and systems must take into account the prevailing level and quality of equality, freedom and affinitive relationships in the subject society or nation.

An analysis of peace could be developed into a mathematical formula. For example, the major premise is that peace must satisfy the needs and wishes of those who look to their government as their representative in dealing with the administration of life and its support systems. By the same token, a similar approach could be extended to the community of nations. The minor premise is based upon equality, freedom

and affinitive human relationships. If these two elements are combined, peace becomes an agreement between the people and their government, and between one nation and all other nations. If this analysis is correct, one can look upon the prehistoric age as embodying a full, or symbiotic peace. All members of the group agreed harmoniously on an approach to, or systems for, group life which took into account the meeting of basic human needs, principal amount which was survival within a limited environment. However, there is no real evidence to support this theory. Nevertheless, we simply assume that the necessity of group living was conducive to the development of peaceful symbiotic environment in the prehistoric age.

An ample body of evidence does not exist to establish that true peace did not, and could not, exist under the rule of Kings and other monarchs. The nature of such systems of government virtually guarantees oppression, exploitation, and suppression of any and all threats to absolute power. Under the circumstances, neither the major nor minor premise defined above could be permitted. Unfortunately, the absence of war was perceived as a kind of peace. In fact, it was a partial or latent peace.

It was not unusual for a King to tolerate some degree of freedom of speech under his enlightened rule. By the same

token, it is unusual for the monarchs who permitted free and open debate or criticism since the tolerance was false, designed to deceive or to placate the people. It was a pretense that attempted to draw a veil over the eyes of the people, and such peace was maintained within a framework of deception and trickery. Therefore, we may call it, "veiled peace."

An analysis of monarchs can be sifted through the filter of the major and minor premises outlined above. Accordingly, the people became more enlightened as to the possibilities of their own participation in government. Thus the qualitative and quantitative relationship between the ruler and ruled has changed in the direction of greater political power in the hands of the masses. Even in the dark ages of the absolute power, no monarch could impose the total absence of freedom or equality upon the people for so long. An oligarchy grew out of the monarchy and its support for the King assured an opportunity to share his power. In essence, this was the beginning of the participation of the people in government.

Since the "veiled peace" and the "latent peace" have persisted from the age of monarchs to modern times, it is worth analyzing the forms and the substances of such peace concepts. For example, such peace concepts are found in the efforts of

military juntas, despots, and others who have attempted to counter the revolutions and uprisings on the part of the masses. At the same time, it is necessary to recognize the contradicting situations in which the progress has been countered by oppression and the democratic forms of governments were defeated by a group of ruthless people.

A dramatic example of such a contradiction is seen with the aftermath of World War II. During the war, there were several moves in the direction of the reassertion of absolute power. However, the formation of the United Nations marked a triumph in terms of promoting a universal concept on human rights, equality, freedom and affinitive relations. An even more dramatic contradiction can be seen if one looks at the form of peace that existed in the jungle of imperialism. In other words, it was the "peace of jungle." No one could predict which imperial nation would invade, occupy, annex and intervene in internal affairs of other nations. Under the peace of jungle, the aggressive nations acted as lions preying upon the weak nations in the world.

As the monarchy became the subject to question by the upper class or aristocracy, it was required to share the power under a written agreement. This social phenomenon of a written agreement containing the promises by the absolute ruler to the people resulted in what may be termed a "legal

peace." Nevertheless, such a form of peace did not materially effect the quality of life for most of the monarch's subjects though the center of gravity for peace had been lowered one step from the peak to the aristocracy. Further written promises were required to mitigate excessive discontent if the uprising was to be avoided.

Since democratically elected administrators represent the secular aspect of the social life, the concept of peace maintained in a society with this form of government may be termed "secular peace" or "middle class peace." Taking this movement a step further brings us to the Russian Revolution which affected the lives of the great mass of people. Perhaps we may define a new peace concept as a "mass peace." In other words, the concept of "mass peace" is a manifestation of mass democracy the maturity of the mass which promotes the positive freedom and greater development of social interactions. According to Marx, the mutuality is characterized as the most developed form of reciprocity among the free individuals.¹⁰⁶

The shifting trust of power is perhaps most visible in the revolutions that have taken place in many places in the world since World War II, although they have for the most

106. Carol C. Gauld, *Marx's Social Ontology*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1978, pp. 175-177.

part resulted in only limited forms of freedom for the people. Therefore, unless the ultimate step on the road to global and perfect peace is taken, true democracy is a distant dream. The center of gravity for peace must continue its downward spiral until it touches the life of every person in every society or nation. Perhaps such an absolute or perfect peace relies on the social development of equality and freedom within the governmental framework. The experience of coexistence in the United Nations City may accelerate the process of achieving that goal.

According to Isley, "democracy is the natural condition of human relationship." There is some truth in his remark. In other words, his concept of democracy in a higher culture is a challenge to its citizens' political skills, in the initiative of the individuals, in construction of a system of law, in the development of a representative form of government, and in the organization of these political institutions over a united and secure geographical area.¹⁰⁷ John F. Kennedy, in his speech at the American University, declared that "peace is a process of solving problems."¹⁰⁸ Edwin Ginn's formula for world peace is defined in terms of "the world government."¹⁰⁹ Perhaps these philosophical

107. Everett L. Millard, *Freedom in a Federal World*. New York; Ocean Publications, Inc., 1961, p.22.

108. Arthur N. Holcombe, *A Strategy of Peace in a Changing World*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967, p.177

109. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

democratic international peace is possible to obtain through the development of a world government. In other words, an international peace is possible through the process of democratic human wisdom and love. Although there are many problems and various conflicts in the contemporary world, the experience of co-living in the United Nations City may accelerate the natural condition of human relationship and the process of international conflict resolution.

D. INTERNATIONAL (HORIZONTAL) ANALYSIS

Since the differences exist in the style and the form of personal relationships, the styles of diplomacy and international relations also differ substantially. For example, an imperialistic nation oppresses and exploits the colonized people. Therefore, there can be no true peace between them since a colonized nation is not in a position to sign a treaty on the equal footing. The end of the World War II signaled the process of decolonization. If we put the spirit of the United Nations Charter into practice, we could accommodate a peaceful transitional process in terms of gaining independence, equality and freedom for the colonies.

Although there has not been a major war since the

establishment of the United Nations, the major powers intervened in internal affairs of the small nations such as Vietnam, Afghanistan, Grenada and El Salvador. In other words, there has been "conquered peace" which was imposed by the major power intervention. The "conquered peace" is at best bitter by nature and at worst it is a limited war. It has little to do with equality, freedom and sound international relations.

With regard to the horizontal analysis of peace, there are several categories such as:

- (1) "Conquered peace."
- (2) "Peace by ambush," which would deal with the securing of national borders or embassy take-over.
- (3) "Peace by truce," which signifies the situation in which a cease-fire is in effect during the times of political revolution.
- (4) "Peace by detente," which reflects an agreement between two or more blocs previously at war.
- (5) "Peace by threat," which relates to the promise of a worst confrontation if the truce is not maintained.
- (6) "Peace by treaty," is a manifestation of willingness to maintain a state of non-war because it is mutually beneficial.
- (7) "Peace through diplomacy" would deal with relations between and existing power blocks and the Third World.
- (8) "Peace through military alliance" is an effort to ensure the absence of internal war among the member nations.
- (9) "Amicable peace" is marked by amicable and affinitive relations among the nations.

- (10) "Peace by trusteeship" relates to a network of mutual assistance pacts between the prevailing power blocs and the nations of the Third World.
- (11) "Absolute peace" is at the tope of the ladder of peace progression. Perhaps the absolute peace could be guaranteed under the single form of government on an international scale.

There are, of course numerous over-lappings among these steps. For example, Peace by threat and Peace by detente can readily merge to become "peace by confrontation." Another example is that peace by ambush and conquered peace could be viewed as a unit-in-one and called "hostile peace." By the same token, amicable peace and peace by trusteeship have many similar mechanisms and could ally themselves closely to the ideal peace of the future: "absolute peace." Cold war, which has prevailed in the world for many years, has much in common with "peace by threat" and includes the guerilla warfare or limited war and even at times actual take-overs of small and weak nations by the major power.

The horizontal analysis of peace is based on the present international peace status and the existing political blocs that differentiate the East, West and the Third World. The most critical aspect of the international peace is that a state of formal peace is consisted of temporary detente and threat by the powerful blocs. Within the framework of cold war system, a sort of hostile peace is maintained

between two or more nations. The bloc peace is organized by military alliance and amicable peace is maintained within a bloc itself. There is a strong possibility that the military peace could be transformed into non-allied peace. Is it possible to transform a violent elite group's ethnocentric preoccupation into the universal interests of the people? Since the military alliance is one of the worst arrangements between peoples in the evolutionary process toward international peace, the United Nations forces could protect all non-allied nations from the seething problems of the international conflicts.

E. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PEACE THEORIES

Many philosophers, social scientists, and other scholars have argued about and analyzed peace, but they never transcended the traditional concepts of peace. Therefore, we will attempt to analyze several peace theories.

First, Emile Durkheim showed in the modern West that suicide is accompanied by a form of social and personal disorganization. According to his view, the Western suicide usually results from misery, desperation, and destruction of self-respect.¹¹⁰ He reasoned that a given religious

110. Arnold W. Green, *Sociology*, op. cit., p. 444.

affiliation was associated with now a high, latter a low suicide rate, then at times religion combines with other factors to form an index of an underlying cause of high rates of suicide in the West. He described this cause as anomia: normlessness, uprootedness, individualism, isolation, a severing from the family, religious and community bodies.¹¹¹ Although he never analyzed peace itself, his suicide theory can be applied to the theory of social peace. In other words, the suicide rate may be indexed by the degree of peace found in the family and in the society during the times of high suicide. Perhaps one could expect a disintegration of conditions favorable for peace. Probably the rate of suicide is related to the depth of the economic cycle's nadir.¹¹² During the depression men's usual aspirations and expectations are largely realized which contributes to settled social habits and relationships. However, in the waves of the financial cycle, anomia or uprootedness may result.

Our analysis will lead us to conclude that peace is inversely related to social uneasiness, specifically to uneasiness as indexed by suicide. By the same token, the

111. Ibid., p. 443.

112. Ibid.

other indexes are the levels of murder, unemployment, underemployment, economic prosperity, robbery, and litigation. Rationalism is an outlook that emphasizes human reason and its ability to answer the basic questions. Weber sees that rational process equates with the right understanding. He said that understanding, when applied to social life, produces two understanding (deutend verstehen) of the meaning of a piece of behavior and the casual explanation of what brought the behavior in question about and what is the consequence.¹¹³

Max Weber's rational approach for the study of society has considerable application to the traditions of society and to conservative groups within such a society since he related the maintenance of traditions to the existence of a charismatic source of rational authority. However, this is a view or system which contravenes the true meaning of equality, freedom and sound relationships between people and their government, and between nation and nation. The very presence of charismatic authority and whether rational or not necessitates a substantial degree of "unequal," or unbalanced weight as between the ruler and the ruled. Therefore, it precludes the possibility of representative

113. Bryan R. Wilson (ed), *Rationality*. New York: Harper & Row Publisher, 1970, pp. 6-7.

government. In other words, it relies heavily on the personal appeal and strength of one person or possibly a small group of persons, who impose their will upon the masses.

In view of Weber, the fact that the will may be benign is irrelevant. It is the system that is analyzed and it fails particularly when it comes to international relations since it is wholly impossible for any form of democracy to exist internationally when one charismatic authority source, in one country, exercises individual will over that of the people of many nations.¹¹⁴ In natural science, the idea of one thing depending on another is important. It means that a value of one variable is related to a value of another. Functions can apply to two fields of scientific research. For example, applications of physics in engineering and medical applications of the biological sciences, and in the field of "extension," which is concerned with more general intellectual culture.¹¹⁵

The study of functional systems by Talcott Parson does not deliver a suitable methodology for the analysis of peace to the student of structure because peace is concerned with the psychological human interactions, which complicates the selection of methods needed to study peace. Therefore, the

114. Max Weber, *The Basis of Legitimacy*. New York: Basic Book, Inc., 1971, pp. 43-44.

115. Talcott Parsons, *On the Concept of Political Power*. New York: Basic Book, Inc. 1971, pp. 43-51.

student of peace must broaden the methodology beyond these mathematical variables used by Parsons that index only the sociological variables. Parsonian peace, then, is the result of a consensus between the people and their government and between sovereign nations in the community of nations.

The solidified system theory cannot explain the role of human relations and their critical importance in the building of the world peace, or even absent peace the growing international awareness of desirability of advancing politically toward more democratic forms of government. Furthermore, peace in its absolute sense must be separated from peace-keeping through systems of law enforcement. In other words, the law enforcement certainly has a role, but is removed from peace which exists as the result of consent, agreement and affinitive relations among nations as well as people.¹¹⁶

According to Marx, the solution to the contradictions found in the relations of production and in the mode of production and the correct path for the proletariat's thrust for scientific socialism coincided in a mass movement whereby the people seized the political power and effectively relieving the society of the major impediment to the establishment of peace: class conflict between working and elite classes.

116. Ibid.

In conjunction with Marxist theory of revolution, we hope that the peace process could be developed through evolutionary rather than revolutionary means because revolutionary change brings about human sacrifices and moral turpitudes, causing unreasonable reactions in many social quarters, particularly among the more conservative.

Since Marx did not foresee the rise of international organizations such as the United Nations and the frightful innovation of totally destructive armaments, he asserted that the only means for social change was revolutionary means. We are hopeful that the great majority of present nations do not want the wars and would resort to the transnational debates and discussions in terms of settling the social conflicts and contradictions.

To what extent is the Marxist theory relevant to the horizontal peace? Since Marx emphasized the need for revolution by the masses in order to effect the peace, his theory has some application in terms of developing the concept of absolute peace. Marx could not have envisioned a United Nations City or have accepted the possibility of coexistence as a viable form of government.

Pareto, in his book: *Mind and Society*, stresses the unreasoning elements in social life and emphasizes the role

of leading groups in society. His view is an elitist conception of social change and contrary to modern democratic theory. Since all individual behavior reflects the elements directly linked to groups and other social combinations in the social system, these combinations are to be considered among the elements determining the social equilibrium. However, Pareto ignores these elements in his equilibrium. His theory could be useful as a view point in the development of a peaceful society, but the true peace is rooted more deeply in social equality than in a state of social equilibrium that balances otherwise unstable social nodes.¹¹⁷

Durkheim is a partial peace theorist, contributing indirectly to the theory of peace through his suicide studies. Weber was also concerned with peace in his analysis of social rationalization. Although Parson's argument outlining functional mechanisms is not suitable for elaborating a peace sociology, Pareto's external orientation could not adequately explain the nature of peace itself.

What is the definition of true peace? This is really the crux of the problem. The concept of peace can be viewed both positively and negatively or from a vantage point that

117. Vilfredo Pareto, *The Mind and Society*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1935, p. 1444.

can be considered inclusive or exclusive. From the positive point of view, peace signifies a condition which includes good management, orderly resolution of conflict, and harmony associated with mature relationships, gentleness, and love. From the native, or exclusionary, point of view, peace may be conceived of as a condition in which something is absent such as turmoil, tension, conflict, and war. Since it explains a good deal of the underlying bases of peace, it is useful in understanding the mechanisms required for the resolution of conflict. However, it does not allow for the progressive steps toward peace which are absolutely essential to the ideal of absolute peace.

According to Sommerville's definition of peace, paxology may be divided into two basic groups: the prevention of war, and the strengthening of peace. The Peace Revolution, which broadly defines peace as the absence of any conflict, and then the presence of harmonious relations among the component parts that make up any given situation.¹¹⁸ However, this analysis is too broad and sweeping to present a cogent explanation of progressive peace such as defined previously in this chapter.

For the most part, the academicians responsible for

118. John Sommerville, *The Peace Revolution*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1975, pp. 145-146.

peace analysis have assumed that peace to be a state of international relations from which the war is absent. The superficial appearance of serenity and calmness among the people could be interpreted as a state of peace. There is a certain rashness to these assumptions as the basis for an academic analysis of peace. What is missing is any insight into the attitudes of the people and their society or explanation of the quality of the prevailing calmness. Oppression and exploitation may create a situation in which the society appears to be calm, but is not because there is no equality, freedom or satisfactory agreement or consensus between the people and their government and those who govern.

In our judgment, the concept of true peace to be defined as considerably more than the absence of war. It is deeply rooted in positive factors rather than loosely allied to negative ones. It mandates a careful analysis of peace as a progression of governmental systems ranging from oppression to absolute freedom.

F. PROBING THE CONCEPT OF PEACE

In the past, the academicians have for the most part limited the studies of the concept of peace to very broad areas relating largely to the absence of war. As a result

of such a predetermination that the absence of war equals a state of peace, there has been little scholarly analysis of the factors which could transform the concept of true peace into reality.

Whether one looks at the past or at relatively modern times, the concept of peace could be shaped differently by taking these factors into consideration. For example, the signing of the Magna Carta signified a major step on the road to enlightened peace development. When King John was compelled to grant the rights and privileges to a limited aristocracy, a positive measure of control was exercised on oppression and exploitation. The historical significance of the transition was that the ordinary ties which bound a feudal society led the King to buy and his vassal to sell loyalty as if it were a commodity to be extracted and surrendered by extortion or to be marketed in return from privilege and office.¹¹⁹ This process meant that the absolute King's power was shared with aristocrats through the negotiations in marketplace exchanges. In other words, it was the first step in the historical peacification process.

In modern times, the surrender of Japan to the United States on September 2, 1945, signalled the end of World

119. J. C. Holt, *Magna Carta*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1965, p. 149.

War II, certainly had the appearance of peace since the standard of absence of war was applied. However, this is not a form of real peace since it came about only through the forcible means by one superior military power over another. Peace in those terms was discriminatory and restrictive as reflected in the peace treaty signed six years later on September 8, 1951. The pivotal events along the road which ended with the Treaty of 1951 started with Washington's attempt in 1947 to end its occupation of Japan by introducing a peace treaty, but it was not an easy step to take. The divided world pitted the Soviet Union against the United States so that the Soviet Union protested, disrupted and blocked the peace conference. Nevertheless, the United States attempted to settle the Far Eastern crises by peace treaty with the appointment of Dulles as an advisor to the State Department. Although the Soviet Union remained recalcitrant, a peace treaty was signed on September 8, 1951. The negotiations included a number of bilateral groupings between the United States and each of the interested parties.¹²⁰

With regard to a horizontal analysis of international peace, the fact remains that peace can exist when conditions

120. Edwin O. Reischauer, Japan. New York: Alfred A. Knof, 1964, pp. 226-227.

prevail which make it desirable for power to seep downward from a peak to a gradually broadening base. If democracy is a political phenomenon, then peace is its psychological and social mirror, reflecting the quality of human relations in a peaceful society. In this context, peace is rather more closely allied to sociological disciplines than it is to economic, legal or diplomatic forces. If this analysis is correct, democracy and peace are independent and interdependent at the same time like the two wheels of a bicycle. In other words, as democracy advances to its true meaning, it could bring the other wheel of peace behind it. Although the wheel of peace is an independent force, it could propel the wheel of democracy to greater refinements.

Hart, in the Concept of Law, argues that the strength of law lies in attention to the idea of law as rules and "the key to the science of jurisprudence" lies in the association of certain kinds of rules.¹²¹ Considering that economics is the study of man's behavior in producing, exchanging, and consuming the material goods and services he desires, we may focus on the other sides of social function. In this same vein, the legal system addresses to the questions of orderly living and the politics addresses to the

121. Stuart A. Schlegel,

overriding questions of control whether they arise from legal, economic or other fields of human endeavor. Other questions those found in emotional living and intellectual searching are addressed by the liberal arts and philosophy. Although the law implies a certain measure of coercion to ensure that the law is obeyed, peace through the force of law cannot effect that refinements. That is not to say that laws are not necessary, but strong laws alone will never ensure and have never ensured a just and enduring peace.

Turning to the economic issues, critically important as they are, it remains to be inadequate to establish or maintain a state of positive peace. The free exchange of goods, both nationally and internationally, may fulfill the basic human needs and stimulate the market system. Although these aspects of society belong to the realm of political science, such political factors alone are not enough to maintain the peace. Unless the sociological disciplines are rooted in reality and the positive relations exist within a given society at every level, it is possible to develop and maintain a true and absolute state of peace.

Since no one nation could undertake to maintain the peace in the world, a universally accepted mechanism is necessary. The format for this mechanism is the United

Nations and the Charter embodies the ideal of a true and absolute peace. If such a state of peace could prevail, it would guarantee the survival of the human race. Since the guarantee of freedom and equality to all the people, and the supremacy of individual human rights are the basis of the Charter, if we put those ideals into practice, the humanity may be able to obtain a state of enduring peace which we never knew in our life time.

From a socialistic point of view, the imperialism is intrinsically unwilling to guarantee the peace and may continue to perpetuate aggression and suppression. This is the reason why the socialist countries in alliance with the oppressed peoples believe that "a-tit-for-tit struggle against imperialism must be carried on."¹²² In this same vein, the Soviet Union proclaimed the peaceful coexistence as its basic principle of the foreign policy.¹²³

Since the concept of coexistence is the basis of the United Nation City, the different political systems may be able to coexist despite the broadest possible differences in their political outlook. Prior to the existence of the United Nations, the state of peace existed was not

122. John N. Moore, *Law and Civil War in the Modern World*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974, p. 371.

123. L. S. Salvrianos, *The Epic of Modern Man*. Englewood, N.J.: Prentice Hall Inc., 1966, p. 488.

far from the uneasy state of truce found in the jungle life. In other words, a state of truce is not a state of peace since the absence of an active state of war does not mean the state of peace.

As has been shown earlier, we may presuppose the two categories of peace: social peace and international peace. First of all, the social peace reflects the evolution of the harmonious family, community, national and international relations. On the other hand, the international peace reflects the horizontal forms which relate to peace among and between the nations in the world. Although it is far from the positive peace, a notable absence of full-scale war and the balance of political power created a state of non-war. If we look at the true and absolute peace on a global scale as a form of international sociology, a combination of these social and international forms of peace is essential. Perhaps we may presuppose a third type of peace when we can successfully combine the social and international forms of peace.

The League of Nations, formed after the World War I by President Woodrow Wilson, embodied the vision of absolute peace in the world. The failure of the League of Nations became a valuable lesson for the United Nations. As a peace maker, the humanity came one step closer to peace through

the mechanism of the United Nations.

In the prehistoric periods, peace was maintained because there was no particular reason for the war. Since a small number of people were living in the vast area with rich natural resources, there was a need for mutual assistance in order to survive and that need resulted in a form of symbiotic peace. Perhaps this is an example of full peace in a setting of group living. As the numbers increased, the complexity of the social system was increases and the need for the management system was evolved. For example, the conflict between the individual ownership and the group ownership required a form of social order which led to the power of tribal chiefs and tyrants.¹²⁴

The process from the absolute monarchism to the dawn of the peace on the level of the poeple was one of the most interesting periods in the evolution of the human spirit. For example, the terrible abuse of power by King John (King of England in 1911) held the seeds of what has come to be known as democracy since he provided the means to release some of his power to the people. His demand for enforced military service by the feudal class in combination

124. Boyce Rensberger, What Made Humans Human? The New York Times Magazine, April 8, 1984, p. 80. New theories hold that cooperation, not competition, divided man from ape.

with his attempt to sell the royal petitions to the highest bidder culminated in the formulation of the Bill of Rights. The Bill, a remarkable document, provided the people with certain measures of power which was only held by the monarch.

King John formed the first practical and workable oligarchy in history after signing the Bill of Rights. The theory of oligarchy or aristocracy draws an inference that children born to wealthy and powerful families will become better educated and trained in the social practices, allowing them to officiate most effectively. The ancient Greeks discovered that high birth did not automatically yield publically spirited leaders that sometimes weak and poor people exhibit the great capacities for learning and in combination with traits of honesty and mental robustness the low born exercised balanced leadership that considered the needs of multifarious social groupings within the context of the larger state.

There are few monarchies throughout the history which match the strength and power of those in the East. For example, the unimaginable acts of heroism and terrorism were demanded of the people in the name of the Emperor in Japan during the World War II. The young Japanese men who were called upon to die for their Emperor. They were forced into

the military service only in the name of expansionism and annexation of territories. Of course, they had nothing to say about their fate other than agree to die. The Japanese system met the standards of Machievelli more closely than any other systems in the world.

Another example of Machievellian system is South Korea. The regime of President Park kept democracy away from the people despite his clear statement of intent that "I will keep democracy for the people and never be a candidate to the presidency in the next term." Until his assassination in 1979, Park maintained the long tradition of absolute tyrannical rule that has been so much a part of the Eastern history. In a sense, the system of absolute control is a form of peace--the "elusive peace." However, it is not a system of peace for those who were victimized by such a dictator. In other words, no promise of better times to come mitigates the severity of conditions imposed upon the unwillingly governed and the difficulties of a shaky economy are irrelevant to an oppressed people.

In retrospect, the French Revolution was the uprising on the part of the upper middle-class masses and laid the groundwork for the systems of peace. The increase of power by the Kings and their ministers for two centuries, from the 1500's to the 1700's, simultaneously increased the

degree of discontent among the people. The final wresting of power from the royal house by the people led to the formation of a National Assembly and to the formulation of sweeping changes mandated by a new body of laws which eliminated the old feudal system and finally to the enactment of the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The Assembly, the constitution, the legislature, all new at that time, have remained as models for peaceful systems of government ever since. The degree of political advancement as the result of a single act of revolution was impressive despite the fact that what ensued was "legal" rather than absolute peace.

Even in the present democratic nations often deny the full and equal rights to all of their citizens. For example, in the United States the right to vote was denied to women until the adoption of the 19th Amendment to the American Constitution in 1920. As recently as 1964 the 24th Amendment to that same document was adopted, the poll taxes were required for a citizen to cast a vote. While it is true that both of these steps reflect the democratic measures to strengthen the rights of the people, it is equally true that they are the substantive gains on the road to true peace.

With regard to the theory of general will, each member has an identical and single will as enunciated by Rousseau.

According to Rousseau, a political society is a determinate moral person whose life consists of the union of its members. In other words, the general will each citizen shares and exhibits is the emblem of an artificial individual's new and common existence.¹²⁵ It is a theory borne out by the events that took place in Russia and in China when the masses of the people rose to wrest power from those who held it to take it for themselves. The ideological principles of Marx had less to do with the process of evolutionary peace than did the force of general will. In both instances, it was clearly the will of the people which forced the changes that took place.

Whether in terms of the evolution of secular forms or peace, or with relation to peace through revolution by the masses, both reflect forms of democratic growth on the part of the people and both entail the process of elections by the governed of the governing. Both provide a psychological social mirror, as it were, of the relations that exist among and between the people and their governments. However, each is substantially different from the other. For example, the Western nations perceive the free enterprise and privately owned property as fundamental to peace and

125. Stephen Ellenburg, *Rousseau's Political Philosophy*. London: Cornell University Press, 1976, pp. 102-102.

free flow of money being a measure of the value of private enterprise. On the other hand, the Eastern nations perceive a more equalized distribution of goods and money as essential to the maintenance of peace among the people. However, both systems exist side by side within the limits. Such a situation is strengthened with the assistance of the United Nations in its present form.

The present peace under the United Nations system is at best precarious and it carries with an ever-present threat of war. Perhaps the only way to create a situation which is more conducive to true peace is the willingness on the both sides to accommodate the development of the United Nations City. The experience of the past provides a measure of hope for the future. For example, the absolute power of the Kings of ancient Egypt forced the people to engage in the forced labor to build the pyramids to glorify the dead monarch. Eventually that system gave way to the oligarchy that resulted from the signing of the Magna Carta. The division of power between the monarch and the aristocracy gave way to the form of government that resulted from the French Revolution. During this period, the bourgeoisie held the power and used it for themselves.¹²⁶

126. S. N. Eisenstadt, op. cit.

Perhaps the co-living experience in the United Nations City would be the shine beams of virtuous accomplishments in the process of evolutionary peace development. Boulding's evolutionary concept that hypothesizes the diffusion of increasingly refined patterns of social organization through the exchange process could be applicable to the developmental process of global peace.¹²⁷ The evolutionary scheme of peace development marks a reversal in the direction of agency of peace away from the rulers toward the masses who from a position of mass consensus exercised democracy. To understand the shifting of agency in the peace process from the ruler to the masses, it is necessary to employ a rational, scientific, and people centered analytical framework which is to be found in Hegel's historical philosophy.

G. THE PRESENT STATUS OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE

As has been shown earlier, the eleven stages of peace are related to the evolution of peace throughout the human history. At this juncture, we are concerned with the political situation as it exists today. Peace is defined in terms of non-war that could exist just after the cessation of a

127. Kenneth E. Boulding, *Ecodynamics*. London: Saga Publications, 1978, p. 126.

declared war or after a diplomatic break between nations has been healed.¹²⁸ In other words, the world has never yet experienced any real periods of peace.¹²⁹ Alternatively, peace is characterized by the kind of situation that exists in between the attack of one nation upon another, or one group within a nation upon the citizens of another when the attack has been related to domestic political revolution.¹³⁰

According to Margalis, "war has also been thought, as in the Bohhesian account, to be the natural condition of states vis-a-visa one another; peace, then is the mere absence of war or, more consistently, a condition of dominant war." ¹³¹ In our analysis, this definition is inadequate because the instances of war and peace are historically numerous and heterogeneous.

With regard to an international peace definition, we could presuppose the eleven types of peace in international political context. These eleven categories include:

- (1) Peace by ambush;
- (2) Peace by conquest;

128. For example, the situation between the U.S. and Iran or the U.S. and Cuba.

129. World has been littered with skirmishes, ambushes, guerilla attacks and border incidents.

130. The situation in the Middle East is a fair example.

131. Moneysmith (ed), Social Theory and Practice. Vol. 6, No.2, Tallahassee, Fla.:Florida State University Press, 1980,p.210.

- (3) Peace by truce;
- (4) Peace by confrontation;
- (5) Peace by treaty;
- (6) Diplomatic peace;
- (7) Bloc peace (subdivided into military peace and Amicable peace);
- (8) Peace by trusteeship;
- (9) Probable or International peace;
- (10) Comprehensive peace (subdivided into Hostile peace, Armed peace, Sub-peace, and Standard peace); and
- (11) Global peace.

The overall international peace is related to a world-wide state of being in which there is equality, freedom for all people and sound diplomatic relations between and among all nations. Perhaps this situation would ensure an absence of open hostilities, imperialism and military interventions, economic exploitation, discrimination, and a continuation of militarism and the arms race. The arms races are intense competitions between opposing powers or coalition of powers, each trying to achieve a military advantages by diverting funds from manufacturing, services, and welfare sectors into the production of armaments and the augmentation of the armed forces. The phenomenon of arms production is not peculiar to our culture, but was extant in past centuries going

back to the Sumeritan's reign over the first civilization.¹³²

Life in the jungle, characterized by survival of the fittest and the supremacy of the strong over the weak, by the abrogation of territorial rights by a victor over the victim, is a reasonably proper description of peace through colonialism. The kind of military intervention, exploitation, oppression, discrimination and abuse visited by an imperialistic or colonizing power upon a smaller or weaker territory is only a short step removed from the quality of life in the jungle. Nevertheless, imperialism and colonialism are not synonymous with war.

Perhaps the best hope for a complete state of non-war throughout the world is through a form of "Standard peace." In other words, the standard peace would conform to a political reality which mandates peace among the nations by treaty or other agreement. It is a system of government which guarantees the independence for those nations which are the least self-reliant. In effect, it could be a kind of outreach program with the larger or wealthier nations benefitting from increased trade and the smaller or weaker ones striving for a higher standard of living.¹³³ Indeed,

132. Hedley Pull, *The Control of the Arms Race*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishing Co., 1965, pp. 5-6.

133. Miniaturized versions of this kind of international dealing exist today in Japan, West Germany in the Western bloc, Rumania and Bulgaria in the Eastern bloc, and in India and Indonesia in the Third World.

the spirit behind this kind of cooperative effort is rooted in the spirit of the United Nations Charter.¹³⁴ In conjunction with the international context, we would proceed to examine the eleven categories of peace.

(1) Peace by ambush

Peace by ambush is a smaller version of peace by conquest. Rather than full-fledged open war and the conquering of one nation by another, peace by ambush is conducted on a smaller scale with a lesser level of military involvement. Usually the device of peace by ambush is effective simply because the aggressor is so much more powerful than the victim that the likelihood of armed response by the victim is virtually nil. The invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union is a prime example of this type of conduct. The on-going and never-ending outbreak of hostilities between the Arab nations and Israel is a variation on this theme. In other words, a full and open war was never realized, but the ambush of many kinds remains the reality of life. Unlike the French and Americans in Vietnam, the Russians have held back from pumping over increasing amount of men and materials into an unwinnable war. The numbers have not been increased significantly since the invasion in

134. Inis L. Claude, Jr., *Swords into Plow Shares*. Charlottesville, Va. University of Virginia, 1964, pp. 135-136.

December 1979 and remain at about 85,000 men inside Afghanistan and another 30,000 just across the Soviet border in a support role.¹³⁵

The unstable balance of power between Israel and the Arab nations can be attributed to racial and religious differences.¹³⁶ Although these two factors are loosely associated in the Arab nations, they are inseparably bound together in Israel. Many Israelis refer to sections of Palestine by Biblical names and refer to ancient promises made by their God that granted the Jews with territory that they now either occupy as a result of the United Nations' 1948 decision creating the Jewish state, or as a result of the spoils of wars fought with the Arabs. Also Israel, being the only democratic nation in the Middle East, is more closely associated with the United States than are the Arab nations. Since some of the Arab nations are contiguous with communist nations of the Socialist bloc, the superpower competition is complicating the political situation in the Near East.

(2) Peace by conquest

What is the definition of peace by conquest? For example, Vietnam's conquest of Cambodia is a form of peace

135. The New Republic. A Journal of Politics and the Arts. Vol. 184, No. 23, June 6, 1981, p. 11.

136. George W. Keeton and George Schwarzenberger. The Year Book of World Affairs. New York: Frederic A. Praeger, 1965, p. 230.

by conquest. The military occupation of Cambodia by Vietnam is proving costly as well as diplomatic impediment to Vietnam. The theory behind the Vietnamese contention is that Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam should be regrouped as one territorial nation since that was their form as a French colony before 1940. Regardless of such a claim by Vietnam, there are many Cambodian resistance groups in opposition to the Vietnamese installed government in Cambodia. Whether with reference to the ages of the great monarchs or more modern imperialistic encroachments by powerful nations upon weaker ones, the human history has been characterized by many tragic events of peace by conquest.

(3) Peace by truce

The terrifying consequences of the escalation of limited wars and the nature of modern weaponry compelled the superpowers to realize that peace by truce is an appealing alternative to a major confrontation. However, peace by truce is far from ideal since it is usually motivated more from a desire to avoid the full scale war than it is to effect a meaningful peace. The Armistice Agreement of 1953 following the Korean War was signed by the United States, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the People's Republic of China. The most pertinent part of the Agreement read:

In order to insure the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the military Commanders of both sides

hereby recommend to the governments of the countries on the both sides that, within three months after the Armistice Agreement is signed and becomes effective, a political conference of a higher level of both sides be held by representatives appointed respectively to settle through negotiation the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. 137

In all probability, the Korean question would have been settled long ago if the provision had been implemented. Yet, due to the concerted obstruction by the United States and the South Korean regimes, the 1954 Geneva Conference failed to produce any agreement. Because of this failure, and in order to create favorable conditions for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, the Chinese People's Volunteers were completely, unilaterally and unconditionally withdrawn from Korea in 1958. However, the United States has all along refused to remove her troops from South Korea. It is clearly evident that the United States is flagrantly in violation of the Armistice Agreement by this refusal to withdraw their military forces from South Korea, including their nuclear arsenal. This is the reason why the Chinese Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang has blamed the United States for contributing to the instability in Northeast Asia by perpetuating the division of the Korean peninsula.

Since a cease-fire agreement was concluded on July 27,

137. Article 4, Section 60 of the Korean Armistice Agreement.

1953, no peace treaty has ever been signed. That is why the Supreme Peoples Assembly of North Korea dispatched a letter to the Congress of the United States on April 6, 1973. The letter from North Korea called for joint steps by the United States and North Korea to replace the Armistice Agreement of 1953 with a peace agreement that brooks no further delay. However, the Korean Assembly has received not even an acknowledgement of this historic letter. In spite of the initial failure of such an attempt, North Korea sent another official letter to the United States Government and Congress on January 10, 1984. Unfortunately, the United States declined to engage in any meaningful dialog with North Korea. Thus, it seems an incomprehensible refusal to explore a welcome opportunity to create a meaningful state of peace in a most critical area of Asia.

(4) Peace by confrontation

The concept of peace by confrontation embraces two approaches to international relations. The first subdivision, peace by threat, results from the escalation of hostilities between a stronger, invading nation and its victim, the weaker nation. When the prospect of a vigorous and armed response by the smaller country appears to likely, and to acquire more expenditure of arms and soldiers than the

invaders had originally envisioned, a threat of destruction of the weak by the strong is often enough to quell any possible military response. Another example of peace by threat was recently seen in the non-confrontation between Iran and the United States when the takeover of the American Embassy may have been excessive provocation, but the response was only a promised threat rather than a real war.

The relationship between Libya and the United States is another example of peace by threat. Despite the long commercial history of bilateral trade, America's massive need for imported oil and self-created image of fairness in the Middle East, a confrontation occurred when the Navy shot down two Libyan jet aircrafts during the routine naval exercises off the Libyan coast. This intimidation was followed by another several months later which required the evacuation of all American citizens from Libya. These confrontations, muted and open, were used by the United States in its strategy to maintain peace by confrontation.¹³⁸

The concept of "Detente" is another example of peace by confrontation which maintains the status quo ante. The cold war is another manifestation of peaceful confrontation.

138. The Economist, Vol. 281, No. 7209. October 31, 1981, p.39.

There is considerable overlap between peace by threat and detente. It is frequently a matter of nuance in terms of relationships between any one nation and another. The Cuban missile crisis and the blockade that followed by the United States is an example of the situation. In other words, When the blockade was ended the situation was approximately the same as that which had existed prior to the incidents.

Another form of detente is seen through the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks 1 and 2 (SALT). It is a political device resulting from the recognition by the super-powers of the horrendous dangers and consequences of full-fledged nuclear war. Still another version of detente is the tragic division of countries such as Germany and Korea.¹³⁹ Peace by detente is the rational outgrowth of international law and its incorporation into international bodies like the United Nations. According to Noel-Baker:

Disarmament is the logical consequence of the decision to substitute the rule of law for the rule of armed forces. The system of the United Nations is founded on the fundamental obligations of paragraphs three and four of Article two of the Charter. "All members shall settle their international disputes by the peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered. All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the

139. Stamford Arms Control Group, International Arms Control. Ed. by J.H. Barton and L.D. Weiler. Stamford, Calif.: Stamford University Press, 1976, p. 222.

territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purpose of the U.N. 140

The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks have brought together the major world powers in a forum that regards peace by detente desirable. Perhaps the continued success of the Talks could discourage the build up of armaments not only in the super-power nations but also in the allied countries and in the Third World.

Peace by confrontation marks an important point in terms of progressive and retrogressive nature of that concept. According to Boulding, there are two types of peace concept: positive and negative. He calls peace by detente as positive peace. In his view, this type of peace signifies a condition of good management, orderly resolution of conflict, harmony associated with mature relationships, gentleness, and love. Counterpoised to this is negative peace which involves the absence of some of the positive qualities.¹⁴¹ Although the qualities that Boulding suggested will not directly build the detente, it could act as an architecture for increasing international trade, cultural exchange, arms negotiations, and peaceful resolutions

140. Philip Noel-Baker, *The Arms Race*. New York: Oceana Publishing Inc., 1960, p. 546.

141. Kenneth E. Boulding, *Stable Peace*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1978, p.3.

to violent confrontations.

(5) Peace by treaty

Despite the broad political and ideological differences between the various nations of the world, the financial realities encourage the enactment of treaties, mutual assistance pacts, and other legally binding arrangements in the areas of trade, banking and international trade. The existence of these agreements, particularly those between the Eastern and the Western nations, has accelerated the international exchange of culture, trade, and the sharing of human resources. For example, France has for some time enjoyed an on-going relationship with China and Yugoslavia to the mutual benefit of all three nations. The newly elected socialist government in France appears to remain devoted to the continuation of trade agreements and political treaties with the East. China, having already benefited from its mutual exchange pacts with France, is now looking toward the development of treaties with the United States.

Clearly, peace by treaty is a means which the East and the West are learning to value of mutual international exchange as an alternative to continued international political crisis. There is a double edge to this policy: it strengthens international political systems as well as the

relationships among participating nations. In this regard, Rosenau pointed out that "the United States can gain or lose China without appreciable impact on the balance. The gain is not at the expense of previous Soviet-held territory; the lose is not at the expense of previous American-held territory. China is an independent quantity in world politics, but not merely a factor in Soviet or Western strength." ¹⁴² Even though China is exerting itself on the world scene, signing agreements and treaties, exchanging culture and commodities, it remains to be perceived in American circles as a non-threatening and expendable partner.

Peace by treaty is very important for countries trying to follow an independent course unindebted to the major social-political powers. For example, Yugoslavia claims to be part of the Third World, uncommitted to Russian or American ideology, and this must rely not on empathy but on treaties and negotiated agreements that allow it to exercise a productive role in the world economy.

(6) Diplomatic peace

Since the Third World countries are not in direct confrontation with the two major blocs of the East and the

142. James N. Rosenau, *International Politics and Foreign Policy*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1969, pp. 326-327.

West, they could assume the role of mediator between the two super powers. For example, Switzerland, as a non-allied nation, has frequently intervened in international political crises. Thus the value of this type of approach was recently demonstrated when Switzerland mediated between the United States and Iran, a role she had formerly played between the United States and Cuba.

Clearly the hostile nations of the world would do well to avail themselves of the aid offered by neutral countries. Since the nature of a neutral nation is non-affiliation with the East and the West, the non-allied nations have a potential to make valuable contributions in terms of world peace. For instance, they formulated the Political Declaration of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned Countries, the so-called Lima Program for mutual assistance and solidarity in August, 1975.

(7) Bloc peace

The nature of political bloc cohesion and power has been studied by various researchers. Russett and Lamb, who studied 104 nations in 1963, observed that "by far the highest levels of diplomatic representation occur among the greatest powers, and within that group between great powers who are essentially allied with each other rather than hostile." Thus the concept of bloc peace is a vigorous

political system which contributes enormously to the maintenance of peace between and among certain nations of the world.¹⁴³

Focusing on diplomatic interaction between NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, Galtung found that between 1941 and 1965 interaction tended to be dependent with the most powerful initiating policy and interacting with weaker nations.¹⁴⁴ However, this pattern did not hold true for the Arab countries in 1965.¹⁴⁵ Perhaps the inter-country friendliness is generally higher within a bloc because members share similar ideologies and national interests. According to Ellis and Salzburg, the study on the twenty four African nations and their voting behavior in the 1960-1961 session of the U.N. revealed that the degree of voting alignment of was related to the level of exports to the United States, the United Kingdom and France.¹⁴⁶

Basically a bloc consists of nations with similar ideologies and national organizations. For example, the socialist bloc subscribes to Marxist and each bloc country organizes

143. Patrick L. McGovan and Howard B. Shapiro, *The Comparative Study of Foreign Policy*. London: Sage Publications, 1973, Vol. 4, p. 45.

144. *Ibid.*, pp. 154-168.

145. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

146. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

its economy within the COMECON customs union as a state without private enterprises. On the other hand, the capitalist bloc subscribes to a Keysian modified Smithian capitalism and each bloc country organizes its economy within the regulations of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs as a state encouraging free enterprise. The Third World is not a bloc since the nations falling under this rubric are organized in varied ways such as kingdoms, despotic governments, dictatorships, socialistic states, and capitalist states are all to be found in the Third World. By the same token, the African nations are not a bloc.

At this juncture, it becomes necessary to separate bloc peace into its component parts: Military peace and Amicable peace. Military peace is related not only to the use or the threat of use of military force by the leader nation of a bloc upon its satellites, but also to foreign interventions. Thus, military peace is a very limited device by which to prevent full-fledged war from breaking out. In other words, it is not a positive instrument for the building of world peace. Amicable peace or friendly relations among the nations exists in inverse proportion to the emphasis upon military peace. As a bloc perceives a lesser value in spending economic and human resources on military strength, it could broaden its trade and cultural exchange with

nations in other parts of the world. To establish and maintain those exchanges require a considerable degree of amicability.

Ideally, the practice of bloc peace may eventually lead to a reduction in military strength and the reduced military strength would provide additional resources for peaceful outreach programs with other parts of the world. The value of this system is visible in certain areas of the world today. For example, the affinity between Poland and East Germany or the relations between England and Italy could provide a working model for affinitive relations. If we could broaden the scope of this approach to the two power blocs, it certainly would promote a better chance for peace.

(8) Peace by trusteeship

Peace by trusteeship has proved to be an effective means by which to improve peace-keeping mechanism. With few exceptions, Third World nations do not engage in war with one another since the available resources are not used primarily for military purposes. Several northern European nations as well as Switzerland are good examples of this approach in terms of preventing the escalation of hostilities between the super powers. Therefore, the concept of peace by trusteeship is akin to the definition of world

peace as embodied in the United Nations Charter. In essence, peace by trusteeship is the kind of peace that may become a reality in the United Nations City.

Nations experiencing peace by trusteeship do not maintain military forces for aggressive actions but may sustain troop level just sufficient for defensive posturing. Their social security systems could be more advanced than the capitalistic system that currently prevail in the United States. Since these countries lack the resources to declare war on one another, equality and freedom could be maintained not only in the domestic as well as in the international realm of affairs. The five Nordic countries are the excellent examples of maintaining peace by trusteeship. Mead found that Finland was able to cope with difficult problems of rehabilitation and reparations following World War II by stretching its economy without outwardly aggressive thrusts. Thus the Nordic countries are good models for the development of peace by trusteeship and our conception of the United Nations City is greatly indebted to the Nordic capacity to maintain peace by trusteeship.¹⁴⁷

(9) Likeliest International Peace

Peace has been developed both vertically and horizontally

147. M. R. Mead, Finland. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968, p. 179.

throughout the human history. The horizontal view is a synchronic approach that primarily looks at the political, social, and economic environment at a particular point in time. On the other hand, the vertical view is a diachronic approach that looks at the same environment across the time. At any given moment, these two approaches may be combined to define the junction at which the evolutionary development of peace resides. The vertical and the horizontal concepts may be thought of as apex or vectors that interact in real time. If an analysis is receptive to the intersection, it will address both domestic social peace and international social peace.

International social peace relies on harmonious diplomatic relationships which in turn relies on democratically developed equalities, freedom, and affinities that are congruent with the ecosystem of mutuality. This ecosystem is readily conceivable in the domestic context, yet it is a factor in international peace and identifiable as such. In other words, the relationship between the vertical and horizontal is an organic one since any change in one nation's domestic peace development causes a shift in the horizontal axis and it requires adjustments in other nation's peace development, particularly in those nations that are its trading partners. The development along the time axis

is constantly altering the harmonizing forces among the nations. The following chart may contrast the concepts of vertical and horizontal peace.

<u>Vertical peace</u>	<u>Horizontal peace</u>
(1) It develops over the time.	(1) The shifts in the international balance of power change the conditions.
(2) The dynamics of class harmonizing process.	(2)
(3) The goal is social peace.	(3) The goal is no war among the nations.
(4) Peacification could be evolutionary or revolutionary.	(4) Political means for independence.

Although these differences could exist only when the colonial domination and class exploitation impede the progress of peace, the differences could disappear in the final international likeliest peace environment. For example, the seeds for such changes now exist in Latin America where the Cuban revolution is alive and spreading.

(10) Comprehensive peace

As has been shown earlier, the numerous conditions of non-war are not necessarily comprehensive peace. For example, hostile peace could prevail when the two major blocs are in ideological confrontation such as Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. Essentially, sub-peace is peace by treaty. It is a

subdivision of hostile peace in the sense that nations will agree to minimize their ideological differences so that they can mutually benefit from a broad range of international agreements. Similar to the kind of non-war that results from imperialism is armed peace. It is a phenomenon which depends upon the existence of two powerful and potentially hostile military blocs. Such an international conflict is represented by the communist countries of the East and the capitalist countries of the West. One of the tragic results of armed peace is the civil division of victims such as Korea and Germany. In both cases a unified culture has been torn apart and denied self-determination. Although armed peace may offer the temporary illusion of a real peace because it does not result in a state of war, it is a cancer in the modern world.

The effort to minimize the ideological differences is an important step in the progression toward a real, substantive or standard peace. In other words, standard peace is truly guaranteed peace by trusteeship where there is no war, no invasion and no international armed incident. It is a peace based on friendship and mutual assistance. It recognizes and accepts the differences between and among the nations as a norm. Standard peace in the modern age depends upon the utilization of non-allied nations as mediators and

peace makers. Particularly, the Third World nations will be the future builders of peace under the umbrella of the United Nations.

(11) Global peace

Global peace is an embracing concept. It is a geopolitical system based upon the global perspective. The prerequisite to such a system is a commitment to justice, equality and freedom. Under the present circumstances, the only probable means to obtain the global peace is through the establishment of the United Nations City in accordance with the precepts of the Charter. In a world graced by global peace, there is no place for the isolated nation since every nation would be an integral part of a close-knit international society.

According to Von Laue, a global state system could develop global peace through the common law and the human belief in peace.¹⁴⁸ His emphasis on the endurance of common law and its efficacy to produce peace disqualifies the plan for a global state system because it is just a continuing application of rules and regulations by forces external to the individual, and in some cases external to the state. In this context, he pointed out:

148. Theodore H. Van Laue, *The Global City*, op. cit.

In the face of political aggression, each policy will find it advisable to mobilize its resources to the utmost by the prevailing standard of the global state system. World peace only results from submission to common order under law. 149

A close analysis will show that his view is not a scientific application of an evolutionary development. In this same vein, the extant common order has been deformed by the elitism of political practice under capitalism and state socialism. By the narrow vision of domestic peacemaking, the class oriented social system is predicated upon the inequalities and disenfranchisements of the working class people. Basically, the same class oriented socio-economic structure is extended to international relations. Therefore, the common law order cannot be torn from its perversely malforming roots.

What, then is the most feasible definition of peace? Peace is the developmental process of the cooperation among the people and liberation from the oppressive and exploitative ruling systems. Thus the essence of international relations must be based on the most probable peace agreement which explicitly recognizes equality, freedom and affinitive human relations.

149. Ibid., p. 235.

CHAPTER 5

POWER RELATIONS AND PEACE

Fundamentally, there have been two processes of decision making in societies throughout history, the political and economic. In essence, the political power arises from the control over the governmental decisions while the economic power arises from the control over the productive and distributive decisions. Historically, the power is a product of the relationship between ruler and ruled. By the same token, the power is a product as well as the ability to control the decision making.

Throughout history peace has always been considered simply as a state of being that exists when there is no active war between any two or more nations. Logically, then, history demands that we look upon states of peace that include virulent imperialism, rampant colonialism and a broad range of militaristic and non-militaristic interventions by the strong upon the weak, and consider that this is, indeed, peace. With regard to the international status of peace, Wainhouse pointed out that "a considerable military force is used to bring about a cessation of hostilities. Peace observation, on the other hand, does not rely primarily on

Historical, Political and Economic Classifications
of Peace

Historical Period	Historical Point of View	
	Political	Economic
Prehistorical	Prehistoric peace	Provincial peace (Symbiotic)
Classic	Classic peace	Imperial peace
Medieval	Medieval peace	Feudal peace
Capitalist	Republic peace	Capitalistic peace
Modern	Democratic peace	Monopolistic peace
Future	Universal peace	Socialistic peace

military force. However, activities that are in the native of peace keeping may also use peace observation method." ¹⁵⁰ In conjunction with this, the main task of this chapter is to analyze the processes of the political and the socio-economic developments of peace. Adhering to a balanced analytical approach, our preliminary research is based the two types of peace classifications.¹⁵¹

A. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE

According to the World Book Encyclopedia, peace is a state of calm and quiet, free of disturbance or war.¹⁵² However, it does not stress the fact that true peace requires total harmony. The Encyclopedia definition of peace is only related a social order and does not touch upon the true inner meaning of peace which would take into consideration of many other social factors. Therefore, a better definition of peace could be defined in terms of the common good for the people, and not in terms of ruler, dominant upper class or military junta.

Human history shows that the class struggles between

150. David W. Wainhouse, International Peace Observation. Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1966, p.2.

151. See 212 chart.

152. The World Book Encyclopedia. Chicago, Ill.: Field Educational corp., 1978.

rulers and ruled are an endemic component of existing societies. Although Marx described these class struggles, the explanation on the mutual cooperation in the peaceification process remains unfinished. Therefore, the objective of this chapter is to articulate the peacification processes.

(1) Symbiotic peace

Probably the symbiotic peace of prehistoric time is the only peace the world has ever known when all life process was closely and absolutely interdependent. To put the point another way, how do human beings live and what is required to sustain life? In prehistoric times, caves were the logical source of shelter, and clothing in warm climates was not necessarily a primary concern. However, the requirement for food necessitated certain organizational abilities and the formation of certain social classes. In spite of the balanced agricultural complex, hunting continued to be important as evidence that reaches back to 8,000-7,500 B.C.¹⁵³

The differences between humans and other species of animal became increasingly marked as the human developed

153. Chester S. Chard, *Main in prehistory*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Inc., 1969, pp. 71-74. Sally R. Binford and Lewis R. Binford (ed), *New Perspective in Archeology*. Chicago, Ill.: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968, p. 250.

skills, the ability to reason, and organized into workable groups of some 25 to 50 persons per group, each made up of several families with each person or group of persons assigned tasks so that necessary work could be shared of division of labor.¹⁵⁴ This condition was a near-perfect form of symbiotic living and decidedly a form of full and pure peace in that exploitation for personal gain was absent, oppression did not exist, and the shared work was the result of a consensus on the part of group members. It is a form of peace that, perhaps, has not been matched since.

The forms of group life that existed in both Afirca and Asia in prehistoric times has, of course, been the subject of extensive study and analysis by scholars. It is likely that this has been because of the purity of the symbiosis that existed. According to Marx, this form of symbiotic living was defined as primitive communism. Nevertheless, the significance of prehistoric group life could be related to the peaceful human relations between and among members of each group, marked by the absence of exploitation and opporession. Perhaps this is a very pure form of a classless society in which the consensus of the people

154. The World Book Encyclopedia. Chicago, Ill.: Field Enterprise Educational Corp., 1975, Vol. 15, p. 222 and p. 669.

resulted in equality and freedom.

Probably the only hope for a symbiotic peace is to develop a social condition in which the highest rationality could prevail. If the World War III comes, the survivors would undoubtedly be critically-ill victims of radiation, affected both physically and mentally, who would live in a sterile society. Of course, the world is substantially different from that existed in prehistoric times. The question today is how can these diverse peoples learn to live together to ensure their survival. In answering the question before us, our presumption is that through a carefully designed plan of co-living such as envisioned for the United Nations City, it is possible to encourage the greatest development of the greatest good for the greatest number of people.

An interesting aspect of the City life is the growth and distribution of food grown within the City, where each country town would be in close proximity to all the others. Such a co-living environment would provide a unique opportunity to weigh and measure several factors. For example, the farmers and city workers would be near enough to each other to discuss with ease the advantages and disadvantages of each form of life in order to recreate a new human environment in which symbiotic peace could be nurtured.

The prospect for evolving a combined "best" system for farming as well as co-living life style is exciting to contemplate and could go far to solve the world's food shortages and eliminating the hunger as a major problem.

Another outgrowth of international coexistence is the proximity of the Eastern and the Western blocs of power, with the weaknesses and strengths of each highly visible and openly available life experiences for study. In combination with the natural bent for peace on the part of the Third World nations, this experiment will lead us to exciting prospects for human advancement in many areas of life. The process of assimilation in terms of strength new to a given society or an experience gained from neighbors who are pleased to share and help in their development would encourage the development and evolution of the likeliest peace, designed not only to preserve but to enhance human quality and life.

(2) Latent (Partial) peace

As the cave dwellers developed skills in the art of living and it became apparent that there is more to life than simple survival, people left the cave for group style living enclaves or city. By approximately 3,500 B.C., farming villages were developing and with this increased level of organized activity, not only inhabitants of a

given area were needed for the growth of food supplies.¹⁵⁵ Thus these new city dwellers developed new skills in the making of pottery utensiles, tools and clothing.

With the development of more sophisticated life style and the concentration of more people in a smaller place, the buildings designed for religious purposes, city hall, market place, and a more elegant nature of dwellings for those who acquired more than a fair share of goods, gradually typified the city life. Expanded building needs required the evolution of new business and with the greater availability of goods and places to house them, a divided-by-class society was probably inevitable. With the existence of classes in a society, there comes almost automatically the ruled and the ruling classes. Tribal chiefs became tyrants and evolved into monarchs similar to that which we know even today.

Although some social scientists characterized the kind of peace maintained by despots as a desirable state of peace, it is not and has never been desirable state of peace. In other words, the peace that exists because a ruler has sufficient strength to stamp out healthy dissent is not a state of peace even though there is no open state

155. Chester S. Chard, op. cit.

of war. If we accept such a characterization of peace, it can only exist only because of oppression and exploitation of the masses. Ironically, the taxes are used to acquire military strength to oppress the people who paid the taxes in the first place.

Simply because pilaging and theft of goods by a ruling tyrant or monarch are declared legal only by that tyrant and it does not follow that they are morally permissible. The lesson to be learned from the past history is that what is immoral can never be conducive to true and just peace. When the masses are sufficiently oppressed and fearful to keep open hostilities at bay, what could exist is a state of living that can be defined as latent peace or partial peace. To put the point another way, the antagonism that characterizes such a society is so strong that it would be appropriate to define the state of peace as antagonistic peace. For example, the system of government-by-emperor that existed in Japan from the late 19th century through the first half of the 20th century manipulated and exploited the people in precisely the manner of Western monarchs.

The irony of the Japanese experience is that the imperial system required an absolute submission and dedication to the imperial causes under the guise of loyalty to the

Emperor. The fact that such devotion and loyalty were related to imperialism, intervention, expansionism, colonialism and other forms of despotism was irrelevant. The plundering and waste of life of those who had no choice but to serve for the Emperor could be viewed as one of the worst cases of antagonistic peace that the world has ever seen. Indeed, the attempt to annex Korea, to conquer the northeast quadrant of China, and to move across the Pacific Ocean with the declaration of war in World War II, can hardly be considered peace in any form at all.

Absent justice and honor, there can be no real peace among the people and nothing other than hatred for those who impose cruelty in the name of the law. Law alone clearly is not enough ensure peace. For example, a contract that gives all the rights to one side and all the obligations to the other may, indeed, be legal if the law of the land provides for such contracts, but the legality is far from justice. In essence, a society that flourishes only because of despotic will can never foster the true peace or peace-buidling mechanisms.

(3) Veiled peace

The term "veil" is related to the veil of half-truth which monarchs habitually drew over their own acts of inhumanity to ensure the continuation of their own wealth

and power. During the Middle Ages, the monarchs maintained peace only because of the absolute power wielded by Kings and Royal families. It was only on the backs of the people that such powers could be realized and poverty among the people was considered the natural state of affairs. However, the fact that it was considered natural did not mean that there was no resistance to the King's will, and it was that resistance that formed the spirit of future revolutionaries.

Machiavelli's Prince, the perfect embodiment of shrewdness and self-control, who makes capital alike of his virtues and his vices little more than an idealized picture of the Italian tyrant of the 16th century.¹⁵⁶ Machiavelli, in his book: *The Prince*, offers a dramatic picture of life under the monarchs of his age. Pointing out that Kings must use any means, no matter how wicked, to maintain absolute power, he allows the reader to see the society through the eyes of the monarch, which means viewing the masses as nothing more than the means to keep the King on his throne.

According to Sabine, "the only way to establish any kind of order is to found a monarchical government... It

156. George A. Sabine, *A History of Political Theory*. New York: Hold Rinehart & Winston, 1961, p. 346.

becomes necessary to establish some superior power which with royal hand, and with full and absolute powers, may put a curb upon the excessive ambition and corruption of the powerful." ¹⁵⁷ Peace, in such a society, is at best a state of non-war maintained by wily activity on the part of the monarch and his royal supporters, all of whom were periodically required to issue false promises, practice deceit upon those who would question or explore royal fiats, and frequently punish by death those who would oppose the royal will. In a real sense, those who died because of their opposition to poverty, illness, disease, outrageous taxation and other expressions of regal power died as political prisoners. Under the circumstances, peace could be defined as the result of deception and trickery. In other words, the monarchs made a mockery of the true meaning of peace.

Unfortunately, a similar phenomenon has persisted to modern society on an international scale. For example, the Shah of Iran, Somoza of Nicaragua, Marcos of the Philippines, and Batista of Cuba became vastly wealthy and terrifyingly powerful at the expense of the people they ruled. Each of them fulfilled what Richard Morse characterized as essential

157. Ibid., pp. 347-348.

qualities for a dictator that "the crucial importance is the leader's commanding presence, and that he be physically disciplined, skilled in warfare, and with a need to learn the nature of the land." ¹⁵⁸ Each of them held the power at the expense of the people who were terrorized, beaten, imprisoned, cowed and ill-used in order to keep the peace. The political and social intrigue implicit in such a peace can only be termed a form of deceit and the state that lives with such a terror knows what is termed a "veiled peace."

(4) Oligarchical peace

Since the nature of despotism precludes the possibility of peace that relates to freedom and equality, no despot can be said to have achieved a measure of true peace. Nevertheless, even the worst tyrant had need for the support of those who most closely surrounded him, and it was this need to work with the aristocracy that led to the beginnings of an oligarchical peace. When the upper classes became the ruling classes, the absolute power was no longer concentrated in the hands of the monarch, rather it was shared even if only by a few. The consensus of the privileged few formed the beginnings of Hobbes' concept of

158. Richard M. Morse, Toward a Theory of Spanish American Government. New York: The City University of New York, Journal of the History of Ideas, Vol. XV, No. 1, 1954, pp. 71-93.

agreement by the people, although the people were not representative of the masses. Agreements leading to an oligarchical peace such as the peace of the Magna Carta or the peace of the ancient Greek city-state could be formulated with reference to Hobbes' concept of the particular man or to Aristotle's concept of qualification and eligibility of peoples.

In order to insure the unbridled participation of all mature social members, a provision was made by Hobbes for the democratic election of public administrators even though only the aristocrats were allowed to vote. According to Aristotle, the distinction between democracy and oligarchy depends on whether the public officials are subject to democratic voting process. Although an oligarchy could be broadly based in the population, it normally distilled its power from a narrow band of the population, which frequently led to the political dominance of a faction that formed a self-perpetuating corporation filling public offices from its own ranks without even a show of election, and in extreme cases a few families, or even a single family monopolized the offices.¹⁵⁹ Regardless of its nature,

159. George H. Sabine, *A History of Political Theory*. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1961, p. 111.

the oligarchical government produces an oligarchical peace because the masses of people, who belong to the lower classes, can not participate in the government. Thus their needs are generally unvoiced and irrelevant. However, oligarchy is still better than the rule of one man which produces despotism.

(5) Legal peace

Enlightenment, political and intellectual, was an evolutionary process, moving from the style portrayed by Machiavelli to the level of agreement posed by Hobbes and to Montesquieu's suffrage of eminent personages.¹⁶⁰ Montesquieu described the right of suffrage as a fundamental law in republics. In other words, suffrage by lot is natural to democracy as that of choice is to aristocracy. Suffrage by lot is a method that offends no one, yet it animates each citizen with the pleasing hope of serving his country. Suffrage invokes governmental questions of law because the people are in some respects the sovereignty but through suffrages, which are extensions of individual wills.

Sovereignty is a case of universally independent wills working through suffrage for the establishment of power capable of running the government. Therefore, the law which

160. Charles Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Law*. Translated by Thomas Nugent. New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1949, pp. 8-18.

establish the right of suffrage are fundamental to government.¹⁶¹ As Montesquieu stated, "when the body of the people is possessed by the supreme power, it is called a democracy."¹⁶² However, what Montesquieu did not believe was that the masses of the people were as capable of self-rule as those who held power. Rather, he agreed that "the lower class ought to be directed by those of higher rank, and restrained without bounds by the gravity of eminent personages."¹⁶³

Despite Montesquieu's reluctance to accord the lower and middle classes their just due insofar as participatory democracy is concerned, he made an unmatched contribution to the democratic process. It is curious that he did so since he was adamant about keeping the power of the ballot box out of the hands of greater part of the populace. In his view, the vote was to remain limited to the upper class. Still, it was Montesquieu who proposed the separation of powers of a government into the categories of the legislative, the executive and the judicial, a form of government that exists today.¹⁶⁴

It was against this background that legal peace is

161. Ibid., p. 11.

162. Ibid., p. 12.

163. Ibid.

164. World Book Encyclopedia. Chicago, Ill.: Field Enterprises Educational Corp., 1975, Vol. 13, pp. 635-636.

maintained because a body of laws exists that offers sufficient protection to the masses to keep open revolt at bay while, simultaneously, it affords the upper classes more or less absolute control. It is a system of government that exists today in many parts of the world and is but a short step away from martial law. In fact, martial law fits this description rather well since the power in the hands of the few ensures obedience by the many. For example, Chile, Indonesia, South Korea and some other police states maintain this type of government.

The great weakness in legal peace is the nature and quality of the laws which ensure the peace. The crucial questions, therefore, arise: laws to protect whom? From what? By whom? Laws that protect property at the expense of human life can hardly be called just. Constitutional law may certainly be legal, but it is unjust if the constitutional system imposes inequities upon one class in order to enhance the power and wealth of another. In this context, the weakness in Montesquieu's theory is that his view of democracy was that extent of democracy was limited to the rich and powerful who were permitted to remain rich and powerful only because his concept of democracy did not encompass the weak and the poor.

A society that abuses human rights and imposes injustice

upon the masses cannot be considered to be a democratic society. Therefore, the concept of eminent personages constitutes an oligarchy, not a democracy, although it remains a fact that Montesquieu's theory gave rise to movements by the people toward full and open democracies that were to develop many years later.

(6) Secular peace

Secular peace is related to the growing importance of general will as a basic strength of the government. The participation of the masses in government automatically means that no single ruler can hold power. Rousseau refers to this as the "general will" and stresses the role of general will in a participatory democracy, particularly insofar as it affects the role of the courts and the role of those elected by the people to rule them. Even more simply stated, it means that "this general will is bound by counting noses." ¹⁶⁵ Of course, this is an approach to government which mandates local control with persons knowledgeable about a particular area or region elected to protect those local interests. To begin with, Rousseau's concept of secular peace could be fulfilled by those elected officials.

More and more citizens of secularized Western nations

165. Sabine, op. cit., p. 591.

are acquiring greater liberty, freedom, and equality through the voting process, a system of progress through the amending the constitutional mandates, which could produce a better democracy. Since "the fundamental principle of representative government is that the people shall be governed by officers of their choosing," ¹⁶⁶ a system of government that provides for the election of local representatives is a superior system of government. In a sense, it is preferable to that exists in socialist nations. However, since most elected officials are limited to those from the upper or upper middle classes, the practical effect of such a system is to render it inferior to socialism.

When those who represent the people are true representatives of the people, the democracy is almost perfect and the government will be a source of justice and equality. Although many Western nations have systems reasonably close to this ideal, it is a fact that no system, as yet, has perfected democracy. If we could develop a nearly perfect democratic system, there is a good reason to believe that social ills such as crime, unemployment, unsatisfied social needs, poverty, and other social evils could be cured. A just society will be relatively free from these problems.

166. Ernest Barker, *Reflections on Government*. London, England: Oxford University Press, 1966, pp. 41-63.

(7) Mass peace

To begin with, the term "mass" is related to the working class and the strength of that class as envisioned by Marx and Engles. In the process of industrial development, the proletariat not only increases in number but also grows in its strength. By the same token, the various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalized.¹⁶⁷ From the bourgeois' point of view, the masses of labor are organized like soldiers.

In a socociety which allows the mass of people to hold the power, the government is truly organized and administered by the people for the benefit of the people. Those benefits include an equitable distribution of wealth, virtually no unemployment, no privileged class, and only a modest divergence in wages as between the highest and lowest wage earners. Classes as commonly thought of would not exist in such a society and the divisions are conceivable in three categories such as (1) those who are responsible for overall national planning of social order, (2) those who are responsible for management and supervision, and (3) the largest group of workers. In other words, the

167. Harold Laski, *The Communist Manifesto*. New York: Random House, 1967.

divisions are only related to work functions rather than to acquired wealth or power. Perhaps this is the meaning of true peace in a society in which the majority would rule peacefully.

Marx and Engles equate "mass" with "strength" and speak of greater masses meaning greater strength in society. The greater strength may result in control of the government and in the development of true democracy. Although such an assumption remains to be a theory, the government controlled by the people exists in some Eastern nations. For example, self-government by the working class exists in Yugoslavia.¹⁶⁸ The powerful administrative and mobilizing participants are considered instrumental for the take-off stage towards modernizing, and for an accelerated economic growth. In the socialist system of government in the Ukraine, the economy has grown rapidly in the last thirty years, and the standard of living has markedly risen.¹⁶⁹ The national military organization of modern China uses no visible class systems to indicate rank, and North Korea totally eliminated the income tax system.

What is called into question is the role of the

168. Peter Jambrek, *Development and Socialism in Yugoslavia*. Saxon House: Lexington Book, 1975, p.125.

169. Yaroslov Bilinsky, *The Second Soviet Republic*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University, 1964, pp. 287-288.

national leader and the absence of multiple political parties and their consequent availability of free and open discussion. Nevertheless, the historical age of socialism is still young and the socialist system holds the positive and hopeful future in their hands. If the socialist system is combined with the strength of Western democratic experiences, it would provide the vitality and the dynamics of building the lasting peace in the United Nation City. It would be a rare opportunity that the world has never yet seen.

(8) Chartered (U.N.) peace

We, the people of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war...to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights ... to promote social progress...and for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace... to unite our strength to maintain international peace... 170

The concept of chartered peace is related to the Charter of the United Nations that is interested in maintaining peace on an international scale and dealing with the higher ideal of peaceful coexistence. According to the Charter 1, the purposes of the United Nations are (1) to maintain international peace and security, and (2) to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect

170. The preamble of the United Nations Charter.

for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace.¹⁷¹ Indeed, the Charter says nothing at all about the government; rather it deals with international goals.

As it is presently organized, the United Nations does, if only to a limited degree, extend the spirit of its Charter to the nations of the world and provides a forum for the airing of hostilities and grievances. At the very least, the forum has permitted the peoples of the world to know more about , and therefore react more intelligently, to the dangerous situations such as the Cubbans in Angola, Russians in Afghanistan, and the United States in South Korea. In spite of the many situations in which peace keeping forces have been engaged, there is no consensus among the members on what actually constitutes a peace keeping operation.¹⁷² Neveththeless, we may build and promulgate the consensus for peace buidling by our continuing efforts to promote the human rights in the spirit of the Charter.

Proclaiming the period of Human Rights week in December, President Eisenhower called upon the American citizens

171. Ralph Townley, *The United Nations*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968, p. 104.

172. *Ibid*.

to observe the universal declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations and pointed out that "we must grow in our understanding of the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable right of each member of the human family to advance universal freedom and justice..."¹⁷³ Both Antisthenes and Diogenes are said to have written books on politics and both seem to have sketched a kind of idealized communism or perhaps anarchy, in which property, marriage, and government disappeared. They thought that most men, of whatever social class, are in any case fools, and that the good life is only for the wise man who is also the only qualified inhabitant of the ideal form of society. Their descriptions of a purely harmonized society replete with an ideal ecology are discordant with the United Nations' vision because the possibility of peace without a stable family structure or a government is small.

Whereas the United Nations addresses real world situations, the philosophy can produce contradictions and illogical dictums: if equality is a condition of equal status among men , then how can equality ever be achieved if it is only possible among the privileged wise men of society? According to Diogenes, all wise men everywhere form a

173. Year Book on Human Rights: 1959. New York: U.N. Publication, No. 61, XIV 1, 1961, p. 309.

single community-the city of the world- and the wise man is a cosmopolitan, a citizen of the world. In this same vein, the vision of the United Nations is to develop a global concept of democracy for all human species.

(9) Likeliest peace

The gradual development of peace and peace building mechanism has been slow, evolving from Hobbes' concept of agreement between the ruled the ruling to the aims and goals expressed by the Charter of the United Nations. To date, however, there is little reason to believe that a lasting and just world-wide peace will ever be achieved unless a major step is taken. The obvious organization to sponsor such a step is the United Nations, which already has administrative and managerial facilities in place, and the next step is the United Nations City as proposed by this paper.

The terrifying nature of the weapons now available to the world's super powers is such that the prospect of an enforced peace is rapidly becoming not only more attractive, but an urgent necessity. Even if the arms race were to come to an absolute halt today, there is now available and stockpiled sufficient nuclear, electronic and chemical weapons and arms to devastate the entire globe, leaving alive only a species of life too awful to contemplate.

By virtue of the curiously contradictory nature of the human species, the same brilliance and dedication which went into the design, construction and manufacture of these weapons is available and on hand to turn itself to peaceful purposes. If it is too much to hope that nation after nation will, without outside intervention, turn its strengths and resources to peaceful purposes, perhaps it is not too much to hope that the United Nations might act as the catalyst to effect such a turn-about. The result of such a major effort on the part of the United Nations would be construction of a United Nations City.

If the issue of the United Nations City, jointly sponsored by every member nation, comes to the floor for discussion and debate, it is more likely that such a project would be sanctioned by the United Nations. That sanction would automatically mean that a series of non-military assistance pacts would be enacted since mutual assistance would be mutually beneficial. Given the construction of a United Nations City, operated and managed by specially organized committees and drawing upon the facilities and expertise of the United Nations, it becomes possible to view coexistence as a fully-operable and fully-sanctioned policy of government, accepted, aided, and abetted by every nation. The need for military intervention would

lessen; the arms race would halt; the economic resources would be used for peaceful purposes. Populated by people from every nation in the world, a generation of children would be born in the City, a generation of those who would experience peace as the normal state of human affairs. Their children, in turn, born of parents who accepted the concept of positive peace as an active policy of world government, would discover new uses for the world's resources, resources unused or untapped in the past because so much energy was required to maintain the war machines. The prospect of an abatement of world hunger, a diminution of disease and illness, of high rates of infant mortality, of overpopulation and underdevelopment of natural resources, becomes a prospect tinged with the aura of reality.

Perhaps the likeliest peace is the highest form of humanly visualized, realizable, and actualized co-living conditions for the human species. Since it is not a dream or a fancy eco-environment, it is the highest realizable human society within the bounds of the concept and the spirit of the United Nations Charter. At this juncture, the crucial question arises: What are the major conceptual differences between the Chartered peace and the Likeliest peace?

Chartered peaceLikeliest peace

(1) Based on international organization.	(1) Based on world government.
(2) National traditions are closely held.	(2) National traditions could be exchanged.
(3) Many stratifications are maintained.	(3) Stratifications are extinguished by an absolute equality.
(4) Charter is fixed.	(4) Charter could be amended.

In summary, the construction of the United Nations City will bring the likeliest peace environment as a positive policy, sanctioned by and supported by the world community. Perhaps the likeliest peace will be peace brought about by the City's exemplary social environment.

(10) Pure (Absolute) peace

The older stratum of thought may be seen in such a pre-reformation work as Sir Thomas Moore's political satire, the Utopia (first published in 1516). Though modeled externally on Plato's Republic, the Utopia really expressed the author's dislike of an acquisitive society in which it was becoming good morals to "buy abroad very cheap and sell again exceeding dear." The satire follows a pattern which might serve for any period of economic maladjustment: crime is alarmingly common and is met corresponding savagery in

the criminal law.¹⁷⁴ Perhaps this absolutely ideal paradise could not be realized. Utopia or paradise may be a pleasing concept for dreams but it has little to do with life or with nations. For the sake of reality, it must be assumed that peace on a world scale does not and cannot mean total harmony among the people. In other words, harmony and peace are not synonymous, particularly when used in relation to governments and those who are governed. For example, absolute harmony among the people would eliminate competition as a viable means to effect perfection. The competitive drive, having survived since the beginning of time, can be assumed to be natural to the human animal; yet those who compete can never be considered to be completely in harmony with one another. That competition or lack of total harmony need not be removed from peace and peaceful aims. Individual satisfactions will always take precedence among the masses of the people, and that drive keeps total harmony at bay.

Pure or absolute peace is not necessarily an ideal goal for humankind. Relegated to the worlds of paradise or utopia, it remains removed from reality and therefore not worthy of serious consideration by the present and future

174. Sabine, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

peace building process in the world.

(11) Pseudo peace

Several police men are now protecting the New York City Cuban Mission to the United Nations which was twice bombed probably by anti-Castro factions. A Cuban diplomat was killed on the streets of New York City. The American Embassy was occupied for over one year by Iranian youth demonstrators in Teheran. Some 10,000 Salvadoran armed guerrillas, peasants, and dissidents died last year, but the ruling junta, which is assured of all out American support, is more interested in its survival than in its reform policies. All of these examples demonstrate the forms of pseudo peace which keeps open war at bay.

Pseudo peace could be used to characterize relations between the United States and Cuba, and the consequent activities related to the Cuban Mission in New York City. It can also apply to the actions recently surrounding the United States Embassy in Iran, where certainly the tension was high but there was no real war. It is a state of being that can exist briefly or for long periods as with the guerrilla warfare in El Salvador. Pseudo peace is also characterized by border incidents, occupation of one government's physical property by representatives of another government, by student uprisings, by guerilla warfare, by numerous and

varied forms of armed combat that is kept relatively closely contained within a world which is not openly at war with itself.

B. SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE

The purpose of this section is to analyze the seven steps of socio-economic development for peace in terms of the conflict resolution and the psychological conditions which affect the developmental process for peace.

(1) Primitive Age

The causes remain unknown as to why the transition from a hunting-collection way of life retreated, ushering in an agricultural and husbandry way of life occurred. Tribal interrelationships were symbiotic and commensalism were to be found in the social network joining the tribal units. Since the earth was numbered by such a small contingent of humans, real war could not exist and the fighting was instinctly primitive without the tactical use of ferrous weapons. Thus the absence of real war relieved the era of grossly entangling disagreements which allowed an uninterrupted primitive peace.¹⁷⁵

175. William H. McNeill. The Rise of the West. Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1963, p. 13.

It was during the frigid Mousterian Period that primitive or prehistoric men first moved into cave shelters. The dwelling housed the familial head along with his mate and their children. The living conditions were stark far from those that would be eventually distinguish rulers as recipients of splendor and extravagance.¹⁷⁶ However, the very harshness imposed by the domineering problems of simple struggle for existence, planted a social seedbed with relationships that grew a natural peace.

Since there was no human destruction of nature, in primitive peace a naturally balanced and ecologically primitive environment existed. The cerebral aspect of human society was virtually undeveloped, but the factor of creativity was emerging as a central ability to be used in solving the puzzles encountered daily. For example, the primitive man used implements, flint, his fist and stone hatchets for collecting and processing rituals. According to Thorndike:

During the stone age, flint implements were perhaps not the earliest to be used by our distant forebearers, but partly on account of their durability, they are the oldest and chief product of early human life which has been preserved for our inspection. The most common implement used by primitive man in the

176. Ralph L. Beals and Harry Hoijer, *An Introduction to Anthropology*. New York: The MacMillan Co., 1956, p. 422.

early stone age seems to have been the fist-hatchet, a flint of such a size and shape to be conveniently grasped in the hand given an edge by striking it against another stone and chipping off flakes. 177

Humans were dependent upon the vagaries of natural forces since the level of cultural development remained basal. In fact, the life cycle of humans probably was not very different from that of the other biologically advanced animals who shared the earth with the primitive humans. Perhaps these primitive social conditions produced primitive or natural peace.

Primitive people domesticated the dog, drew various pictures of animals on cave walls, manufactured pottery, cultivated food plants, and in general adopted a more settled and civilized mode of life in the new stone age.¹⁷⁸ Trading, which was begun by societies as a means whereby they could exchange their particularly refined products, instituted routes along which newly innovated items transversed. When the bronze age created tools with greater durability than stone tools, new trade routes were established.

One product of the discovery of language, music, dance,

177. Lynn Thorndike, *A Short History of Civilization*. New York: F.S. Crofts & Co., 1926, p. 13.

178. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

and religion was totemism, which was a widespread system among uncivilized people that divided their societies into groups or clans.¹⁷⁹ The strong social ties that bound people into families, clans, and tribes were built upon consanguineous relations so that mutual aid could be unimpededly directed to problems of maintaining prosperity and peace, and innovating productive and organizational practices. The relatively high reliability and trustworthiness inherent in consanguineous relations, which characterizes both primitive and modern family structure, created an environment free from political oppressions and exploitations that served as the nursery for fundamental peace. In other words, this peace, a social peace, was harmonized with the natural phenomena of the material world and transformed into an ecological peace in the primitive age.

From the political point of view, primitive peace was a product of primitive democracy. Primitive peace was based on the kinship ties and especially blood ties which infused the social network of personal and organizational relations with binders of trust and confidence. Therefore, the incipient government could be traced to the informal decisions of an assembly of elders who ruled in ancient Mesopotamia.

179. Ibid., pp. 28-30.

(2) Division of Labor

A momentous juncture in human history was made when divisions were clarified and used by men as organizational principles. The discovery of distinct industries within the economic order, the management of various living materials, the administration of manpower, the maintenance of social order through systems of office holders, and the control of social conflicts and sexual differences were embedded in the divisions of class, labor and sex.

Spencer regarded the division of labor as an extension of the cosmic differentiation of matter and organic life, and, accordingly, it was a subject to the same physical laws that governed the formation and development of stellar bodies from cosmic dust.¹⁸⁰ The division of labor is spontaneously generated at that moment when human groupings socialize into societies. Because the division of labor has both space and time elements, it cannot be satisfactorily explained by one of the unidimensional elements as both Spencer and Durkheim did when they referred solely to the cosmic differentiation of matter and its bearing on social life. Besides the analysis of the cosmic, the horizontal and vertical space, social science needs an analysis

180. Herbert Spncer, *Essay: Scientific, Political and Speculative*. New York: D. Appelton & Co., 1899, Vol. 1, pp. 8-19.

of the social time element for the valid explanation of the division of labor.¹⁸¹

Human acts domesticating animals, manufacturing cloth and garments, constructing cottages and public works, administering labor, and maintaining stable families, signaled the beginning of the various divisions of labor. Two questions immediately arise: How should we analyze the horizontal aspect of the division of labor? Is there any correlation between the division of labor and the division of class? We can best approach the answer to the first of these questions by way of the answer to the second. The original coordinative function of the division of labor was gradually diverted as a tool for exploitation by the despotic rulers. Those who fattered the despotic rulers moved up the social strata by acquiring the positions that forbade any allegiance to the lower classes.

The division of labor was used as a tool for exploitation by the greedy monarchs and aristocrats. As a result, a political class society was created and the oppression and exploitation became the accepted conditions of that society. The ruling classes subordinated their methods to the division of labor and coherently exploited the products

181. Henedy M. Clark, *The Division of Labor and the Culture of Capitalism*. Buffalo, N.Y.: State University of New York, 1968, pp.1-2.

Division of Labor

Division of Work (Horizontal)	Materials	Production Process
	Personnel	Management Process Education Personnel Wages
Division of class (Vertical)	Rules by King and Aristocrat	Despotic Elected
	Middle-class (Managers & Bourgeoisie)	Flatterer Faithful
	People	General Truth
Division of Creation	Theory	Social Art Natural
	Practice	Society Economy Law
Division of sex	Equality	Male Female

of craftsmen. Excess females became the concubines serving the despotic ruler's egoistic perversions. Eventually the ruling class power was compelled to give in as a result of the people's struggle for truth and social justice. It was exactly in this context, Marx saw the historical struggle between the masses and the rulers as a history of class conflict.

Turning to the time dimension of the division of labor, it was the stabilizing effect of the family that fundamentally harnessed the prehistoric human currents into the first civilization. People were confronted by a harsh environment which needed the application of a division of labor in order to propel humanity into the age of civilization. As the father headed a family, Kings were installed as leaders of larger social groupings. This was the beginning of the class conflicts.

(3) Feudal Age

When the territorial enlargement created vast lands too difficult for a single ruler to manage, he divided up the land into districts headed by appointees. This managerial arrangement flourished and became one of the central relationships in what came to be known historically as the feudal age. Feudalism, a political and military system of Western Europe during the Middle Ages(A.D. 700's-

Relationship Between the Class and Labor

Prehistoric Age	King' Age	Feudal Age	Bourgeois Age	Capitalist Age	Socialist Age
Chiftain Clan Householder Family	King & his family Religious Leader Flatterer Manager Slavery People	King Lord Military men Vassals Peasant Slave	Aristocrat Bougeoisie Factory owner Trader Banker Peasants and Labor	Capitalist Imperialist Peasants and Labor	Socialist Workers

1100's), created order out of the disorder that remained after the collapse of the Roman Empire. Under feudalism, a capable ruler could bring efficient government and peace to his people, although only the noblemen and aristocratic warriors could take part in governmental practices.

The word feudalism has served an astounding variety of purposes in every day speech as well as in the writings of historians and social scientists.¹⁸² Comparative political analysis of medieval Europe and seventeenth century northern Nigerian Interlacustrine Bantu have employed this word, especially in the accounts of Nadel of Nupe and Maquet of Ruanda.¹⁸³ A section of Nadel's study is actually entitled "the Feudal State" wherein he describes the manner in which tribute was collected and how the kingdom was divided by the royal house into territories individually administered by lords, who played an important part in the formation and logistics of military forces commanded by the King.¹⁸⁴ African feudalism was the analogue of European feudalism. In other words, the lords, who were recruited by the King, worked loyally for the ruler's social hegemony.

182. George Dalton, *Economic Development and Social Change*. New York: The Natural History Press, 1971, pp. 148-149.

183. Jack Goody, *Feudalism in Africa*. *Journal of African History*, London, England: Cambridge University Press, 1963, Vol.IV, No.1, p.1.

184. Dalton, op. cit., pp. 152-153.

The most usual attempt to broaden the definition of feudalism stresses social and economic factors; in its simplest form, it would find the essence of feudalism in the exploitation of an agricultural population by a ruling group. Of course, it occurred in the feudal society of Western Europe as well as in many other societies both before and after the Middle Ages.¹⁸⁵ The political function was dependent upon limiting agreements between a small number of individuals whose political authority was treated as a private possession allowing their subordination of any hinderances to this political authority. Since the peasants were forced into capitulating their freedom for the restraints of feudal regulations, the source of feudal power was to be found in the land and its products. According to Coulborn:

Most ruling classes have been supported by the labor of peasants cultivators and have assumed the right to command, judge, and tax their inferiors. In Western Europe, this power of local lord over his villagers far antedates anything which can be called feudalism. These powers were so large that they seem to have constituted much of the substance of feudal rights-if they were feudal. 186

Jean Bodin investigated serfdom and decided that feudalism was most oppressive and the powers of the lords are

185. Joseph R. Strayer, *Feudalism*. Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand Co., 1965, p. 13.

186. Rushton Coulborn, *Feudalism in History*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965, pp. 6-7.

the greatest when a strong central government controlled lords and peasants alike. By the same token, in feudal Russia the peasants and serfdoms were exploited by their landlords and masters. Between 1649 and 1762 the serfdom came close to actual slavery, though not identical with it. Serfs were sold, separately without even land in spite of timid attempts on the part of the imperial government to react against it. There was nothing to justify this custom in the legal system. It resulted from the absolute dependence into which serfs fell upon their landlords who during this time became their judges, tax collectors, and police.

Feudal land was leased for 99 to 999 years or at least three generations.¹⁸⁷ This provided continuity for the central forces of feudal power and instigated a permanence of the tributary relationship of vassal to lord. Serfs remained retarded in their social progress preferring fury, resentment, and dissatisfaction to an active program for the dismissal of unearned holders of socially powerful posts. Partly this can be attributed to the peasants acceptance of Christianity in a form interpreted by the Catholic Church that spiritually legitimized the vast social depth in which

187. Lewis Mumford, *The City in History*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World Inc., p. 416.

the peasants lay beneath the lords.

(4) Bourgeois Age

The vertical division of labor shows the middle class as two embodiments of the bourgeoisie; the administrative managers and the economical bourgeoisie. These are closely related from one to another because the managers obtain a good salary and the bourgeoisie could buy their way into office. Standard definitions of the bourgeoisie indicate them to be citizens of towns and middle class people who own factories and other means of production.¹⁸⁸ They are the rich of a society, gaining wealth and social status by successfully exploiting industrial processes, commercial exchanges, and the labor of the working people.

The dispersion of power from despotic Kings and their circle of appointees to individual bourgeois businessmen offered great opportunity for the more enterprising individualists within the subordinated classes to improve their social status. On inchoate middle class is associated with the dissipation of those relations that harness the lower classes in their position of submission.¹⁸⁹

The social interval between classes has been shortened. For example, from a great distance between rulers and slaves

188. The World Book Encyclopedia. Chicago, Ill.:Field Enterprises Educational Corp., Vol. 4, 1975, p. 726.

189. Henry Grayson, The Crisis of the Middle Class. New York: Rinehart & Co., 1955, p. 75.

in the despotic age, to a shorter distance between lord and vassals in the feudal age, to an even shorter distance between bourgeoisie and workers in the industrial era, the interclass agreements are promoted more frequently. On the other hand, in their final attempts to secure what remained of dwindling aristocratic power, tyrants hardened their leadership by increasing taxes since the bourgeois emerged as a powerful group opposing the aristocrats and held the sympathy of many of the lower class members. The revolt of the American colonies against England was distantly a middle class revolt against such upper class privilege. Because freedom was obtained by open conflict rather than by compromise, many restrictions which might otherwise have continued in vestigial form were swept away.

The bourgeois society pioneered three important advantages for the working class. First, higher wages and shortened working hours; second, individual working contracts; and finally broader opportunities for cultural and vocational training. As a result, the society was now reaching down deeply into the lower class in order to bring up new additions to the middle class. At the same time, most of the bourgeoisie concentrated their business acumen on the techniques of profit making and labor exploitation. Even

in their residential neighborhoods, the middle class segregated itself from the working class much as the aristocracy had segregated itself from the peasants in an earlier era.¹⁹⁰ Consequently, these communities were capable of producing a harmonious bourgeois peace because homogeneity prevailed in the middle class communities. As a matter of fact, the incomes were substantially higher than the society's median income, the educational systems taught the superiority of middle class values, and the neighborhoods were ethnically pure. If the economic exploitation can be momentarily suspended as a historical reality, the community peace, based on family peace, is an admirable accomplishment of the bourgeois era.

(5) Capitalistic Era and Neo-Capitalistic Age

In the imperialistic era prior to World War II, the monopolized peace was a prevailing condition in the world. In spite of the economic success of the cartels and trusts, The capitalists were resilient in the face of governtental antitrust attacks and business cycle vagaries. At the same time, the working class was discontent in its relationship with the middle class. While the capitalists reaped the

190. Colin R. Bell, *Middle Class Families*. London, England: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1968, p. 12.

larger portion of benefits, the working class was responsible for the actual production of goods and services. The capitalists monopolized the supply and demand vectors, stock market, and governmental economic control mechanism, and they disenfranchised themselves from social problems and their resolutions.

It is not peculiar that the capitalism is related to imperialism and the arms trade. However, the economic techniques of imperialism were not refined enough to avoid international banking and trading irregularities that brought severe disorder to the capitalistic world. For example, twenty-five percent of America's labor force was unemployed at the peak of the Great Depression in the United States during the 1930's. By the same token, in Germany, the depression catapulted the country into a period of dictatorship.

Freedom has gained the momentum under the American democratic system after the Second World War when the right-of-man philosophy was institutionally installed as an organizational principle. However, the two important political parties replicate the middle class and leave the working class unrepresented. There are no nationwide large lower class political parties in the United States. Therefore, England, Germany, and France have more representative

political systems allowing the undistorted opinions of all social classes. For example, the existence of the English Labor Party, the German Social Democratic Party, or the various working class parties of France shows the relative higher level of democratic development in these three countries. In the secular movement toward democratic peace, each social class -lower, middle and upper- must have its voice in the general assemblies that decide policy over the entire nation.

The effectiveness and utility of lower class parties are often questioned because the working class vote is traditionally weak in the United States. One reason for this situation is that workers fail to register to vote or to vote as frequently as more affluent people do. Nevertheless, the secularizing trend that impels greater political participation of the working class has proven the interest of the working class in politics to be authentic and capable of shaping the social destiny of the nation. For example, a socialist was voted into the presidency of France, a socialist into the premiership in Greece, and the communists into the Japanese legislature.

One of the worst problems in capitalism is underemployment which brings various crimes, suicide, psychological struggles, poor classes, and fundamental human devaluation.

This condition is a gross violation of the political tenets of the right-of-man philosophy. The productive waste caused by unemployment indicates the need to assign prominence to the interests of workers who want nothing less than suitable jobs, safe living and working conditions, and a viable social security system. The government may say that it provides good unemployment benefits and a fully funded social security system, but it seems not even began to chip away unemployment and the human tragedy caused by the capitalist system. Modern governments must develop a functional full employment policy that is consistent with the right-of-man philosophy which sustains equality, freedom, and social peace for all.

One cause of unemployment is the large wage differential in capitalistic nations. In order to reduce unemployment and restore the vigor in their economies, these nations must discount the upper wage earner's salaries, aid small business employers and employees, fund general industry over the military industry, and educate the people in a way consistent with the right-of-man philosophy. Perhaps we may be able to suppress the egocentric qualities of men by integrating that philosophy into the main stream of the life.

(6) The Age of Working People

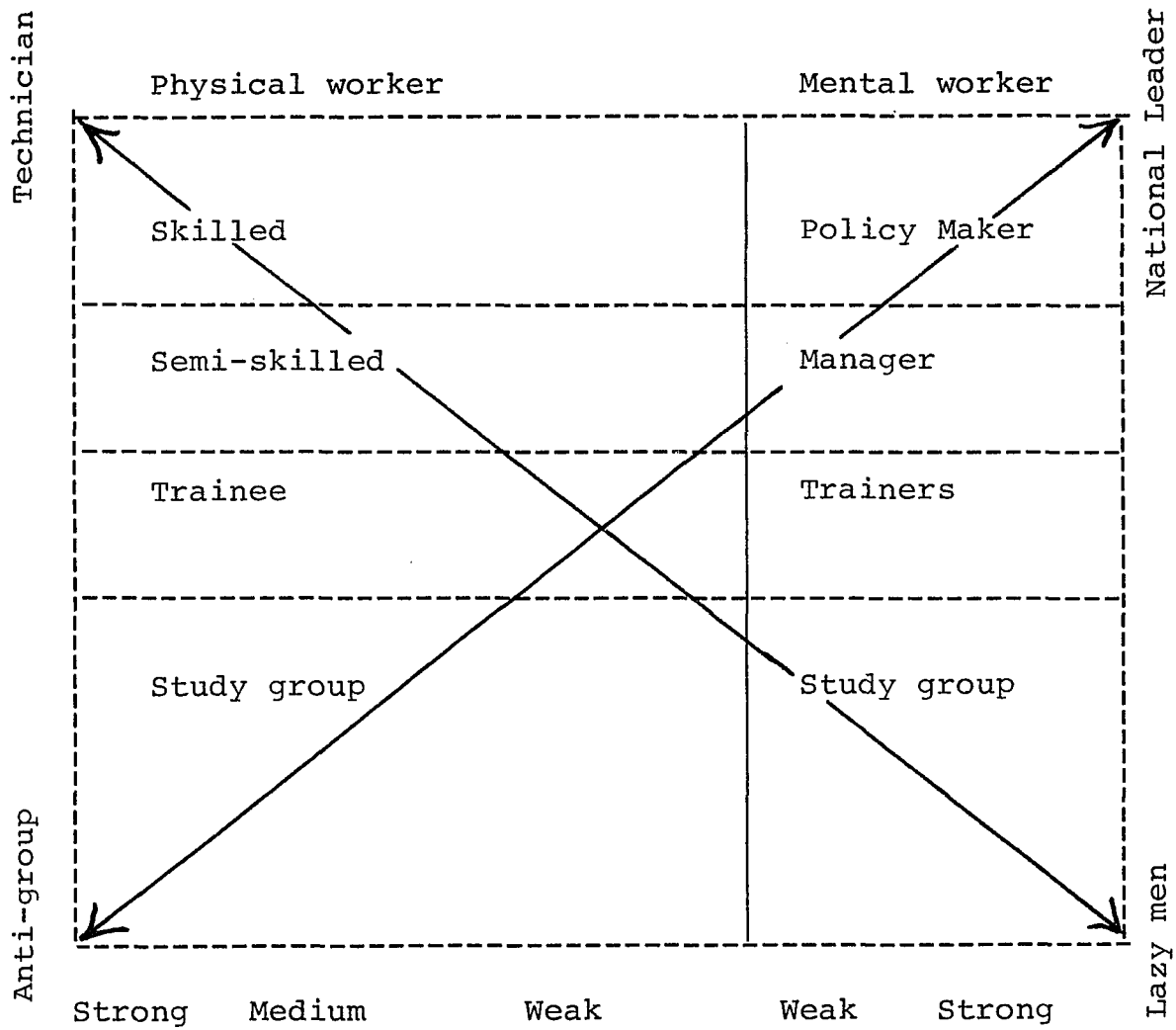
When a society becomes worker centered, it places human values above the economic values, discourages exploitation and oppression of the labor force, and may work for the elimination of the class conflict. Under the circumstances, the common denominator of work is the physical and mental effort exerted in industry. It is not the output of labor which will always vary according to individual ability. For example, the handicaped workers often work at lower efficiencies than their fellow workers, yet they are exerting full efforts and working within their limitations as all workers do in some sense.

In light of Marx's refusal to separate philosophy and the everyday world, the constituents must therefore be assigned operative positions in the everyday world of politics, economics, and social legislation. Social conditions that are generated out and consistant with these constituents are the most viable for defining a social reality conducive to the interests of the working class. An environment that sympathizes and adjusts to the particular needs of the long term unemployed, the underemployed, the beggars and the hobos stands as an objective and realizable social environment based on Marx's ontological analysis. Standing against the instituting of such an environment are the many envious, hating, and malevolent social factions found

in modern capitalism such as pseudo aristocrats, financial tycoos, drug traffickers, greedy businessmen, exploitive middlemen, lobbyists, political pressure groups, professional perverts, and unenlightened public servants.

At this juncture, a principal question of social ontology is: How can the people make a prosperous human society strong enough to sustain the momentum? Society cannot subscribe to forced labor devoid of individual freedom, but must depend upon the voluntary contribution of labor forthcoming from an enlightened populace who are willing to act mutually for personal reward and for socially abstract rewards. If labor is the main variable of production, then mutuality is the main variable of peaceful human relations in society. To put the point another way, the labor defines the active dimensions of human behavior, and the mutuality defines the emotive attraction between the people. When these two variables are visualized diagrammatically - labor along the vertical axis and mutuality along the horizontal -two diagonal vectors represent the character of the worker. By the same token, ranging from the strongly cohesive anti-social environment to the strongly cohesive nationalistic environment, labor is dividing, micronizing, and reflecting the character of man and woman. Perhaps these two contrasting variables may be used to analyze

Worker-centered Peaceful Society



and to describe the ontology of social environment, and to plan the construction of a peaceful society. The integration of human character agreeable to the pursuit of peace, lies in the marriage of emotive attraction, labor, and mutuality.

(7) The Age of Mutuality (Realizable Peace)

Perhaps the construction of the United Nations City could provide the world with an opportunity for creating the most likeliest peace and for modeling a society that exemplifies the inherent value of human labor over other forms of capital. The reality of the City may inspire a powerful imagination to those who living outside of the City. If an impartial observer looks at the City, he or she would find the high level of freedom, equality and mutuality. In addition to this, the City's commitment for full employment, an extensive social security system, rational legal system governing the formation and application of social regulations and morally upright citizenship.

Socialism was just the dream of utopian thinkers for a long time. Socialist political parties appeared in the West that eventually achieved the state leadership in creating the socialist countries. However, the Western European acceptance of American hegemony and the Eastern European acceptance of Russian hegemony erected the

the blockades to the full achievement of those original utopian visions. Since the United Nations City is a proper habitat for the most realizable peace, the City will be able to stay outside of the political and ideological conflicts between the East and the West.

Perhaps the concept of the City is not an exercise in the utopia of the Western philosophy and the mysticism of the Eastern philosophy. Therefore, one of the primary purposes of this thesis is to develop a historical and academic framework in terms of formulating the social structural beams and delimiters for the City. Since the capitalistic egoism and the rigidity of the state socialism will be filtered out of the City concept, such an environment may inspire the creativity of the human potential.

CHAPTER 6

ONTOLOGY OF PEACE

It is highly probable that the prehistoric people lived in symbiosis with primitive democracy. We may define this condition as the symbiotic of provincial peace. Following this condition, innovations in mechanical production, trading techniques, and labor allocation brought about divisions in class which introduced social stratification, rulers at the top and masses at the bottom. This was a tragic moment for the people because the class struggle became the form for resolving disagreements. In spite of such a negative consequence, peacification of human experience was one of the most significant developments in the human history.

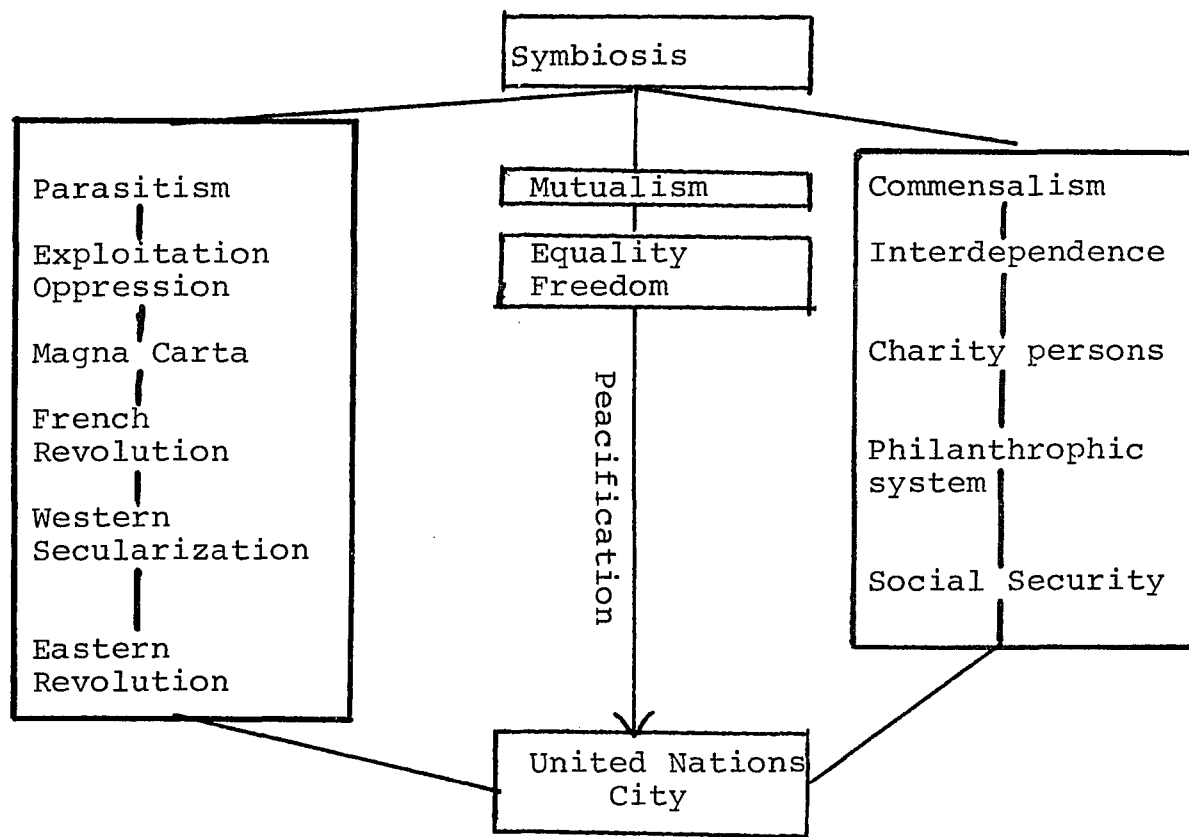
At this juncture, our task is to investigate the three types of prehistoric symbiosis such as (1) parasitism, (2) mutualism, and (3) commensalism. The rise of a parasitic ruling class destroyed symbiosis which condemned the people to torrents of exploitation and oppression. However, the struggle continued and eventually the effort for mutuality among the people installed democracy as the standard mode of human interaction. It is our bold assertion that some aspects of human history could be viewed as the history

of progressive peacification and such processes could be divided into four major steps: (1) the aristocratic peace of the Magna Carta, (2) the bourgeois peace of the French Revolution, (3) the secular peace of Western democracy, and finally (4) the people centered peace of Socialist democracy.

As time goes by, the people have embarked upon a reconstruction program that will reinstate mutualism. In other words, the exploitation and oppression of ruling class have been subdued by the people through their reliance on mutual assistance. This entire social process constituted the transformation of peace from a greedy and egoistic ruler's peace, to a bourgeois peace, and to a democratic peace.

A. History of Peacification

For a sound analysis of the ontology of peace, it is necessary to trace the human spirit from prehistoric times. Originally every human is born objectively without will or future hope, but each human possesses a different physique, set of talents, and hereditary characteristics. Because every human is born at a null state, there is no original sin acquired from parents, nor is there any rooted goodness akin to Hobbes' good desire or Rousseau's natural goodness. From this intellectual null state, the human

History of Peacification

rambles through infancy, attunes itself to discipline within the family, studies at school, and finally works in the social environment. In other words, humans enter life at a point of intellectual void and gradually shift into a world of social interaction through which they experience and study patterns of social intercourse, form and structure. Thus simple interactional dyadic patterns, social norms, social contract, general will, and democratic law.¹⁹¹

The socio-biological classification of human nature during the extended period of symbiosis that characterized prehistory, designates three types of human nature - parasitism, mutualism and commensalism. Many aspects of social behavior are encompassed in this classification because people were socialized into one of the types of symbiosis through a diverse set of trainings that included idiosyncratic ways of accomplishing tasks and defining goals.¹⁹² For example, the southward moving shoreline of Lower Mesopotamia, where the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers flowed into the Persian Gulf, enlarged the maze of channels, lagoons,

191. St. Augustine, *The City of God*. Translated by Marcus Dods, New York: D.D. Random House, Inc., 1950, p. 413.

192. Paul Bohannon, *Social Anthropology*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1963, p. 16.

swamps, and canebrakes that served as the physical foundation upon which the Summeritans built their civilization, and led to farming practices that inhibited large concentration of people and political power unlike Egypt, where the annual Nile flood replenished the Nile Valley, which provided the physical basis for the Egyptian civilization, and led to farming practices that encouraged the concentration of people and of political power.

With the enlightenment, human potential became valued as a wellspring of creativity able to ferret out the errors of human history in the effort to devise ideas and systems more amenable to needs of the other strata. This age brought about a movement in human society that increased both social justice and social consciousness. The teachings of social and moral philosophers and scientists opened the minds of many and allowed them to blunt exploitative despotic practices, and also created the impulses that pushed the circle of development away from tyranny toward humanism. Simultaneously, egoistic merchants and capitalists in general held their minds closed to the prospects for increased social justice and concentrated on their profit making. In this same vein, the despotically oriented enterprises restrained the progressive impulses of social justice.

If an environment such as the United Nations City could

maximize the social consciousness for justice, the various unenlightened social practices such as despotic rules, elitism, and exploitativeness could be minimized although not entirely eliminated. In this context, Hinsley boldly asserted that the improvement of human nature would eliminate not only the desire to resort to armed conflict but also the sources of conflict itself.¹⁹³ His view point is too optimistic since the maturing of capitalism brings about more exploitative and overbearing devices for keeping social control and maintaining social stability, which indicated that human nature is abasing itself instead of improving itself.

People lived in symbiosis during the prehistoric age. Communal living cohered around values of peace and familiarity, kept physically strong and wild characters in check. However, some unruly characters turned mischievous deeds into coercive actions, abetted by other maladjusted comrades, and transformed their natural strength into spectacles of egoism that threatened symbiotic relations. The first struggles were over food, which pitted physically strong against feeble. Rule by local strong men was the outcome of these

193. F. H. Hinsley, *Power and the Pursuit of Peace*. London, England: Cambridge University Press, 1963, p. 2.

struggles, which laid the schism, dividing man from man, that persisted into the future.

The schism that originated in struggle over food was the starting point for class struggle and for the people's movement for peacification.¹⁹⁴ Perhaps the class struggle may not apply to the early struggles of man but those early struggles are the fierce progenitors of struggles by the oppressed. By taking power from their adversaries, the potentates declared themselves to be Kings and tyrants. After seizure of power, these leaders declared their administrative system to be of the finest quality concerned with impediments which prevented the harmonious application of productive labor and stabilizing influences. They ruled less by popular consensus than by myth. As representatives of Gods, rulers claimed some of characteristics associated with super-human entities. It was greater than human knowledge and power that propped up assertions of nobility, divine descent, and extraordinary facility, the bases for further assertions that defined their ruling system as generous, emphatic and unrepachable.

The despotism of dictators was hidden behind the shroud

194. Erich Fromm, *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1973.

of divinity. For example, Otto I of Germany claimed to be a sacred heroic man and in a series of intrigues had himself crowned Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Under the pretext that he represented the will of God, he used an army to subdue his enemies and installed his secretary as Pope. There are many examples of men rousting power from their personal benefit in the name of holiness and divinity, setting up absolute sovereign Empires that enslaved the common people. Such a deceitful method of gaining power worked well because the people believed in theistic gods and reasoned that they provided them with leaders who received special dispensations. Legitimation for these leaders came through legal systems that accepted theism as a fundamental proposition and through tax systems that collected monies under the guise of public betterment but actually used for the expenses of Empire building. Of course, the common people knew that life was not peaceful and persevered in their battle for fairness and peace which brought them into conflict with the authorization practices of their leaders. Therefore, the struggle between parasitic rulers and people continued to the modern age.

Mutualism is the state of equal interchange, benefiting both parties or organisms. Sociologically it is the

state defining two or more people are sharing the identical feelings or thoughts among the group. Biologically it occurs naturally when algae and fungus grow together to form a lichen which differs from either plant. The fungus, which cannot produce its own food, gets food from the algae while the algae gets protection from the fungus. Thus the both organisms are benefiting from the association. In human society, perhaps people could not survive without benefit of mutualism and the process of human history is the developmental process of mutuality and peacification.

According to Marx, the concrete justice as a condition for freedom is found in mutuality:

As applied to social organization, justice would mean a form of social life that would serve to realize full positive freedom by embodying mutuality in its institutions. Indeed Marx emphasized that mutuality should be embodied in such concrete social forms.

Mutuality is the active relation of enhancing the other person through practical actions that help the other person to fulfill his or her needs and purposes. Mutuality in this sense of enhancement thus contributes to the other's development of his or her positive freedom. 195

Social justice, based on the fruits of mutuality, is a positively directed social force that seeks democratic mass peace by social self-development. There is no egress

195. Carol C. Gould, *Marx's Social Ontology*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1978, pp. 175-178.

from social problems by one class since all classes have some bonds to the conditions associated with each problem. Perhaps the solution to social problems and the onward development of the human spirit lies in mutuality and the peaceful environment. Therefore, the peacification groups must maintain the vigilance on the irrational economic behavior such as the enlargement of already massive hords of military weaponry, protest against aristocratic social policies, and demonstrate to alert the people when abuses occur against social equality and freedom, whether they be in the judicial, legislative, or administrative branches of government.

B. The Stages for Peacification

The seven peacification stages of history are (1) Embrio, (2) Cradle, (3) Immature, (4) Puberty, (5) Mature, (6) Complete, and (7) Perfect. Now we proceed to examine each stage of peacification process in human history.

(1) Embrio Stage

In the eraly stages of history, perhaps the social relations within the tribal units were affinitive and exploitation was minimal. Peacification, which tried to reverse the exploitative trends and mend the schisms caused by them, was a weak force. Just as in physics, which suggests that for any action there is an opposite and equal reaction,

Historical Processes of Peacification

	Age	Stage	Method of Peacification
1	Mutual	Embrio	Small conflict
2	King	Cradle	Harmonizing Petition
3	Aristocrat	Immature	Blame, protest Robbery and crime
4	Bourgeois	Puberty	Demonstration Armed revolution Violation
5	Democratic	Mature	Negotiation Solidarity Theory & debate
6	Advanced Democracy	Complete	Human Rights Co-living Cultural exchange
7	Not attained	Perfect	Heaven Dream Utopia

peacification may react against exploitation but at a delayed time and frequently in a concerted effort. For example, Anna Freud offers insight into this action-reaction chain of events. According to Anna Freud, the change in social role from passive to active is an extremely significant development.¹⁹⁶ When confronted with threatening circumstances, people transform themselves from the person threatened into the person who makes threat.

To modern view of early civilization could be traced back to Darwin's theory:

This historic truth which Freud reconstructed was based mainly on Darwin's view...the primitive form of human society was that of a horde ruled over despotically by a powerful male. 197

Emile Durkheim wrote about the way that primitive society using the collective consciousness, purged the nascent individual of all but social needs and activities. Freud wrote about the prohibitive and restrictive bent of primitive law(a large part of Totem and Taboo is devoted to charting the severities of primitive social order), and assumed that below all forms of consiusness there lurked the instinctual individual, upon whom society makes enchroachment.¹⁹⁸

196. Anna Freud, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*. New York: International University Press, 1966, p. 113.

197. Philip Rieff, *Freud The Mind of the Moralist*. New York: The Viking Press, 1959, p. 2.

198. *Ibid.*, p.224.

With regard to the question of distinguishing ruling power from the power of peacification, the following formula may illustrate the component variables of each power:

Ruling Power= H (Elitist social theory + Control of social apparatus + Control of armed forces).

Peacification Power= N (Justice theory + Solidarity + Mass movement). 199

Collective behavior is related to two variables of peacification power. If it is manifested in the form of mass movements, under conditions favorable to a working class interpretation of the events surrounding the behavior, it could increase the solidarity of those living under the ruling power. Consequently, the mass movement of solidarity could be a collective behavior.²⁰⁰ To recapitulate, the Embrio stage of peacification is characterized by two conditions: the primacy of social concerns over individual concerns and the primacy of tribal kinship relations over achieved relations associated with achieved status.²⁰¹ The centrality of mutual concerns, which formed close fitting ties between rulers and the ruled, kept social distance between people to a minimum and restrained the

199. H is the secular decline in elite power, and N is the secular increase in number of people exploited.

200. Michael Brown and Amy Goldin, *Collective Behavior*. Calif.: Goodyear Publishing Co., 1973, pp. 177-178.

201. Manfred Stanley, *Social Development*. New York: Basic Book Inc., 1972, p. 56.

methods and degree of exploitation exerted by the holders of power.

(2) Cradle Stage

The age of King was the second stage of peacification. As cities grew, occupational differentiation led to functionally differentiated social roles; the lower classes were guaranteed peace and security in exchange for the loyal application of their physical labor. At this stage of cradle period, there were some significant changes such as: (a) new materials for production: bronze metals and refined stones; (b) new kinds of work: intensive plant cultivation, animal tending and breeding and refined pottery making; (c) new divisions of labor that probably assigned the easier jobs to women; (d) increased specialization of skills; (e) the extension of private property, increased inequality between social groups, the widespread use of slavery, and the objectification of labor; and (f) the emergence of social classes and the shift of main political power from the ruling despots to Kings and noblemen. 202

Absolute Kings ruled by fiat which favored their avarice and parasitic dispositions, causing the social distance between themselves and the people. People were

202. Kenneth N. Cameron, *Humanity and Society*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1973, pp. 41-44.

forced to supply their labor under conditions of stringent monarchical control. For example, the construction of the quasi-public Cheops Pyramid is estimated to have employed a labor force of 10,000 men for twenty years. The First Dynasty captured 120,000 men in war, promptly putting them to work on the Pyramid, and the Twentieth Dynasty provided 113,000 slaves to work on the Pyramid. These figures indicate the power that Pharaoh Kings had acquired in the King's age to enslave common people.²⁰³

The peacification power was so negligible that the theory of justice rested in myth and not in objective social reality based on human rights, obligations, and conditions. Historically, it was a period of high ruling power and low peacification power.

(3) Immature Stage

The absolute power of parasitic Kings grew limitless-ly for many centuries, and the separation of courtly circles from the majority of people grew larger. Lower classes were economically worse off, unprotected legally from ruler's legitimated means of exploitation, and mentally conquered. Ruling classes were triumphant, refined both culturally and politically.

203. Ibid., pp. 59-60.

The social relations of the Immature Age of peacification set King, baron, and peasant in a triad of remarkable stability. The baron presided over a domain of land known as a demesne which was tilled by the peasant, who paid the baron for the use of land and facilities with a portion of the harvest. The baron turned over some revenue from his disposal of the harvest tax to the King who used it for the preservation of dominance. Heterogeneity permeated the peasantry and absolute serfs were agricultural slaves performing much like the beasts that plowed fields, ordered by barons without regard to their feelings or physical condition.²⁰⁴

By the end of the Immature Age, the ruling class became composed of barons and Kings, combining their talents in the continuing exploitation of the peasantry. The baron's revolt enlarged the ruling apex, creating an oligarchical peace that preserved regal power, broadened the baronial power, and encircled peasantry with yet another fully authorized, legitimated layer of taskmasters.

(4) Puberty Stage

The rise of the barons increased the number of parasitic rulers to whom the peasants had to humble themselves.

204. Thorndike, *Op. cit.*, pp. 307-310.

The rapid growth of industry and commerce during the 1700's in France, prompted a new class of merchants and manufacturers who began to acquire great wealth. This new class wielded commercial power that impinged on political power, causing struggles between the old order and the emerging new order of industrialism. Some of the struggles between the ruling class, middle class, and low class that are important for the analysis of the Puberty Stage of peacification are:

- (a) The middle and lower classes carried the greater part of the tax burden, yet they did not receive equitable dispensation;
- (b) People other than barons and Kings started to take an interest in new ideas about freedom and government;
- (c) People suggested the substitution of human agreements for the mandates of divine right;
- (d) People began to doubt the divine right of King;
- (e) The growing middle class felt hampered by ancient legal, political, and religious institutions; and
- (f) The middle and lower classes began to organize for a movement demanding the social reformation.

Philosophers of this era aggravated the crisis of regal power by elucidating and preaching ideas contrary to the pyramidal theory of feudalism. In this time there were many ubiquitous peacification movements in France and in England. The peasantry reacted strongly to the uncaring lords who conspired to perpetuate serfdom by any means

possible and to decrees by the Crown that worsened their financial situation through the imposition of another tax, the poll tax, or head tax, effected in 1378, 1379 and 1380. The peasant revolt in 1381 left many manors burned and London was alert after their march on the city.²⁰⁵ In this ame vein, the Germanic peasant's revolt of 1525 left the peasants more shackled with the final remnants of feudalism, for they suffered vindictive repression caused by their incompetent military leadership and its inability to deliver victory.²⁰⁶

The transpirations of the French Revolution demonstrated the counterposing forces of ruling power and peacification power. The Assembly was framed as a vehicle for the creation and implementation of constitutional government based on the ideal expressed in the Declaration of the Right of Man whereby all prior privileges of nobility and all remnants of feudalism and serfdom were abolished.

Historically, peacification was always on the agenda of those who were lacking the substantial power since the primary objective of the secular movement was to replace elite ruling power by the deployment of people-centered power. Milestones of peacification came about through the

206. Crane Briton, John B. Christopher and Robert L. Wolf, *Civilization in the West*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall Inc., 1964, pp. 220-264.

exertion of new power built on the swelling of new social groups or classes. By definition, new social groups lack the power and had to negotiate, fight, and create the power. Accordingly, the gains of the aristocracy were personified in the Magna Carta, those of the bourgeoisie in the French Revolution and its important documents, and those of slavery in the Emancipation Proclamation. Thus in the case of American slavery, the holders of power were split on the issue of whether those in bondage should have been released from or kept in servitude. President Lincoln sided with the forces of peacification which resulted in a civil war between the northern and southern states.

The goal of peacification is, therefore, a tranquil social and psychological peace for all. In other words, the socialist revolutions have nearly achieved the final stages of peacification by applying enormous doses of mutuality, equality and collectivism to the form and structure of modern society. According to Beer, "the proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority."²⁰⁷ The lesson to be learned from the Puberty stage is that the force of peacification could create and maintain the social self-consciousness in order to replace

207. Samuel H. Beer, *The Communist Manifesto*. New York: Appleton Century-Crofts, 1955, p.21.

the ruling class peace with equitable peace.

(5) Mature Stage

The mature stage of peacification is in direct line of evolution which could be traced from the immature stage of peacification associated with the Magna Carta, through the largely irreversible gains brought about by the assertion of the Right-of-Man philosophy, to the socialist revolutions in the twentieth century. In the volatile scenery of the international relations, certain states are ruled by despotic Kings, military juntas, and totalitarian fascists. However, the mature stage could be divided into three types of democratic peacification such as (a) secularized peace in the West, (b) the mass peace in the East, and (c) an intermediate type of peacification in the Third World.

(a) Evolutional Peacification Process

The compunctionless rule by divine right, with the assistance of religion and its mystical miracles, was functional for so many centuries. Eventually the empirical knowledge coming out of rational science caused the decay of the divine ruling power and replacement by a more democratic peacification power. Religious power actually held sway over many governmental functions and was able to disenfranchise prominent leaders of military and scientific

groups. For example, the Catholic church officials forced Galileo to foresake his belief in the Copernican theory and sentenced him to an indefinite prison term.

Secularization reduced the political priviledges available only to the elite, opens the economy to forces of enterpreneurship and monopolization, and broadens channels of social mobility. The movement away from the rule by a priviledged few to public rule often occured as a physical movement. Persecuted Puritans and Liberalists immigrated westward to the new continent and established the American democracy. In spite of Europe's initially lagging adjustment to the forces of secularization, it followed the leadership of America in contributing to the evolutionary secularizing policies that characterized the mature stage of peacification.

Freedom is a central concept to democratic peacification at the mature stage. It is the expression of individuality, or self-expression that cannot be fully offered by any society but must set forth from within individual social members of the society.²⁰⁸ According to Bay, "the freedom of men under government by a standing rule to live by common to every one in that society, and made by

208. Christian Bay, *The Structure of Freedom*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1958, p. 15.

the legislative power erected in it." 209

As the secularizing forces worked their way into the centers of political and economic control in the West, acute social shifts introduced distinctly urban social problems and demographic changes. With sexual matters removed from church sanctions, businessmen driven on by their profit motive opened up sexually licentious shops catering to the perverted tastes of those who were dislodged from traditional methods of satisfying their lust. Such business was only one manifestation of the separation of emotional behavior from the family context by secularizing forces. For example, divorce, psychological stress, and crime are linked to this separation, and other separations caused by secularization.

Not all writers think that secularizing forces produce mostly dysfunctional social behavior. According to Riegel, "the city is becoming a place, proud to be the concentrated form of energy paving the way toward the new republic, new buildings rising on every piece of land, crowded streets, busy stores, and the flood of immigrants waiting their turn to capture freedom, equality, and mobility." 210

209. Ibid., p. 15.

210. Norman F. Cantor and Michael S. Werthman, *The History of Popular Culture*. New York: MacMillan Co., 1968, p. 26.

The impact of secularizing forces is more visible in the central business districts of American urban areas. Many abnormal forms of human behavior could be seen in these districts. In this context, Kornblum tells his readers in "The Bright Zone," that:

Sex related activities in New York's Times Square are quite legal: movie theater; peepshows; combination shows; bookstores and emporium; heterosexual prostitution and male prostitution...Male prostitution is not confined in New York City to the Times Square section of the City. It occurs in certain areas of Greenwich Village, particularly in around Washington Square Park. Heterosexual prostitution around 42nd Street is concentrated in the area west of 8th Avenue, streetwalkers easily identifiable. 211

Many practices under the system of monarchy have been carried into the freedom centered democratic West. For example, the governing politicians are entitled, by position and by unimpeded wit, to ungraciously elevated income which represents the evolutionary extension of parasitic extortions conducted by Kings and aristocrats during earlier eras. These extortions have been secularized and transformed into milder, or more acceptable, forms such as bribery, blackmail, and agency incomes, exemplified by the infamous contemporary events of ABSCAM, of bribery by Japanese in the sale of civil airvrafts, and in the perpetual

211. William Kornblum, West 42nd Street: "The Bright Zone." New York: Graduate Center, City University of New York, 1978, pp.99, 134, 136-137.

income of the British royal family.

The British monarch's eldest son is entitled to the revenue from the Duchy of Cornwall, an area of about 140,000 acres mostly in Cornwall but including parts of South London. In 1979 the Duchy's income was 506,000. Although the eldest, Prince Charles, was fully entitled to this income on a tax free basis, he agreed to surrender half to the government to help meet the cost of civil projects.²¹² In order to comprehend this annual amount of the perpetual income, one could calculate the number of years it would take for an ordinary worker who is earning \$15,000 annually to accumulate the same amount of money. Disregarding the normal expenses of living, it would take the normal worker fifty years to accumulate the amount that Prince Charles receives in one year. He is also entitled to the income by virtue of his hereditary position and nothing else; he is not under the slightest obligation to supply any of his labor.

The secularized forms of extortions impale the movement toward greater peace, peacification, and affect individual orientation as well as social organization. Officially sanctioned income ranges that allow enormous

212. The Economist. Vol. 278, No. 7174, February 28, 1981, pp. 58-59,

accumulations of wealth during one year by an individual while other individuals barely earn enough to meet the most rudimentary needs, may destroy the individual incentive. The greed for wealth mars Western society and obscures the pathway toward good social relations and genuine peace. Some socialist thinkers suggest that the substitution of time for money in the equation of wealth could prove to be the catapult that bounds industrial society beyond the capitalistic fixation on profit. This is the reason why it is very much worth hearing what Mandel and Novack have to say that the prehistory of humanity will end and its development on a truly human basis will begin when wealth of all kinds flow as freely as water and is as abundant as air and compulsory labor is supplanted by free time. The free time enjoyed by all will be the measure of wealth, the guarantee of equality and harmony, the source of unrestricted progress and the annihilator of alienation. This is the goal of socialism and the promise of communism.²¹³

An emphasis on sovereignty is one of the central phenomena in secularization. Thus the peace loving nations, who are expected to create the future world security, must

213. Ernest Mandel and George Novack, *The Marxist Alienation*. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970, p. 94.

adopt the principle of sovereign equality for all nations. In fact, since World War II this principle has been nominally accepted by most countries. Those colonies that were exploited and oppressed by imperialistic nations have gotten their independence since World War II. Even though imperialistic nations had maintained peaceful relations with their client states, the colonized people were discriminated against, exploited, and psychologically manipulated for the benefit of imperialistic gain. The independence of formerly colonized nations is nowhere more affirmed than in the United Nations where every independent country assigns a diplomat who interacts on the basis of mutual equality with diplomats from other sovereign nations. The arrangement exemplifies the type of human interaction needed for the assembly of social consensus and for the unfaltering onward movement of peacification.

Sovereignty implies equality and equality implies open expression. In democratically oriented systems, the organizational evolution depends on creative solutions to environmental and internal change. Since participation by all members is an ideological proposition, any adjustments cannot be made by an elite leadership. That is to say, creativity, the ability to discover solutions, flows from the masses not from an effete leadership. According to

Katz, the Western belief that creativity can be perpetually spawned by an elite is an ideological defect. In his view:

Twentieth century capitalism has ceased to be creative and self-confident. Everywhere in the world today the capitalist democracies are interrogating their destiny. England and France have grown into worldwide imperialisms. Their ruling classes announced to the world that they are tired and sated and want to rest. They confess that their creativeness is over. Their one desire is for the stabilization of the status quo. But the sleeping sickness of society is a highly infectious disease. From politics and economics it spreads to culture. Our literary individualists are no longer rugged but querulous. 214

(b) Revolutionary Peacification Process

The first successful socialist revolution was led by the Bolsheviks won on October 25, 1917 seized governmental power and installed mass democracy. They took over factories, farms and other means of production which they considered to be properly owned by the workers. This event, expropriating the means of production, marked the end of czar exploitation and the beginning of society based on mutuality. Nevertheless, the revolution confronted an unprecedented number of problems and had to conform to the requirements of immediate political expediency.

The Russian society was not a unified whole in that

214. John Katz, *The Will of Civilization*. New York: Arno Press, 1975, p. 326.

the revolution inherited, in a real and immediate sense, all the class conflicts extant under the Czarist system. Organizational leaders had to simultaneously work for the elimination of social class and its inherent conflicts, and for the positive embodiment of a leadership group that would be capable of governing the populace and infusing the system with socialistic ideals and practices.²¹⁵ In fact, these were formidable tasks because no earlier example existed and equality had been defined as an extension of the idea of spiritually mature persons who conserved the aristocratic spiritualism of the high Middle Ages.²¹⁶

The vacuous equality of capitalistic ideology could not be asserted by the revolutionaries. In searching for a satisfactory conception of equality, Condorcet distinguished between formal equality of citizens under the constitution and real equality under economic and educational status. The revolutionary government adopted the real equality for it supported the urban working class which was a small minority of the nation.²¹⁷ In fact, most of

215. Jaworskyj, op. cit.

216. Eric Voegelin, *From Enlightenment to Revolution*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University, 1975, p. 72.

217. One sixth of Russia's population lived in urban settlements, or about twenty-odd million people and of these only half were proletarians.

the proletarians feared the consequences of the revolution because the new government declared a dictatorship and passed policies of limited freedom in order to provide security and to complete the revolution.

The revolutionary leaders equated equality with economic reality and not idealistic conditions. Therefore, it was necessary to nationalize the means of production to regulate income levels, to create full employment, and to educate on the basis of classless social justice and dialectical materialism. This is only a part of the revolutionary picture. The philosophical materialism embodied the reflection theory which indicated the mind to be incipiently pure, an element of nature along side other elements, unaffected by the corrupting influences of man's social experience. Since all ideas must be reflections of nature, it was reasonably concluded as Soviet social theory did that the laws governing man's social behavior were also deducted from nature. Thus the identical set of laws, dialectical or natural laws, were used to study the development of all the constituent parts of nature, society, and ideas. These natural laws were discovered by Hegel, but not fully understood by him. It was Engels, and in part Marx, who succeeded in explaining the true nature of these laws and their effect upon man's actions and thought.

Following Hegel, Engels contended that the whole world-historical, natural, and intellectual-is governed by three laws such as (1) the law of the transformation of quantity into quality and vice versa which is called the law of precipitation in Soviet literature; (2) the law of the interpretation of opposites which is called the law of contradictions in Soviet literature; and (3) the law of negation of the negation.²¹⁸ It is by these laws that peace has developed, from its earliest conception and manifestation in the symbiotic stage, through the democratic stage.

Western society denies the validity of dialectical natural law and has evolved a concept of peace by secularizing a feudal concept. Perhaps this is a Christian concept that emphasizes brotherhood and that asserts its total set of values as universalistic. Nevertheless, equality has not been established by these assertions, and even the spirit of equality, as contained in the United Nations' Charter, is transgressed by Western thought and action. Working out of the Christian ethos, capitalists still exploit the masses without regard for brotherhood, one of Christianity's major operative principles.

A different picture emerges when we turn to the Soviet

218. Jaworskyj, op. cit.

Union. It has consciously tried to create a society cognizant of the natural laws by organizing social reform movements that rejected integration into the capitalist international system, and by installing a new culture that took its origin in autonomous working class institutions and independent ways of thinking.²¹⁹ Although 100 million people have been urbanized during intensive efforts, private enterprise and its attending capitalistic assumptions has never been allowed to shape the direction or spirit of the urban movement. This urbanizing trend was largely associated with the emphasis on industrialization.²²⁰ A minority in 1917, the industrial workers currently form the largest social class: 50 million in primary and manufacturing industries, in building, transport, communications and in state farming; 13 million in health, education, and scientific research.²²¹ The poignant difference between the Soviet's post-revolutionary experience and America's temporarily paralleling experience is that the Soviet model fully integrated justice and equality into its system whereas the American model partially integrated these while overly stressing profitability of social and private organization.

219. Neil McInnes, *The Impact of the Russian Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967, p. 96.

220. Isaac Deutscher, *The Unfinished Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967, pp. 42-44.

221. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

The monumental communist theorist Lenin in the earlier stages of the Russian revolution provided his interpretation of how the Russian system would evolve. According to Lenin:

If it is a classless society, then we can relax the dictatorship of the proletariat and get rid of the state altogether, since it is destined to wither away soon in any case...There is no class struggle, and therefore no cares and worries, and therefore we can lay down our arms and retire...to sleep and to wait for the advent of classless society. 222

This description of a classless society also suffices for the description of a peaceful society is, perhaps, in reality impossible to achieve. Complete classlessness is a noble ideal. The effect to establish classless societies is utilitarian because it reaches forward for a more socially workable set of organizational principles that may accelerate the implantation of socialistic peace, the highest form of peace achievable within the human context.

Although the Soviet society is theoretically advanced, resting on sounder ideological and organizational principles than the West, many problems, restrictions, and conflicts remain to be solved by imperfect state bureaus. For example, an expression of dissent is often interpreted by the state to be minatory to social stability. The Western

222. M. Rezunov, *Conditions for the Withering Away of the State and Law*. Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1967, p. 314.

press has carried much news of Soviet dissent. The New York Times published a plea of one dissenter for the release of another:

Andrei D. Sakharov, the Soviet physicist, is appealing for international pressure to bring about the release of a fellow dissident from prison, two members of the U.S. Congress who recently returned from the Soviet Union said today. Mr. Sakharov said in the appeal made public by the U.S. legislators that Yuri F. Orlov, 57 years old, who is also a physicist had been imprisoned...²²³

Ironically, the Soviet ideology seems to retain an element of imperialism. Its aggression into Afghanistan proves that it is difficult for a modern state, regardless of ideological predisposition, to completely purge itself of undesirable tendencies. However, it is understandable because the development by one nation of a preferable social ideology and social system is not an isolated development but occurs in the world system which contains almost an infinite number of conflicting interactions.

After all, the Russian revolution, as a type of revolution and as a type of socialist movement, is an important subject for sociological study.²²⁴ Therefore, some prominent achievements of the revolution are such as (1)

223. The New York Times, Saturday, January 23, 1982, p.2.

224. Pitirim A. Solokin, *The Sociology of Revolution*. New York: Howard Fertig, 1967, p. 4.

the revolutionary change affected the totality of Russian people in that it altered a peasant society into a highly developed industrial society over a short span of years; (2) the change happened quickly and was not reversed; and (3) the mutual relations formed by reference to socialist theory gathered the masses into a solidarity which is foreign to the Western concept of human relations.

Turning to Chinese revolution in 1949, Mao's new democracy designated the economic development in the three sectors such as (1) state, (2) private-capitalist, and (3) cooperative. The Chinese claimed that Mao's plan was the first peaceful method of socialist transformation. The national bourgeoisie were allowed to remain in business, and its enterprises were only gradually taken over by the state without violent struggle or bloodshed. For example, in 1957 the Weihsing commune, an experimental model consisting of 9300 families, was organized in the wheat growing province of Honan. A year later, Beijing ordered the agricultural producer's cooperative to merge with the commune in order to increase agricultural production, and undoubtedly to support the economic program bundled under the programmatic title, the Great Leap Forward.²²⁵

225. Chester C. Tan, *Chinese Political Thought in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1971, pp. 356-357.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, an upheaval launched in 1966, targeted the handful of party members in authority who were taking the revisional road. A contradiction existed between the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers, on the one hand, and between the revolutionary cadres and intellectuals on the other. According to the Maoists, it belonged to the category of principal contradictions and was an antagonistic one.²²⁶ Therefore, it was necessary for the fundamental agency of socialist revolution, the masses to blunt and reverse the counter-revolutionary actions of those receptive to capitalist pollution. China has also endured through the political conflicts caused by the Gang of Four and by Lin Biao. Generally speaking, there were two formulations about the nature and characteristics of the political line of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four: (1) the ultra right authoritarian counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and (2) the pseudo-Left but genuinely wrong counter-revolutionary revisionist line. The pair has two points in common. Both groups mixed the questions concerning a political line with the questions of counter-revolution, and both of them held that the essence of the political line

226. Ibid., pp. 370-371.

of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four is "Right" and not "Left." ²²⁷ However, both of them are not scientific and offer no advice to those participating in socialist revolution.

Another conflict which unbalances socialist policy making and administration in China originates in the matters of loyalty and religion. For example, the new socialist government has tried to quash the old Confucian ethical norms of family loyalty in favor of loyalty for the People's Republic. Thus the Confucian proverbs were replaced by the thoughts of Chairman Mao, published in the omnipresent little red books. Although the religion is antithetical to communism in theory, China did not seem overly concerned with this contradiction when it drew up and passed the Chinese Constitution of 1954 that provided for freedom of religion. The paradox of the original assertion was reinforced when the fifth National People's Congress passed a bill protecting freedom of religion in 1954.

Perhaps the apparently paradoxical positions taken by the Chinese people and their leadership could be found in the nature of traditional Chinese ethical norms. For example,

227. Beijin Review, No. 15, April 13, 1979. p. 13.

Confucian and Taoistic ethical norms emphasize a face to face relationship and discount more distant or abstract matters. This attitude is constructive because it confronts the harsh realities of current problems and dwells on immediate solutions. In other words, these peacification efforts are found in the various fields throughout the world including such as cultural shifting, social and political transformations, public interest science, and international volunteers services. Deutsch recognizes the cultural shifting for peacification in the following comment:

During the 20th Century, there has been rising trend in the burden placed upon the control capabilities of national governments and of the international system. About 0.75 percent of the population of many developing countries has been shifting each year from traditionalism, rural isolation and political apathy into the sector of the socially mobilized population and into its potentially relevant strata. 228

With regard to the distribution of power and loyalty in the historically modernizing and revolutionary nations, Professor Falk asserts that:

Let us consider the varying perspective of national actors that now participate in world affairs. It is immediately useful to distinguish between modernizing, revolutionary, and status quo nations.

We live in a historical period when there is a

228. Karl Deutsch, Changing Images of International Conflict. The Journal of Social Issues. Vol. XXIII, No. 1, pp. 103-104.

widespread awareness that survival, prosperity and security depend upon certain basic social and political transformation. Thus the transformation that we envision restructures relations, institutions, and values through time by shifting power, by developing techniques to influence behavior to form new loyalties and new inhibitions, and by acting to create a new world consciousness that accepts the altered distribution of power and loyalty. 229

These social changes and shifting distribution of power and loyalty could be a positive new direction for peacification. In addition to this, peacification would be enhanced by public interest science and international volunteer service concepts.²³⁰

(c) The Third World Approach to Peacification

The nonaligned nations of the Third World represent an alternative between the extreme positions of the Eastern and Western blocs. Most of the Third World nations are poor in terms of productive systems. They annually convene the Nonaligned Third World Conference for the discussion of international peace and the exchange of information. Each conference identifies and examines the major issues facing the Third World, publishing the results in articles, editorial notes, bibliography, and statistics. By placing itself as a balancing buffer between

229. Richard A. Falk, *Historical Tendencies, Modernizing and Revolutionary Nations, and the International Legal Order*. New York: World Policy Institute, 1962, p. 128.

230. F. von Hippel and J. Primack, *Public Interest Science*. Ontario, Canada: Peace Research Abstracts Journal, Vol.17, No.7. p.125.

the Eastern and Western blocs, the conference is inspired by the idea of a united Third World. Therefore, the annual conferences sanctimoniously declare themselves to be ideologically neutral, free from any political creed, and cite Dag Hammarskjöld's somewhat puzzling directive to policy makers- what is in the national interest when truly seen merges naturally into the international interest- as their guiding principle.²³¹

From a Third World perspective, the convergence of peacification and democratization is actually like two flashes from the same fire. Peacification is the development of equality and freedom while democratization is the development of governmental process. The essence of these two concepts is the manifestation of the Right-of-Man philosophy. With regard to a comparative aspect of the East and the West, the Eastern bloc has concentrated on political evolution while the Western bloc has concentrated on social evolution. Accordingly, the West requires greater equality and the East could advance greater liberty in order to rectify the destabilizing effect of lopsided development. Precisely, this is what will signal the passage

231. Andrew Carvely, *Nonaligned Third World Annual*. St. Louis, Missouri:D.H. International Inc., 1970, p. 13.

of peacification from the mature stage into the complete stage.

(6) Complete Stage

As has been shown earlier, peacification and democratization are like the two wheels of a bicycle. As one moves faster so the other must follow faster. In regard to the process of democratization, there are three stages of development. First is the establishment of a constitutional republic through peaceful free election. The second stage is the enactment of a comprehensive social security legislation extending the social protection to the entire membership of the society. Finally, the third stage is the repudiation of pseudo peace in favor of socialistic peace. The complete stage of peacification is predicated upon the affirmative social relations inspired by the Right-of-Man principle.

To be more specific, the third stage of democratization could be hastened into being by promoting commercial practices for mutual benefits. For example, France and Soviet Union entered into an exchange whereby France imports 280 billion cubic feet of gas a year beginning in 1984 through the new 56 inch pipeline from the Urengoi field in Siberia. The lesson to be learned from this transaction is that both nations entered into the exchange

arrangement on behalf of their citizen's benefits, not on behalf of the short term profits for corporations.²³²

With regard to the process of peacification, there are three stages of development. The first stage is the resolution of class conflict between rulers and ruled which generally occurs concomitant with the completion of a peaceful electoral system. The second stage is to re-define the status of the working class in terms of developing a new foundation for social policy. The primary task for the third stage is to shift the gravity of the political power from the elite control to the control nodes of working people.

Western rationality is renowned for its compartmental approach to the study and solution of problems. Thus the rising trend of rationalism in the twentieth Century implies a potentially accelerating the process of peacification. Rationalism is not only applied to science but also to business and social administration. For example, crime can be expected to wane when scientific management creates sufficient jobs for those unemployed. While this may imply a cause and effect relationship between unemployment and crime, the fact is that the two are directly correlated.

232. The New York Times, January 28, 1982, p.A6.

This is a compelling reason for formulating public policy that seeks to reduce unemployment in capitalistic nations. It is only in this sense that rational science can be of assistance in the resolution of social conflicts, struggles, and social problems. If it directly confronts the immediate, concrete impediments to the forward progress of peacification process and democratization, its usefulness as a tool for understanding and change will be affirmed.

(7) Perfect Stage

Is the perfect stage of peacification attainable? Since perfection is only vivified in utopian thought, the perfect stage of peacification could be an outgrowth of idealistic pondering. Perhaps we may not be able to attain the perfect stage of peacification in a real human society. However, the concept could be useful as a theoretical framework for peacification.

Peace could be aspired by catalytic experience of co-living in the United Nations City. Peacification process is a manifestation of the eternal progressive human relations and psychological mirror of the degree of human satisfaction in a society which is developed within the framework of equality, freedom and affinitive agreement.

CONCLUSION

During the era of the Apollo moon probes, an American astronaut told the mission control that the most remarkable thing about space travel is looking back upon earth as a planet without boundaries. From his vantage point deep in space, temporarily removed from armed conflict and the rhetoric of enmity, he voices the long standing view of many people--if enduring peace is to dawn, the international as well as national systems must first be substantially altered. What, then, are the alternatives to the nation-state system? What new sociological and political contexts might be framed through which familiar international transactions might continue, but in which peace might be a closer prospect? Available and bold response to these questions is: the United Nations City, the subject of this thesis.

Unlike the existing United Nations, which established institutional machinery among states, the proposed United Nations City provides decision-making machinery above them. It constructs procedures and institutions capable of making obligatory decisions on behalf of national governments. It consists of the merger of separate authorities and jurisdictions, usually in a well-defined geographic region, into

a larger unit, a higher unity and a single policy.

Centuries of study of the nation-state system have raised doubt regarding governments' ability to preserve international peace and stability. This is the reason why the proposed concept of the United Nations City offers an infinite sociological possibility to develop an ideal environment for peacification. Today, war and peace issues no longer monopolize scholarly examination of the future. On an overcrowded planet nearing depletion of resources and extinction of species, the dynamics of the international system have come upon new emergencies. For example, there is an ecological anarchy. States have exploited the earth's natural riches without regard for the problem of exhaustibility and with little consideration of future generations or of the needs of others. In order to prevent such an ecological suicide, perhaps the new concept of the United Nations City will offer a viable forum.

As an instrument of world peace, the United Nations was generally a disappointment to the advocates of universal peace. They viewed it as little more than a smokescreen for power politics. Where do we go from here? What kind of peacification effort can a sociologist make in search for a new vision of peace? This thesis will be a

powerful testimony that the quest for peacification is
an indispensable agenda for sociologists.

GLOSSARY

West

Class: Social classes do not comprise a classification upon which investigators can or do agree. The concept of class has limited usefulness in research.

Crime: Criminals are mentally ill and have a defective superego or an unsocialized personality.

Culture: Culture is the socially transmitted system of idealized ways in knowledge, practice, and beliefs and symbolic practices.

Democracy: A government supplies regular constitutional opportunities for peaceful competition for political power to different groups without excluding any sector of the population.

Division of Power; Montesquieu's theory: Legislative, executive, and judiciary authority have been maintained.

Education: In France and German nearly all higher education is socialized, and the state regards public institution as one of its great functions.

Equality: Capitalism leads to less inequality than alternative system of organization and the development of capitalism has greatly lessened the extent of inequality.

East

Social class is an aggregate of people who play a similar role in production and stand in the same relationships to other people.

Kuznetsova says "Crime is a relative phenomenon of class society, changing with the course of history and social character.

Marx and Engels wrote: "all idealists believe in inspirations and revelations, in saviors and miracle workers.

The whole population becomes a working population and acquires electoral rights.

The dictatorship of the proletariat and poor peasants constitute a single power.

Socialization in the school collective and socialistic competition in the school.

Citizens have the real right to work, to rest, to receive an education, and to obtain anything that secures and elevates human dignity.

Freedom: Freedom is the ability of a person to make his own choices and to carry them out. It means that there must be no restrictions on how he thinks, speaks, or acts.

Happiness: If a fair share of desires are satisfied at intervals of time, there results a general state which is called happiness.

Labor: All value in the economic sense is due to labor. However, the problem is how to make men work.

Majority: Majority is defined as the white, protestant, native born segment of the population.

Man: The conquest of man has consisted in gaining a greater and greater mastery of the social forces. It has been maintained that man is not by nature a social being in the full sense of the expression.

Peace: All civilized men realize the horrors of war, and if sociology has any utilitarian purposes one of these certainly is to diminish or mitigate these horrors.

Production: Economists give a very broad meaning to production, as anything that creates or increases value. Production is the creation of property.

The supreme goal of communism is to ensure full freedom of development of the human personality.

It is a true love of those who struggle for the happiness of nations, peace on earth, and the victory of communism. If a life possesses a great and deep love for working people, a life devoted to humanity, it will bring true happiness.

The rights of the producers are proportional to the labor they supply.

Law is necessary in a class society because the class society is hostile to the majority.

Marx demonstrated that Aristotle's definition of man as a political being is invalid. According to Marx, "man by his very nature is an animal, though not a political but a social animal.

Socialism is peace. Under socialism there are no exploiting classes interested in the arms race, in the acquisition of new markets, and in an additional sphere for capital expansion.

According to Engels, production is most encouraged by a mode of distribution which allows all members of society to develop, maintain, and exercise their capacities with maximum universality.

Religion: A religion is a system of beliefs and symbolic practices and objects, governed by faith rather than by knowledge.

According to Marx and Engels, all idealists believe in inspirations and revelations, in saviors and miracle workers.

Right: Democracy is the recurrent suspicion that more than half of the people are right more than half of the time. It is the feeling of privacy in the voting booth.

Social revolutionaries are concerned with true people's right. In the struggle you shall gain your right.

Social Evolution: Social evolution was as ponderous as biological evolution and perhaps even coterminous with it.

The gradualness in the development of nature and society is frequently disrupted by qualitative leap. that is by a sudden revolutionary change of quantity into quality and vice versa.

Society: A society is made up of a population, organization, time, place, and interests.

The creation of a classless socialist society opened a new period in the development of Soviet democracy.

Sociology: Sociology is the synthesizing and generalizing science of man in all his social relationship.

Soviet sociology is sufficiently broad to free it for the pursuit of purely theoretical studies.

World View: Will is the active expression of the soul's meaning. The interest of life must be subserved, the desires must be satisfied and goals must be realized.

One of the most important development of ideology has to do with the change in the world scene and the potential for revolution.

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