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Good-Bye to All That? Eclipsing Empires, Eclipsing Ideologues and Emerging Models of Citizenry

By Ian Gibson

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Abstract

This paper examines evolving models of peace education and citizenship and tentatively posits these models as viable counters to violent practices shared by past empires, current movements within globalisation (postmodern empire? see Shiva and Roy below) and ideologues that effuse violence. These models suggest possibilities of transforming negative perceptions of 'the other' – negative perceptions that most commonly surface within culturally transferred views that encourage violence as a means to an end (the culture of violence), particularly those views observed in the mechanics of the British Empire in India, China and South Africa in the 19th Century and the darker areas of beliefs, nationalism and ethnicity seen in the 20th Century. This paper will argue that without adoption of citizen enhancing concepts – such as peace education, active inquiry, transformative models, and universally recognised value systems informed by human rights knowledge – to construct alternative models for citizenry, human existence will continue to be self-seeking, self-serving, and hegemony driven. The consequences of this will be further violence, further mistrust and lives that will continue to be, in the famous words of Thomas Hobbes in 1651, 'solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short'.

Introduction

> *The latest assault sent a new wave of fear through Kano's minority Christian community. Islamic attacks on the Christian areas of Kano have left hundreds dead at a time. In Plateau State human rights groups have recorded nearly 60,000 religious killings of Muslims and Christians in the past six years. Tens of thousands more have fled.* ("Christians live in dread as new Taliban rises". *The Guardian Weekly* May 5th 2007)

If as Castles and Davidson remark, citizenship 'tends to an imperious assertion of the mastery of humankind over all environments' (Castles. S, Davidson, A. 2000:26) then the opening quote of ideologically driven violence from the above media source also illuminates the imperious assertion of one group of humans over another. Together with this report which focuses on human rights abuses in Kano in Northern Nigeria, page two of the same media source reports 378 deaths in five stories, as well as beatings, torture and grave robbing in another two reports. The current world order contains many such problematic challenges. Past empires such as the British, French, Spanish and Ottoman empires and the continuing process of globalisation have created many areas of conflict, and negative perceptions of 'the other', together with the current perception of globalisation as a 'flattener,' a homogeniser of cultures. This process is seen by many as a threat to traditional ways of life. Vandana Shiva, the environmental activist and social critic of globalisation notes that "globalization is a violent system, imposed and maintained through use of violence" (The Hindu, March 25, 2001) and "a war of monocultures against diversity, of big against small, of wartime technologies against nature."

A reaction to untrammelled market forces propelling environmental destruction and over consumption is the counter ecological rationale that humans exist with other life forms in a state of mutual dependency and not as a state of anthropocentrism (see Polozov, 1994:101 discussed at the end of this paper). In this present world order, violent conflict is manifested with those that reject the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation's (UNESCO's) concept of a Culture of Peace (outlined further on in this paper) and continue to blindly subscribe to the Culture of Violence, a nihilistic anarchical entity supported by patriarchal elites whether in government or business or both, that merely perpetuates rancour, inequality and a disregard for life. As far as modern life is concerned, imperious and ideological assertion is the *mot juste* (appropriate expression), not just for the mastery of humankind over all environments but also the mastery of humans over other humans, particularly with the support of industrialised weaponry. This suggests that globalisation is as readily backed by power as was empire before it, which tends to also suggest that systems of empire are segueing into globalisation (see Arundhati Roy below). The accepted default to get one's point across or to settle a dispute is to resort to the failsafe use of violence. The news media these days are full of documented violence: terrorism against the West; suicide bombings; kidnappings and torture; the nebulous 'war on terror'; threats to security; threats to civilisation; threats to culture; multiple threats to our lives. Violence is a quick fix for all the globe's troubles and can be identified as a shared acceptance of problem-solving, unfortunate perhaps but 'realistically' necessary. In Hollywood, violence sells and is portrayed as mostly 'cool', in Darfur, Afghanistan, Iraq and Gaza it is anything but. This

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is the 'culture of violence' a human subscription, rationally implausible to many

(Condorcet for one), but the ways and means of forging empire and ideologues for many

centuries. In order for this culture to win others must lose – a notion that underlies

capitalism within globalisation, empires in the past, and ideologues that seek to assert

their views over others.

Violence Within Modern Empire

'Shock and Awe' was the sexy snappy sound bite beloved by the western media

before the invasion of Iraq in 2003. The then U.S. administration representing, arguably,

the richest, most powerful, most 'advanced' civilisation in the world turned all its powers

of persuasion, all its methods of diplomacy and all its good will from other nation states

directly after the 9-11 attack into mistrust and mockery with its ill-conceived and

misguided 'axis of evil' rhetoric and then its assault on Iraq. A mass of weaponry

flattened anyone unlucky enough to be in Baghdad in March 2003, mostly the Iraqi

citizens who didn't have the resources to flee the city, and then the U.S. ground forces

moved in from house to house and family to family. Of course it was shock and awe; a

lot of people around the world were shocked by this abuse of power and awed by the

sheer arrogance of the U.S. administration. Six years on there hasn't been the

breakthrough of 'democracy' hoped for by the U.S. administration (although this paper

welcomes the recent moves by the Obama administration redressing torture) and

insurgency groups continue to be displeased with the 'liberators' of Iraq. A sovereign

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state attacking another sovereign state was still empire building no matter how the then

U.S. administration 'spun' it.

It appears that the imperious assertion of nationalistic citizenship feeding into

empire applies a sole recourse in reply to any form of conflict if all other areas have been

exhausted, or more often airily dismissed, and that recourse is violence, whether

interpersonal violence, physical violence, institutional violence, structural violence,

psychological violence, socio-cultural violence, state violence or the myriad of other

labels attached to violence that obfuscate the action of imposing threats and avoidable

harm on another. Globalisation and empire to social critics like Vandana Shiva and

Arundhati Roy employ the same means of coercion, that of systemic violence employing

power structures, be they capital or industrialised weaponry, to, in the words of Shiva

(ibid.), form "a war against nature, women, children and the poor."

To many, violence is easy, a necessary evil, one doesn't have to analyse it too

much, it just is. The accepted norm is that it's inherent, biological, coded, and although

regrettable it can't be helped, though for the definitive repudiation of the biological

nature of violence however, see the *Seville Statement on Violence*, Spain, 1986. Terms

have been employed to compartmentalise its varied forms, to somehow make sense and

'humanise' what is just base brutality – 'soft targets', 'collateral damage',

'proportionality' and 'valid target' feature among the present conflict euphemisms in

Afghanistan, Gaza and Iraq. The Second World War in which the Soviet Union alone lost

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an estimated twenty million lives was described as a 'just war' (see Thomas Aquinas'

Summa Theologicae) in terms of justification against the terror and root evil of Nazism

but in any war proportionality cannot be adequately gauged or distributed. War is

anarchic, legitimately authorised but illegitimately practiced and because of the anarchic

nature of war both the allies and the axis powers committed atrocities. On camera in the

documentary *The Fog of War* (distributed by Sony Pictures Classic) former U.S.

Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara admits to the director Errol Morris that had the

U.S. lost World War II, he and General Curtis LeMay could have been prosecuted for

war crimes for the firebombing of Japan. Similarly with any form of violence, the

process of law may be able to 'punish' abuses of violence but this is long after the fact –

long after violence has occurred, long after violence has had out.

Imperious is taken from the Latin *imperium* which carries the semantic load of

absolute rule, a supreme power, an empire with the right or the power of a state to carry

out and enforce the law. On the cusp of the first millennium the Romans informed by the

Greek *polis* established concepts of citizenship throughout their empire, although this

right was limited to elite groups and employed privilege and exclusion as membership

requirements for this form of citizenship. This process of elite exclusivity remained static

in the first millennium, religion and sovereign power framed medieval times, allowing no

firm realisation of citizenship rights. Even with revolution and separation from the British

crown, the Enlightenment-informed United States Constitution of 1787 protected and

gave voting rights only to white male property owners. The French Revolution arguably

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created a citizenship-inspired movement in France, (see *La Déclaration des droits de l'Homme et du citoyen)* however this popular nationalism was coerced into conscription, war and empire building along with the other main rival European empire of that time, the British Empire.

Empire Building, Empire Destroying

Empire building is driven by the need for resources, whether land, labour or capital and requires the services of a powerful military to ensure that its needs are protected and satiated. Historically such military powers have resorted to violent means (endorsed by legitimate jurisdiction of course) to achieve their aims. The armed struggle of the British and French empires together with Austro-Hungary, Russia, China, Germany and the Ottoman Empire to maintain their power centres stretched their respective resources and by the end of the Second World War their powers had waned leaving a world order of fractured colonies in Africa and Asia, and a very solvent U.S. superpower vying for power with a Socialist superpower. An interesting comment on the declining empires mentioned above can be found in the Yasakuni Museum, the *Yushukan,* within the Yasakuni Shrine in Tokyo which asserts that the Japanese Empire encouraged the colonised powers to rise up against their colonial oppressors at the end of World War Two (conveniently failing to note its own culpability in colonial oppression). Instead of the emerging U.N. creating a new world order however, the Soviet Union and U.S. powers circled that institution, denying it effective global governance, and ensured

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another forty years of narcissistic power struggle and coercion built on the might of their

individual weapons capability:

> One of the most powerful operations of the modern imperialistic power
> structures was to drive wedges among the masses of the globe, dividing them
> into opposing camps or really a myriad of conflicting parties. Segments of the
> proletariat in the dominant countries were even led to believe that their
> interests were tied exclusively to their national identity and imperial destiny.
> The most significant instances of revolt and revolution against these modern
> power structures therefore were those that posed the struggle against
> exploitation together with the struggle against nationalism, colonialism, and
> imperialism (Hardt & Negri, 2000:42)

Both modern and ancient power structures have effectively sought to impose

control on 'the masses' by fear, divisive (derisive?) patriotism (see George W. Bush's

War on Terror speech September 20th 2001 – "Every nation, in every region, now has a

decision to make: either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists.") or the failsafe

default, coercive violence, which is the enemy of rights, the enemy of justice, the enemy

of peace, legitimised by every state and therefore a collective cultural norm. Peace

Education theory has identified this culture of violence as a core obstacle to effective and

harmonious global citizenship. The culture of violence is legitimised by the war system

"the core institution of the global security system, the fount from which pour the

rationalisations for and habits of violence found in so many aspects of life" (Reardon &

Cabezudo 2002:17). Since the first civilisations, identified as those found around 3000

B.C. in Mesopotamia (see for example Tomczak, www.es.flinders.edu.au/) conflict has

existed side by side with power informed politics, driven by patriarchal systems that have

sought to assimilate and subjugate all within their spheres. The industrialisation-driven

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empire building of the 19th and 20th centuries (see for example the British Empire up to

the end of 1945) has honed this process, as resources needed to fuel colonial and

postcolonial entities are strip-mined and consumed without regard for any form of

sustainability or how the impact of these practices will be felt to the inheritors of this land

in the future. India, China and the continent of Africa felt the full effect of this in the 19th

century. Indeed, as Reardon has commented to peace education students, it is not

technically correct to cite global warming as a core environmental problem but the global

systems and structures in place that perpetuate and sustain this situation.

The Culture of Violence Continues – From Empire to Globalisation

The culture of violence has ensured that minority groups continue to be alienated,

mistrust and hopelessness continue to be felt and global injustices continue to be

practiced, despite the guidance and teachings of nonviolent religious beliefs and works of

peace philosophy throughout history (see Kant's *Perpetual Peace* and *A Lasting Peace*

through the Federation of Europe and *The State of War* by Jean Jacques Rousseau for

example). Many have seen globalisation itself as problematic; it is a complex process,

and "divides as much as it unites; it divides as it unites – the causes of division being

identical with those which promote the uniformity of the globe" (Bauman, 1998:2).

Arundhati Roy identifies empire as a precursor to globalisation, which has subsequently

adopted and assimilated globalisation when she notes, "Empire has sprouted other

subsidiary heads, some dangerous by-products – nationalism, religious bigotry, fascism

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and, of course, terrorism. All these march arm in arm with the project of corporate

globalization" (Roy, 2004:69). Hall acknowledges that globalisation is "located within a

much longer history" (Hall 1997: 20), indeed empires such as those of Rome, Spain,

Britain and Persia have always constructed their own processes of 'Globalisation' –

interconnected trade, interconnected communications, interconnected (although not

always willingly subsumed) citizenry.

The Ways of Empire

Empire has relied on force to establish and maintain colonies; nationalism and

state security have relied on force to control and protect policy; rival ethnic groups have

relied on force to promote their causes; and modern globalisation in its economic guise

has also been accused of operating purely out of force. As an illustration of this, Held and

McGrew cite Robert Wade's 'champagne glass' figure and Hoogvelt's model of social

architecture that divides the world into winners and losers, to substantiate economic

globalisation as "the principle causal mechanism, which determines patterns of global

inequality" (Held and McGrew, 2002:82). The received knowledge that force is the only

means to solve conflict continues to dominate thinking in the media, with its knee-jerk

and traditionally reactive response to news of violence. Nowhere in the Guardian story

(although typically the Guardian is head and shoulders above many other newspapers in

constructive critical thinking) is there any analysis offered as to why this situation has

continued, rather the projection of death and fear and violence is what sells the story.

This rationale has often been identified as 'ideological domination' (see Gledhill 1997:348) the unbalanced weighting of worthy against unworthy or 'othering' particularly of the North against the South.

The North stood by while conditions unravelled in Rwanda and developed into a horrific genocide in 1994; U.N. forces identifying a growing danger actually pulled out of the area and no post-mortem hand wringing by the international community could ever suffice for this shameful denial of action. And yet the North was able to come to the aid of Kuwait, a country with a highly questionable human rights record, bringing the full force of Operation Desert Storm to bear on a pitifully equipped Iraqi army. Here we have two countries, Kuwait and Rwanda, both with human lives at threat and their security threatened, both incapable of resolving their internal conflict, both requiring external aid, but only one achieving this. The question of course is why did Kuwait justify international intervention authorised by a UN resolution and Rwanda did not?

Rwanda was a country wrest over by colonialisation like so many African nations. Artificial borders imposed on many areas in Africa arising from the legacy of colonialisation have continued to fuel violent conflict as displaced peoples struggle for scarce resources of water and land. Corrupt governments, no better (or different) at times than organised gangsters, channel any outside aid straight into overseas bank accounts (see Zaire under Mobutu, or the doomed road building projects in Tanzania) while their peoples go hungry. A U.N. development aid mandate recommended 0.7% of a country's GNP for overseas aid spending. Countries like Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway and

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Sweden give 70 cents of every $100 to achieve this aim. Most countries do not come

close. The United States gives 0.1% of its GNP in development aid and Japan gives

0.27% (See Singer, 2004). The North is very selective of who is worthy of its

development aid and with good reason. Japan chooses countries who can reciprocate with

voting support on the international stage (ibid.) the U.S. pours most of its aid into shoring

up its allies in the unstable Middle East, which brings us back to Kuwait. The Iraqi

invasion threatened control of oil reserves in the Middle East and an unstable distribution

of resources to the West, Kuwait was suddenly worthy, Rwanda was not.

The Counter to the Culture of Violence – the Culture of Peace

Ideological domination uses violence as its default recourse to conflict resolution.

Media and political processes accept this violence as inevitable with no deep critical

analysis into the roots of conflict. Peace theory identifies five root causes of violence:

education that promotes the glory of war without teaching any alternatives to violent

conflict; colonialism and neocolonialism that deny people rights; unsustainable and

inequitable uses of environmental resources; top-down globalisation; and discrimination

that feeds into intolerance against race, religion and gender (see Reardon, 2002, The

Hague Appeal for Peace, 1999). Realists and cynics maintain that violence is the way of

the world and anyone who thinks differently is misinformed and unrealistic. The point is

that this is exactly what and how ruling elites 'want' citizenry to think – Gramsci was

entirely correct here with his theory of hegemony and his notion of 'compromise

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equilibrium' between competing classes. Citizens enter into negotiation and consent with

elites and the norm of violence is adopted and accepted. After all, an acceptance of the

prevailing system means no change to the system – people are resistant to change (fear is

an important factor here) and can remain 'safe' in their present conditions. Is it as

Bennington says, "the state of nature is a state of war, or of the necessary risk of war…

and it is difficult for us to accept the transcendental optimism of Kant's technological

view of nature progressing towards a perpetual peace" (1990:131)? It is difficult maybe

but not impossible. Let us move from the negative to the positive:

> A culture of peace will be achieved when citizens of the world understand
> global problems, have the skills to resolve conflicts and struggle for justice
> non-violently, live by international standards of human rights and equity,
> appreciate cultural diversity, and respect the Earth and each other. Such
> learning can only be achieved with systematic education for peace**.** (Hague
> Appeal for Peace Global Campaign for Peace Education)

> As defined by the United Nations, 'The Culture of Peace is a set of values,
> attitudes, modes of behavior and ways of life that reject violence and prevent
> conflicts by tackling their root causes to solve problems through dialogue and
> negotiation among individuals, groups and nations (UN Resolutions
> A/RES/52/13: Culture of Peace and A/RES/53/243, Declaration and
> Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace, www3.unesco.org/)

Evolving Models of Global Citizenship

These two passages represent our framework for evolving global citizenship.

They identify problems and focus on solutions – tackling root causes of conflict,

implementing skills to resolve conflict, reinforcing positive values and educating for

peace. Education, particularly *critical* education, is crucial here. It may seem odd but in

many institutions of higher education a significant number of academics are not

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particularly interested in education per se and are often openly disdainful of education as if they are somehow detached from the process that supports them. Such are the systems in place in academia that most academics focus on their closely guarded research as their primary purpose and educating comes a very poor second, if at all.

However, and fittingly for an outward looking and globally informed institution, such narrow and elitist attitudes are missing in the UNESCO document, *Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy*, endorsed by the UNESCO General Conference in 1995, which asserts that ministers of education should strive resolutely "to base education on principles and methods that contribute to the development to the personality of pupils, students, and adults who are respectful of their fellow human beings and determined to promote peace, human rights and democracy" (Preamble 2.1). This document stresses the importance of a sense of universal values and the recognising and acknowledging of the "diversity of individuals, genders, peoples and cultures" where "the citizens of a pluralistic society and multicultural world should be able to accept that their interpretation of situations and problems is rooted in their personal lives, in the history of their society and in their cultural traditions" (ibid. clause 6).

UNESCO and many peace theorists maintain that notions of culturally held beliefs need to be constantly questioned, that often these notions are not wholly conducive to the global good, and that practices held to be true within cultures are not necessarily immutable. "The military modes of pursuing national interest and other social

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goals that world order inquiry described as a war system have come to be recognised by
many more peace educators as the international structures that arise from and are
sustained by a culture of war" (Reardon, 2000:16). Opotow, Gerson and Woodside
support this in their essay focusing on Moral Exclusion where they call for an education
of coexistence "to address acute and chronic between-group tensions fostered by
religious and ethnic intolerance" (Opotow et al. 2005:306). They propose a
transformation of moral exclusion, which they identify as a held "human capacity –
something we all do" by education that sharpens "critical skills, examines taken for
granted assumptions, and rethinks the status quo" (ibid: 311). They also refute those who
interpret peace education as unsound, unsubstantiated and unrealistic, and regard it
correctly as a process that captures "the dynamic and pressing nature of social tensions"
and mobilises "this urgency to reexamine social arrangements that institutionalize
inequality and injustice" (ibid: 311).

Ideology and Intolerance

One of these problematic social arrangements is intolerance, which is a major
block against any form of globality, global identity or global citizenry and is manifested
in racism, extreme forms of nationalism, and general mistrust of, anger and ultimately
violence against the other. It can be culturally transmitted in that cultures will often
identify other cultures as seemingly inferior and 'unworthy' – as the Nazi 'final solution',
the genocide in Rwanda and the 'ethnic cleansing' in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the 1990s so

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terribly illustrated. These examples are intolerance carried to the most heinous ends but

this process exists on many levels. In 2002, for example, in what could be seen as the

inevitable lead up to conflict, the U.S. administration accused Iraq of being a threat to

stability in the Middle East – "Intelligence gathered by this and other governments leaves

no doubt that the Iraq regime continues to possess and conceal some of the most lethal

weapons ever devised" Bush address to nation, March 17th 2003 – and continued to lead

the western media down a blind path of threats to security, weapons of mass destruction

and global terrorism. However, one may ask how was this perceived Iraq threat different

to the perceived threat of the U.S. administration by other countries? U.S. president

George W. Bush using such divisive terms when describing certain countries as an 'Axis

of Evil' post 9/11 certainly didn't advance any diplomatic frontiers. As discussed before

the Bush administration deftly converted world sympathy after 9/11 into the direct

opposite through: an escalating purge against 'terrorism'; a spurious 'intelligence' report

about weapons of mass destruction; and a prolonged and bloody conflict in Iraq. In

addition there was increased distrust of the U.S. as a credible force for democracy with

recorded human rights abuses in its military prisons at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba and Abu

Ghraib in Iraq and its policy of denying prisoner of war status to U.S. detainees and so

allowing them access to 'competent tribunal', as required under Article 5 of the Third

Geneva Convention. Is one country deemed more 'worthy,' than another, is one culture

deemed more 'worthy' than another, is one group of citizens deemed more 'worthy' than

another, if so then why?

Fundamentalist thinking also fuels this intolerance. One questions the process

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behind fundamentalism where sacred texts are interpreted as a call to arms to deploy

extreme violence against the other. Where is the justification for this violence? The texts

themselves were written by men conveying their interpretation of the words of divine

sources and these sources have subsequently remained silent as to any further

interpretation or misinterpretation of their words. As Singer in his book *One World* notes:

> It would of course, be easier to agree on common ethical principles if we
> could first agree on questions that are not ethical but factual, such as whether
> there is a god, or gods, and if there is, or are, whether he, she, or they has or
> have expressed his, her, or their will or wills in any of the various texts
> claimed by the adherents of different religions to be divinely inspired (Singer,
> 2004:142)

Where in the ancient texts for example does it infer that a solution to one's source

of conflict would be best solved by strapping a bomb to oneself and getting on a subway

train or a bus to detonate it amongst people who are probably not the direct cause of the

problem? Where in the ancient texts is there the direct or imagined command to launch a

missile attack into someone's house? The tenets of Christianity convey an opposite

meaning:

> Matthew 5:21, 22 Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou
> shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment:
> But I say unto you, That whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause
> shall be in danger of the judgment: and whosoever shall say to his brother,
> Raca, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, Thou fool,
> shall be in danger of hell fire.

Islam recounts that the Prophet Muhammad wrote down the divine words of Allah

over a twenty-two year period. The Prophet received the first revelation in the year 610

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CE whilst in a retreat, located on the *Jabal al-nur* on the outskirts of Mecca. The Prophet

recorded these words of peace in the Qur'an, Chapter 5, Verse 32:

> If anyone slew a person—unless it be for murder or spreading mischief in the
> land—it would be as if he slew the whole people. And if anyone saved a life,
> it would be as if he saved the life of the whole people.

Of course any loose interpretation of these texts can somehow justify the use of

violence and it often is, often with the use of violence to prove the point – 'othering'

against non-believers is a shockingly hypocritical position to adopt in any ideology.

Interviewed in the *New York Times* a Syrian layman who writes about Islam, Muhammad

Shahrour, argues that only by reappraising their sacred texts will Muslims be able to

untangle their faith from the terrible violence committed in the name of Islam.

Addressing the entire ninth chapter The Sura of Repentance, which describes a failed

attempt by the Prophet Muhammad to form a state on the Arabian Peninsula, Shahrour

believes that this is the source of most of the verses used to validate extremist attacks,

with lines like "slay the pagans where you find them". Shahrour is one of many who

think that the chapter should be isolated to its original context and thus not be open to

wider misinterpretation (*New York Times*, December 10, 2004). Extremist interpretation

is very depressing to benign followers of religion who want to uphold the teachings of

peace. However whether the popular view is that we are, in the early 21st century,

engaged in a war of religion against religion or whether fundamentalist thinking is

another guise for patriarchal hierarchies to maintain power over all and continue control

over women is for much wider and detailed discussion in another paper. Violence is at

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the heart of many current political, economic, social and religious systems (and here we
are talking about the aforementioned predicament relating to hermeneutics the (mis)
interpretation of religious texts) and violence begets violence in a self-serving cycle. The
question is how do we address this cycle of violence? What are the strategies involved
that are needed to establish a more equitable and fair world, one that does not call for
violence as a means of rough justice, one that does not exclude anyone from the right to
be a citizen of this planet and enjoy universal rights. The following area case studies
suggest solutions.

Citizenship Movements in the Philippines

As a study of the history of violence, ecological destruction and cultural conflict,
Floresca-Cawagas and Toh Swee-Hin track the history of the Philippines through its
colonial legacies to the overthrow of the dictator Marcos, identifying here that "the
EDSA uprising did succeed in overthrowing a corrupt, repressive dictatorship, but it was
not moved by a unified and clear consensus about the root causes of structural violence in
Philippine society" (1995:45). They maintain that "peaceful nationalist values need to be
consistent with an ethos of globalism, that Filipinos are also part of the one human family
sharing common problems and hopes for pacem terries" (ibid: 51).

Through the work of PAHRA (Philippine Alliance of Human Rights Advocates)
collaborating with other NGOs and peacemakers they encourage citizens to "lobby

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Government and all armed groups to practice Geneva conventions and protocols" (ibid: 55). This raises the common awareness of citizens and combatants that their rights are upheld while there is a movement towards a "goal of national reconciliation" (ibid: 55). Yet Floresca-Cawagas and Toh Swee-Hin concede that this is still not enough, they see it "is vital to appreciate what lies at the roots of poverty and marginalization. Furthermore, it is crucial to critically understand which polices sustain a more equitable production, use, and redistribution of national resources" (ibid: 56). Groups such as the Silsilah Islamo-Christian Dialogue movement and the Social Action for Cultural Solidarity (SACS) network saw it as important to "cultivate hearts, minds, and spirits open to dialogue that recognize the common humanity in one another, regardless of faith of traditions" (ibid: 57). As a lesson in globality the Philippines is a micro example of a macro problem. Without the furthering of ecological awareness and disarmament awareness, and if citizens are not made aware that short-term gains will soon impact very badly on the well-being of themselves as well as the well-being of future generations, then the planet's role as a sustaining force for citizens will become untenable.

Floresca-Cawagas and Toh Swee-Hin recognise that the work of educators and peace builders are "conscientizing Filipinos about human rights, demilitarization (and) environmental care" while an integrated peace education movement is drawing these themes together in a holistic peace education framework where citizens "become critically aware of the dynamic interrelationships between issues of structural violence, militarization, human rights, cultural solidarity, environmental care, and personal peace"

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(ibid: 59). The implications of these projects are also felt wider in the Southeast Asian

and Pacific regions with the continuing violence in Indonesia and East Timor and the

growing awareness of environmental destruction in the fishing practices, logging and

resource stripping practices of developing and developed nations in this region. There is

also the sharing of this awareness among many western nations, which at the time of this

writing in 2009 is reaching critical mass in certain areas of the more discerning media

and among many concerned groups of activists. This point needs to be repeated that

unless a significant altering of the capitalist mindset takes place then the planet will be

unable to fulfil its sustaining role to its citizenry sooner rather than later.

Value-Building Peace Education Programs

These value-building programmes suggested by peace education theorists are

gaining favour with many citizen education projects such as the EURED (Education for

Europe as Peace Education) Teacher Training Programme of 2002. This was initiated by

Professor Werner Wintersteiner of Klagenfurt University, Austria working in cooperation

with an international group of scholars, educators, teacher trainers and peace activists

who aim to prepare citizens for a culture of peace in Europe. EURED stresses the need

for content-oriented programmes, student-oriented programmes and community

orientated programmes to form a '*peace promoting culture'* (2002:12). They emphasise

non-violent conflict resolution courses and a "multifaceted and integrated concept" (ibid:

20) raising citizen awareness in issues of gender, globality, human rights, civics and

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democracy. The aim, as in many citizen-focused programmes, is to transform counter-

globalist thinking and acknowledge that 'the reduction of all kinds of violence

presupposes changes in cultural social, political and other relations' (ibid.).

The South American writer Jamie Diaz has recognised this, declaring that in areas

of Latin America citizenry is subjected to institutionalised violence where, "they suffer

inhuman living conditions as a result of the capitalist economic system… real economic

war waged against the majority of (the) population, affecting millions of innocent victims

of all ages every year" (Diaz, 1993:70). Diaz outlines an effective citizenship building

process:

> Starting from the principle of a dialectic relationship between reflection and
> action related to social experience, which constitutes praxis, it is necessary
> that grassroots groups learn a method of reflection-action in order to develop
> social maturity and to apply this method to their particular context (ibid: 80).

Diaz echoes the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire with this method, recognising that

citizen conscience-raising does not come from empty political statements but from

intellectual analysis, dialogue, reflection and transformative inquiry – consisting of

"raising key questions in order to proceed step by step, discovering what is hidden and

finding possible approaches to organised action, starting from the group's own sources

and possibilities" (ibid: 83). The vision imagined here is one of globality, where he sees

that the peace of lesser-developed Latin American nations and the peace of industrialised

nations:

> May be the same one, one based on justice and the same ethical-social values,
> where the relationship is not one of domination and subordination and

survival is not only a privilege of the strongest, but also a fundamental, most human, right of all (ibid: 88).

An Asian Perspective

As well as Diaz writing from a South American perspective on peace education theory, the Japanese writer Hisako Ukita offers an Asian perspective on the same issue. Commentating on peace education both in Japan and outside Japan she maintained that "the theory and practice of symbiotic correlation/authentic commitment should be advanced as quickly as possible through heuristic mutual learning among peace research, peace education and action-orientated groups" (Ukita, 1974:331). However, she questioned the well intentioned citizen-affirming programmes of the West and suggested that these are the "thoughts of those who are members of the ruling culture and who thus cannot or will not deal with issues centred around direct experiences of being oppressed, belittled, and ignored" (Ibid: 334). Ukita felt the need for "learning on the part of the advanced peoples, not only by listening, but also by studying the many abominable and humiliating errors of their past and present, things they would rather forget" (ibid: 335). This remains one of the core complaints against the West, whether criticising western citizen programmes or any form of western driven values or rights documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, irrespective of the fact that the Chinese professor and philosopher Dr. P.C. Chang was vice-chair on the Human Rights Commission – the idea that western values are not transferable to any non-western part of the world or are not culturally acceptable to non-western cultures.

An African Perspective

Before this issue is addressed it may be helpful to look at a case study from Africa written by the Nigerian Samie Ikechi Ihejirika. Ethnic violence, colonial violence, gender violence, racist violence, structural violence – all these forms of violence have been experienced in horrific detail in Africa. Africa has suffered from the effects of colonialism and neo-colonialism – rising from what the philosopher Peter Singer called the conception of the good life in the West "constructed and entrenched during a period when no one thought of limits to material wealth and consumption" (Singer, 1995:54). When the emerging industrialised nations of the 18th and 19th century sought to fuel their wealth building programmes they turned to areas of bounty such as Africa, partitioning the continent and instigating a "lumping of diverse people arbitrarily into nation states for colonial administrative convenience" (Ihejirika, 1993:111). Manpower and resources were stripped from these regions with the help of the imperialist nations' military power and often with the willing help of many of those peoples already living there. Post-colonial independence saw further debt inducing policies imposed by the West and corruption, violence and injustice within African states ran rife in the 20th century and on into the 21st century (see for example the histories of Zimbabwe, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia and Darfur).

Ihejirika states that "education is one of the most potent tools for creating social

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awareness" (ibid:107) and would therefore be a defining tool to help Africa with her

problems, but as a consequence of unstable political structures inherited from colonialism

"African governments and politics have remained plagued with violence, corruption and

frequent military coups – a condition that signifies the inability of Africans to manage

their conflicts effectively" (ibid: 114). Sadly with the enduring effects of colonial

education and cultural assimilation there has been a creation of an African elite where

western values and tastes have "become the yardstick for measuring acceptability and

success in life" (ibid:117) and establishing a market for finished goods from developed

nations with internally produced goods judged "substandard and inferior" (ibid.).

Development in many parts of Africa has suffered from internal conflicts where

this insecurity has prevented overseas investment and an absence of citizens' rights and

where "sources of information (are) controlled by governments, who strive to maintain an

unreliable, one-way flow of information" (ibid: 126). In citizen consciousness-raising

programmes Ihejirika suggests taking a cue from UNESCO's 1980 document on

disarmament education and teaching for conflict resolution where such education informs

"*how* to think about disarmament and no*t what* to think about it. It should therefore be

problem-centred so as to develop the analytical and critical steps towards the reduction of

arms and elimination of war as an acceptable international practice" (ibid: 127). In a

fusion of development and disarmament education in Africa, citizen consciousness-

raising would address "the problems created by imperialism, racism and lack of human

rights" and in so doing would provide "awareness for political and economic conditions

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by encouraging people to participate in decisions that will transform their social realities"

(ibid: 129).

Consciousness-raising of Citizenry

The writers discussed in this paper from Africa, East Asia, South East Asia and South America all stressed consciousness-raising of the citizens within their respective areas. Among the primary aims of this process are to produce citizens who are adept at problem solving, identifying and dealing with concerns, being able to resolve conflict through conflict resolution methods and recognise the interrelationships of cultures and environments throughout the world. One of the central tenets of this consciousness-raising is the adaptation of the Freirian dialogic method of posing transformative inquiry rather than delivering direct statements of fact. This methodology is a way of surfacing values, recognising and explaining values, and examining values. For this very reason it has also been seen as controversial as it is "raising criticism about public issues", and challenging citizens "to examine fundamental private and personal values thought to be the realm in which (they) should receive instruction from their families and religious institutions" (Reardon, 2000:11).

Polozov and a Model of Universality

To return to the question of inquiry raised by whether values and human rights are

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western driven or western imposed – certainly it can be posited that all cultures share

values, such as not to do harm to others, to care for the poor and the weak, to respect the

family and people in wider society and to protect an environment that will in turn sustain

life. Of course we see many historical instances of conflict where these values have been

ignored both in immediate societies and towards others, and that many of these abuses of

values continue. Reardon argues that what is required here is a "transformational mode, a

mode that will bring about a profound change in both the form and the substance of

human cultures" (ibid: 17) in terms of cultural proficiency, global agency, conflict

competency and gender sensitivity. Perhaps in order to accept and fully absorb the

concept of globality and the concept of global citizenry it is necessary to see our world in

terms that go far beyond the immediate environment that one exists in. If this is possible,

of course, for to do so we would have to take the very radical step of acknowledging in

evolutionary terms that life on earth began once and once only and from this single

source all life evolved. This underscores the point that we are not so different from 'the

other' as first seems, we share the same body, the same food needs, the same health

needs, we are therefore clearly interdependent although this point has been consistently

obscured by imprecise doctrine, propaganda and racist cant. Arguing for the

interdependence of life, Sergei Polozov, in his essay *Social Responsibility and Ecological

Culture through Ecological Education,* rejects the moral principle within humanism of

pity of the strong toward the weak, the anthropocentric outlook, and instead he explains:

> As our understanding of life's biological essence is deepening, as we come to
> know more of the laws governing the functioning of natural systems at all
> levels of the their organization, we are simply bound to fully realize the
> *universal quality of everything living in the common arena of life*. True

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humanism lies in the notion that a human being is no special creature having an exceptional right to give or take away another's life at will. The acceptance of this thesis means to develop ecological culture at the level necessary for humankind today. We might call this attitude *biocentrism* – or the thesis that a human being is an equal among equals in nature (Polozov, 1994:102).

This concept along with values education is our model of applied universality, of citizen building, the 'looping' of concepts that brings together all life-forms and merges values and beliefs to construct a global perspective; to again quote Polozov, "I think that demonstrations of force against weaker beings do not belong to the nature of human beings who have developed confidence and self esteem" (ibid: 103). And how do human beings develop confidence and self-esteem and reject using actions of force? Certainly by the acceptance of *ecological culture* – where avoidance of force to nature counters policies of violence which lead to "a complete liquidation of all economic and other activities" (ibid: 103) and where the "basis for cooperation is global-scale ethical norms for relations between human beings and nature" (ibid: 104). And certainly by an *ecological world outlook* – "the priority of the ecological approach as the fundamental principle and methodological basis for all material and spiritual activities of individuals and society" (ibid: 105).

Emerging Perspectives of Citizenry

While these concepts are often extremely difficult to absorb – full adoption of these concepts would require a complete examination and a transformation of our

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lifestyles, these ideas are slowly infusing into scientific and academic circles – a

realisation that we have exhausted our resources due to our pursuit of wealth where to

quote Singer after Max Weber, "For capitalist man, the sole purpose of one's life work is,

in Weber's words, 'to sink into the grave weighed down with a great material load of

money and goods.' We do not acquire goods in order to live, instead we live in order to

acquire goods" (Singer, 1995: 56). Values inquiry examines the precept of what could be

termed *significant existence* - that which has driven religious belief and philosophical

inquiry for over two thousand years. Singer himself poses this inquiry in his book, *How

are we to Live?* Is life merely the acquisition of more things than anyone else at the

expense of everyone else?

From a historical perspective the acquisition of things and the perpetuation of

misguided ideology has meant violence against others – ecological systems, peoples and

nations. Indeed with the fallout from the current economic downturn in 2009, the reliance

on growth and greed to fuel systems of globalisation has become a topic of considerable

debate in the western press and the sound of economic policy dominoes falling is

thunderous. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights ratified in December 1948 was a

direct response to genocide and man's brutality to his fellow man and woman and an

attempt to ensure significant existence to humankind. If this is a document comprised

solely of rights driven western values according to its critics, then it is hoped that other

regions would be able to assimilate a similar system of rights driven values and human

dignity that would protect all citizens within their own region, assuming of course that

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this notion is both desirable and attainable – human dignity and rights being accorded in many non-western regions as the sole privilege of elite groups. Some might even hold that this is true of western regions as well. To again turn to human rights and values being a western-driven concept, "the historical connection of human rights with the West" is according to Jack Donnelly in his book *Universal Human Rights in Theory and in Practice*, "more accident or effect than cause" (Donnelly, 2003:78). He argues that the West was the first to experience modern markets and states long before other regions and pre-empted the rest of the world in "developing the response of human rights" (ibid: 78). E.P. Thompson's seminal study *The Making of the English Working Class* documented a monumental struggle during the emerging industrialisation of Britain for human dignity, identity and representation against the gross evils of elitist-driven exploitation, dire poverty and gross injustice in a country that now rails and roars against such notions of horrific suffering. And yet it was a mere breath of history from those traumatic and terrible times to now.

Conclusion

Conditions of globality and global citizenry are evolving because nations alone cannot exist without mutual cooperation with others, and often the governments within these nations are failing their citizens by not supporting them with any form of values protection or human rights protection: Burma, Sudan and Zimbabwe to name but three. Peace education has an active role to play in creating notions of a citizenry that views the

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world as an interconnected whole and themselves as an active, involved, non-destructive

participant – the *biocentrism* suggested by Polozov above. Teaching for peace is a start,

prodding peace with a stick, which is how many see and deal in peace and conflict

studies is not the end. Peace education in order to be effective has to fully absorb and

apply the methods outlined above, particularly the Freirian notions of active inquiry,

methodology and *praxis,* that is transformation of states utilising reflection and action.

Analysis of systems, particularly encouraging critical thinking from early ages –

questioning systems rather than bluntly issuing statements from the educator is a way

forward. After all what are the alternatives? More violence? More inequality? More

indifference? The passive continuance of things as are and how they have always been?

Donnelly states, "I would suggest that good governance is unlikely in the absence of

human rights" (2003:118). Good governance can only take place with the support of an

informed and educated citizenry, the people being the government and vice versa.

'Realistically' this is viewed as a utopian impossibility but realism despite its shouting

and 'bullyboy' tone is not the only factor in an inquiry. Realism was behind Vietnam and

Iraq and seems to lead only to poverty, misery and death for many with the instigators

absolved and alive. In turn globality cannot exist without an adherence to values

contained in human rights and human dignity – protection of health, protection of food

and protection from imperialist assumptions that have been so destructive in the past. Our

planet cannot hope to continue to exist without an adherence to values contained in

human rights. Evolving global citizenry recognises that while ethnic identities need to be

protected we all live on one planet, share its resources and have a duty to protect others

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when necessary and cause them no harm – harm that is costly, self-seeking and base.

Protection from harm is the purpose of effective citizenry and it is the intended purpose

of peace education. It is a simple creed.

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