

working for peace since 1934  
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# peace matters

WORKING FOR PEACE WITHOUT VIOLENCE



The first day of the battle of the Somme is remembered as the day in which the greatest number of Englishmen died in battle; thousands of people and hundreds of schools make their way there and wonder. Why? At the lonely site in this picture a battle far bloodier than that on the Somme raged and far more Englishmen died here. It's unlikely these men will be remembered at remembrance time. Why? Where is this.? A copy of Voices for Peace CD to first correct answer.

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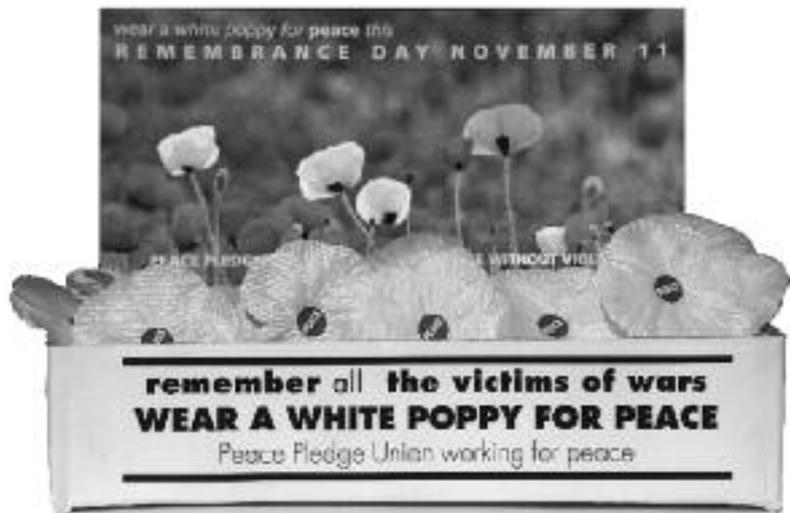
The *Peace Pledge Union* is the oldest non-sectarian pacifist organisation in Britain. Through the War Resisters' International it links with similar groups throughout the world. It is one of the original sponsors of Campaign Against Arms Trade, a member of Liberty and a co operating organisation of Landmine Action

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The next PPU Council meeting will be held on 6th March 2008 at 2.30pm

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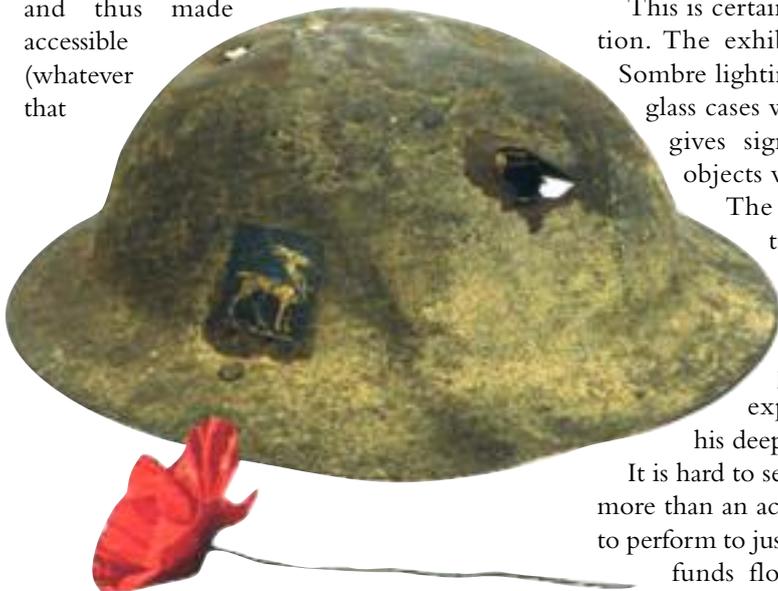
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**B**ACK in October 1918 there was little enthusiasm for marking the first anniversary of the Armistice. After all, the troops had had their Victory parade just three months before; the injured veterans were busy enough trying to make ends meet in the face of government indifference, and most just wanted to get on with their lives. In any case, commemorating a mere Armistice, as opposed to the end of a war, seemed a bit feeble. As we now know, the lovers of pomp and ceremony got their way. All the same, there was some uncertainty about the form the event should take, and even anxiety that it should not be seen as the first of future annual events – strictly a one off. But here we are, 90 years later....

Unsurprisingly, the Imperial War Museum has put on a major exhibition to mark this anniversary-laden date. In *Memoriam: Remembering the Great War* 'will look at the personal stories of those who lived, fought and died during the First World War'. This is done by displaying objects associated with various disparate individuals, and is meant 'to illustrate the different aspects and key events of the Great War and its aftermath'. Explaining the past through personal histories is the current orthodoxy. It is believed that people will only engage with 'history' when it is personalised, and thus made accessible (whatever that



means). Whether this is true is questionable; what is more certain is that it's unlikely to help anyone gain a true and helpful understanding of such a complex social process as war.

Associating individual people with otherwise meaningless and often uninteresting

objects may give some meaning to the Museum's collection but does not do much to illuminate the past. It is also an approach that avoids raising serious questions about war – imperial or any other kind.

At 108, veteran Harry Patch can no doubt make up his own mind about his public appearances, but, as someone who has not shown much enthusiasm about the war of which he is said to be the 'Last Tommy', he does seem to feature frequently at war-memorialising junkets around Europe, events whose frequency is increasing alarmingly. Harry features in a huge photograph at the entrance to the War Museum's exhibition: he beams benevolently down at us from his wheelchair on a sandy beach, a giant red poppy wreath on his lap and artificial petals flying around him like demented gulls. 'It wasn't worth it,' says Harry. 'No war is worth it. No war is worth the loss of a couple of lives, let alone thousands.' What key aspect of the war this image is meant to illustrate is not clear, but its sentimental feel and its key signifiers – a bemedalled old boy and red poppies – speak loudly enough.

This is certainly a good-looking exhibition. The exhibits are artfully displayed. Sombre lighting draws us to elegantly-lit glass cases with their neat notices, and gives significance and gravitas to objects we might otherwise ignore. The medium certainly contributes to the message. But what it tells us about war, or even just the First World War, is not clear; perhaps the onlooker is expected to construct her or his deeper meaning.

It is hard to see these exhibitions as much more than an activity which museums have to perform to justify their existence and keep funds flowing in. Much could be done 'to encourage the study and understanding of the history of modern war' (to quote the Museum's website) but there is little sign of that here.

With Harry Patch's photo as a kind of preface, the exhibition begins with a gun – one particular gun, the gun that is said to



The untold story of Remembrance – from a last minute ceremony, through a ritual of consolation for grieving families to today's lead event in the British Legion's fundraising calendar. The story of Remembrance is just a small part of the fact packed **Voices for Peace interactive CD**.

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## in memoriam

Jan Melichar

A look at the museum's funding agreement with the Department for culture, media and sport – its major funder that is you and I – reveals a lot about its 'purpose'. The museum 'will carry out market assessments to better understand its markets and undertake efficiency scrutinies of different elements of its organization.' It will: Increase the generation of fundraising income from corporate sponsorship; it will 'Grow the return from current commercial activities and develop new initiatives. Maximise marketing opportunities.' And significantly 'Develop the advocacy role of the Museum.' It is only the last item that begins to hint at functions other than financial viability. We all need to earn our way in the world but sometimes, if not always, that need influences what we do. The advocacy role, in view of the government's other militaristic enthusiasm sounds a little sinister.

The museum 'seeks to provide for, and to encourage, the study and understanding of the history of modern war and 'war-time experience' which sounds fine enough but interpreting history is a value laden activity and unsurprisingly this 'major' exhibition reflects the unstated values - namely that war brings out the hero, that it is inevitable and of course regrettable; all of which hardly need a visit to the museum.

## BIG BLOCKADE

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October 27

details

tridentploughshare.org

have fired the fatal bullet in Sarajevo. By implication and a hint from the accompanying label, it is suggested that in some sense this was the starting pistol for the First World War. It's unlikely that the exhibition's organisers have such a simplistic view: the IWM website acknowledges that the causes of the war 'are the subject of continuing historical debate'. Nevertheless, the gun is the first item, its shot the first 'key event': and it's not even part of the Museum's own collection but borrowed especially to front this exhibition.

To grasp complex issues we need to corral them into manageable thought structures, with a beginning and an end at least; such points are invariably determined by the lens through which we view the world. The names we give to things are also important: what was once the Great War is now the First World War – though some argue (with some justification) that in fact it was the seventh world war.

Beginnings are slippery events to identify. Many of us believe that the earth was formed some 4.5 billion years ago out of cosmic debris; others believe that it was constructed, in the space of a few days, a few thousand years ago. For most practical purposes the truth of it makes little or no difference – people will continue to be born and die, the sun will rise and the tides will turn. But daily through news reports we see the bloody outcome of such opposing world views as their followers vie for dominance. Endings are slippery too: over recent years it has been noted that the 1914–1918 war only finally petered out in 1989. Should we put replace the dates on war memorials 1914–1989? Different lenses, different pictures. Meanwhile some want to hurry up the 'end of time', and their efforts are fuelling conflict in the Middle East.

Beginnings are also associated with causes, and these too we tend to construct to fit in with our view of the world. What started the fighting in 1914? A small bunch of men, of course – a number so small that they could have comfortably milled about, cups of tea in their hands, in the PPU's office. Yes, there were grand alliances, and yes, there were the railway timetables. But always there were just a few men who took the final decision.

That a museum should use its collection to explore an event is an obvious and proper act. The IWM, with its prodigious collection of militaria, is well placed to do this. But it comes as no surprise (regrettably) that the military

mindset is the guiding light for what the objects on display reveal.

One featured item is a stained and faded scrap of paper bearing half a dozen barely legible words. It is said to be a letter from a young boy to his mother, a young boy whose claim to fame lies in the propaganda value that his death offered to recruiters. For being killed while standing by a gun in the Battle of Jutland, 16 year old Jack Cornwell was awarded a Victoria Cross (also on display). Posters of young Jack were produced and circulated in prodigious numbers during the war via the educational system, and he became a potent symbol for Navy fundraising. The words on his grave in East London give you the flavour: 'It is not wealth or ancestry but honourable conduct and a noble disposition that maketh men great.' He was, in today's language, promoted as an ideal role model for young boys. No mention of this, of course, appears in the brief note accompanying the exhibits. 91 years after Jack's death he continues to perform the role created for him by a propagandist supporting an increasingly disastrous and unpopular war. And so it is today: criticism of the war surfaces only fleetingly.

There are two guns in this exhibition. One is that Sarajevo pistol. The other is more surprising. It belonged to a former Peace Pledge Union member. Known as 'Mad Jack' for his recklessness in support of his men, he was awarded the Military Cross 'for bringing a wounded man back to the British lines while under heavy fire'. His disenchantment with the war is hinted at in the accompanying quotation, (somewhat undermined, alas, by the Museum's accompanying text): 'I am making this statement as an act of wilful defiance of military authority, because I believe that the war is being deliberately prolonged by those who have the power to end it.' A medical board decided Siegfried Sassoon was suffering from shell shock and packed him off to hospital, thus nullifying his protest and leaving the Museum's visitors with the likely impression that such a protest was the result of mental instability. Sassoon went on to protest about the war in other better known ways.

Endings are as telling as beginnings. Here too we should look below the surface. At the end of the exhibition is a well known print of Käthe Kollwitz's *Mother With Dead Child*. Her son was killed in October 1914 and in the years following the war she became commit-

Despite volumes of evidence to the contrary, we cling to a belief in the efficacy of violence, whether it's a clip over the ear or a laser-guided precision bomb. The PPU's **Saying no to violence** casts a critical look at the way we teach children to accept violence as natural and inevitable. It suggests alternative strategies for bringing up children not only to act nonviolently but think nonviolently. **Saying no to violence** is an essential tool for parents and teachers, particularly of young children, who want resist the creeping militarisation. By post, phone or online. £7.00 + £2.00p&p

ted to the pacifist cause, producing a series of vivid anti-war posters. Never Again War contained one of the most powerful and resonant images from pacifist movements in Germany between the two World Wars. But such an image in the context of this exhibition would have been too problematic. It argues against the central belief that permeates this building (formerly a lunatic asylum): that war is inevitable and its practitioners are heroes to be praised and honoured.

Mother With Dead Child is a moving image but, like much else in the war-memorialising industry, it helps to keep our eyes and minds away from the causes of war. Here at the War Museum (as in the now almost compulsory school visits to war cemeteries) sadness at 'the waste' of war is mingled with naïve hope for the future. All the while, the question of how wars might be avoided rarely raises its subversive head.



"Dear Mr Gandhi, we regret we cannot fund your proposal because the link between spinning cloth and the fall of the British Empire was not clear to us."

Arif R. Farizal, Wahyu S., Ary W.S.

**Regeneration. Pat Barker. Penguin.**  
**Decisions for War, 1914-1917 Richard F. Hamilton, Holger H, Herwig. Cambridge.**

## killing strangers - the ultimate adventure

# conversion to peace

Lucy Beck

'Two years ago travel and adventure were just a dream' is the latest slogan of the recruiting adverts for the British Army. This follows recent vehement denials by the MoD that the army glamorised its work. Who knows, perhaps this ad appeal to those for whom adventure and travel is a nightmare.

A RECENT report by Steven Schofield published for the Campaign Against the Arms Trade, with the somewhat unmemorable title: Making Arms, Wasting Skills, turns out to be more radical than anticipated. This report is a challenge to the peace movement. It goes beyond tinkering with the arms trade, trying to stop the sale of arms to countries with dodgy human rights records, or trying to abolish Trident nuclear weapons alone without tackling the underlying structural problems of the military-industrial complex. It makes clear that the whole UK military industry is skewed to serve the global power interests of the USA. By implication it is in effect a challenge to the Campaign against Arms Trade too, because the arms trade

is a symptom of what is wrong with the UK defence and security strategy and cannot therefore be tackled in

isolation. The sub-title 'Alternatives to militarism and arms production' makes this broad agenda clear.

The last CAAT report I reviewed called for the now defunct Defence Diversification Agency (which the Government never intended to be what the peace movement expected or wanted) to be restored to implement conversion of industry to socially useful purposes in conjunction with all interested parties such as the unions. This recent report calls instead for arms conversion to be seen as the economic dimension to a radical programme of disarmament and common security. It spells out what should be obvious – that if the UK government had the political will to convert the arms industry to more socially useful purposes such as renewable energy, it could do so.

Contrary to the discussions of conversion led by the Lucas Aerospace plans in the 1980s, the author believes detailed plans for each arms fac-



**DISARMAMENT**

tory are not the answer - though there is a recognition that some parts of the country would be particularly hard hit if arms factories closed. It is argued here that for conversion to work, the old scenario of support for factory 'site-based' conversion 'risks expensive failure'. This is particularly because of the increased specialisation of arms factories which would make transformation to civil production very difficult if not impossible. Conversion needs to be planned on a broader level by supporting new forms of economic activity at the subregional level. Major savings on military expenditure by cancelling Trident and the new aircraft carriers for example, could free up money to help in conversion and support local regions where necessary.

The report outlines recent trends in the arms industry, with some useful statistics about expenditure and employment. It covers the growing internationalisation of the arms industry, the increase in outsourcing - like all industries, work is being sub-contracted to developing countries - and the resultant 'hollowing out' of the domestic arms industry. It shows the resultant insecurity in defence employment. It looks at the UK military expenditure - £30 billion per year now but in real terms fairly constant over the last 5 years. Out of this figure, military equipment costs £7-8 billion per year, plus £2.5 billion on Research and Development.

Of particular significance is the UK dependence on the US for key military technologies, which the author says is 'a powerful if rarely acknowledged factor in the UK's role as a loyal, even supine, ally.' The UK's military expenditure is totally out of proportion to its size as a medium-sized economy, and it is tied to major out-dated purchases such as enormous aircraft carriers which are designed to contribute to the US global military posture. (The dependence on the US for nuclear weapons is part of, if not the major element, in this unbalanced relationship.) 'As long as the UK continues with the course pursued by successive governments of supporting the United States, there is no prospect other than continued real-term increases to arms expenditure.'

The author calls for a 'radical rethink of both security and industrial policies based on broader concepts of sustainable security and disarmament that encompass environmental, social and economic dimensions such as global warming, where the UK could make a major contribution to a new political economy of common security.' He recommends the reorientation of UK defence and

UK dependence on the US for key military technologies is a powerful if rarely acknowledged factor in the UK's role as a loyal, even supine, ally.

foreign policy away from the United States to support for UN and European peacekeeping, and a focus on territorial defence only rather than continuing to act as a world power globally. Pacifists would wish to go further than this but it is a direction that could lead to a much lower level of military expenditure and therefore be a positive step forwards. The report concludes that 'The UK is entering a critical period where it can continue to feed the arms machine...or take a leading role in forging a new era of international disarmament and a political economy of common security. Rather than an economic threat, disarmament represents a real economic opportunity. All that is required is the political will to achieve it.'

Perhaps I should have stopped here, but near the end of this report is a mention of the so-called Plowshare Fund. At first sight something the peace movement might like? (though some would quibble about the American spelling). Actually this is a project of the UK Government - the remnants of the Defence Diversification Agency set up by New Labour and now set for closure. This money will apparently be used to licence agreements that can generate money to fund further arms research. Nothing is quite what it seems in the 'defence' world. Trying, unsuccessfully, to google for more information on this fund, I came across the new version of the government's arms trade organisation. The Defence Export Services Organisation, which we were glad was closing, has now become the UK Trade and Industry Defence and Security Organisation. They proudly announce that the UK recently achieved a 33% share of the arms trade market...The new head of UKTIDSO (as we must learn to call it) previously worked for BP. The peace movement has a long way to go to implement the vision contained in this CAAT report.

**Making arms, wasting skills: Alternatives to militarism and arms production. Steven Schofield.**  
[www.caat.org.uk](http://www.caat.org.uk)

'I don't think we support our defence industry enough,' Conservative spokesman Liam Fox says at a debate at the Conservative conference in September. 'I was in Iraq last week where they are making big purchases. We made the sacrifices but we are not winning the reconstruction contracts. There is no one from the trade department selling weapons in Iraq.'

# send in the blue shirts!

If pacifists really want to abolish the military and all that goes with it, we must first abolish the last remaining justification for it in the eyes of the general public says Tim Wallis

**U**N ‘blue helmets’ have been deployed since the 1950s to ‘keep the peace’ in places like Cyprus, Lebanon, Liberia, Guatemala... How successful they have been at keeping the peace is disputable. What is beyond dispute is that the use of military forces for ‘peacekeeping’, ‘peace’ operations and supposedly ‘humanitarian’ purposes in general has become the main or even sole justification in modern society for maintaining such forces and for deploying them to other countries, even in a war-fighting capacity. Of course wars are fought for all kinds of political and economic reasons and rarely for a truly ‘humanitarian’ purpose. Nevertheless governments must be able to justify the use of public money and the loss of human lives in terms that are acceptable to the general public. Tony Blair could not have sent UK troops to Kosovo or even to Sierra Leone without justifying these interventions as ‘humanitarian’ ones. Although the war in Afghanistan was generally accepted as a punitive response to 9/11, even this was justified at the time in terms of the need to ‘rescue’ the Afghani people from the evils of the Taliban – just as the Iraq War was needed to ‘rescue’ the Iraqi people from Saddam Hussein, as well as to rescue us from those famous weapons of mass destruction.

If we were to give the British people the benefit of the doubt and assume they are not so stupid or gullible as to swallow wholesale every piece of propaganda they get from the government, then we would be obliged to accept that so long as there does not appear to be any better way of dealing with natural and man-made disasters than to send in the army from time to time, they will continue to support and pay for standing military forces in order to be able to do just that. That indeed is the fundamental paradox facing UK and European pacifists in the 21st century – armies are increasingly justified as an essential tool for building and maintaining peace in the world! And you are in favour of world peace, aren’t you??!

Few pacifists may be willing to admit that in some cases, UK and other military forces have been a force for peace. They do on occasion stop other people from shooting each other and therefore occasionally save lives rather than destroy them. But of course in places like Afghanistan and Iraq the presence of ‘peacekeeping’ has been largely abandoned

and the armed forces are just doing what they do best, which is to fight wars and kill people – and in the process create more enemies for the future and put all our lives in more danger than they were before. Even when military forces are deployed with a strict peacekeeping mandate, as in the case of Somalia in the early 90s, their presence can still exacerbate the violence rather than reduce it, since military forces by their very nature are protagonists in a war environment, with military assets that other protagonists would like to have or at least to neutralise. They are also, by their very nature, set apart from civilian populations and unable to fully integrate with them except by taking off their weapons and uniforms and becoming civilians themselves.

For these and many other reasons (including above all, cost), even the most militaristic of governments is looking for alternatives to the deployment of military forces to each and every conflict zone in the world today. The sending of police forces rather than military forces is becoming more popular with the EU, for instance. These police forces still on the whole carry weapons, but there is a recognition that having police patrol the streets of Kosovo, for instance, is much more likely to lead to a return to normal life and to the establishment of democratic institutions than having troops still patrolling the streets a full nine years after the war has ended.

Getting blue (police) uniforms onto the streets of post-conflict countries like Kosovo is surely a step forward from sending in the tanks and blue helmets. But not only are these police still armed, they also have little or no training or background in how to handle real conflict situations. They are trained to deal with criminal behaviour and crowds. Police crowd control techniques may be useful in some cases for avoiding violence, but in other cases it can clearly fuel it, as was the case a few years ago when violence erupted in northern Kosovo largely through a mishandling of the situation by the international police. In fact, police forces have so far proved less effective than military forces in these situations, largely because their ability to prevent and deter violent behaviour depends ultimately on the use of force and unlike the military they don’t actually have any.

A true alternative to military peacekeeping must therefore rely on forms of pressure and influence other than the use of force. Foreign journalists and diplomats have known for years that it's not just the stories they send back home that can have an impact. Just by being there, being visible and being foreign, they can have a very direct impact on the behaviour of soldiers and politicians in wartime situations and this impact can reduce violence and save lives. Col. Bob Stewart describes a time when he was commanding NATO troops in Bosnia and a column of Nato tanks was being held up at a Serbian checkpoint and not let through. He could have opened fire on the checkpoint, killed all the Serb soldiers and forced his way through the checkpoint, but the repercussions of that could have resulted in even more civilian casualties, with reprisals against the local population, round-ups, burning of houses, maybe even massacres. Instead he brought out the most powerful weapon he had at his disposal – the

*The sending of police forces rather than military forces is becoming more popular with the EU, for instance*

BBC! He sent them to the front of the tanks to start filming and interviewing the Serb soldiers. Within minutes, the tanks were through the checkpoint without a shot being fired.

In 1983, at the height of the US-sponsored Contra War in Nicaragua, small groups of Americans were going down to Nicaragua to see for themselves what was going on so they could go home and tell their fellow church-goers how their tax dollars were being spent. But time and again, they would go to a village that was being attacked by the Contras only to find that when they got there the attacks would stop. This led to the realisation that if a constant stream of Americans were pouring into these villages on a regular basis there would be no more Contra War! Over the next several years more than 20,000 people did just that and the ability of the Reagan administration to covertly overthrow the Sandinistas through the Contras was demonstrably curtailed.

No organisation has invested as much into this very simple concept as Peace Brigades International. Beginning also in the early 1980s, PBI volunteers discovered in Guatemala that by being present, being visible and being foreign they could actually stop death threats from being carried out against peace and human rights activists there. In El Salvador, where industrial disputes routinely resulted in the assassination or disappearance of trade union

leaders, PBI volunteers were suddenly witnessing strikes, pickets and demonstrations that would end successfully without a single casualty. In over 25 years of providing this kind of protection in some of the most violent countries on the planet, not a single PBI volunteer has been killed – and even more strikingly, nor has a single person they have been accompanying.

There is, of course, much more to this than meets the eye. International presence and protective accompaniment does not always save lives or reduce violence. Other factors must also be in place and a lot of work must go on behind the scenes to back up the physical presence on the ground. Nevertheless, the fact that this presence can have any effect at all is remarkable and ground-breaking. Since the early days of PBI and Witness for Peace in Central America, the technique has been tried out by many other organisations in many other parts of the world, nowhere more so than in the Middle East, where dozens of organisations are deploying internationals to protect Palestinian civilians from Israeli settlers and the Israeli Defence Forces. These organisations range from the World Council of Churches, with its Ecumenical Accompaniment Project for



Local Nonviolent Peaceforce staff person at the a camp for internally displaced people in Mindanao following the recent breakdown of ceasefire

“ The accompaniment volunteer is literally an embodiment of international human rights concern, a compelling and visible reminder to those using violence that it will not go unnoticed. The volunteers act essentially as unarmed bodyguards, often spending twenty-four hours a day with human rights workers, union leaders, peasant groups, and other popular organizations that face mortal danger from death squads and state forces. The premise of accompaniment is that there will be an international response to whatever violence the volunteer witnesses. Behind such a response lies the implied threat of diplomatic and economic pressure that the sponsors of such violence may wish to avoid. Victims of human rights abuse are frequently those attempting to organise social change movements that question their society's powerful elites. An international presence can be a source of hope to these activists. It assures them that they are not alone, that their work is important, and that their suffering will not go unnoticed by the outside world. The volunteer's presence not only protects but also encourages.

There is no guarantee of safety in being a foreigner. The Sri Lankan army, for example, deliberately attacked an ambulance of the Doctors Without Borders, and the Salvadoran government carried out a campaign of harassment and expulsion of foreigners. Peace Brigades' volunteers in Guatemala were bombed and knifed. Do such incidents call into question the concept of protective accompaniment, or are they exceptions proving the rule?

Human rights scholars and activists may be inspired by personal experience and convictions, but they must be guided by sober and objective analysis. To presume, without evidence, that accompaniment is effective protection would be irresponsible for the scholar and downright dangerous for the human rights activist. A deeper analysis must comprehend the uncertainties of complex situations and, more importantly, the perceptions and points of view of a wide range of key actors in each scenario. ”

*Unarmed Bodyguards. Liam Mahonu and Luis Enrique Eguren*

Palestine and Israel (EAPPI), to the International Solidarity Movement (ISM), with its olive-picking brigades and other efforts to get internationals to physically obstruct Israeli activities on the West Bank. The Women's International Peace Service for Palestine gets women from other parts of the world to live and work in Palestinian homes and communities as a means of providing protection. Grassroots Protection of the Palestinian People organises summer camps and other events to get as many internationals into the West Bank as possible on a regular and ongoing basis.

In Palestine – and in Iraq – people have been killed doing this kind of work. And it clearly has not stopped the violence in these places. Yet these experiences are also demonstrating what is possible and we are all learning from them – from the successes as well as from the mistakes. The deployment of unarmed civilians from around the world into situations of violent conflict can protect people, save lives and reduce the incidence of violence. We are still at the very beginning of understanding what this discovery really means and how to use it. Perhaps it could transform the way people think about violent conflicts and how to handle them in the future. Perhaps instead of sending in the blue helmets or the blue uniforms next time violence erupts in Kosovo or Georgia or some other place, there will be a clamour for sending in the 'blue shirts' instead!

If pacifists really want to abolish the military and all that goes with it, we must first abolish the last remaining justification for it in the eyes of the general public. We must make unarmed civilian peace-keeping a viable option and one which can gen-

uinely respond to humanitarian emergencies, war, genocide and ethnic cleansing. We still have a long way to go but the seeds of that possibility are there. The Nonviolent Peaceforce is the latest attempt to turn that possibility into a full-scale reality. It was launched in 2002 as an initiative of 75 peace organisations from over 30 countries to try to move the concept of unarmed civilian peacekeeping onto a new level, through advocacy at the UN level and a pooling of resources so as to deploy larger-scale international missions than any of the existing organisations have so far been able to deploy. Its first project in Sri Lanka currently has over 60 people deployed, both nationals as well as internationals from the UK, US, Germany, Egypt, Brazil, Japan, Ghana, Kenya, Pakistan, Nepal, Canada, Colombia, India, Philippines, Nigeria. Its impact is still quite small but the potential is there. It needs your support!

## Nonviolent Peaceforce

You can find out more about Nonviolent Peaceforce at [www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org](http://www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org) or by contacting your nearest NP member organisation (none at present in the UK, nearest ones are in Netherlands or France). The European office of NP is at Rue Belliard, 205, 1040 Brussels, tel: +32 2 648 0076, email: [europe@nonviolentpeaceforce.org](mailto:europe@nonviolentpeaceforce.org).

Donations and volunteer assistance are always welcome. Deployment to the field is normally for a minimum of 2 years and involves a selection process and mandatory training. To be on the list of potential reserves for future deployment, you can sign up to the Peaceworkers Register at [www.peaceworkers.org.uk](http://www.peaceworkers.org.uk).

# soldiers in the laboratory

An update of *More Soldiers in the Laboratory* from Scientist for Global Responsibility highlights new developments related to military involvement in science and technology that have occurred over the past three years. It shows:

1. The emphasis on a high-technology, weapons-based approach to complex security issues remains prominent in government and industry in the UK, USA and elsewhere. This is despite considerable evidence of the shortcomings of this strategy in current major conflicts and as a long-term approach to security. As a result of this trend, non-offensive security stances tend to be marginalised, especially where the presence of military corporations are to be found, not only within government decision-making bodies but also within teaching, research and the governance of the universities.

2. Efforts to further embed military R&D in the universities are proceeding rapidly, despite the lack of discussion within the scientific and technological communities. This process has the potential to impact negatively on the R&D mechanism within non-offensive security programmes and key areas of civilian work such as cleaner technologies. Additionally academic freedom is likely to be compromised.

3. The availability of science and technology skills in civilian areas such as cleaner technologies is likely to be compromised by the continuing large-scale presence of the military in education, research and industry.

4. There is an urgent need for a full and open debate about both military policy and the role played within it by science and technology. Neither is being pursued to any significant measure by politicians of the main political parties or any of the professional institutions, despite considerable public concern.

5. It is often from our universities that perspectives critical of those of the powerful, such as the military, emerge. However, when government policy, through a range of initiatives, pushes the universities into developing closer ties with the military and acting more like commercial entities with more resources devoted to projects with financial aims, then dissenting voices can be marginalised. This problem is compounded by the large number of closures and amalgamation of departments in physical sciences and engineering, leaving academic staff feeling vulnera-

## More Soldiers in the Laboratory - the militarisation of science and technology – an update

Chris Langley, Stuart Parkinson and Philip Webber  
Scientist for Global responsibility

[www.sgr.org.uk](http://www.sgr.org.uk)

ble and limiting sources of independent critiques of security. Since the publication of the *Soldier* in the Laboratory report, the military has put in place plans to expand and strengthen its involvement with and influence over the UK science and technology sector with significant emphasis on building and further consolidating links with universities. Yet it is also increasingly clear that the narrow, high-technology, weapons-based approach to tackling international tensions and conflicts is failing in many situations. Furthermore, the imbalance between resources – scientific, technological and beyond – devoted to the military and those allocated to broader approaches to security problems continues to be massive. The recommendations made in the SITL report – not least, the need for a major shift in scientific and engineering resources away from the military and towards areas which support social justice and environmental protection – continue to hold true. Indeed, a recent report from the think-tank, BASIC, argues that there is also potential for real economic and employment benefits if the UK industrial sector is switched away from its large-scale dependence on military projects to areas like renewable energy.

It is high time that science and technology, both in the UK and globally, were redirected, giving far greater prominence to ethical and practical concerns, which impact on both humans and the environment.

## Military involvement in schools

Additional to university research partnerships are a range of schemes in which military corporations provide educational materials and support to UK schools and colleges. Many of the larger corporations provide extensive science and technology materials attuned to the National Curriculum. In addition, they run a range of activities for schools. Current examples include BAE Systems' School Challenge competition and a theatre-based roadshow. Rolls Royce runs a science prize for teachers, while DSTL has a science and engineering ambassadors scheme, and the Atomic Weapons Establishment runs the 'AWESome' science campaign. The major US military corporations are also involved in a very wide range of 'educational activities'.

Military employers are also very active at the college level. The large-scale involvement of BAE Systems is one such example.

It is especially common for military corporations to build good relations with schools and colleges local to their main industrial facilities, which helps ensure their future workforce and where there is least opposition. For example, BAE Systems has sponsored schools in cities like Portsmouth, Bristol and Plymouth not far from their local divisions or factories.

Military industry clearly wants to encourage uptake of science and technology subjects at school in order to ensure a supply of qualified staff for the future. A little-discussed secondary aim of this strategy is their wish to encourage schoolchildren to associate the subjects with the particular company so that they are more likely to come and work for them rather than for anyone else. However, this strategy can undermine critical questioning of the role of the military from an early age.

## war and medicine

The exhibition's aim is to assess the impact and influence that warfare and medicine have had on each other.

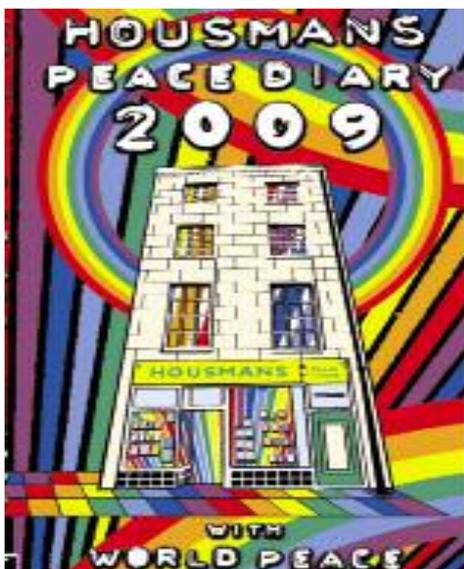
'At the heart of the exhibition is the uncomfortable and sometimes paradoxical relationship between war and medicine and the question of their influence upon each other. As well as considering the medical advances that have been developed during wartime, the exhibition will show how humankind's desire to repair and heal is perpetually striving to keep pace with our capacity to maim and kill.'



The exhibition will feature the perspectives of artists, writers and filmmakers as much of those of medical scientists and social historians.

**War and Medicine 22 Nov 2008 - 15 Feb 2009**

**Wellcome Collection 183 Euston Road London NW1 2BE**



The Housmans Peace Diary serves movements around the world working for peace, social justice and the environment. It includes 2000 national and international organisations, as well as notable anniversaries and quotations. This year it celebrates the 75th anniversary of the founding of the PPU, and the 50th anniversary of the establishment of London's Peace House - home since 1959 to Peace News and Housmans Bookshop. £8.95 inc p&p  
Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX,  
UK 020-7837 4473 orders@housmans.com  
www.housmans.com/diary

## monitoring toolkit

This month the government took another step to the dark side. Teachers are being asked to monitor pupils' behaviour and inform the authorities - including police - if they suspect teenagers are being drawn into violent extremism, under government guidance published this month.

There seems no end to this government passion for authoritarian and quasi-military control.

The Davies report (see PM 57) was a paean to all things military including a strong recommendation for a substantial expansion of Cadet Forces; this is now beginning to happen. Derek Twigg, Under Secretary of State for Defence, said, thanks to a new scheme, more school children will now have the opportunity to feel the benefits of the cadet system, building discipline, respect and professionalism.

Schools minister Lord Adonis said: 'Cadets can be a real force for good in our schools.' The experience will 'encourage valuable personal attributes, help to build skills and, using military themes based upon the culture and ethos of the single Services, foster confidence, self reliance, initiative, resourcefulness, loyalty and a sense of service to others.' Hmmm

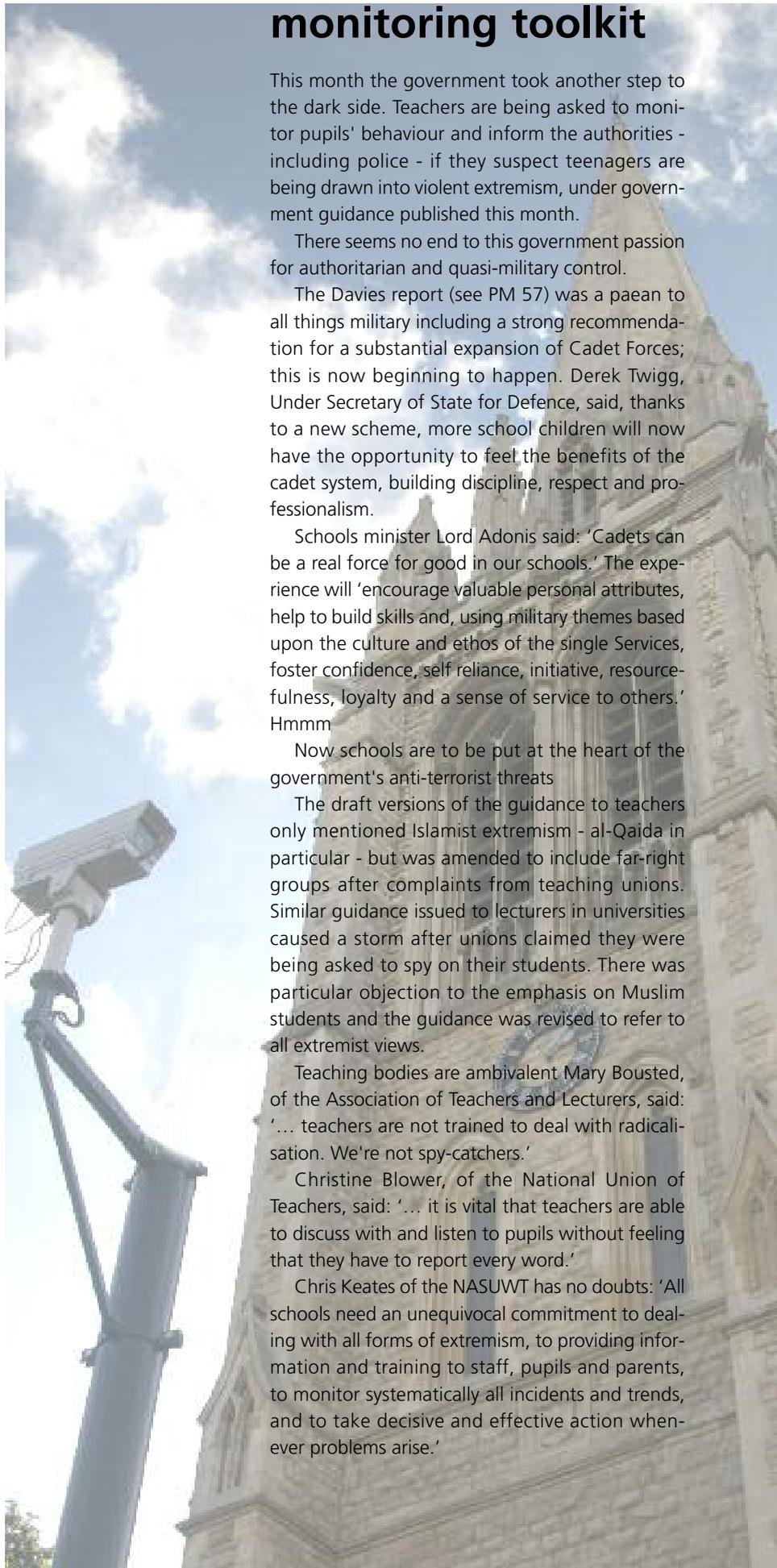
Now schools are to be put at the heart of the government's anti-terrorist threats

The draft versions of the guidance to teachers only mentioned Islamist extremism - al-Qaida in particular - but was amended to include far-right groups after complaints from teaching unions. Similar guidance issued to lecturers in universities caused a storm after unions claimed they were being asked to spy on their students. There was particular objection to the emphasis on Muslim students and the guidance was revised to refer to all extremist views.

Teaching bodies are ambivalent Mary Bousted, of the Association of Teachers and Lecturers, said: '... teachers are not trained to deal with radicalisation. We're not spy-catchers.'

Christine Blower, of the National Union of Teachers, said: '... it is vital that teachers are able to discuss with and listen to pupils without feeling that they have to report every word.'

Chris Keates of the NASUWT has no doubts: 'All schools need an unequivocal commitment to dealing with all forms of extremism, to providing information and training to staff, pupils and parents, to monitor systematically all incidents and trends, and to take decisive and effective action whenever problems arise.'





## descent into madness

This film is a reminder that not all Americans are mini Bush clones; its exposition of the power of systems to corrupt 'ordinary' men and women is something we should pay more attention.

Dilawar did not like farming and decided to be a taxi driver. As he drove his first ever passengers to their destination he was, for no obvious reason, detained by the U.S military. Five days later he died in his Bagram prison cell. The conclusion, after the autopsy was that he had died due to sustained injuries inflicted at the prison by U.S. soldiers. Over 100 men have died in US custody under suspicious circumstance. The film develops the last weeks of Dilawar's life and shows how decisions taken at the heart of the Bush Administration led directly to brutal death.

35 per cent of Americans believe that torture is acceptable. In the words of the film, popular culture has built up a constituency for torture which enabled the Bush administration to get away with it. Albert Bandura, a Canadian psychologist sees it another way 'Our ability to selectively engage and disengage our moral standards ... helps explain how people can be barbarically cruel in one moment and compassionate the next.' The US Military explained the abuse in Abu Ghraib prison as the actions of a few bad apples but Philip Zimbardo sees it differently; he acted as expert witness in the court martial hearing of one of the US Army reservist accused of criminal behaviour in Abu

## history of movements and ideas

Rene Wadlow

PEACEMAKING has always been an art rather than a science. As with painting, there is a pallet with a range of colors, and it is up to the artist to know how to combine these colors, sometimes in pure form and at other times mixed together to paint a picture, sometimes of a peaceful field and at other times a scene of revolt. David Cortright, President of the Fourth Freedom Forum in the USA and an activist especially on nuclear arms issues has set out a clear and up-to-date history of the ideas and movements that make up the colors on the peace pallet.

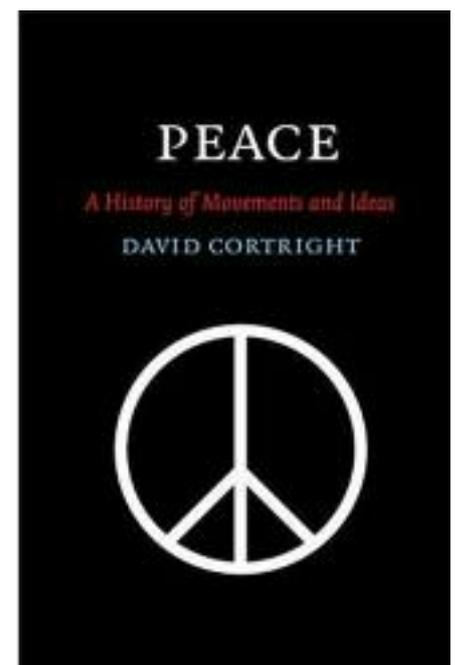
As with colors in art, there are a limited number of ideas which can be used, sometimes alone and sometimes in combinations. Likewise, there are a limited number of people in the peace brigades, and they are usually found in different campaigns, often the same people in different uniforms. As I write this, we have a new situation of conflict

in the Russia-Georgia-Abkazia-South Ossetia area and its impact on other parts of the world. These conflicts provide us with a test case of how ideas concerning peace and conflict resolution can be put together, and we will see how the peace brigades will form themselves to meet the challenge.

Cartright gives us a good overview of the development of the 19th century peace societies. They were born in the USA and England from the success of collective action against slavery and the slave trade. If the age-old institution of slavery could be abolished by a combination of law, religious concern and changing public opinion, could not war be abolished in the same way? Religious-motivated action, work to influence public opinion, and legal restraints on war have continued to be the chief colors of the peace pallet.

The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907 were milestones in the development of world law, of faith in

the power of mandatory arbitration, and for the need of world courts. The Hague legal spirit was most promi-



nently displayed slightly later by President Woodrow Wilson who had long espoused arbitration, the strengthening

Ghraib and was the author of the Stanford Prison experiment which revealed how easily and quickly many ordinary young men can become cruel. In *The Lucifer Effect* – how good people turn evil, Zimbardo provides the first in depth analysis of that experiment and considers its relevance to society today. This is not an easy book; it is a book about the nature of morality, about what it means to be human. If more people absorbed its arguments and understood that 'evil' people do not come ready made but are created by the circumstances they have to operate in – situational forces, as Zimbardo calls them, then there might be a chance for a gentler world. A handful of men and women at the pinnacle of government power took decisions which created a permissive environments in which all manner of brutality can flourish.

**Taxi to the Dark Side. Alex Gibney. 2007**  
**The Lucifer Effect – how good people turn evil. Philip Zimbardo. Rider & Co.2008.**

of international law and multilateral cooperation. The League of Nations and the United Nations are the embodiment of the Wilsonian vision. As H.G. Wells wrote in *The Shape of Things to Come* “For a brief interval Wilson stood alone for humankind...in that brief interval there was a very extraordinary and significant wave of response to him throughout the earth.”

Wilson remains the ‘father figure’ of peace through law and multilateral governmental action just as Mahatma Gandhi does for non-violent action. As Martin Luther King Jr. wrote “Gandhi was probably the first person in history to lift the love ethic of Jesus above mere interaction between individuals to a powerful and effective social force on a large scale.” Peace efforts require images for a complex set of ideas, and Wilson and Gandhi provide that image of the heroes of peace.

Wilson and Gandhi represent the two steady sources of peacemakers — those working for the rule of law and human rights and those working to translate religious insights into political

### In their own words

‘This is not 1968 and the invasion of Czechoslovakia, where Russia can threaten a neighbour, occupy a capital, overthrow a government and get away with it. Things have changed...’

US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice 13 August 2008



Gordon Brown at a helicopter's machine gun during day trip to Baghdad. The picture is said to have turned a Downing Street press officer 'white with shock'. And his message: 'That ... would be the right timeframe for a withdrawal, with the possibility of slight changes.' which echoes Barack Obama's view on the matter. Such independence. Why not send Gordon Brown a white poppy with a timely message? Your MP might like one too.

action. It is not always easy to get the two traditions to work together. As Cortright notes “In May 1999, nearly 10,000 peace advocates from around the world gathered in Holland for the Hague Appeal for Peace, one of the largest citizen peace conferences in history... The 1999 Hague Appeal was intended to launch a new era of citizen-initiated peace-making. As preparations for the conference took place, however, NATO forces launched a bombing campaign against Serbia to force its withdrawal from Kosovo. While the official conference proceedings unfolded, hundreds of activists gathered in basement conference rooms for impromptu sessions to debate the pros and cons of NATO intervention. It was a heated discussion in which colleagues who had worked together for disarmament in the 1980s found themselves on opposite sides of the question of intervention in Kosovo.”

Today in the Russia-Georgia-Abkhazia-South Ossetia conflict we face many of the same issues of self-determination of peoples, the use of armed

violence, the difficulty for peacemakers to act in ‘far away places’ in which both legal and moral issues are not clear.

Peace remains a painting in process; the colors are often the same, the shapes painted change. David Cortright has given us a good history, but there are no ‘how to’ guides for action.

**Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas. David Cortright. Cambridge University Press. 2008.**

**For more about 20th century action for peace visit [ppu.org.uk/century](http://ppu.org.uk/century)**





### Cold War Modern: Design 1945-70

I might have seen the poster that appears at the entrance of the exhibition when it was originally plastered on walls but was too young to appreciate it. Here is an image of satisfied soviet soldiers lounging on their tank having just liberated Czechoslovakia which perfidious Albion swapped for a piece of paper from Hitler a few years earlier. No doubt a time of relief and hope but it was short lived as Stalin's heavy hand settled over the country and weight it down with a massive 15 m tall statue of him in Prague. So hated was the statue by the public that the sculptor committed suicide three weeks before the unveiling. Following Khrushchev denunciation of Stalin the statue became an embarrassment and 800kg of explosive reduced it to rubble.

The exhibition explores how art and design were drawn into the contest between east and west. Some artists allied themselves with a sense of ideological purpose, eager to contribute to the creation of a new society and design became a weapon in the cultural arsenal of the US.

The exhibition ranges from art, through architecture and technology to revolutionary and utopian ideas. In his 1969 Operating Manual for Spaceship Earth Buckminster Fuller asked his readers to imagine the planet from space. 'Spaceship earth,' he wrote 'as an integrally designed machine which to be persistently successful must be comprehended and serviced in total.' This 'machine' was not supplied with an inexhaustible supply of fuel. These observations followed the publication of the first pictures of the earth as seen from the moon taken by US astronauts who beat the Soviet Union to the moon. Don't miss this intelligent and stimulating exhibition. JM

The central idea of **Cold War Modern** is that, alongside the arms and space race, the Cold War represented a contest between East and West to assert a superior vision of the future. Many Cold War concerns of the 1960s mirror those of our own time; none more so than the concern for the fragility of the planet. Forty years ago, experimental architects and designers were drawn to these questions – the designers of today may have to find the answers.



Pictured is Vice President Richard Nixon and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev engaged in the so-called Kitchen Debate, discussing the superiority of the American kitchen and washing machines at the Moscow American National Exhibition in 1959

## science and war

Cold War Hot Science will not feature in the best seller list and is definitely not everyone's bedtime reading but it is a rare book that throws some light at the secretive institutions that form Britain's military R&D. It aims to put the applied science of the military sector in its technological, military and social context.

The book is a painful reminder of the misjudgements resulting from a narrow view of the world all be it at a time of tensions and uncertainties.

Major electronic companies such as GEC were concerned that their wartime emphasis on radar had meant that it had fallen behind the US competitors in telecommunication and were reluctant to take on more government military work. Pressure from the government eventually overcame their reluctance. Governments anxiety at this can be gleaned from the 1958 Ministry of Supply Memorandum which explained, 'the aim must also be to ensure... a fund of scientific knowledge and resources is built up which will be adequate for the development of future generation of weapons, even though their precise nature cannot yet be foreseen.'

It's obvious when you think about it but still a little startling to see it in black and white. Despite a fortune spent on the development of torpedoes, only one single use was made in war in half a century. It sunk the Belgrano and killed some 1000 conscripts.

While we are aware of the arms race - the competition between states for ever bigger, louder weapons; less well known is the way this also happens within R&D establishments and how the high level of investment in western military research and development stimulated further research to nullify its consequences. Welcome to the mad world of the weapon makers.

**Cold War, Hot Science: Applied Research in Britain's Defence Laboratories 1945-1990**  
Eds Robert Bud, Philip Gummatt. Routledge.

# 'New thinking' needs new direction

**I**S IT possible to suppose that the United States might finally experience its own perestroika after the end of the Cold War? I am not referring to the movement around Barack Obama's call for change, although that could potentially be a critical factor in reinforcing and sustaining the new phenomenon of perestroika. Nor am I referring to the financial crisis although that too could provide an impulse for transformation. Rather I am talking about the far reaching debate and indeed restructuring currently going on inside the Pentagon as a result of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The end of the Cold War did not lead to the dismantling of the military-industrial complex, which continues to exercise a powerful and pervasive political, economic and cultural influence on American society. Military spending fell after 1990 and the number of troops were reduced but research spending on advanced military technologies remained at its Cold War level, thereby constituting a permanent pressure to develop and produce new weapons systems. Moreover the Cold War narrative (drawn from the experience of World War II) about the role of the United States as a global leader in promoting democracy against its enemies through superior know-how, continued to dominate security thinking. Indeed the narrative was reinforced by the widespread argument that Reagan's decision to deploy cruise missiles was what ended the Cold War and by the experience of the 1991 Gulf War, which seemed to prove the salience of sophisticated technology. Throughout the 1990s, the United States continued to emphasise the importance of airpower and rapid decisive manoeuvre warfare incorporating new advances in information technology as the cornerstone of American strategy. And defence intellectuals continued to draw up scenarios in which these forces would be used to repel a new range of enemies from rogue states to terrorists. Indeed the immediate aftermath of the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan was characterised by a mood of triumphalism about the American Way of War and the relevance of concepts like the Revolution in Military Affairs, Defence Transformation, or Netcentricwarfare.

Several years and thousands of casualties later, the atmosphere is very different. The worsening violence in Iraq and Afghanistan led to a serious questioning about the effectiveness of the US tactical approach. Moreover, despite the largest ever military budgets, there were shortages of troops and equipment suitable for ground wars because of the expenditure on large sophisticated systems. Many were arguing that success in regime collapse had created a vacuum of lawlessness filled by political insurgents and violent

Mary Kaldor

**The Pentagon could change from Terror Warrior to Human Security agent. It needs the Presidential direction to do so.**

For more on human security read Peace Matters 46 or go to:  
<http://tinyurl.com/4pfbkq>  
<http://tinyurl.com/44tvmb>

criminals and that efforts to attack insurgents using superior firepower merely increased opposition to occupation. On 10 January, 2007, President Bush announced a new military plan for Iraq, known as the 'surge'.

The surge in Iraq was not just about an increase in troops, it was about a profound change in strategy and tactics, based on, to use the jargon, a population-centric approach. General Petraeus's 'new thinking' emphasised, above all, the protection of civilians over and above force protection - a radical turn around in the way American forces are used. Instead of technology and firepower, the emphasis has been on bottom-up local security. His latest 'Counter-insurgency Guidance' (published 8 July 2008) includes instructions like 'Secure and serve the Population', 'Live among the People', 'Promote Reconciliation', 'Walk', 'Build Relationships', 'Employ money as a weapons system', 'Empower subordinates'.

The reduction in violence in Iraq over the past year and a half was mainly due to the fact that Sunni insurgents overwhelmingly switched sides, choosing the US rather than Al Qaeda, which, in turn, was in part but only in part a consequence of the new policy of direct population security by the United States. Instead of remaining behind protected enclaves and using firepower to attack insurgents, which usually involved so-called collateral damage, US forces spread out to population centres, not only providing security, but also helping to provide basic services and humanitarian relief. It then became possible to negotiate ceasefires with Shiite militias as well. (some argue that this was possible because ethnic cleansing had largely been completed in Baghdad). It also became possible to start to build much more effective Iraqi security forces than hitherto, incorporating many of the veterans of Saddam's army who had been dismissed by Bremer immediately after the American invasion. This strategy was, of course, combined with what is known as 'kinetic force' to attack Al Qaeda as well as renegade Shiites like the 'special groups' who did not respect the cease-fires; improved knowledge of the 'human terrain' allowed the US to target these groups much more effectively.

The change in strategy was the outcome of a broad debate in the Pentagon, especially among the Army and the Marines. My first intimation of change was when in 2005, I received an email from a belt-way bandit (a Washington consultancy firm) appropriately named Hawk Systems Inc. They explained that they had received the contract from the Pentagon to 'rethink the principles of war' and asked if I would

contribute a chapter, relating to my work on 'new wars' and human security. The book that came out of the project was circulated to all US staff colleges. This year I was invited by the US Army War College to talk about 'new wars' - a subject, that to my surprise, is now widely discussed.

Much of the new thinking derives from a strategic current within the US military that dates back to the US Marines 1940 Manual entitled 'Small Wars'. This current of thinking lost the battle for strategy in Vietnam but remained alive in certain military circles. Much of the contemporary debate can be found in an online magazine entitled Small Wars Journal, which includes fascinating blogs from active servicemen about their experiences. One of the discussions, for example, is about the relevance of 'fourth generation warfare', which refers to the impact of globalisation on war and the argument that nations have 'lost the monopoly on force'. Another is about nation-building and the idea that 'progressive stabilisation' capacity needs to be built in to combat units. Stabilisation is defined (in Defence Directive 3000 -05) as the effort to 'create a secure and stable environment and to provide for the basic needs of the population to include food, water, sanitation and shelter.'

An article by Condoleezza Rice in the current issue of Foreign Affairs demonstrates how far this debate has gone. She is one of the more conservative members of the Bush Administration and it was she who famously said that it was not the job of American soldiers to accompany little girls to school. 'In these pages in 2000' she writes 'I decried the role of the United States, in particular the US military, in nation-building. In 2008, it is absolutely clear that we will be involved in nation-building for years to come.' She still insists that it is not the job of the military but nevertheless argues strongly for a capacity to provide 'population security' in Afghanistan, which she defines as 'addressing basic needs for safety, services, the rule of law, and increased economic opportunity.'

Of course, the 'new thinking' is not uniformly shared. On the contrary, most of the US military retain what one 'small wars' blogger describes as a 'cultural aversion' to nation-building. In particular, the

air force and the navy remain wedded to sophisticated systems capable of striking at long distance. In June, Robert Gates, the Secretary of Defense, dismissed the Air Force secretary and the air force chief of staff, ostensibly for 'poor performance in securing of sensitive materials' But according to the New York Times, in a report that reflects the talk in the Pentagon, Gates was 'frustrated about Air Force actions on weapons procurement, budgets, and the execution of the mission in Iraq.' It is the fact that there is a struggle going on and not simply a change of direction that underlines the character of what might be described as the new perestroika and offers the possibility of real change.

So what are the implications of this debate and where will it lead? A first question is whether the reduction in violence in Iraq can be sustained. This depends not on what the US military do but on the politics of Iraq. Can the Iraqi government gain the support and trust of the population, which, in the end, is what makes stability possible? And, if not, and new violence erupts perhaps also involving the Kurds, will the old guard in the Pentagon be able to turn around and claim, as they did after Vietnam, that these military intellectuals messed up and what was needed was even more firepower? While many on the left would like to see the US defeated in Iraq and troops withdrawn in humiliation, this would have catastrophic consequences in Iraq and is likely to have perverse consequences for politics inside the US. On the other hand, if stability is sustained, this could also strengthen the 'new thinking'.

A second question is will the new population-centric approach be adopted in Afghanistan? This month, General Petraeus becomes commander of Centcom, in charge of both Iraq and Afghanistan. At present, despite brave words about reconstruction, the main thrust of American and British policy seems to be to attack the Taliban at long distance, especially in Pakistan. As the situation worsens and spreads to Pakistan, can the Iraq model offer an alternative? Is it possible to apply the same kind of nuanced approach to the Taliban that could result in the marginalisation or isola-

tion of extremists? And if not, what are the limits of the 'new thinking'? Are we 'faced' with what the conservatives call the 'long war', which will justify the continued acquisition of all kinds of new methods of killing?

And a third question, which follows from the first two, is whether the new approach can be used for global peace operations in the future or whether it is a more efficient form of American imperialism? Most 'new thinkers' still insist that the US needs both a stability capacity and a war-fighting capacity. Indeed, some proponents of 'new thinking' are suggesting that a capacity for both decisive military actions and stabilisation could enable the US to invade countries like Iran and Syria and simultaneously clean up the aftermath.

This is why what happens in the forthcoming US elections is so important. The changes within the Pentagon need political direction. Are population security or stability operations viewed as a means to an end - defeating terrorists that might attack the United States, winning the War on Terror? Or is the goal population security globally, which might require the use of military force against those nihilistic terrorists or genocidaires who are not amenable to negotiation and who cannot be arrested? In other words, is the goal to protect the United States unilaterally or can there be a new understanding that American security depends on global security? In the first case, the 'new thinking' continues to be viewed as a secondary or marginal activity for US forces. But if the aim is global security, the primary requirement is for a stabilisation capacity to end wars rather than fight them.

The incoming President needs to articulate a new narrative for US security policy based on the notion that population security (or I would say human security) is a world-wide goal rather than the War on Terror and that the US will strengthen multilateral institutions in order to develop the capacity to prevent conflicts as well as reducing violence and contributing to stability and reconstruction. That way, the new President will be able to harness the current perestroika to a new post-Cold War political paradigm.