# Deace matters WORKING FOR PEACE WITHOUT VIOLENCE



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ISSN 1350 - 3006

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Peace Matters is published by the Peace

Pledge Union.

www.peacematters.org.uk

Material published in Peace Matters does

not necessarily reflect PPU policy.

Editor: Jan Melichar.

With help from: Annie Bebington

**Typeset and design:** PPU **Printing:** Lithosphere

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 cooperating organisation of Landmine Action

**For information** about the Peace Pledge Union contact: Annie, PPU 1 Peace Passage London N7 OBT. or www.ppu.org.uk Next Council meeting March 23

#### no more war Jan Melichar

ost of the British media made a nod to the start of the state sponsored First World War centenary in January. The Guardian was first off the mark on 1st January with an article by Michael Morpurgo. Morpurgo is a much-lauded writer whose book War Horse became a world wide theatrical sensation. 'Someone', he writes, 'once called it "the greatest anthem to peace" ever seen on stage. His article was quickly followed by Michael Gove Education Secretary venting spleen in the Daily Mail on all who thought that the war was anything less that glorious or just. Two days later Tristram Hunt, historian and MP, tore into Gove for maligning 'left wing' academics. This tit for tat sets the pattern for the next few years. A tale full of sound and fury, signifying nothing as Macbeth might have said. Macbeth's nemesis was coming over the hill but ours is already here but we cannot seem to see the forest for the wood.

How much should we be concerned about these public spats? Of course truth about major events in the past is important but no more so than facts about the present. These are mostly passing us by all the while creating the conditions for a less attractive future. The British 'influence industry' is worth some £2,000,000,000★. It operates under our noses and affects every aspect of our lives from the food we eat to the weapons our money is spent on. Unknown by most this 'silent' lobbying drowns out public interest. Even the government employs lobbying companies to promote its unpopular projects. The spats about what kind of war the 1914-1918 was also have their political dimension and meld with stories about the dangers facing Britain crafted to suit political and financial agendas. It's hard to know what

Despite all this effort the MoD believes that the public has become 'risk averse' and might be unwilling for Britain to go to war. They worry that some of their pet, projects - things that make a bigger bang and offer opportunity for some action might be a hard sell. In its discussion, paper\* the MoD looks at ways to minimise the public's emotional engagement with Britain's wars.

to believe.

## join us on

International Conscientious Objectors Dav 15 May 12 noon Tavistock Sq London for a short ceremony to remember the men who said no



#### **PERSPECTIVE**

## When the leaders speak of peace/ The common folk know/ That war is coming. When leaders curse war/ The mobilisation order is already written out.

Bertold Brecht

Reducing the profile of repatriation ceremonies for example, or using mercenaries (aka private contractors) instead of regular troops and more unmanned autonomous vehicles are all considered. The document also has handy definition of risk by Field Marshal Rommel.

But help is at hand from that military technological complex that is Silicon Valley. While many fulminate at spooks inserting their grubby tentacles into our lives private companies such as Google already have detailed knowledge of the minutia of our intimate affairs. Now it has the biggest artificial intelligence laboratory in the world and is buying up machine-learning and robotics companies as if there is no tomorrow. Its recent acquision of Boston Dynamics whose US army's funded 'Big Dog'★ offers a terrifying vision of the future.

The military and their friends in high places may have short term worries, in the long term however they have little to worry about the public's continuing and deeply ingrained support for killing people if the 'price is

right'. That's putting it a little crudely but that is what it amounts to Michael Morarticle in the purgo's Guardian was despite name reconciliation. checking pacifism, the white poppy, no glory and inviting us to read all that anti war poetry and 'to make the world a place where freedom and peace can reign together' is none the less a gentle version of conventional war acceptance.

'No more war' may be easy to say but in this charged and politicised centenary few lips seem able to utter it. Its problem is that unlike 'no glory' it is an insistent and clear order to those with the capacity to start war (a handful of men usually and certainly in the case of WW1) it also asks the question: How do we ensure that there are no more wars? No easy answer of course but being armed to the teeth or to the knees in the case of Britain is while living of the fat of arms sales that destabilise conflict prone areas is surely not the way to go. http://newinventions1.com/?p=319. Mod report http://gu.com/p/3j4pn

#### War

The victories of mind
Are won for all Mankind,
But war wastes what it wins,
Ends worse than it begins,
And is a game of woes,
Which nations always lose,
Though tyrant tyrant kill,
The slayer liveth still.
Ebenezer Elliott
1781 – 1849

<sup>\*</sup>A Quiet Word: Lobbying, Crony Capitalism and Broken Politics in Britain. Tamasin Cave, Andy Rowell. \*Big Dog



knittes poppy



rg.uk autumn 2014

## well dressing in wingerworth

Barbara Pattison

Francisco De Goya is considered to be the first European artist to compose anti-war statements in his extensive series of etchings "The Disasters of War" which, in their ferocious and merciless depictions, still have the ability to shock two hundred years after their completion. In August 2014. down a quiet Derbyshire lane, an emotive art work depicting images of World War 1 was displayed but is no longer in existence. The materials used in making the well dressing "Peace" were traditional; flowers, grasses, leaves and seeds which decayed and died within a week. The fragility and transient nature of this art form acted as a strong metaphor for the lost generation, civilian and military worldwide, who died in the carnage.

War-related art exists in many forms offering various readings and interpretations; as commemoration, protest, propaganda or sometimes an attempt to inspire an ideal state. A group of women who worship at Salem Independent Chapel in Wingerworth created "Peace" and I talked to one of them about their choice of subject and the meaning they intended to convey. The design grew organically from group discussions after the decision to commemorate the beginning of

World War 1. Emphasis was to be on the reintroduction and maintenance of peace after the destruction of war rather than a depiction of hostilities. A white dove flies over the scene in a brilliant blue sky of hydrangea petals while white poppies illuminate the sides of the work, all iconic symbols of peace. Originally the soldier was going to be shown in the bleak landscape of trench warfare However this brutal brown backcloth was discarded in favour of the man resting quietly in sunshine against a stone cross positioned on grass. His weapon is set down at his side. Purposely, he is not portrayed in combat.

The predominance of white and primary colours adds a light-

ness of atmosphere and implies optimism. Imagery of war is understated yet threat exists. Sandbags act as signifiers of the trenches, as we look we are aware that beyond them lies mutilation and death. Omission of the killing field does not prevent our realisation of the future of the representative soldier. Horror is expressed by absence, by the empty space of the stone cross which will become the local War Memorial How many names will be engraved upon it? Vivid red poppies almost engulf the soldier, one of the few plants that would grow in the battle zone. Red poppies for remembrance. There is a play with temporality in this unique work. Past. present and future fuse. But above all soars the white dove. the messenger of hope for a more peaceful world.



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#### **EDUCATION**

## educating for peace

Peter Glasgow

I feel that I am on what is sometime described as a steep learning curve, which, although rather a cliché, is probably appropriate because since 21 July 2014, I have been employed by the Peace Pledge Union as a Peace Education Officer. My primary aim is to facilitate an increase in the use of teaching and learning activities and materials to enable pupils in secondary schools in the UK to gain an understanding of pacifism and anti-war perspectives.

Obviously, this is a mammoth job but I am extremely fortunate in that the PPU has, over a number of years, previously developed some excellent materials and activities; many of which are found on the learn peace section of the PPU web site. In fact the Peace Pledge Union web site is an absolute 'treasure trove' of materials suitable for use in schools. In essence, my job is to ensure schools can easily access this fantastic resource so that young people can be provided with different narratives to enable them to challenge some of those apparent common-sense notions that accept the inevitability of wars and the use of the military as a legitimate tool of foreign policy.

My first specific task has been to review the teaching and learn-

ing notes that accompany the PPU publication Refusing to Kill. This publication a history of conscientious objection and human rights in the First World War has just been re-published (price £10) and this is, of course, timely what with the burgeoning interest in all matters relating to the 'War to End All Wars'! That review is now complete and the accompanying teaching materials currently being uploaded to the PPU web-site includes an activity that will allow pupils to assess the relative 'heroism' of conscientious objectors against that displayed by military personnel.

Alongside this work, we have recently been having discussions about the Governments £5.3 million initiative to enable two pupils and one teacher from every state funded secondary school in England to visit the WW1 battlefields on the Western Front between 2014 and 2019. This programme of battlefield tours is a key part of the Government's plans to commemorate the centenary of the First World War. We have met with one of the key organizers, from the Institute of Education, to discuss the educational work of the PPU and more specifically how the PPU could potentially contribute an anti-war perspective to this initiative. Initial deliberations over the Summer have been positive and it is hoped that spaces will be made available to enable key teachers to consider the anti war movement prior to 1914 as well as the role of conscientious objectors from 1916 onwards. Watch this space!

Now that the new school year has started and teachers and pupils have returned to school I am now trying to set up meetings with a range of History, Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE), Citizenship and English Literature & Language teachers to share with them some of our resources and materials and get feedback as to their efficacy. Obviously Refusing to Kill and its accompanying teachers' notes is one of our primary products and the few teachers with whom I have thus far communicated are all very positive about its quality. It is, however, apparent that the restrictive changes to the National Curriculum, recently introduced by Michael Gove, have made it more difficult for concepts such as pacifism to be considered in a broad based thematic fashion That said I am confident that space will be found and my recent visit to the school that features in the Channel 4 programme, Educating the East End which entailed discussions with a couple of Heads of Department confirmed that all is not lost.

#### "I would no more teach children military training than I would teach them arson, robbery, or assassination."

Other strategies that we will be pursuing in the next few weeks and months includes the development of 'bite sized' chunks of learning that teachers can squeeze into units within the Curriculum in order to broaden existing schemes of work. With that in mind I am looking to develop the idea of telling a Story of Pacifism in 100 Objects with a coherent presentation of information and materials relating to each object being able to standalone or as distinct parts of the broad theme. In relation to deciding on the objects themselves I would appreciate hearing from you about any ideas you may have.

In order to safeguard some of the breadth of their Curriculum

some schools are suspending their 'normal' timetables for a whole school day when all pupils participate in activities related to a particular topic or concept. I have already had some initial discussions with a colleague working across Harlow as to how the PPU could contribute to such an initiative. Again PPU materials, activities and resources already exist that could be organised into supporting a whole school day programme that looks at Pacifism and related matters.

I regard it as an honour to be appointed as the Peace Education Officer for the Peace Pledge Union and although I appreciate the enormity of the task ahead of me I have always welcomed a challenge and I look forward to

Eugene Deb

continuing to drive forward this exciting work. Should anybody want to talk to me in more detail. about what I am doing I'll be very pleased to hear from you so don't hesitate to contact contact me peaceeducation@ppu.org.uk

resources remembrance refusing contact peter



Meeting of research volunteers at PPU office

#### **CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION**

## under watchfull eyes

ben Copsev

When visitors and volunteers come to the PPU offices they're always unfailingly drawn to the same place - the wall to the left of my desk, upon which hangs the familiar image of the Dyce "Frenchmen".

There's something very arresting about the picture that goes far beyond the many other images we have of Conscientious Objectors at Dyce and elsewhere. On the surface, it's only a picture of fifteen men in corduroy trousers and overcoats. But the eve is immediately drawn to the faces of the fifteen, whether old or young, sitting up straight or much more nonchalant. Like any group (especially any group of men) there's no uniformity in their expressions. Some, like Bertie Lief (bottom right corner) look fairly cheerful, while others - the man next to Bertie, Harry Scullard, among them - look determinedly, even angrily out at the viewer.

But who are these men and why are they in this picture? Why is it mounted on the wall, at such size, in the PPU Office?

The "who" is easy and will no doubt be familiar to many with an interest in pacifism and the work of the PPU. These fifteen are some of the "Frenchmen" - Conscientious Objectors sent in May 1916 over to France, when

with torture, abuse and neglect heaped upon them, they resisted all until finally they were threatened with the death penalty - a verdict then commuted to ten years hard labour.

The "why" is probably easier still. The experience of France, though the COs were processed, transported and judged in different batches, was common to them all. The photo was taken in September 1916 and the men would have known each other since being held in an army guardroom at Harwich before going to France, and in prison before being sent to Dyce in August. Whether through shared experience or as acquaintances and friends, the end result is the same - someone on one of the few days at Dyce on which photographs were taken saw the Frenchmen as a group that should be immortalised in sepia.

Thinking about why it's on the wall and why it's important to the current study of Conscientious Objection and to wider pacifism is rather more difficult. While I've often talked in Peace Matters about history, that's not what I think is important about the image. Instead, it's the connection to the modern day and the work that the PPU does in educating about and encouraging

peace that is the reason we have the image on the wall.

I've always felt a connection to the men in the photo. I don't think it's because of the fact that I sit next to the image, or that, with hairstyles, clothing and (lack of) facial hair, they look "modern" rather than Edwardian or even that they're all around the same age I am. I think it's because of the work that we do here at the PPU, and the feelings that the picture evokes.

What strikes me most is the similarities that exist between the Frenchmen and the PPU. The work we do is different, but our aims are the same. While physical conscription no longer exists in this country, economic conscription does. We may not be in the throes of an apocalyptic world war, but instead well into our second decade of the "War on Terror", staggering proof that the Imperial British belief in our own international omnipotence is as powerful a lie now as it was in 1914. That's something I wonder how they would have felt about. The First World War was in many ways more comprehensible - a pointless war for profit and prestige, but a war on a group of nations. Now, we're permanently at war with a concept; how would the pacifists of 1916 felt about that?

Nevertheless, where COs campaigned, we continue to cam-

#### CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

paign. Where they spoke out against the injustices and horror of war, we do the same. Where they tried their best to educate the wider public about what pacifism was, why it can work and why it's a better alternative to war and violence, we're out in schools and giving talks at museums, galleries and town halls following the same goals. Where they had "The Tribunal", we have Peace Matters and our website. Our methods may appear different now, in a world where a tweet can do more good and be seen more widely than a protest, but they are substantially the same. We are both groups finding ways to act individually and together to secure a world free from war through publicising, discussing and educating for peace.

There are differences, of course, between me, sat at my desk in the PPU offices and the Fifteen men in the picture that hangs beside it. I'm not in a work camp, I haven't been threatened with death, I'm not facing prison and most importantly, I'm talking about them and as flattering as it would be I can only presume they weren't wondering if someone would be writing about them a century later. At the very least, they were probably quite busy.

What I'm reminded of when I look at the picture is that these differences only exist because of their experiences. Because they

were in prison and because they were threatened with death, I can work for peace without the threat of conscription, torture and death. Their actions and their example were a key reason for better treatment of COs in the Second World War and one of the cornerstones of the abolition of conscription in this country.

Because of that, there's a little hint of a reproach in that photo, one aimed especially at me. At 26, some of the men in the photo would have been in prison for half a year. For all my year at the PPU, noone has (vet!) suggested that I sleep in a tent outside the office or that I should face a firing squad. My experiences, and those of nearly everyone reading this as a pacifist can't measure up to that, but it's not a resentful reproach, rather one that says "We're here, you're there. Britain's still at war - what are you doing about it?". It's a challenge from a group of pacifists to another today. What are we going to do about it?

Well, we can take heart from the fact that we aren't in prison, we aren't under direct threat but we are, like the men in the photo, capable of working towards real and lasting change. They didn't secure world peace through their actions and example and one, Alfred Evans, smoking his pipe in September 1916, would be unaware that he'd end up in

prison in the Second World War as well. It's likely that we won't get world peace in the near future either. But we can make our smaller actions in research. education or even just supporting groups like the PPU count for something and, as they did, take at least a step towards a better, more peaceful world. We can talk about peace to people who don't understand what it means and we can get the word out there, to absolutely everyone whether they're supporters or not, that it's time to end war. That's what I see us doing with the Objecting to War project and the wider work of the PPU. It's what I feel I can proudly say to the men who sat down to have their picture taken on a Sunday in September 98 vears ago.

### C olour

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C olour

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#### **RFVIFW**

## from armed to nonviolent struggle

Rene Wadlow

Dedicated to the memory of Howard Clark, long time activist in War Resisters Civil Resistance and Conflict Transformation provides a nuber of case studies to make its point. The current armed conflict in Syria is an example of how what started out as nonviolent protests for a more open and democratic society has been transformed into a violent confrontation among the government and armed groups and increasingly foreign forces and governments. Fewer cases come to mind of the reverse pattern: armed conflicts being transformed into nonviolent protest movements. What is one to do if the original armed violence does not produce the expected or desired results? Can groups move from armed violence to advance their aims by other techniques? Should one modify one's aims if armed violence is blocked by one's opponents?

These are the basic questions developed in this analysis of armed violence in nine case studies. As the editor Véronique Dudouet writes "The original intent behind this book project was to focus the inquiry on organized and cohesive armed groups which had made a decisive strategic shift from armed to

unarmed resistance, directed from the top leadership and followed by members down the chain of command. However, while searching for empirical evidence in the 'real world', it became obvious that few groups (if any) would neatly fit this model. Most of the actors examined in this book did have clearcut boundaries, clear hierarchies and decision-making systems, but the shifts in methods were usually undertaken in a much more decentralized manner."

The nine case studies are grouped into three types of demilitarisation trajectories:

A. Collective shift to non armed struggle while retaining use of violence or access to weapons,



followed/accompanied by negotiations with the state:

- African National Congress (ANC), South Africa (1980s)
- Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) Chiapas, Mexico (1994)
- Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) (CPN-M) (2006)
- B. Unequivocal demobilisation in the context of dialogue/peace process, shift to institutional action, follow by a (re) turn to non-armed resistance by some members:
- Armed Movement Quintin Lame (MAQL), Colombia, (1990 onwards)
   - Gama'a Islamiya, Egypt (1997 onwards)
- C Progressive escalation of civil resistance and de-escalation of armed struggle within a broader liberation movement, but with a geographical and generational gap and no clear-cut leadership Polisario. Western Sahara
- West Papua National Liberation Army (TPN-PB)
- Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)

Each case is analysed in detail, some written by scholars from the country in question, such as Manish Thapa for Nepal or by an external observer such as Stephen Zunes of the USA. Much of the studies turn on the quality and aims of the leaders of the armed groups and the degree to which their options are followed. Thus as Dudouet notes "Yasser Arafat is depicted as a classical example of a strategist leader, who pursued the goal of national libera-

Recent research has demonstrated the comparative effectiveness of civil resistance over armed struggle but there is still a large knowledge gap in understanding the various motivations.

tion, but was ready to support an inclusive approach within the repertoire of tactics to avoid factional struggle within the movement. He believed that armed struggle was a tactic, not a strategy and thus had the ability to shift such tactics as the circumstances dictated." The debate in the Palestinian community on the use of armed violence, negotiations, and civil resistance is still open as the recent conflict in Gaza shows

"The case study on the Nepali Maoists presents its leaders as opportunists who adapted their discourse and ideology to the interests of potential followers and to maximise their political power. Initially, their main demands focused on the grievances expressed by marginalised communities as a way to gain their attention and support. Later, the Maoist ideology was replaced by a readiness to embrace multiparty democracy, both for the movement to survive and to facilitate alliance-building with the mainstream parties." Yet a stable system of government rooted in a constitution has not vet been found in Nepal.

As Dudouet points out "If recent research has demonstrated the comparative effectiveness of civil resistance over armed struggle, there is still a large knowledge gap in understanding the

various motivations of opposition groups for opting for one or the other, and especially for transitioning from the latter to the former. This book aimed to contribute to filling this gap and its findings reveal a complex web of personal and collective interactions within armed groups, with social movements, with state agents and with international supporters potential allies...Leaders should be encouraged to revise their frames of struggle and to expand their 'toolbox' of tactics by introducing them and their close advisers to successful examples of transition to unarmed resistance from relevant (i.e. similar cultural or geopolitical) contexts, which they may seek to emulate. There are many possible ways of supporting cross-border learning between activists and movements nationally and internationally, from circulating written material to diffusing information technology and providing safe venues for exchanging peer-advice, skills, experiences and information about effective nonviolent action "

Véronique Dudouet at the end of the book outlines the needs for further analysis "This book has only scratched the surface in terms of exploring the multi-level drives of change influencing behavioural shifts from armed to

unarmed means of collective contentious action. It is hoped that it will encourage scholars, practitioners and trainers in security, conflict resolution, social movements, nonviolence and social psychology to collaborate more closely to uncover the full spectrum of the dynamics and factors of conflict demilitarisation."

Civil Resistance and Conflict Transformation: Transition from armed to nonviolent struggle
Véronique Dudouet Ed.
Routledge. 2014.



Armistice Day which marked the day fighting stopped on November 11 1918 had to be cancelled when in October 1939 British troops landed on mainland Europe almost exactly 25 years after the last time. The public meaning of the Armistice after what came to be called World War One — victory and warning against future wars - was dependent on there being peace. With the declaration of another war this meaning was shattered but was subsequently reconstructed, the 'war to end war' forgotten, and the 'nobility' and 'necessity' of war burnished. In a new guise and periodically refreshed to meet new PR challenges, Remembrance Sunday came to serve as a justification of war and exhortation to eternal vigilance — the passing of the torch - and selling red poppies now the valuable corporate logo of the British Legion. Today for some Remembrance Day has private significance; for the rest of us its public face is a spectacle appropriated for specific financial and political purposes.

In this centenary anniversary of World War One we are urged to think deeply about that war. We would do well to note that by the time Armistice Day was cancelled in 1939 it had already changed profoundly from its original public conception as a time for mourning and reflection on loss of life to a self-validating day out for the military, a powerful recruitment tool for the War Office and lots of 'victory' parties.

In 1914 people may have thought they were fighting German militarism but not a year has gone by since when the British military have not been engaged in fighting somewhere in the world. No other country can boast of or be shamed by such a record. Militarism is alive and well in today's Britain.

Militarism is not just about the outward show of bellicose rhetoric, medals and soldiers proudly marching through towns when returning from wars, or parading in front of the monarch in serried ranks. It is the cast of mind and belief system that favoured the age-old values embodied in war fighting. A cast of mind that sends princes and prime ministers to sell weapons to even the most unsavoury despots, a cast of mind that funds research and production of ever more devastating weapons and associated technology. A cast of mind that believes that men and women trained to kill can provide an especially beneficial role model in schools and pass on their military values to young people. A cast of mind that without apparently us noticing is eyeing our cities as battlegrounds to be surveilled and patrolled where we are viewed with suspicion and have to prove our 'innocence'. As technology originally funded by and designed for the military is leaching into the civil sphere so is its originating mindset. The distinction between policing, intelligence and the military becomes blurred as does the distinction between war and peace and local and global operation.

War has become the dominant metaphor to describe much of the world around us — war against drugs and crime, war against terror, against insecurity. These are not just a sloppy use of language but reflections of stealthy militarisation of a wide range of policy debates as well as popular culture.

War – the struggle for control - for people in Britain has mostly been a distant event. Today that struggle for control is in our streets.

The deeper inspiration for the white poppy lies in the widespread movement against war and militarism in the early years of the 20th century. It urges us to challenge militarism and work for a culture of peace. It urges us to have the courage of the conscientious objector of WW1 to resist the temptation to participate in the war machine. Otherwise as President John Kennedy observed

"War will exist until that distant day when the conscientious objector enjoys the same reputation and prestige that the warrior does today."