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number 53 winter 2006/7
ISSN 1350-3006

peace matters

WORKING FOR PEACE WITHOUT VIOLENCE



Boys with their toys
The new face of war

Uncrewed planes such as those increasingly used by the US military may soon be flying over Britain.

a peace pledge
union publication
£1.00

ISSN 1350 – 3006
 Peace Pledge Union
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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.
 Peace Matters welcomes material for publication but cannot guarantee it. Please enclose SAE if material is to be returned.

Editor: Jan Melichar.
With help from: Annie Bebington
Typeset and design: PPU
Printing: Lithosphere

Advertising: Peace Matters carries a limited amount of advertising. For costs and other details contact the editor.
 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 14th March 2007 at 2.00pm

'War is a crime against humanity. I renounce war, and am therefore determined not to support any kind of war. I am also determined to work for the removal of all causes of war.'

PPU pledge



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If reports are to be believed, the Army is so strapped for cash that soldiers based in Britain have been told to take extended leave over Christmas and to be sure to turn off the lights and heating at barracks and offices.

Thousands of soldiers working for units that provide back-up at home for troops working in Iraq, Afghanistan and other overseas actions have been warned that money must be saved over the three-week holiday period. Military sources said the more radiators, lights, computers, faxes and printers that could be turned off, the better it would be for the budget which is now straining to keep within the designated expenditure limits.

One army officer who returned to his office this week discovered the heating had been turned off. 'It was freezing, so I went home,' he said.

Anti-militarists have favoured a vision of a future in which soldiers have to go out on the streets with collecting tins, trying to raise enough money for a few tanks, while our taxes will be spent on improving the quality of our lives. But no such luck. That anecdotal military Christmas nonsense was probably part of an elaborate propaganda effort to corner more money for the MoD.

Following tales of soldiers having to buy their own boots and obliged to paint over mould growing on the walls of their living quarters, £1.6bn 'special funding' was announced by the MoD. This was in an addition to its £32bn budget for 2006/07, published a few days after representatives of the government, the military and an increasing number of 'faiths' had performed, with sombre faces, their yearly ritual around the cenotaph. Several days after the Press Association reported this staggering figure, media database searches found no mention of it, or any follow-up in the British press. (Just one exception, in a piece by George Monbiot in the Guardian.) As the cost of the 'war on terror' to the British taxpayers passes £7bn, smaller (though huge) figures can lose impact. In any case, that £32bn figure is misleading – a more accurate estimate would be close to £40bn.

The war machine is insatiable. Britain's military budget is the second highest in the world

after the USA's. 'Defence' is the fourth largest consumer of taxpayers' money after social security, health and education. Yet you would be hard put to find a serious discussion in the mainstream media, let alone parliament about the impact these skewed finances might have on state support for public health services, education and social justice generally. 'In a country as rich as Britain it is embarrassing and shocking that children still live in poverty,' notes Hilary Fisher, director of the campaigning coalition End Child Poverty.

In 1999, Tony Blair promised to eradicate child poverty 'within a generation'. Last year, the government was forced to announce that it had failed – by a significant margin – to meet its first target. In the same month that child poverty statistics were published, indicating that 3.4 million children in the UK live in poverty, costly plans for replacing Trident were announced.

In the same month the National Audit Office seemed to congratulate the MoD for going only 11% over budget on new acquisitions, which included attack submarines, destroyers, the Eurofighter, and anti-tank weapons. What the report and almost everyone else failed to ask is what all this hardware was for. Is anyone expecting armoured tank divisions to be heading for the Channel coast any time soon? Apparently not: in the 2003 White Paper the MoD admitted that 'there are currently no major conventional military threats to the UK or NATO.... It is now clear that we no longer need to retain a capability against the re-emergence of a direct conventional strategic threat'. Obvious to most of us, probably, but it's good to know we are not alone: at its recent summit NATO, though always on the look-out for reasons to exist, conceded that 'large-scale conventional aggression against the alliance will be highly unlikely'.

Things are much worse on the other side of the Atlantic. The Bush administration wants Congress to approve an additional \$100bn for making life intolerable for people in Iraq and Afghanistan. This would bring US expenditure on the war on Iraq and Afghanistan to over

last one out turn off the lights

Jan Melichar

Speaking from the bowels of HMS Albion in Plymouth Tony Blair spelled out his enthusiasm for war.

'Public opinion will feel divided, feel that the cost is too great, the campaign too long and be unnerved by the absence of victory in the normal way they would reckon it. This impacts on the feelings of our armed forces. They want public opinion not just behind them, but behind their mission. They want the people back home to understand their value, and not just their courage.'

'My choice is for armed forces that are prepared to engage in this difficult, tough, challenging campaign, to be war fighters as well as peacekeepers.'

\$500 billion – enough to give every American \$1,600 or every Iraqi \$18,700, but, hey, that’s no way to win people’s hearts and minds! Perhaps more importantly, there would be less benefit to big business: Halliburton’s profits in 2005 were ‘the best in our 86-year history’.

Here as there, big budgets mean big lobby groups supported by a wide range of interests – from arms manufacturers and trade unions to shady salesmen with walletfuls of slush money. According to a Downing Street aide, whenever the head of BAE encountered a problem ‘he’d be straight on the phone to No 10 and it would get sorted’.

Justifying this vast expenditure on pointless hardware, in the face of truly pressing social needs, is a major creative effort. Even so, it is hard to understand why there is so little resistance, why so few questions are being asked. Why aren’t more people insisting that future challenges are insoluble by military means, and are in fact exacerbated by ‘defence’ expenditure almost as much as by Britain’s wars? Even if the effects of climate change turn out only half as bad as many expect, the resultant social breakdowns, mass migrations, food shortages and struggles over failing resources

will be infinitely worse than the grimmest scenarios provided by the war-on-terror prophets.

The intelligent thing to do? Redeploy the resources of the MoD to urgent nonmilitary objectives, both here in Britain and elsewhere in the world. Applying those resources to energy efficiency, foreign aid and arms control would bring us a lot closer to a less violent and more sustainable world.

The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists moved the minute hand of the ‘Doomsday Clock’ two minutes closer to midnight this month, the first such change to the Clock since February 2002. The major new step reflects growing concerns about a



‘Second Nuclear Age’ marked by grave threats, including: nuclear ambitions in Iran and North Korea, unsecured nuclear materials in Russia and elsewhere, the continuing ‘launch-ready’ status of 2,000 of the 25,000 nuclear weapons held by the U.S. and Russia, escalating terrorism, and new pressure from climate change for expanded civilian nuclear power that could increase proliferation risks.

The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists was founded in 1945 by University of Chicago scientists who had worked on the Manhattan Project and were deeply concerned about the use of nuclear weapons and nuclear war. In 1947 the Bulletin introduced its clock to convey the perils posed by nuclear weapons through a simple design. The ‘Doomsday Clock’ evoked both the imagery of apocalypse (midnight) and the contemporary idiom of nuclear explosion (countdown to zero). In 1949 Bulletin leaders realized that movement of the minute hand would signal the organization’s assessment of world events. The decision to move the minute hand is made by the Bulletin’s Board of Directors in consultation with its Board of Sponsors, which includes 18 Nobel Laureates. The Bulletin’s ‘Doomsday Clock’ has become a universally recognized indicator of the world’s vulnerability to nuclear weapons and other threats. <http://www.thebulletin.org>.

PUZZLES FOR PEACE

See back page

PUZZLES FOR PEACE

ppu agm & conference

non-military security

Saturday 12 May

10.30 - 4.00

London

Deadline for nominations to Council and motions:
Friday 30 March 2007

You might like to have a look at CND’s Big Trident Debate at www.bigtridentdebate.org.uk where you can also put your name to a statement making certain demand of the government- not scrapping Trident: this is a debate after all!

You can also sail past No.10’s black door and sign a petition asking the Prime Minister to champion the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, by not replacing the Trident nuclear weapons system. <http://petitions.pm.gov.uk/trident/>

A submission to the Armed Forces Bill Select Committee was made by the UK Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, to which PPU is affiliated, on the position of Under-18s in the UK armed forces. It was pointed out that the House of Commons Select Committee on Defence (in reviewing the implications of the Deepcut Barracks incidents in which four young soldiers, two under 18, had been found shot), the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, Amnesty International and even previous Armed Forces Bill Select Committees had all urged raising the minimum age of UK recruitment from its present 16. The submission pointed out that army recruits under-18 have to serve a longer minimum term than adult recruits, a practice which the navy and air force have abolished, and that, so far as care and understanding are concerned, on the MoD's own figures, 50 per cent of all recruits have literacy or numeracy skills of an 11-year-old. Yet the Committee did not even discuss Under-18s, although the submission is available to be read in the written evidence appendix to the Committee's report.

The UK, indeed, seems to be content to be a pariah among states so far as Under-18s are concerned. Amongst European countries, the only other one recruiting at 16 is Serbia. When the UK finally in 2003 ratified the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict, it was one of the few states to declare a minimum recruiting age of 16. (Portugal added a note to its ratification deploring that the Protocol permitted recruitment under 18.) The UK alone added a note saying that although it would no longer normally send under-18s into battle, as it did in the Falklands War and the First Gulf War (two under-18s being killed in each war), it reserved the right to do so if it was not practicable to withdraw under-18s from a unit deployed at short notice in an emergency.



Red poppies for all - political correctness at the BBC

badge of...

In the United States wearing a tiny flag lapel badge is an essential fashion accessory for loyal Americans from the President upwards. In Britain Union Jack underpants are widely available buy no lapel flags yet but if Gordon Brown becomes PM who knows... Meanwhile loyal citizens have to do with a red poppy, which has in the last few years become an uber essential fashion accessory for all who appear on live television; an accessory few are able to resist. Well that's show business.

hope for the future?

A recent survey of newly-appointed head teachers asked which management styles they felt to be most effective. The most popular style was typified by Mahatma Gandhi, who led a campaign of non-violent civil disobedience in India against British colonial rule. In contrast, only about one in 10 heads approved of the 'coercive leadership' model of Winston Churchill.

Head teachers supported a shared style of leadership which was democratic and involved other members of staff. In contrast, the Churchillian model was about 'focusing attention on one central figure'.

'Coaching and democratic styles enable headteachers to work with others to bring about improvements to schools that are sustainable over the long term,' says Alison Kelly of the National College for School Leadership, the national centre for professional training for senior school staff. 'Sharing leadership in this way can develop leadership potential throughout the school, and beyond into the education system as a whole,' she said.

In a millennium poll in 2000, Mahatma Gandhi was voted the greatest man of the past thousand years by readers of the BBC News website.

mince pies and missiles

Trident – the Debate Begins

Lucy Beck

Lured by the promise of mince pies, I attended a meeting on the replacement of the UK's Trident nuclear weapons, organised by Greenpeace and the WMD Awareness Programme. This entailed getting into Parliament past concrete blocks, gun-toting policemen, a baggage and body search, (suicide bombers being more of an immediate threat to Parliament than nuclear weapons these days) only to find inside a display about Air Shows! The meeting room itself was dominated by a picture of Alfred inciting the Saxons to prevent the landing of the Danes. I think Parliament needs some peace murals.

The meeting was chaired by Baroness Shirley Williams who unfortunately started by saying she hadn't made up her mind on the issue yet. She was going to listen to the debate called by the Government before deciding how to vote in March. The Liberal Democrat leader Menzies Campbell, has 'boldly' come out for a reduction of 50% of the war-

Want to know more about nuclear weapons, their history, the hazards they cause even when not used or about the long struggle against them? The PPU's **Voices for Peace interactive CD** will put you in the picture.

The small white mushroom cloud represents the power of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. The large black cloud represents the power of the missiles in one 'British' Trident submarine.



heads, to counter the government's proposed sop of a 20% reduction, and the Parliamentary debate will be heavily disciplined. {Possibly the prospect of killing half the previous number of people seems like an advance...} She believes that bargaining about the size of the reduction could help to encourage reductions elsewhere. She would promote such confidence-building measures as taking all nuclear weapons off hair-trigger alert. However, Professor Ken Booth from the Department of International Relations at the University of Aberystwyth, stressed that the debate has to be about abolition or renewal – not any half-way houses about the size of cuts. Agreeing to renew the Trident missile system, even with a reduced number of warheads, is going to send a terrible message to the rest of the world.

We were left in no doubt that this impact on the world makes this one of the most significant debates for years. This is largely due to the gradual erosion of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, as Professor Louise Doswald-Beck, Director of the University Centre of International Humanitarian Law, explained. It was very clear under Article 6 of the 1968 Treaty, reaffirmed at subsequent review conferences, that nuclear states were committed to proceeding to total nuclear disarmament. It was on that basis that the non nuclear powers accepted the retention of the status quo. The renewal of Trident will send a clear signal to non-nuclear states that the UK has no intention of abiding by Article 6. Legally other states can then argue that this is a material breach of the Treaty which entitles them to declare that the Treaty is suspended. Under international law they will no longer be bound by their obligation not to develop nuclear weapons.

Under international humanitarian law all states have agreed that the potential use of any weapon is subject to the general rules of armed conflict. The two main cardinal ones binding on governments are that the weapon should not cause more destruction and death than is militarily necessary, and that it is prohibited to launch an indiscriminate attack. Though there is no actual treaty to say that the use of nuclear weapons is unlawful, she believes that these weapons are unlawful under the rules of international humanitarian law, and that the threat to do something unlawful is by itself unlawful.

Britain's 'independent deterrent'

Trident component	Nature of US dependence
Warhead design	Based on the US W-76
Warhead nuclear components	Some imported from US
Warhead nuclear factory	A copy of the US TA-55 at Los Alamos built by the US Fluor corporation
Warhead non-nuclear parts	Some imported from US
Firing system	Designed and built in the US
D-5 Missiles	Although specific missiles in the pool of such missiles held at King's Bay, Georgia, will not be identifiably British, the UK Government will take title to the missiles it purchases.
Missile guidance	Imported from the US
Submarines	British designed and built with the import of US components and reactor technology
Aldermaston Technology	Management – 33.3% Lockheed Martin – much US sourced
Maintenance base	Management/ownership– 51% Halliburton

'I knew the moment I entered the nuclear arena I had been thrust into a world beset with tidal forces, towering egos, maddening contradictions, alien constructs and insane risks. Its arcane vocabulary and apocalyptic calculus defied comprehension. Its stage was global and its antagonists locked in a deadly spiral of deepening rivalry. It was in every respect a modern day holy war, a cosmic struggle between the forces of light and darkness. The stakes were national survival, and the weapons of choice were eminently suited to this scale of malevolence.'

General Lee Butler who commanded all US nuclear forces and drew up the US plan for a possible nuclear attack on Iraq in 1991.

In his memoirs, Colin Powell explained how, in 1991, Dick Cheney ordered him, despite his objections, to prepare a plan for using nuclear weapons on Iraq. Powell regarded the plans as disastrous and unusable and had them burned.



In discussion Professor Doswald-Beck raised the possibility that another state could take the UK to court over this violation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The very discussion of when nuclear weapons might be used could also be seen as incitement to a crime against humanity under the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court, and ministers should be made aware of their liabilities in this regard.

Professor Booth stressed that the renewal of Trident would be a strategic blunder. The head of the International Atomic Energy Agency has said there are three dozen countries able to develop nuclear weapons: some are 'a turn of the screwdriver' away from doing so. In an increasingly uncertain world we should be seeking a balance of risks not trying to ratchet them up. Nuclear weapons depend on making war thinkable. The ultimate insurance against war is through politics - the building of institutions, law and norms to prevent war.

John Vidal, the Environmental correspondent of the Guardian, spoke of the real threat to the world, climate change. He estimates that 80% of the wars during the last 25 years have been about resources, especially oil. An estimate made by some researchers of the cost of renewing and running Trident over the next 30 years is nearly £70 billion (disputed by the 'other side'). Used wisely instead this could solve the UK's climate change problems. He believes that the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (some FCO officials were present) are looking for a new role for the UK and have chosen the environment. He suggested getting senior military figures to come out against Trident, and that a study on the costs and the alternative uses for the money should be commissioned, as well as a legal opinion.

The question of morality, which had been strangely absent, was raised from the audience, but Professor Booth stressed that arguing on moral grounds didn't help because others felt just as strongly about their opposite moral stance. He felt people were less willing to be changed from their ethical viewpoint but might be persuaded through political and factual arguments. It was important to try to see how others might feel: a challenge for us all. There were no mince pies, owing to a change in venue, but plenty of food for thought – and action in the New Year.

This happy scene is an example of 'living history' at an English Heritage event; you can bet your last penny that the lesson here is not that war is a curse pursued, in the days of bows and arrows and largely today, by greedy power hungry megalomaniacs. No doubt unintentionally such 'educational' activities only serve to reinforce the apparently naturalness and inevitability of war.



Interestingly perhaps the Canadian War Museum bought a display box of White Poppies in early November. Quite what prompted that and how they have been used we cannot be sure but a widely publicised legal threat from the Royal Canadian Legion to stop the sale of white poppies in Canada may have something to do with it.

In Australia, Canada and New Zealand the red poppy has a minor flowering each November, much like in Britain. In recent years groups and individuals in Canada have used the white poppy. As a result of enthusiastic promotion particularly by a shop in Edmonton, the Canadian Legion has threatened the owners with legal action for trademark infringement. 'This practice is not only disturbing, but illegal,' said the Legion. The Legion's legal representatives have also asked the PPU to stop selling the white poppies in Canada. We have explained to them that we see no reason why we should stop distributing white poppies in Canada or anywhere else for that matter.

making room for peace

Debbie Grisdale

I stood in the stairwell area known as Regeneration Hall talking with the volunteer guide about the portrayal of peace in the new Canadian War Museum in Ottawa. Part of her job, she explained, is to tell visitors about the intention of Regeneration Hall and point out the Peace Tower visible through the window in the east wall. She told me how, as a former teacher, she makes a special point with children to talk about the importance of working for peace in their schools and communities. As we spoke, a group of ten- and eleven-year-olds with two teachers came into the Hall, obviously on their way through. The guide turned to offer to point out the Peace Tower and explain the importance of the Hall. As the group hurried on down the stairs, one of the teachers said she was sorry but they did not have time to hear about peace as the children wanted to get downstairs to see the tanks and artillery. Too bad, I thought, another opportunity to teach about peace, lost to the allure of weapons.

It is this concern about educating for peace that led a group of Ottawa people in 2004 to begin talking about the message of the new Canadian War Museum that was being built on the banks of the Ottawa River. The museum's mandate is to portray Canadian military history and its mission is to "Remember, Preserve and Educate." Because thousands of school children visit the Museum annually, our group felt that the Museum had a responsibil-

ity to educate about peace, war prevention, disarmament, and peaceful resolution of violent conflict. We were soon joined by more than one thousand supporters from across Canada - veterans, students, educators, politicians, journalists, and others - in the 'Make Room for Peace' Committee.

We began a dialogue with museum officials and were taken on a tour of the museum during the final stages of its construction. Officials asked what we thought children should be taught about peace during their visit to the war museum. We did not have a ready answer, but we did know that a peace curriculum should be developed by peace educators and scholars and not by military historians. We made that point emphatically and offered to help.

pervasive feeling of inevitability

After the museum opened in 2005, the Make Room for Peace Committee organized a community meeting that was well attended by the public and by museum officials. Many people who came had not visited the museum because they did not want to visit a museum about war. There were moving commentaries from those who had, such as these words from a Canadian who experienced war in her native Vietnam: 'The Canadian War Museum aroused compassion in me for the people who suffered due to wars, mostly for the soldiers who

fought in the war and sacrificed their life or part of their body. It also gave me some knowledge of Canadian history but it fails to create an understanding of war, of how to deal with conflicts among groups and nations without using force. It also does not help me reflect on how we can live our life to promote peace and avoid war. How can we know about war if we don't learn about peace?

The Museum depicts the human cost of war and the inhuman conditions endured by soldiers in trenches and on battlefields. As visitors we learn about the terrible tragedy of so many lives lost and are asked what particular promising young Canadians could have accomplished had they lived. There is a pervasive feeling of the inevitability of war throughout. As you enter the first permanent gallery



entitled 'Battle-ground' a sign on the wall asks "What is War?" and answers with "War is organized armed conflict. Virtually every society, past and present, makes war."

It is claimed that wars are fought to bring peace. Why wouldn't a new museum also provide a broader understanding of war - prevention, disarmament, and the role of diplomacy, international law and treaties in ending war? And how will wars, like Iraq, that Canada has intentionally decided not to enter, be reflected?

The museum is now carrying out research for an exhibit on the Canadian peace movement, to be ready in several years' time. Members of the Committee have met with Museum staff to discuss preliminary plans and share ideas. One of our concerns is that the exhibit not be developed from a war perspective and that the peace movement not be depicted as simply a group of war protesters.

Perhaps we can never completely overcome the lure of machines and weapons, but we can create opportunities for young people to learn about creating a culture of peace, give them examples, name our heroes, and show that peace, also, takes courage.

Debbie Grisdale is the executive director of Physicians for Global Survival and is active in the Make Room for Peace committee www.makeroomforpeace.org Peace magazine

Winners and losers.

In Germany they have images of ardent peacemakers on their stamp such as Bertha von Stutter above. But Britain loves its military heroes even if not very bright ones.

Poor young Jack Cornwell dusted down for another performance; at the age of 15 he joined the Navy, only to be killed a year later. While all around him laid dead 'He remained steady at his most exposed post' wrote his captain, 'he felt that he might be needed, and indeed he might have been; so he stayed there, standing and waiting, under heavy fire, with just his own brave heart and God's help to support him.'

Transformed into a hero he received a posthumous Victoria Cross for doing nothing and became the War Office's poster boy - literally as images of him standing on the burning deck were widely reproduced and used in schools throughout the country to instil duty to King and country. Baden Powell created a Cornwell Badge for the scouts and streets and mountains were named after him.

Today there are plans to rename a school after him. Read more at <http://tinyurl.com/y3rbph>

new kind of warfare

By 2015, the US Department of Defense plans that one third of its fighting force will be composed of robots, part of a \$127bn project known as Future Combat Systems, a change that is part of the largest technology project in US history.

The US army has already some 20 remotely controlled Unmanned Ground Systems that can be controlled by a laptop from a mile away. According to the US Army's Joint Robotics Program Master Plan 'what we're doing with unmanned ground and air vehicles is really bringing movies like Star Wars to reality'. The US military has 2,500 uncrewed systems operating in conflicts around the world. But is it Star Wars or I, Robot that the US is bringing to reality?

The US is not alone. 32 countries are now working on the development of uncrewed systems. In the UK, Qinetiq, the former Defence Research Agency, confirmed that it has developed remote bulldozers and that its technology could be installed in tanks - they have also built a robot fighter plane. When flown on test flights, the fighter is accompanied by two crewed fighters, whose role is to shoot it down if it malfunctions.

Commenting on the use of UAVs in Iraq and Afghanistan Bob Quinn, at Foster-Miller who manufacture the 'Talon' said 'These robots will continue to evolve. The concept now is to introduce a range of human sensors, so that we can convey the impression to the operator that they are actually there, so that they can talk, smell and see.'

The Pentagon is not keen to address the moral and legal issues that such weapons pose. 'There is a difference', says John Pike of the Federation of American Scientists, 'between soldiers and soldiers in the movies. On the battlefield, half of the soldiers don't aim their weapons at people because they don't want to hurt them or they don't want to give them cause to hurt them. The robots that are under development can sense, direct and fire dispassionately and are being pointed by people who don't have to worry about being shot at.' The introduction of robot forces, he adds, 'is raising some very difficult issues that the DoD has not thought through, and those are about hearts and minds. Warfare until now has been about the sacrifice of blood or treasure and the US has chosen to sacrifice treasure to avoid body bags.'

UAVs will be flying over Britain by the end of the decade. Alistair Darling has launched the £32m Astraera project to help realize this hazardous project. Clearly CCTV is not good enough to keep an eye on us.

harm's way

Margaret Melicharova

'Everyone has been reluctant, for very understandable reasons, to use force. There's a lot of voices in the United States today that say "use force", but they don't have the responsibility for sending somebody else's son or daughter into harm's way. And I do. I don't want to see the United States bogged down in some guerrilla warfare.'

1 The speaker: not George W but Bush père, debating NATO action in the Balkans back in 1992. That was the year when Serb artillery besieging Sarajevo targeted the city's National Library, destroying 2m books: another way to harm people besides killing them. Sarajevo today is ringed by vast Muslim graveyards, clearly visible in the panoramic view from the surrounding heights. You can also pick out the market-place behind the Library, where in 1994 over 260 people were killed or injured by Serbian guns targeting them right here. The Bosnian-Serb general responsible for that attack was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment by the International Tribunal at The Hague in 2003.

It's over a decade since the US-sponsored Dayton Accords were signed, ending civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, though more of a ceasefire than a peace agreement. Over 150,000 had died; more than half the population had been driven from their homes. The systematic slaughter in 1995 of around 7,000 Muslim men and teenage boys from the supposedly 'safe haven' of Srebrenica was one of the war's last atrocities. It was carried out by Serb forces headed by Ratko Mladic; so far he's evaded capture, but his henchman Radislav Krstic is now serving a 46-year sentence for his part in the massacre.

From 2004 Bosnia (now divided in two virtually autonomous halves, a Muslim-Croat Federation and a Serb Republic) has been monitored by peacekeeping forces from the EU. Like other countries once part of Yugoslavia, Bosnia wants to join the EU – which is now arguing within itself whether much more expansion is feasible or desirable. In elections in 2006 Bosnian Serbs voted against a unified state, preferring their close link with Serbia (the nationalists' dream of a 'Greater Serbia' still lives), so membership of the European community looks unlikely – even though economics experts say it's the only route out of crisis and poverty in the region.

There are some good signs. Traffic between the Balkan states is reviving. Croats cross the Danube daily to buy bread and cigarettes, which cost less in Serbia, and Serbs cross the other way for cheap electrical goods. You can buy Slovenian fridges, Croatian chocolates, Macedonian wines again. TV stations are linking up, communications restored.

But these small countries recovering after vicious civil war face many difficulties, and the help they are given isn't always the right help. Unemployment, as one specialist remarks, is 'the elephant in the room that international experts seem reluctant to tackle'. Plenty is ploughed into the free market, but the labour market, trade unions and cooperatives get little. There's talk of 'participation' and 'empowerment', but privatisation has benefited the few at the expense of the many. Social welfare – crucial for reducing inequalities within civil society – isn't being addressed. The market was supposed to provide, but it has other more selfish priorities, and NGOs haven't enough resources to fill the gap. For venal reasons, peace-building in the Balkans isn't the bottom-up process it should be.

In addition, says a reporter on the ground, 'Serb, Croat and Bosniak thugs have exchanged ethnic hatred for cooperation in cigarette-smuggling and prostitution rings. Crime, not ideology, has become the wellspring of violence.'

And then there's Kosovo, desperately seeking independence. Since June 1999 it's been run as a UN protectorate. Many of the Serb minority have left; the 100,000 or so Serbs still there are living in enclaves and ghettos, with battalions from NATO-led military (Kfor) positioned to protect them from attack. There's not much hope for the thousands of Kosovan Serb refugees in Serbia, either: a third of Serbia's working population is unemployed. Meanwhile Serb professionals in Kosovo – such as teachers and health workers – get their salaries from Serbia, but have little actually to do. And across Kosovo there are daily difficulties to face, such as frequent power cuts and other demoralising shortages.

In times of discontent people may turn to causes that might lift them out of it. Nationalism has often been the Balkan cause of choice. Slobodan Milosevic came to power on the nationalist issue of Kosovo. Ex-paramilitary leader Vojislav Seselj, founder and still head of Serbia's extreme right Radical Party, is in prison awaiting trial for war crimes, but his Party members have been gaining support among the Serbian electorate. Meanwhile Serbia's government has announced that it's looking for marketing advice. 'No-one,' says a Serb commentator, 'dares to say we're having to pay the price of the wars lost by Milosevic. Our leaders have no plan or strategy, which is why they talk about rebranding.' Serbia, like Bosnia, can't yet look to membership of the EU to improve its lot: the EU won't even consider it until Ratko Mladic is handed over to the Hague tribunal. And of course Serbia refuses to countenance an independent Kosovo. In 2006 the Serbian government drew up a new con-

stitution, approved by referendum. It contains a clause stating that Kosovo is an inalienable part of Serbia. A general election was announced for January 2007.

As a result, UN talks on the future status of Kosovo were abruptly halted. Their predicted conclusion: since neither Serbs nor Albanians look likely to compromise, a decision on Kosovo will be made – and imposed (how?) – by the international community. The chairman said he would make a statement after the elections in Serbia. Tension has begun to rise.

2 In 1995 President Clinton, as reluctant as his predecessor had been, authorised NATO planes to bomb Bosnian Serb forces, aiming to end the Serb campaign of what was newly termed 'ethnic cleansing' against Bosnian Muslims. In 1999 NATO planes were sent out again, this time against Serb military attacking Kosovan Albanians. (The reminder 'Don't forget we have fought in support of Muslims' crops up from time to time in discussions of the so-called 'war on terror'.)

NATO leaders in March 1999 were convinced a couple of days' bombing would achieve surrender. But the Serb forces responded by stepping up their attacks. Hundreds of Albanians were murdered, thousands more driven out of their homes, and whole villages set alight. The NATO strikes continued for over 3 months, and could be said to have worsened the plight of the people they were supposed to protect.

In 1914, just after the First World War began in Sarajevo, an eminent historian wrote to the British Foreign Office. He foresaw big trouble 'unless the southern Slav question is solved.... Only by treating the problem as an organic whole, by avoiding patchwork remedies, can we hope to remove one of the chief danger areas of Europe.'

Today, peace specialists give similar advice. 'If one lesson can be learned from Kosovo, it is that non-military intervention must occur with greater effort at an earlier date.... By ignoring the troubles in Kosovo, the international community sent a message to Albanians: We will do nothing to help you until you take up arms. The NATO campaign could never do what non-military intervention could have done in the 1980s: prepare Kosovo to be a functioning democratic society.... NATO helped perpetuate the belief in the Balkans that power comes only through violence.'

So much, then, for 'good' excuses for military action, articulated by leaders like Tony Blair in language that has grown increasingly hollow over the years: 'This war was fought for a fundamental prin-

ciple: that every human being regardless of race and religion or birth has an inalienable right to live free from persecution'. 'Humanitarian intervention' was the preferred term for the war against Serbia. But what is war if not persecution? How can destructive violence form any part of 'humanitarian' action?

In fact, the international community was again forced to confront a humanitarian disaster at least partly the result of its own neglect. When Milosovic cracked down on Kosovo at the end of the 1980s, Kosovo's leader, Ibrahim Rugova, called for nonviolent resistance. Visitors to Kosovo in the early 1990s were deeply impressed by the Albanian Kosovars' pacific stoicism, patience and ingenuity in running their lives and institutions, despite intense Serb pressure and hostility. Yet in 1995 nobody invited Ibrahim Rugova to the Dayton peace talks, where Kosovo wasn't even mentioned. As a result, radical Albanians in Kosovo lost patience and began attacking Serb police and other officials. The Kosovo Liberation Army was founded, and a path was set towards violence – violence that could easily have been prevented by intelligent, forward-thinking diplomacy.

From the day the first bombs were dropped from an aircraft (probably over Libya in 1911) air attacks have become a favourite military strategy for nations that can afford it – not least because it limits loss of military lives. No planes were shot down during the 1945 incendiary raid on Tokyo. The Enola Gay returned safely from Hiroshima. No airmen died in the 74 days of air strikes on Kosovo. Nowadays openly targeting civilian areas is frowned on, but the grim fact remains: whatever the stated or intended targets of air attacks, they almost invariably turn out to be most destructive to civilians, and society itself becomes the target.

In that sense bombing from the air (no moral high ground up there) is anything but 'precise', whatever the claims made for it. Countries targeted by such 'surgical' strikes could justifiably accuse their attackers of the very barbarism for which 'smart bombs' are a punishment as

well as a supposed deterrent. The physical distance between the bomb and its target also creates a psychological distance between attacker and the grim reality of the attack, often fatal for civilians, on the distant ground below.

It's obviously tempting for a nation with an air force to regard air power as 'clean'. But such 'surgery' can kill; does kill. The damage done is as brutish as if we had hacked civilians to pieces with our own hands, personally dismembered their children, poisoned their water, laid waste their land and trashed their homes.

Tackling harm by committing harmful actions can never be right; and any argument that suggests it is morally defensible has no moral foundation. There are other roads to take in dealing with conflict. Because they often seem hard to find, or need to be newly laid, they tend to be the roads not taken; but there's no excuse for that. There are techniques for resolving conflict without violence; potential strife can be predicted and prevented. But for political and military reasons – as well as economic and social ones – people in power don't dare to think imaginatively, 'outside the box'. It's down to us, the civilians, to find representatives who have had enough of threats and violence in the world arena. There are other ways than harm's way, and here's one mentioned earlier: 'non-military intervention, with greater effort, and at an earlier date.'



At the end of the First World War Britain had the world's only independent air force and a fleet of 3,300 planes, which had played an almost negligible role in the outcome of the war. Now the entire military was to be reduced to peacetime levels and each branch had to prove its indispensability. The army and navy both agreed that the air force ought to be disbanded. Churchill was assigned the task of wielding the axe but the air force's commander-in-chief, Hugh Trenchard, saw it differently: the Mad Mullah of Somaliland was to be his winning card.

from the PPU's **Voices for Peace** interactive CD. £15.00 plus £2.00 p&p

Adam Curle 1916-2006

Adam Curle, who died in September, aged 90, came to pacifism, like some of the early members of the PPU, after experience in the army. Although, as he recalled, his mother "hated war, to which she had lost three of her beloved brothers, and was determined that she would instil in me her loathing of it as well", he accepted call-up in the Second World War, and rose to the rank of major. Afterwards, he began a career in academic social psychology and education in Britain and overseas, but in the late 1960s he was asked to act as mediator in the Nigerian civil war, and then in 1971 in the Indo-Pakistan war. He described his work in *Making Peace*, published in 1971, and, significantly, followed it with *Education for Liberation*, 1973.

From this background Adam, who had joined the Quakers in 1961, was invited in 1973 to become the founding Chair of Peace Studies at Bradford University, itself the initiative of a small group of Quakers. His inaugural lecture, *The Scope and Dilemmas of Peace Studies*, 1974, set the scene for spreading the values of peace through education and action, and put Bradford on course to become one of the largest and best known centres for peace and conflict research.

After retirement in 1978, he continued to work as a peacemaker in such troubled areas as India, Pakistan, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka and the Balkans. In Croatia, he inspired the Osijek Peace Centre, symbolising resistance to war. Unafraid to "speak truth to power", as the Quaker phrase puts it, he demonstrated the whole range of what he called "tools for transformation": mediation, problem solving, negotiation, policy analysis, advocacy, peace building, and non-violent activism. When 14 pacifists were put on trial in 1975, including several members of the PPU, he reported himself to the police for giving out the leaflet at the centre of the prosecution.

A longtime Sponsor of the PPU, Adam was awarded the Gandhi Peace prize in 2000. The growth of peace studies and the encouragement of personal responsibility for peacemaking will be his enduring legacy.

WH

positive response to contemporary violence

Rene Wadlow

Another Way : Positive Response to Contemporary Violence. Adam Curle.

Adam Curle was a man of energy, and now the energy that was incarnated in him as an individual has rejoined the universal energy. In his prose-poem "Who Am I?" he wrote "Well, I am not to be confused with a particular body, the jobs it has carried out, its role in society, its appearance and behaviour good bad or indifferent, least of all the ego it thinks of as 'I' and the opinions that nourish it however wise or silly...But the proper function of this fusion is to form a dwelling for the real identity, the potential for enlightenment."

His style was always linked to his experience as a teacher, as one involved in Third World development in Asia and Africa, and as a mediator. Although he directed one of the first peace studies programmes in Europe cre-



ated at the University of Bradford, his approach gave little place to abstraction and theory — no game theory math for him. Both in reading and talking with Adam Curle one had the impression of listening to a sharing in a Quaker Meeting. The ideas had been long there, deepened by experience, but they always seemed spontaneous, as if guided at that moment by the Spirit. As he wrote "There is no box of magic peacemaking tricks. All depends on love and concern informed by experience and understanding.

Adam Curle began his experiences with the

nature of energy — the continuum from psychic energy to the positive expressions of energy in healing, and the negative expressions in violence — as part of the circle in London of the Russian exile P.D. Ouspensky. Energy and its transformations are at the heart of Ouspensky's work based on Central Asian Sufi and Mongolian-Tibetan Buddhist teaching. An analysis of Ouspensky's views and their application to the study of peace would be too long a detour for this review, but readers who are interested will find a good overview in a recent book: *In Search of P.D. Ouspensky: The Genius in the Shadow of Gurdjieff*.

As Friedrich Nietzsche had Zarathustra say "One repays a teacher badly if one remains only a pupil." Adam Curle moved beyond the Ouspensky circle and during most of his working life was active in the Society of Friends. In his prose-poem *Quakers* he wrote "Of all the groups I know, the Quakers with whom I unworthily associate, can most be relied on for wise compassion, common sense and serious commitment to issues affecting spiritual and physical well being of virtually anyone anywhere in the world. Oh, yes, I know they sometimes get things wrong, or seem a bit conventional, but always, in the end, they turn up trumps as I well know experimentally (George Fox's phrase). They don't care much for dogmas, but believe in the essential divine goodness of our being, exploring its depths together in their worship, then surfacing refreshed, illuminated by the Inner Light, strengthened for the work they see ahead" he wrote in *Recognition of Reality: Reflections and Prose Poems*.

In *True Justice: Quaker Peace makers and Peace making* he writes "Virtually the sole dogma, if this word is not too emphatic of Friends, concerns 'that of God in every one' and this has, of course dominated our witness...I trust that all Friends and all people of insight and goodwill are in any case working for peace in their own ways, hoping to dry up the springs of violence in themselves and their communities. There is so much to be done at all levels and of every sort, and everyone's potentiality is different. Any attempt to define and codify roles would merely constitute a limitation."

Curle saw so much to be done at all levels because he had a broad vision of what is violence. He wrote "I now see peace as being very much more than the absence of war. An unpeaceful situation, to my mind, is one in which human beings are damaging each others' potential for fulfilment and development in any of a number of ways: not merely by killing and maiming, cheating, making excessive demands on others, corrupting, enslaving, humiliating, deriding, frightening or deceiving. These are all forms of violence (the etymology of the word implies the 'unlawful use of force') of violating a person, of doing wanton damage. The fact that the damage need not be physical in no way affects the degree of potential harm for the victim and, albeit in a different way, the perpetrator."

Working for peace in his own way, Adam Curle put his emphasis on mediation and the training of mediators. For Curle the development of ever deeper levels of awareness is crucial for mediation which is more than just a set of techniques. As he wrote "Certainly there are a number of techniques to be learned: how to listen, how to avoid forms of speech which are covertly aggressive (as many of ours are), how to negotiate; how to disagree without offending, how to state a case etc. However, the most important aspect of mediation, as of other forms of peacemaking, are attitudes of mind, particularly respect, concern and compassion for all other human beings...What is needed, and is always needed by all of us, is the fullest possible development of our humanity, our potential as human beings. This means becoming able to escape from the mindless automatism that governs so much of our lives, from senseless worries and fears, from prejudice, from ego cherishing and irritability, from vanity, from illusions of guilt and badness, from belief in separate existence. Ahead lies the vital question of how these largely inward developments can be reified within the framework of appropriate policies and structures: legal, social, economic and political."

Through his mediation work, he was constantly faced by the suffering due to violence and the difficulties to develop alternatives. He wrote of a seminar in Namibia organized by the International African Institute in 1991 which brought together 30 people from violence-torn countries "We had all experienced the horrible effects of war in at least one country: the cruelty that wells up, the torments we inflict on each other; the kidnapping of children and training of them as killers; the miseries of refugees; the pillaging bands of rootless people; the hunger and the disease; the loss of



Playtime in the Lotz ghetto.

After the German occupation of Poland in 1939 the Nazis began rounding up the country's Jews into ghettos, before ultimately transporting them to death camps such as Auschwitz and Chemno. With a pre-war Jewish population of 223,000, which made up 34 per cent of the local population, the city of the Lodz was home to one of the most notorious ghettos, which was sealed off in May 1940.

Henryk Ross a newspaper photographer in Lodz was forced to move into the city's ghetto where he was employed by the Jewish administration's Department of Statistics as an official Jewish ghetto photographer to produce the propaganda and identity photographs demanded by the Nazis. Ross, 'anticipating the total destruction of Polish Jewry', said later that he 'wanted to leave a historical record of our martyrdom' and began taking clandestine photographs of the harsh realities in the ghetto.

Ross continued to work for the Department of Statistics until August 1944, when news of the Red Army's advances led the Germans to liquidate the ghetto, deporting most of its residents to Auschwitz. The photographer was one of 800 men and women left behind to perform clean-up operations, and due to be killed too. Ross managed to go into hiding until the liberation of the city in January 1945, after burying a barrel of photographic negatives in the ground.

After the war he retrieved the negatives from Poland and published a relatively small number of photographs of the Lodz ghetto atrocities. It wasn't until 1997, when Ross' son made some 3,000 negatives available to the Archive of Modern Conflict in London that another aspect of existence in the ghetto was revealed. For Ross had also documented the lives of the ghetto elite—the police, the Jewish Council and wealthier residents, including images of smiling groups at a reception given by the wealthier members of the ghetto, their glasses and plates full.

Such images bring to light the likely fact that, in order to protect themselves and their families from the terrible fate awaiting the majority of ghetto residents, members of the Jewish Council and other officials, including Ross himself, worked with the Germans. It seems that under such extreme duress, self preservation can make victims into desperate survivors.

European photographers in the 20th century. Barbican Art Gallery till 28 January.

The modest black wooden hut and small strip of concrete platform - through which passed more than 150,000 Jews, bound for their deaths in Auschwitz - were swept under the rug of history by the Soviets. Trains passed it, unaware of its past. It was only recently that it was reinstated as a memorial.

Jerzy Kropiwnicki, the mayor of Lodz, presented his city with a moral dilemma two years ago, with the 60th anniversary of the end of the WW2: 'It was a problem for many Polish people. We were not the victims and we were not the villains. 'Let the Jews do what they want with it,' many felt. I decided it was a problem for everybody. You must either lie and be silent, and then you are part of the crime, or you must tell the truth.'

Telling the truth about Radegost station had unexpected results for his city, reduced to bankruptcy after the collapse of communism. The number of visitors from Israel, Germany and Russia skyrocketed. Soon followed by Phillips, Gillette, Indecit, Amcor and Dell who have set up shop in a city where the workforce is five times cheaper than in Ireland.

REVIEW

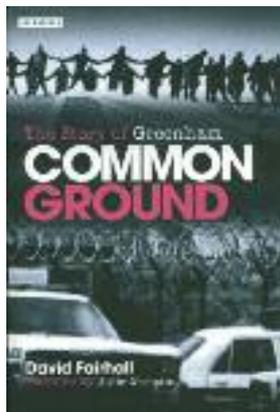
hope; the destruction of community spirit; the crazed tyrannies, which even when brought down leave a stain on a nation's soul. However, I think we were all overwhelmed by the enormity, the universality, of all the problems of the continent. I wish I could say that we came up with a series of promising recommendations. We did not. Perhaps we all learned from each other how to do a little better what we had done before, but it felt like building sand castles to stem a tidal wave."

Facing the tidal wave, the Quakers' emphasis on that of God in each person and the lack of teaching concerning systematic methods of meditation seemed to Adam as inadequate for the tasks facing peacemakers. Again he moved on, although never cutting his ties to the Quakers. He returned to what lay behind the Ouspensky-Gurdjieff teaching and techniques which was the Tibetan schools of Buddhism. In 1917 when Gurdjieff began teaching in Russia, it was not useful to put a label on ideas, and Tibet was far off and largely unknown. Today, thanks to the activity of the Dalai Lama, Tibetan approaches to Buddhism reach a wide public. Curle's starting point is the well-known saying of the Buddha contained in the Dhammapada "We are what we think. All that we are arises with our thoughts. With our thoughts, we make the world". Thus it should be possible with our thoughts to make a world of happiness, positive energy and joyful labour. But the Buddhist tradition stresses that our thinking is full of fear and anger, desperation and alienation. Our lives reflect these elements making our true nature of wisdom and compassion.

Curle uses the Tibetan Buddhist image of the three poisons: ignorance, yearning, and jealousy. These three drives are closely interrelated, and one leads to the other in a perpetual motion. In Tibetan thankas — the paintings which serve as one guide to meditation — these three drives are symbolized as the center, creating the motion of the world. In Tibetan teaching progress is made by first delinking the three drives and then reducing the power of each individually. As Curle notes "the crucial poison is ignorance — ignorance of the potential of our nature. However, ignorance can be overcome and with it the proclivity for violence." Curle stresses two aspects of overcoming ignorance: the growth of awareness and overcoming the identity crisis.

To end this evocation, there is a prose poem which he felt (as I do) expressed his mature beliefs: From *Recognition of Reality* "The First Lesson"

The most important lesson but one that's seldom adequately learned is that, like sub-atomic



The Story of Greenham Common Ground. David Fairhall. 2006. Whether the Greenham Common protest against nuclear weapons was before your time, whether you were an active participant, a male sympathiser or whether the whole episode was a remote event 'Common Ground' makes, depending on your relation to the event, interesting, evocative, and entertaining reading. Fairhall paints a vivid picture of life at Greenham, from the excitement of night time raids on the missile base to the humiliation of imprisonment, from the hardship of repeated evictions to the delight in the wide support for the camps. While the cruise missiles left Greenham Common 17 years ago as today's government seem set to replace its 'ageing' nuclear weapons 'Common Ground' offers more than a chance to reminisce; it offers a chance for reflection on the effectiveness of 'anti-nuclear' actions. Its last chapter consisting of answers (largely predictable) from a wide range of people to a number of questions Fairhall posed, nonetheless make challenging reading.

Buying books (or anything else) at Amazon? Why not do it through the PPU's website www.ppu.org.uk/sales that way the PPU will get a small proportion of the sale.

particles, everything with life exists within a field of force in which all affect and are affected by each one of the others; and that we, the individuals, and all other individuals like a blade of grass, whale or bacterium, are not self-existent, but the products of this unceasing reciprocity.

When this interaction favours growth and fruitful change we call it ecologically sound, understanding that death and demolition are part of the process of development — Kali is goddess both of creation and destruction. But when this interaction is impaired by false beliefs, illusions one might say, of personal supremacies and needs, elements within the field of force may be eliminated or suffer deadly damage.

Through war, poverty imposed by others' greed, oppressive persecution and gluttonous violations of the planet whole tribes, forests, civilisations, fish-filled seas, species, forms of art, religions are annihilated. The total field is then impoverished and many lives one might have thought quite separate are dismally affected; our choices are diminished, the scope of evolution narrows down.

We best can counter this by widening our vision of the truth and acting in accordance with it.

Margaret Cheney

Margaret Cheney, who died in November, was the widow of, and co-worker with, Howard Cheney (died 2005), who gave up a family lock-making factory in Birmingham to run a farm in the Warwickshire countryside. They combined their farming with radical peace activity, several times making their accommodation hospitably available for summer schools and conferences. A specialty product was honey from their own bees, often generously donated to fund-raising stalls. Margaret served for a number of years on PPU Council, where her wise counsel was a calming influence at contentious moments.

WH

SUPPORT THE
CO PROJECT
archive and educational resource

The project aims to reclaim the lost voices of the young men, many of whom languished in prison, often in solitary confinement; young men who risked loss of family support, and social ostracism. Some in World War One, despite being condemned to death, refused to put on a uniform or pick up a gun.

The project's aim is also to promote a better understanding of war and the arguments against it through the eyes and activities of its radical opponents.

- ▶ It tells the stories of the men and women conscientious objectors of the 20th century
- ▶ It documents their experience
- ▶ we video their recollections
- ▶ we promote their ideals
- ▶ It will publish teaching resources
- ▶ Its education and resource centre has
 - an extensive database of COs
 - original documents, letters and photographs
 - DVDs and videos
 - audio recordings
 - books
 - support for students, researchers and authors

Can you help?

Are you or do you know any COs? If so we would like to hear from you with a view to recording your experiences as a CO. Contact Jan Melichar at the PPU office or at jan@ppu.org.uk

If you are interested in the rich and varied history of conscientious objection and war resistance why not visit our resource centre where you can read about it, watch videos and see original documents.

“The CO Project is making a fantastic contribution to the public awareness and understanding of people of courage and principle.

As the son of a CO, I wholeheartedly support it.”

Jim Broadbent



PUZZLES FOR PEACE

Welcome to the PPU's cryptic quiz! – 50 puzzles to solve, on the theme of peace, in 5 groups of 10.

For prizes and how to enter see below. CLOSING DATE for entries: 23 March 2007.

All you have to do is solve each puzzle from the clue and the number of letters in each word.

Example: Ground mates (7,2,3,5) Answer: Friends of the Earth.

But not all the clues are that easy! Look out for word play, anagrams and other crossword compilers' devices. You can also find some answers by exploring the PPU's website.

Good luck!

1: HANDS ACROSS THE PLANET

1. Reform union instead with time for world assembly. (6,7)
2. Venue of fair play for all (13,5,2,7)
3. Combine fun with ice – just what the children need. (6)
4. Bland work afoot for the planet's financiers. (5,4)
5. Bury state: nut is holding alien, any fur ruffled. Resort to cash dispenser. (13,8,4)
6. Relative fully extended in this body that advocates fitness for all. (5,6,12)
7. Miss Johnson has a comfortable place to test worldwide human rights movement. (7,13)
8. This environmental group is inexperienced still. (10)
9. Neat little household. What a relief! (5)
10. Conflict about siblings, big game for the world's pacifists. (3,9,13)

2: PEACE PEOPLE

1. Dreamer silenced by ray gun. (6,6,4)
2. A short hard man and his dog worked to uncover promoter of civil disobedience. (8,6)
3. Batman shares name with this canon who fired us! (4,8)
4. Truthfulness abandons metropolis, country gets tense, writer of testaments emerges. (4,8)
5. Ay! I ask the last of you, unsung, about the Burmese Lady. (4,3,3,3)
6. Metropolitan to a degree! (10,7,4)
7. They are scrupulously averse to going for soldiers. (13,9)
8. Pair of provincial prizewinners. (7,8,3,5,8)
9. 'BOMBS AWAY!' cried these marchers. (3)
10. Beeline transit erratic – but leads to a pacific physicist. (6,8)

3: 'PEACE IS THE WAY'

1. Smith's recycling of hostile blades. (6,4,12)
2. Plea for arm to be a symbol (5,6)
3. No rage in songs arranged by goodwill contract (13,4)
4. Keeping the entente intact. (9)
5. Intercession allows no time for brooding. (9)

6. Trouble-shooting? It's a peacemaking technique. (8-7)
7. One critical negative and I upset bridge-building. (14)
8. – such as was signed at melted-down silver sale? (5,6)
9. Lively love-in, in non-church surroundings, for peaceful state. (11)
10. Not exactly what happened to the Venus de Milo when she was deprived of weapons? (11)

4: A CENTURY OF ACTION FOR PEACE

1. Explosive inventor's anti-war award. (5,5,5)
2. Seen a flag out, eh? No? It hides the world alliance that failed. (3,6,2,7)
3. Public declaration against call-up. (4-12,9)
4. Pale bloomers cause controversy when people remember. (5,7)
5. ...but Ohm could not measure this restrained reaction in wartime (10,10)

6. Animated hug-swap followed by get-togethers where scientists share armaments info. (7,11)

7. This college course suited escape, strangely! (5,7)

8. Boffins club together paying duty to world peace. (10,3,6,14)

9. Where the women went who didn't want a cruise. (8,6)

10. The Tory Bill's 1999 call for concord? (3,5,6,3,5)

5: SLOGAN AND SONG

1. Anti-war work in which a poet's strange meeting was set. (3,7)
2. Motto of big British communicator initially. (6,5,5,5,4,6)
3. PM (troubled Abel – never call him in) thought he'd got this for Europe. (5,3,3,4)
4. When men refuse to fight..... (3,4,5)
5. Babylon's confused about small dimension: the answer is – ? (6,2,3,4)
6. Exercise, no TV, walk more, with a finale: the language of flowers in the 1960s. (4,4,3,3)
7. I'll bid farewell to arms here at the water's edge. (4,2,3,9)
8. My dream of universal peace last night – how very odd! (3,5,3,3,6,2,3,2,3,2,3)
9. Move core? Shift it we shall! And then – ? (2,5,4,2,5,4,3)
10. Amid the fallen, non-violent songster voices this, our plea: (4,5,1,6)

ENTRY FORM (closing date for receipt of entries: 23 March 2007)

Name & address _____

Telephone _____ email _____
I enclose a cheque for £..... (payable to PRET) OR debit my credit card
Number _____
From ____|____ expiry ____|____ issue no ____ 3 digits of security no _____.

About entering the PPU PUZZLES FOR PEACE competition:

First, the prizes! There will be a **first prize of £30**, a second prize of **£20** and a third prize of **£10**. All three prizes will also include a free copy of a PPU publication of your choice. In the event of there being more than one completely correct entry, these will be placed in a closed box and the prizewinners will then be drawn from them at random. This will also apply, if necessary, to entries with the highest number of correct answers. The competition compiler's decision will be final. The answers will be published on the PPU web site a week after the closing date and in the next issue of Peace Matters.

The PUZZLES FOR PEACE competition is also a way to raise funds for the Peace Research and Education Trust (PRET), a charity associated with the PPU and supporting the PPU's education work – one of its most important activities. We are asking only a modest fee of £2 for entering the competition, but additional donations are always welcome. (For every £10 donation PRET can reclaim a further £2.80 from Inland Revenue.) The prizes have been donated.

To enter the competition, write the answers below the clues. Send the completed form to: PPU PUZZLES FOR PEACE, 1 Peace Passage, London N7 0BT

Why not print out some copies for your friends and encourage them to enter the competition as well? Copies of the Puzzles for Peace and entry form can be found at www.ppu.org.uk/puzzles. Have fun!