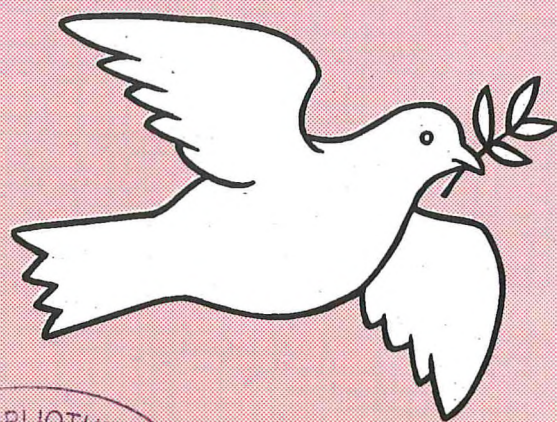


A Resource for Teaching and Learning

# PEACE AND WAR



The Peace Education Project of the Peace Pledge Union



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# Summary of Content

## Ways of Thinking

### Thinking about Peace and War

Considering the origins of our ideas about Peace and War.

Raising awareness that the categorisation of beliefs is problematic.

*It may be useful to repeat the exercise 'Thinking about Peace' having discussed some or all of the issues raised in the Pack, and for pupils to see if their ideas about Peace and War have altered, and, if so, in what way.*

### Language and Propaganda

■ Recognising that language and meaning can be problematic.

■ Raising awareness that the reporting of war will always contain elements of bias and censorship.

■ Considering the gender roles thrust on men and women in time of war.

### Militarism

■ Looking at the implication of elements of everyday life as a perpetuation of the war myth.

■ Considering the role of Remembrance in today's Britain and the wider world.

### Patriotism and Nationalism

■ Considering the 'language' of patriotism – killing or dying for one's country?

■ Exploring the role of nationalism in the preparation for, and, waging of, war.

*The two poems are not quoted in full – it would be preferable for students to have familiarised themselves with the poems in their entirety for the discussion work.*

*It is also worth noting that Brooke wrote 'The Soldier' before going to war, whilst Owen wrote 'Dulce et Decorum est' whilst serving in the trenches.*

### Aggression

■ Discussing the argument that war and violence are human nature.

■ Invitation to consider alternatives to war as a way of solving international conflict.

*Students may find it useful to base their discussion about ways of solving disputes on methods used by different cultures and religions.*

### The Just War Theory

■ Discussing the theory in context of modern warfare.

■ Looking at the plight of civilians during and after a modern war.

### Injustice

■ Considering '... the right to life, liberty and the security of person', in the context of war and violence.

■ Encouraging discussion of human rights abuses by the state.

*The decision to use Northern Ireland as a case study is to highlight that such injustice is not merely the problem of far away countries. Injustice, the loss of civil liberties, is an inevitable consequence of war, and can and does happen in the West.*

*N.B. At the 1993 Conservative Party Conference an intention was announced to remove the Right to Silence from legal recognition. At the time of writing this remains a fundamental right in British law and is seen as such in the context of the Case Study.*

## The Costs of War

*Again it may be useful to repeat the Introductory activity to this section after completing most or all of the topics covered. This will help students to evaluate and put into context some of the issues raised.*

### Immediate Impact

■ Comparing the effects of different types of bombing.

■ Introducing the horror of 'conventional' warfare.

■ Questioning the desirability of abolishing nuclear weapons only.

*Both the Hiroshima bombing and the bombing of Dresden have been used to portray the nature of bombing, without taking into account the context in which they occurred.*

### The Human Costs of War

■ Reflecting on the refugee as a victim of war and conflict.

### Psychological Impact of War

■ Introducing the kind of training a soldier undergoes – it is much more than physical.

■ Inviting students to consider the morality of taking another's life in ANY circumstance.

- Putting the question of a new role for the armed forces.

*Teachers with students who are training in one of the armed forces' cadet corps may find it useful to discuss the reasons for joining such corps and the type of training these students have received.*

### Lost Opportunities

- Discussing priorities for government spending.
- Introducing possibilities of 'global environmentalism'.

*The amounts used are American Billions – this is how the United Nations does its accounting. Students could be invited to convert the amounts into pounds sterling using the current exchange rate.*

*It may be worth noting that 10 Dollars could help a child, for example, by paying for simple vaccination against common diseases.*

### Arms Trade

- The Arms Trade in the context of a business.
- Considering socially acceptable industries.
- The dilemma of working in the arms trade; inviting students to make choices about such a career.

*At the time of writing the Scott Inquiry on the Arms to Iraq affair had not been completed, but it may be worth noting that Alan Clark admitted to the Inquiry that he had given a less than complete answer to the Peace Pledge Union on a complaint about arms exports. He commented, 'These people bring out the worst in me'.*

### Defence

- Discussing the role and language of defence.
- Introducing the idea of deterrence, and inviting consideration of nuclear weapons as a form of defence.

## Alternative Visions

### The United Nations

- Introducing the United Nations as a peace-keeping body.
- Questioning the role of the military for this purpose.

### Disarmament and Conversion

- Questioning the desire for nuclear disarmament only.
- Introducing possible alternatives to the Arms Trade, without causing unemployment. (It may be useful to tackle this section in conjunction with the Arms Trade).
- Considering the criteria for deciding which types of manufacturing activity might be morally acceptable.

### Nonviolence

- Considering positive alternatives to violence.
- Inviting students to empower themselves through a reflection on their lifestyle.

### War Resistance

- Introducing Conscientious Objection today.

*When looking at War Tax Resistance, it may be worth noting the origins of Income Tax (1799) as a means of paying for war.*

### Pacifism

- Introducing Pacifism as a positive way of life.

*There have been many well-known pacifists such as Vera Brittain, Benjamin Britten, Aldous Huxley, Lord Soper, Michael Tippett and of course, Joan Baez. It may be useful to play an extract from one of Baez' recordings in conjunction with work on her 'Conversation' piece.*

### Another View

- Inviting students to decide their own ideas for achieving a more peaceful future

## A Manifesto for Peace –

The results of this project work may be useful for an exhibition or theme for a school fundraiser. The Peace Education Project would also be delighted to receive samples or reports of any of this work.

Other ideas for reference are:

Martin Luther King's 'Dream' Speech

The Golden Rule of many of the world's religions

The use of nonviolence by environmental, animal rights groups etc.

## National Curriculum

The resource is primarily designed for Key Stage 4, in English, Geography and History (See chart below). However, some sections are appropriate for KS 3 and for Sixth form Students.

Teachers of Religious Education will find the resource equally useful for the study of issues of War and Conflict.

Elements of the resource are also useful as background research for projects in Art.

The resource also considers issues from three of the five Cross-Curricular Themes:

### Economic and Industrial Understanding

- KS3 – organisation of work and the economy; relationship between government, economy and society; changing needs and preferences of consumers.
- KS4 – Influences on consumer decisions; social and environmental costs of production; responsibility of government and industry to encourage conservation and alternative technology; inter-dependence and conflicts between individual enterprises and nations.

### Education for Citizenship

Moral Codes and Values: concern for others, values and beliefs of oneself and others, discussion and consideration of moral dilemmas, both personal and social.

- Being a citizen – duties, responsibilities and rights; human rights.
- Democracy in action – attempts made in the 20th century to promote international and global co-operation, in particular the United Nations.
- The citizen and the law – duties, rights and responsibilities of citizenship in national and international law.
- A pluralist society – international and global issues.

### Environmental Education

- Common duty of humankind to protect and improve the quality of the environment.
- Individual behaviour as a contribution to the protection of the environment.
- Examination of the environment from an economic and political perspective.
- Finding ways of ensuring caring use of the environment now and in the future.
- Finding solutions to environmental problems.

Section Title	History	Geography	English
Thinking about Peace and War			KS3 & 4
Language and Propaganda	(KS) 4 Model 2 SSU	KS4	
Militarism			KS4
Patriotism and Nationalism	KS4 Model 2 SSU		KS3 and 4
Aggression	KS4 Model 1/2	KS3 and 4 (Human)	KS4
The Just War Theory			KS4
Injustice	K3 CSU5		KS4
Immediate Impact	KS3 CSU5/ KS4 Model 1/2	KS3 and 4	
The Human Costs of War	KS4 Model 1	KS3 (Human) KS4	KS3 and 4
Psychological Impact of War			KS3 and 4
Lost Opportunities	KS4 Model 1/2	KS3 (Environmental) KS4	
Arms Trade		KS4 (Trade)	
Defence	KS4 Model 1/2		KS4
United Nations	K3 CSU5 and KS 4 Model 1/2		
Disarmament and Conversion		KS4 (Trade)	KS3 and 4
Nonviolence	KS4 Model 1/2 (SSU 18)	KS4	
War Resistance			KS4
Pacifism			KS4
Another View			KS3 and 4

N. B. The resource generally encourages:

- The use of group work, discussion, debate.
- Responses to the media, poetry and playscript.
- Development of language and writing for a range of purposes.

Keywords: Words in **bold** are those with difficult meanings and those key to the theme of the text. These may be used for further research.

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# Ways Of Thinking

## ***'Prevention is better than cure.'***

This famous phrase is in constant use today: Don't smoke, don't have unprotected sex, don't eat the wrong kind of margarine... We are encouraged to lead a more healthy life or face the sometimes horrific consequences.

This saying, however, rarely crosses over into other parts of life. For example, war and violence are often seen as cures for the evil or aggressive behaviour of individuals or groups of people. If prevention of such behaviour could be achieved, then perhaps there would be no need for any more war or violence.

The way we are brought up, the way we learn to look at things can affect our actions and ideas later in life.

These study sheets may be photocopied for classroom use  
Peace Pledge Union Education 6 Endsleigh Street London WC1E 6HX





*'After all, war isn't that effective. In every case at least one side loses, which is only 50% effective, if you're lucky. The winner pays a very large price as well.'*

Gene Sharp

## DISCUSSION AD Activity and Discussion

- ➔ In small groups brainstorm the word WAR. Try to think of as many words and phrases associated with it as you can.
  - ➔ Now brainstorm the word PEACE. Again try to think of as many words and phrases as you can.
  - ➔ Each group should report back to the rest of the class what words and phrases you have thought of.
  - ➔ Look at the whole class list of words for WAR. Try to separate them into positive and negative characteristics. Do the same for PEACE.
  - Q Did your group have a very different set of words from the other groups?
  - Q Did some words or phrases occur in all the groups - what were they?
  - Q Did you have more positive words for WAR than for PEACE, or the other way round?
  - Q Who or what do you think has given you your ideas about WAR and PEACE?
- In pairs or small groups choose a source of information. Try to decide whether the emphasis is on war or peace. Use the list of words you have drawn up to help you decide. Give as much information as you can.

## Ideas for Sources of Information

advertisements  
magazines  
encyclopaedias  
newspapers  
TV programmes  
tourist brochures  
history textbooks  
films  
computer games  
poetry  
theatre  
video



## What do you think?

"I find war disgusting. I have always thought so, and I would like my children to live in a safe, peaceful environment, not in a war zone."

(GCSE Student)

## PEACE

I am as awful as my brother War,  
I am the sudden silence after the  
clamour...

Let no man call me good. I am not blest.  
My single virtue is the end of crimes,  
I only am a period of unrest,  
The ceasing of the horror of the times;  
My good is but the negative of ill...

(Eleanor Farjeon)

"I have taken my RAF marksman qualification... My dream is to be a pilot in the RAF". (GCSE Student)

"War, when it has any purpose, is an operation which removes, at specific times, a specific cancer. The cancer re-appears in different shapes...; we have learnt no preventative medicine. We fall back again and again, on near fatal surgery".

(Martha Gellhorn)

"I believe everyone should love each other and live in peace with each other. No one has the right to decide to kill people. Not me, not you, not the Queen. No one."

(GCSE Student)

- ◆ Consider the above statements. Which, if any, characterise your views? Perhaps, you know a song, or a poem, or a piece of prose that reflects your views better.
- ◆ Perhaps you could create a questionnaire to survey your Year Group or School about their opinions concerning these statements and your earlier discussion about the words, Peace and War.

DISCUSSION AD

Activity and Discussion

## Television and Film

War is portrayed in many different ways on television and in film. Choose a television programme that you watch regularly. You may wish to use the following questionnaire to help you:

- ◆ Name of television programme:
- ◆ What kind of TV programme was it?  
Children's ☐ News ☐ Documentary ☐ Comedy ☐ Drama ☐ Other
- ◆ How many times does violence occur?
- ◆ How is the violence portrayed?  
Heroically ☐ As a terrible thing ☐ Neutrally ☐ Other
- ◆ How did the violence affect you?  
Entertain ☐ Inform ☐ Frighten ☐ Excite ☐ Anger ☐ Cause despair ☐ Other
- ◆ Did the portrayal of violence make you want to take any action? Yes/ No  
If "yes" what kind of action did you think of taking? e.g. Join the armed forces, join a peace group, play games based on the programme etc.  
Any other comments

As a class collate your results.

- Q Overall do you find television's portrayal of war favourable or unfavourable?
- Q Is war represented on television more or less often than peace?  
Why do you think this is?

## Thinking about Peace

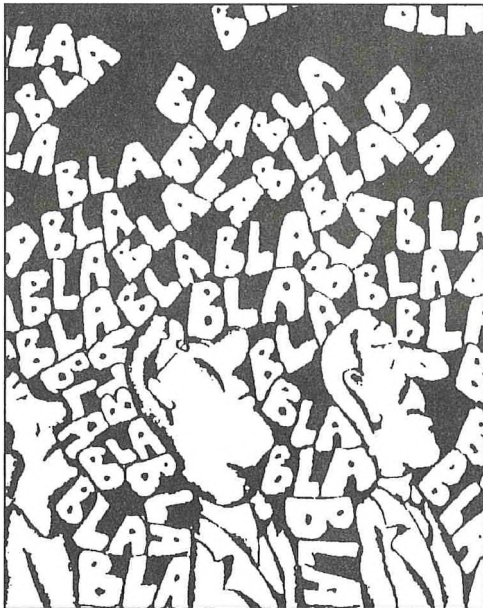
*If you think of peace as a state in which the possibility of conflict is reduced, which of these would help create peace?*

### To have peace you need:

A strong police force	YES/NO
Everybody having enough food	YES/NO
Population control	YES/NO
Freedom to make money	YES/NO
Freedom of speech	YES/NO
Somewhere to live for everybody	YES/NO
Free health care	YES/NO
A ban on extremist political parties	YES/NO
The death sentence for terrorists and murderers	YES/NO
Equality of opportunity for all	YES/NO
A strong army	YES/NO
Education for everyone who wants it	YES/NO
A fair legal system	YES/NO
Parliamentary democracy	YES/NO
Fair distribution of wealth	YES/NO

- 
- Q Which of the list would, in your opinion, be most likely to help create peace, and which would be least likely?
- ◆ You will need to decide whether you agree with each statement, disagree with it, or think it irrelevant to the question of peace.
  - ◆ Try to place the remaining statements in order between your 'most likely' and 'least likely' statements.
  - ◆ Add some ideas of your own to the list.
-





*Language can be used to shield  
a person from seeing the  
'enemy' point of view.  
Do you think it might be  
necessary for a soldier to be  
shielded from seeing the  
'enemy' point of view?*

## Mad Dogs and Englishmen

All the expressions were used by the British Press in one week during the Gulf War, 1991 <sup>1</sup>

### We have...

Army, Navy, and Air Force  
Reporting guidelines  
Press briefings

### We...

Take out  
Eliminate  
Neutralise

### We launch...

First strikes  
Pre-emptively

### Our boys are...

Professional  
Dare-devils  
Young knights of the skies  
Loyal  
Desert Rats

### Our boys are motivated by...

An old-fashioned sense of duty  
Our boys...  
Fly into the jaws of hell

### We...

Precision bomb

### George Bush is...

At peace with himself  
Resolute  
Statesman-like  
Assured

### They have...

A war machine  
Censorship  
Propaganda

### They...

Destroy  
Kill  
Kill

### They launch...

Sneak missile attacks  
Without provocation

### Theirs are...

Brainwashed  
Cannon fodder  
Bastards of Baghdad  
Blindly obedient  
Mad dogs

### Their boys are motivated by...

Fear of Saddam  
Their boys...  
Cower in bunkers

### They...

Fire wildly at anything in the skies

### Saddam Hussein is...

Demented  
Defiant  
An ancient tyrant  
A crackpot monster

ACTIVITY  
DISCUSSION  
**AD**

## Activity and Discussion

Consider the descriptions of the Coalition forces and the Iraqi forces from the previous page.

Q Why do you think they are described so differently?

Is it because...

- ◆ this is how both sides really were, it is true?
- ◆ the Iraqi forces were evil and deserve to be described as such?
- ◆ by describing the Iraqis in this way we wouldn't feel so bad about killing them?
- ◆ to make us think the war was just and right?
- ◆ for other reasons?

Explain your choice(s).

Q How do you think the Iraqi press described the Coalition forces during the Gulf War?

As a class, collect articles from different newspapers on the same day, reporting the same war situation.

Q How do the reports differ?

Q Are all the "facts" included the same?

Q If there are different views of the same conflict, why do you think this is so?

## Information

During the Gulf War journalists could participate in '**pool reporting**.' This meant that only a few reporters were allowed officially to witness and record events at the front, and they then shared their reports with other newspapers. However, these reports were read and often amended by military **censors**. Those reporting independently were at risk of having their **accreditation** taken away and some were threatened with deportation from Saudi Arabia.

'When war is declared, truth is the first casualty'

*Arthur Ponsenby*

**Propaganda** may come in the form of appealing images, to create a desire for an action or belief.

Propaganda is used by governments and military leaders at a time of war for two reasons:

- a) to keep morale up at home
- b) to deceive the enemy

Propaganda can be deliberate lies, or else conceal part of the truth in order to give the impression that something else entirely is happening. This practice is known as **misinformation**.

'In wartime, truth is so precious that she should always be attended by a bodyguard of lies.'

*Churchill to Stalin, 1943.*



## Case Study: Women in Propaganda



Women have commonly been used as an image to encourage men to fight, whether it be for their "mother country", their mother, or their girl friends.

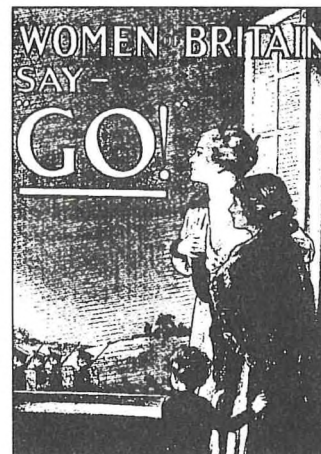
Look at the three examples of women appearing in images to encourage men to enlist and fight during the First World War. Take each one in turn and consider the following questions:

- Q How are the women represented?
- Q Do the images of women surprise you?
- Q Why do you think women were chosen as a symbol to encourage men to enlist?

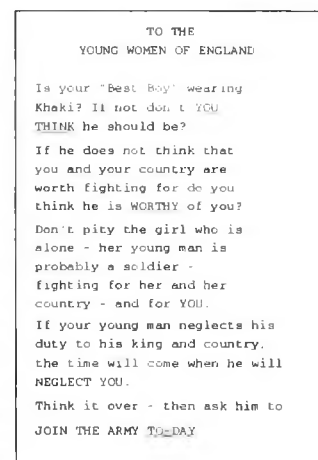
### Now read on:

'(The voice of) the mothers of the British race...demands to be heard, seeing that we play the most important part in the history of the world, for it is we who "mother the men", who have to uphold the honour and traditions not only of our empire but of the whole civilised world... We women, who demand to be heard, will tolerate no such cry as Peace! Peace! where there is no peace... There is only one temperature for women of the British race and that is white heat. With those who disgrace their sacred trust of motherhood we have nothing in common...We women pass on the human ammunition of "only sons" to fill up the gaps... We gentle-natured, timid sex did not want war...But the bugle call came...We've fetched our laddie from school, we've put his cap away... We have risen to our responsibility... Women are created for the purpose of giving life, and men to take it... We shall not flinch one iota.. Should we be bereft, (we shall) emerge stronger women to carry the glorious work our men's memories have handed down for us for now and all eternity. Yours etc., A little Mother.'

*Letter to the London Morning Post in 1916. Later reprinted by popular demand in leaflet form, selling 75 000 copies in less than a week <sup>2</sup> It is said to have inspired the recruitment poster 'Women of Britain say - GO!'.*



Women of Britain say - 'GO'



To the young women of England

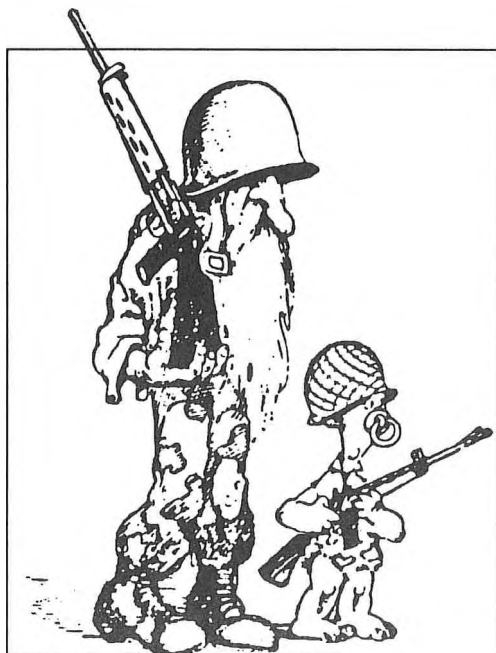


Forward Children



## Activity and Discussion

- Q Do you agree with the sentiments of the letter?
- Q Write a short piece or make up a play on the theme: 'Women are created for the purpose of giving-life, and men to take it'.



*Militarism can be described as the tendency of a nation's military apparatus to assume ever-increasing control over the lives and behaviour of its citizens.*

■ In its extreme, militarism may show itself as a repressive military regime: sixty-four governments, well over half of those of the developing countries, are judged to be under military control. Despite some of these countries having democratically elected leaders, the evidence is that the armed forces continue to exercise control over key security policies and/or operate independently of the central political authority.

Militarised governments are often linked with **Human Rights' Violations**, such as torture, brutality, disappearances and political killings. Fifty-eight out of the sixty-four military-controlled governments resort to extreme forms of repression.

Even in countries we regard as conventional democracies, militarism is to be found in much of every day life - the films we watch on television, the computer games many of us play, the military parades at Remembrance time and the taxes we have to pay (a percentage of which is spent on the armed forces).

**The following extract is from a campaign statement by the Peace Pledge Union:**

**Militarisation of the Young**

'Indoctrination in militarism begins early in life. From lead soldiers to Action Man, from war comics to war games, children in general, and boys in particular, are subject to military influence. Cadet forces in some schools provide military training including the use of arms. Subsidies from public funds for clothing, equipment and camps are provided. These monies are available to no other youth organisation.

For those who avoid the cadet corps, there are visits to schools by armed forces' recruiting teams with a variety of weapons. There are all the exhibitions and fairs which are thought incomplete without one or more of the armed forces demonstrating the delights of death and destruction; to say nothing of "tattoos" and displays presented directly by professional killers.

Killing, indeed, is what the armed forces are all about, whether it is a private soldier gouging the guts out of someone with his bayonet, or a senior officer pressing a button to annihilate a million people in the nuclear holocaust of a guided missile. In an attempt to make this job seem as respectable as, say, medicine, the army has chosen the title "professional". We need constantly to remind ourselves, that beyond the glamour of foreign beaches and the thrill of winter sports lie the bonds of servitude and the spectre of death.' <sup>3</sup>



ACTIVITY DISCUSSION  
**AD**

## Activity and Discussion

**Q** Do you consider the following to be militarist indoctrination?

	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
War Comics				
Video Games				
War Games				
Toy Soldiers				
Cadet Forces				
School Visits by Armed Forces				
Military Tattoos				

**Q** If you consider any item to be militarist indoctrination, why? If not, why not?

**Q** What may children learn from the above toys and activities?

- Intentionally?
- Unintentionally?

The end of the First World War was popularly celebrated, and this gave birth to the Remembrance ceremonies we know today. In 1927, the British Legion and the Daily Express jointly organised the Festival of Remembrance, incorporating the militarism and military values which continue to permeate the ceremonies of today.

### The Militarisation of Remembrance

Opposition to these military overtones began early in the history of these celebrations, as a letter to the Evesham Advertiser in 1930 records:

*'...their main tendency is to perpetuate the war spirit, which ever renders the coming of permanent peace impossible. The establishment of this day and the erection of memorials was a grave error...for these have fastened the system of armed defence upon one and all firmer than ever; for right through Europe... the man who has borne arms is memorialised and praised as never before and what man praises today he will practice tomorrow so that to honour war is, of necessity, to ensure of its coming in all its horrors...'*

In 1936, Alfred Salter MP recalled another effect of the military parades which mark Remembrance Day:

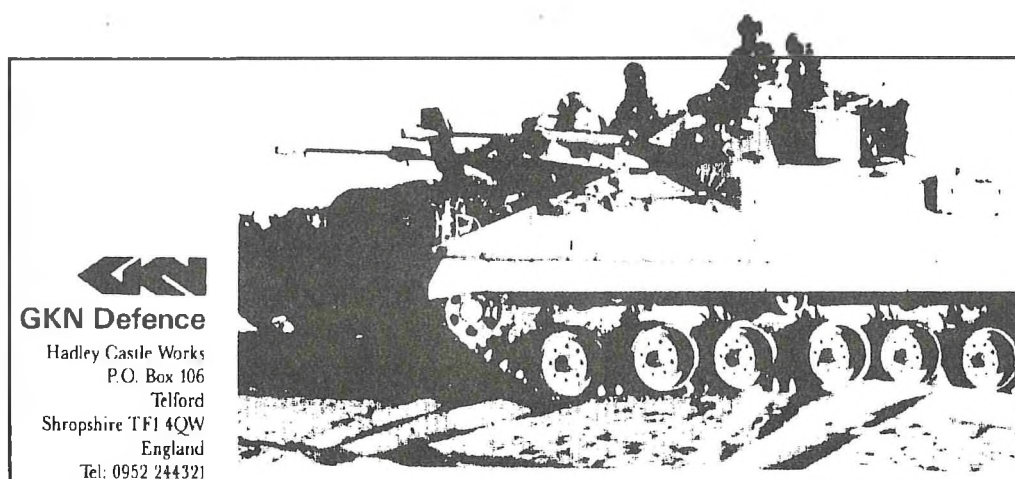
*'I was Chairman of the Parliamentary Peace Committee, and took a deputation to see the then Minister of War. We asked him if he would exercise his influence... to turn November 11 Armistice service into a peace and memorial service...His official adviser from the war office jumped up and said, "Impossible! Unthinkable!... We get more recruits for the Army in the fortnight following the Armistice ceremony than in any other time of the year'.<sup>4</sup>*

The Festival of Remembrance of today, always an emotional occasion, continues to consist of marching soldiers and ex-service men and women. The millions of civilian deaths which have occurred as a result of war are effectively ignored. This and the

military parades which take place at war memorials throughout the country are described by the British Legion:

*'For those who have lost loved ones, Remembrance is deeply personal, but for all of us, Remembrance should be a positive emotion a determination that such needless waste of young lives should not happen again'*

This quotation appears in the programme for the 1992 Festival of Remembrance. Later, between the advertisements for superstores and whisky, we find a display advertisement for a tank! <sup>5</sup>



## ACTIVITY DISCUSSION AD

### Activity and Discussion

#### Class Discussion

➡ Split into two groups, one for and one against the military taking part in Remembrance ceremonies. You may wish to take the following into account:

'...the Festival.. a moving ceremony which enables us to remember all those who have given their lives to our country...' (British Legion)

"We need a shift in focus from heroes to human beings, from "our" dead to all dead..." (Peace Pledge Union)

➡ Consider the British Legion quote, '...that such needless waste of young lives should not happen again', and the advertisement of the BRITISH WARRIOR tank.

➡ Make a list of why you think this is acceptable, or why you think this is unacceptable, advertising in the programme.



*'I realise that patriotism is not enough. I must have no hatred or bitterness towards anyone.'*

*Edith Cawell (Last words, 1915)*

## DISCUSSION

### Discussion

➔ Imagine you are at a football match. Your team is winning; you feel good and proud of those figures kicking a ball around a rather large playing field.

Q Do you feel sorry for the losing side?

➔ Now, imagine that football team is the armed forces of your home country and that football pitch is a battlefield.

Q Do you feel the same happiness and pride watching your 'team' do battle?

Q Do you indeed have a team?

The following extracts from poems were written by two men who served in the British armed forces during the First World War:

#### **The Soldier – Rupert Brooke.**

If I should die, think only this of me:  
That there's some corner of a foreign field  
That is forever England. There shall be  
In that rich earth a richer dust concealed;  
A dust whom England bore, shaped, made aware,  
Gave, once, her flowers to love, her ways to roam,  
A body of England's, breathing English air,  
Washed by the rivers, blest by suns of home.

■ Brooke died of blood poisoning in 1915 while serving with the Royal Naval Division in the Gallipoli campaign.



**Dulce et Decorum Est – Wilfred Owen**

If in some smothering dreams you too could pace  
 Behind the wagon that we flung him in,  
 And watch the white eyes writhing in his face,  
 His hanging face like a devil's sick of sin;  
 If you could hear, at every jolt, the blood  
 Come gargling from froth-corrupted lungs,  
 Obscene as cancer, bitter as the cud  
 Of vile, incurable sores on innocent tongues -  
 My friend, you would not tell with such high zest  
 To children ardent for some desperate glory,  
 The old Lie: *Dulce et decorum est*

*Pro patria mori..*<sup>6</sup>

Translation: It is a sweet and honourable thing to die for one's country

■ Owen was killed in France in 1918 by machine gun fire a week before the Armistice.

DISCUSSION  
 ACTIVITY  
**AD**

**Activity and Discussion**

- Q Which of the two is the more realistic image of dying in war?
- Q How effective do you find the choice of poetry as a means to describe these feelings?
- Q Write an essay comparing the two poets' attitudes to 'fighting for their country'?
- Q Which of the two might you describe as a patriot?
- Q 'Patriots always talk of dying for their country, but never of killing for their country.' (Bertrand Russell). What does this mean?

STUDY  
 CASE  
**CS**

**The Historical Claim**

Two countries lay claim to the Falkland Islands – Argentina and Britain. It is argued by the Argentinians that at the time of the original claim to the islands they were uninhabited, and that they were since 'stolen' by the British. Since the 1950s the Malvinas (the Argentinian name for the Falklands) have been included in Argentinian school textbooks as being Argentinian territory. The British claim is based on continuous inhabitation of the islands since 1833 by people of British descent speaking English.

On 2 April 1982 Argentinian armed forces occupy the Falkland Islands. Three days later a Royal Navy task force sets sail from Britain for the South Atlantic. The Falklands war is about to begin over the **sovereignty** of islands 400 miles off the coast of Argentina and about 8000 miles from Britain. The dispute over the island, between Argentina and Britain has continued for many years.<sup>7</sup>

The invasion and consequent response is seen by some to have been allowed to grow out of all proportion, as David Tinker, a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy who was killed during the conflict, reflects in a letter to his family:

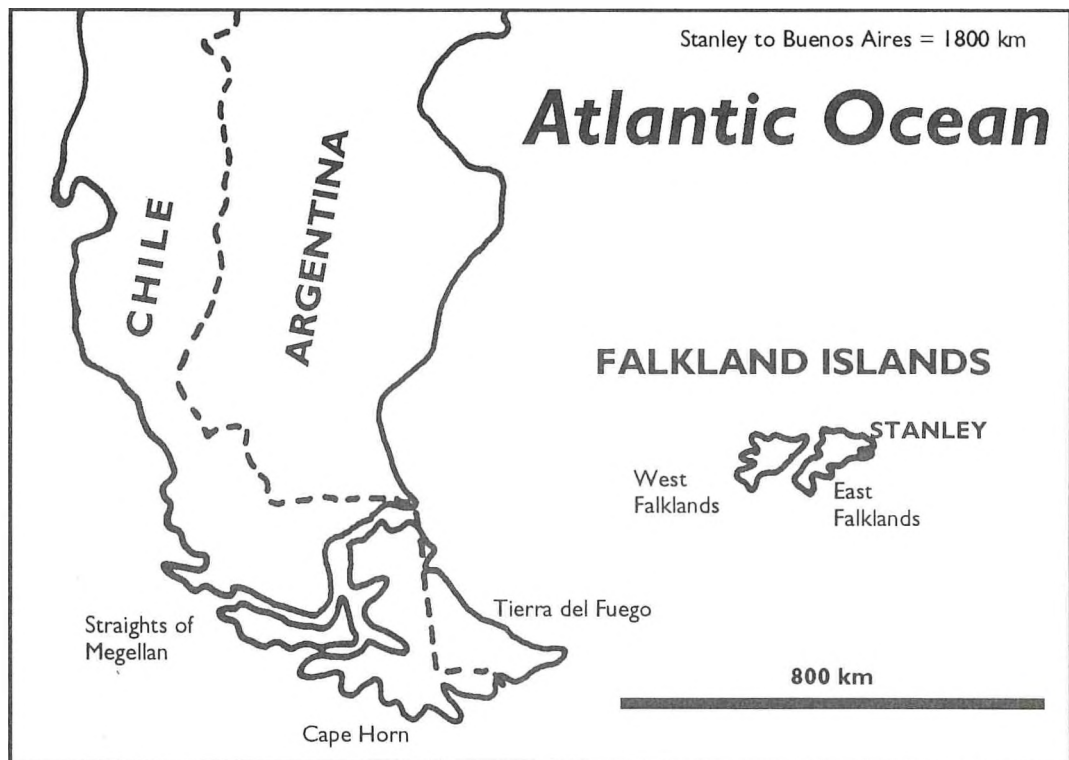
*'The most amusing thing is that it will be difficult to find the Falkland Islanders. With only 1,800 of them, there are, I suppose, 15,000 RN [Royal Navy] personnel, 4,000 army – 4,000 Argentinian army, and, say, 3,000 Argentinian navy: outnumbering the islanders by about twelve to one!'*

Case Study: The Falklands war

Tinker was later to question the reasoning behind the entire conflict:

*'I sometimes wonder if I am totally odd in that I utterly oppose all this killing that is going on over a flag'.<sup>8</sup>*

By the end of the conflict 1,100 deaths had occurred, along with an unknown number of other casualties. Many of the Argentinian soldiers were young conscripts. The three Falklanders (the only civilian deaths) who were killed during the conflict were the victims of British weaponry.



## The Media Story

As the task force sailed for the South Atlantic it took with it many reporters and broadcasters. These reporters, and those left behind, had to work under strict military censorship.

### WE ARE ALL FALKLANDERS NOW

*'The national will to defend itself has to be cherished and replenished if it is to mean something in a dangerous and unpredictable world'. (The Times, 5 April 1982)*

or if you prefer...

### WE'LL SMASH 'EM

*'Cheers as Navy sails for Revenge'. (The Sun, 6 April 1982)*

The Sun was intent that Britain would not lose the Falklands to the 'Argies'; it was prepared to become the voice of a patriotic nation. Honour was at stake, and the Sun was prepared to ensure that the British public would not forget it.

Its campaign of patriotism included free badges bearing the slogan 'The Sun says Good Luck Lads', T-shirts, the inevitable Page 3 Girls and anti-Argentinian joke

competitions. The Sun proudly declared itself 'The Paper that supports our Boys'.

On 1 May 1982, it also included the following:

**STICK THIS UP YOUR JUNTA!**

*A Sun Missile for Galtieri's gauchos*

*The first missile to hit Galtieri's gauchos will come with love from the Sun.*

*And just in case he doesn't get the message the weapon will have painted on the side 'Up yours, Galtieri' and will be signed by Tony Shaw, our man aboard HMS Invincible.*

*The Sun – on behalf of all our millions of patriotic readers – has sponsored the missile by paying towards HMS Invincible's victory party once the war is over.*

The Sun was not alone in its patriotic fervour, although it had far and away cornered the market in extremes. The Guardian's editorial of 5 April commented:

*'The fleet sails now in restitution. The cause this time is a just one'*

Later in the war, the News of the World was to print a scorecard:

**BRITAIN 6**

**(SOUTH GEORGIA, TWO AIRSTRIPS, THREE WARPLANES)**

**ARGENTINA 0**

In fact, it was to be the Daily Mirror that was to stand conspicuously alone, in not supporting military action, as its 5 April editorial showed:

**MIGHT ISN'T RIGHT**

*The islands don't matter. The people do. We should offer them the chance to settle here or anywhere else they choose and we should pay for it.*

*What we must not do is promise to eject the invader, and then desert them at some later date.*

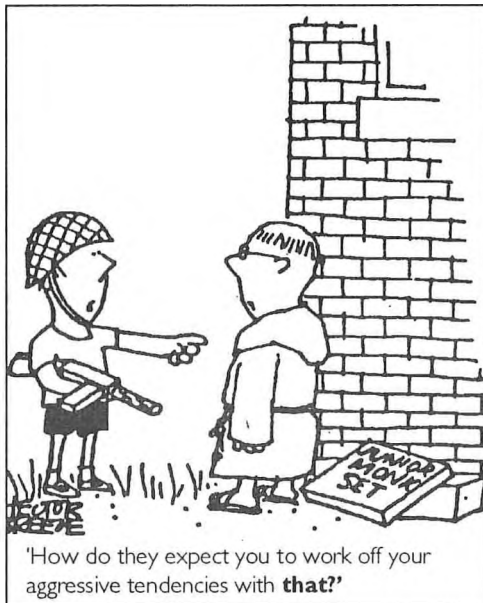
But it was the sinking of the Argentinian cruiser, General Belgrano, that was to result in the most infamous headline of the war – GOTCHA! – the Sun's editorial team's announcement of the sinking of the ship and consequent drowning of over 300 of its crew. Later editions of the same day carried the more subdued headline DID 1200 ARGIES DROWN?, but the damage had already been done, and GOTCHA! remains as symbolic of the media treatment of this war now, as it was then.<sup>9</sup>

DISCUSSION  
AD

## Activity and Discussion

- Q What did David Tinker mean by '... all this killing that is going on over a flag'?
- ➔ Compare this with the attitudes shown in the two poems earlier.
- ➔ Rewrite 'STICK THIS UP YOUR JUNTA' from an anti-war perspective.
- ➔ Compare the two headlines, 'WE ARE ALL FALKLANDERS NOW' and 'WE'LL SMASH 'EM'.
- ➔ Brainstorm – What images do these phrases conjure up in your mind?
- Q Are their meanings similar? Discuss.





*'It is scientifically incorrect to say that war is caused by 'instinct' or any single motivation..'*

## We fight because we have to...?

Over the years anthropologists and psychologists have looked into the reasons behind many aspects of human behaviour, including aggression, violence and war. Some of these scientists say that humans are by nature aggressive, and that therefore war, militarism and all types of violence are unavoidable; they are **instinctive**. To reach such a conclusion these scientists have compared human with animal behaviour.

The scientists argue that animals have **instincts** to create and defend territories and to attack other animals for food etc. The scientists conclude that, as humans are a kind of animal, we must share these instincts to fight. If this argument is followed to its natural conclusion, people will always fight and consequently there will always be war because that is the way we are.

Certain factors are overlooked in this argument. Indeed, some animals do kill for food, but not more than they and their family require. Very few animals of the same species ever fight and kill each-other - this would go against their instinct for survival. 'Combat' between two animals of the same species occurs to resolve competition over territory or a mate, but is largely **ritualistic** - it is very rare for opponents to be seriously injured, let alone killed. Humans are different in both respects.

Another view is that most human behaviour is learned, rather than instinctive; thus, we have almost certainly learned to fight and logically we must be capable of unlearning this behaviour and of learning to live peacefully together. Even if it is agreed that human beings are biologically inclined to aggressive behaviour, it can be argued that such an extreme level of aggressive behaviour as war is actually the result of **external stimuli**.

Anthropologists have tried to determine whether warfare is an 'instinct' or 'learned' behaviour by comparing different societies across the world to see if war universally exists. Although there are difficulties in this, as information received can be inaccurate or interpreted incorrectly, the evidence suggests that warfare is very common, but not universal, and again, probably depends on external stimuli. <sup>10</sup>

DISCUSSION  
AD

## Activity and Discussion

- ➔ Write a paragraph giving examples of why humans are 'different in both respects'.
- ➔ In groups compare your reasons. Do you think these human actions are instinctive or learned?
- ➔ Brainstorm - What kinds of 'external stimuli' might cause aggression to become violence or war?

STUDY  
CASE  
CS

There are people who have no warfare. Of these the Eskimos are perhaps the most well-known. These people do not understand war, not even defensive warfare. The idea of warfare is lacking. The Eskimos are not a meek, gentle people, however: fights and murder occur among them. Here are a people faced with hunger and the threat of extermination by others. Here are orphan children, growing up miserably with no one to care for them, mocked and neglected by those around them. The personality necessary for war, the circumstances necessary to goad people to desperation are present, but there is no war. The idea of warfare, of one group organising against another group to maim and wound and kill them is absent. And, without that idea, passions might rage but there is no war.

It may be argued that the reason for this is the Eskimos' form of social organisation. They own no land, they move from place to place, camping, it is true, season after season on the same site; but this is not something to fight over as modern nations and peoples of the world fight for land and raw materials. They have no permanent possessions that can be looted, no towns that can be burned. They have no social classes to produce stress and strains within their society. Some might argue that this absence of war among the Eskimos, while disproving a biological necessity for war, just confirms that it is the state of development of the society which accounts for war.

However, among the Australian aboriginal peoples, who also built no permanent dwellings but wandered from waterhole to waterhole over their almost desert country, warfare - and rules of 'international law' - were highly developed. The obvious causes of war - struggle for lands, struggle for power of one group over another, expansion of population, the ambition of a successful leader etc. - were absent, but warfare as a practice remained, and men engaged in it and killed one another during it.

This suggests that people will go to war if they have the idea, the invention, just as those people who have the custom of duelling will duel and people who have the pattern of vendetta will indulge in vendetta. And, conversely, peoples who do not know of duelling will not fight duels; they may on occasion commit murder but they will not fight duels. Cultures which lack the idea of the vendetta will not meet every quarrel in that way. A people can use only the forms of settling problems it has. <sup>11</sup>

## DISCUSSION AD

### Activity and Discussion

**Q** Does this evidence support the 'instinctive' or 'learned' argument for humans and war? Explain your answer.

➔ Write a short piece (based on the Eskimo or Aboriginal people) about living in harsh conditions which you consider might provoke violent behaviour.

➔ Consider the effects of westernised society on indigenous peoples. You may like to brainstorm some ideas as a class.

➔ List alternative methods of solving disputes - seeing who can laugh the loudest, talking things through etc. Divide your list into violent and nonviolent means of conflict solving.

**Q** Which methods might you use ?

### Information

Unfortunately, many indigenous peoples (including the Eskimos and Aborigines) have been uprooted from their traditional lands and ways of life, and forced to fit in with prevailing national societies.<sup>12</sup> This has meant that many indigenous peoples have been drawn in to the 'ways of thinking' common to westernised society. War as an 'invention' is now known to the Eskimo.

'It is scientifically incorrect to say that war is caused by 'instinct' or any single motivation... The technology of modern war has exaggerated traits associated with violence both in training of actual combatants and in the preparation of support for war in the general population.'

UNESCO<sup>13</sup>

### Disinventing War

What hope is there of persuading nations to abandon war, if nations believe so thoroughly that resort to war is inevitable whenever certain circumstances arise ?

Other inventions must once have seemed as firmly entrenched as warfare. Take the methods of trial which came before the jury system: ordeal and trial by combat. Unfair and strange as they seem today, they were once the only methods open to individuals accused of some offence. The invention of trial by jury gradually replaced these methods until only witches, and finally not even witches, had to resort to the ordeal. The old method was replaced by a new social invention. The ordeal did not go out because people thought it unjust or wrong; it went because a method more in tune with the institutions and feelings of the period was invented. And, if we despair over the way in which war seems an ingrained habit of most of the human race, we can take comfort from the fact that a poor invention will usually give place to a better invention.

For this, two conditions, at least, are necessary. The people must recognise the defects of the old invention, and someone must make a new one. Propaganda against warfare, documentation of its terrible cost in human suffering and social waste, these prepare the ground by teaching people to feel that war is an ineffectual social institution. There is further needed a belief that social invention is possible. A form of behaviour becomes out of date only when something else takes its place, and, in order to invent forms of behaviour which will make war obsolete, it is first a requirement to believe that an invention is possible.<sup>14</sup>



ACTIVITY  
DISCUSSION  
**AD**

## Activity and Discussion

'Just as trial by combat tested people's physical endurance and not their innocence or guilt, war merely confirms an army's strength and not the morality of its cause'.

- ➔ Split into two groups; one for and one against this statement. Ask your teacher or elect someone else to convene this discussion.

Re-read the piece headed 'Disinventing War'.

- ➔ Create a piece of writing, or some artwork (e.g. poem, play, prose, drawing, painting, model, sculpture) which may help other people to learn to feel that "war is an ineffectual social institution".

or

- ➔ Invent a new way in which people might help solve conflicts without resorting to war.
- ➔ Write a poem or essay or make up a play to show how this would work



'You know, out of all the animal species, I reckon the human must be about the nearest to us in intelligence.'



‘God is always on  
the side of the  
heaviest  
battalions.’

Voltaire

## Can a War be Just ?

Modern international law draws on centuries-old tradition to create criteria for a Just War. This basically means that certain forms of warfare are ethically acceptable in terms of international law. Modern ‘Just War’ Theory is based on conditions laid down in the 13th Century by the Christian Saint, Thomas Aquinas, who was following the teaching of Saint Augustine of the 4th Century AD. The theory was designed to improve co-existence with a militaristic secular power. The theory is continually developing. The following is a summary of current thinking:

## The Criteria for a Just War

### 1. THE RESORT TO WAR.

- a) The war must have been ordered by the lawful authority – i.e. be undertaken and waged exclusively by the leaders of the state; those charged with the common good.
- b) The war must be fought for a just cause – the UN and the Roman Catholic Church, among others, rule that the only possible just cause is defence of territory against aggression.
- c) The war must be a last resort, and it should be formally declared.
- d) Those engaging in it must have a reasonable hope of success, and the evil entailed in the war must be judged proportionate to the injury the war is aimed at averting, or the injustice which caused it.

### 2. THE CONDUCT OF WAR.

The end does not justify the means.

- a) **Non-combatants** – civilians – must be immune from direct attack. This is an application of the more general moral principle that it is wrong to kill innocent people directly. i.e. it does not pretend that non-combatants can be protected from ALL the consequences of war, but that they should not be the intentional objects of military activity.
- b) Methods of warfare used must be lawful, reasonable and in line with international agreements – if one side uses “illegal” methods, this does not justify retaliation using similar methods.
- c) Weapons must be used discriminately, aimed accurately at a **legitimate** military target with a reasonable chance of hitting it. **Indiscriminate** attacks in areas containing non-combatants cannot be justified, even on legitimate military targets.<sup>15</sup>

DISCUSSION  
D

## Discussion

- Q Are wars always played by the rules? You may find the case study useful in your discussion.
- Q Can a modern war fit within the guidelines for a Just War. Why? Why not?
- Q What, if any, do you think is a just cause for a war?
- Q What would you hope the war would achieve?

## Information

International law prohibits the use of all indiscriminate weapons, including those that cause unnecessary suffering and injury.

CASE STUDY  
CS

On 29 November 1990, the United Nations' Security Council passed Resolution 678, authorising 'Member States co-operating with the Government of Kuwait... to use all necessary means...to restore international peace and security in the area'.<sup>16</sup>

■ The seeds of this war were sown many decades ago, but essentially its catalyst was the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq in August 1990. Others argue that the war would never have been fought if it had not been for the riches of oil in the area.

■ No accurate figures exist of the number of civilian deaths during and as a direct result of the recent war in the Gulf. However, it is estimated that at least 100,000 people were killed during the war itself, and many more have died as a result of economic sanctions, damage to infrastructure, environmental damage, and displacement since.

## Air Attacks...

- First priority targets for air attacks were air defences, command and control systems, scud missile sites, air bases and nuclear and chemical facilities.
- Only 7% of more than 100 000 tons of bombs dropped on Kuwait and Iraq during the 40-odd days of air bombardment were 'smart' (electronically guided).
- An estimated 75% of all bombs dropped on Iraq missed their target.
- The second phase of air attacks specifically targeted civilian infrastructure, such as bridges, electricity plants and other essential services.
- Coalition bombardment effectively destroyed everything vital to human survival in Iraq – electricity, water, sewage systems, industry, agriculture and healthcare. Food warehouses, hospitals and markets were bombed.
- Damage to the sewage systems meant raw sewage backed up into streets and homes. Power shortages meant electronically driven water pumping stations ground to a halt. Water became scarce and what was available was contaminated. This resulted in epidemics of cholera and typhoid, killing thousands of vulnerable children.
- In Kuwait itself, the loss of life amongst Kuwaitis was around one thousand during the war itself. However, pollution of Kuwait's atmosphere and terrain, as a result of the lighting of oil wells may have long-lasting medical effects.

## Children...

- Tens of thousands of cluster bombs remain unexploded and partially buried in sand in and around Iraq's towns and cities. These bombs resemble 'an elongated cola can attached to a tiny parachute. Traction between the can and its parachute detonates the bomb electronically. When a child comes across one of these unexploded 'toys' and



pulls on the parachute, he or she loses an arm or an eye, or more commonly a life'.<sup>17</sup>

■ Two Norwegian child psychologists, experts on the impact of conflict on children interviewed 250 school-aged children to discover the effect of the Gulf War on them. They concluded that the children of Iraq are the "most traumatised children of war ever studied." Two-thirds of those interviewed believed that they would not survive to become adults.

## Economic Sanctions...

■ As a result of the economic sanctions imposed on Iraq, food, medicines and other essential imports remained scarce and expensive.

■ The world was told that food and medicine would be exempt from economic sanctions. From 6 August 1990 to mid-March 1991, it was illegal to import even a single scrap of food into Iraq – from any source.

■ In early 1992, 30% of Iraqi children under the age of five (nearly one million) were malnourished. Shortages of baby milk caused an upsurge in infant deaths through malnutrition and disease.<sup>19</sup>



'Well, there's one consolation. At least it was a just war.'

## ACTIVITY DISCUSSION AD

## Activity and Discussion

Now consider the case study from your own perspective.

Q Do you consider any of the examples of the effects of the Gulf War to be just? Explain your answer.

➔ In a small group choose one of the examples of the effects of the Gulf War.

➔ Plan a presentation for the rest of the class about why this example was or was not justifiable during the Gulf War.

## Information

### Infant Mortality Rates<sup>18</sup>

under 5s per 1000 live births

1989	89
1991	104

'The scale and the horror of modern warfare – whether nuclear or not – make it totally unacceptable as a means of settling differences between nations.' Pope John Paul II, Coventry, 1982.



‘Everyone has  
the right to life,  
liberty and the  
security of  
person.’

Article 3, Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

At the end of the First World War the victors drew up a peace treaty in which Germany was forced to accept full responsibility for causing the war. In the late 1920s Germany suffered a terrible economic depression, which many blamed on the peace terms imposed on the country. Hitler's rise to power was largely a result of this, and so the seeds of the Second World War were sown.

To many Germans the peace terms were obviously unjust. Britain, France and the USA were powerful countries, with colonies in Asia, Africa, the Pacific and the Caribbean. Germany also had colonies, but after the war these were taken away. The four years of war had also crippled the economy, but Germany still had to pay large amounts as reparations.

In Britain, France and the USA, however, there was a lot of criticism of the peace terms for being too weak. These countries had just emerged from years of war, in which millions of people had died. Many people, especially civilians, felt that justice demanded the Germans should be punished: ‘an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth’.

#### DISCUSSION

DISCUSSION

D

### Discussion

- Q Does the ‘winning side’ in a war have the right to demand compensation from the ‘losing side’?
- Q What do you think?
- Q Can you think of any situations in modern history whereby peace terms imposed upon the ‘losing side’ might be considered unjust? Why?

CASE STUDY

CS

Case Study: Civil Rights in Northern Ireland

In the United Kingdom (of Britain and Northern Ireland), many of us take some things for granted, such as protection from injustice by our laws and our courts.

The law in Northern Ireland differs from that of Britain in several ways. For example, the right to silence has long been established in British law. This is to protect the innocent from saying anything which might implicate them circumstantially with a crime. Thus, there is no legal obligation to answer questions put by a police officer. However, under the Criminal Evidence (Northern Ireland) Order of 1988, adverse conclusions may be drawn from a person's silence in a number of circumstances. For example, a suspect's silence under interrogation may be used against them if the police conclude that the silence indicates training in techniques of resisting interrogation.

In November 1991, the United Nations Committee against Torture, questioned the techniques used to interrogate prisoners in police holding cells, in Northern Ireland, such as those at Castlereagh. Reports of ill-treatment in Castlereagh have been less frequent since this public rebuke. International pressure can play a part in reducing human rights abuses by state agencies.

The Emergency Provisions Act 1973, amongst other things, shifts the burden of proof to determine guilt or innocence from the prosecutor to the defendant in a number of instances. In August 1991, the new Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act came into operation. New provisions include: powers to examine and seize documents; an offence of being in possession of certain items, and an offence of being involved in the commission of terrorist acts. These emergency acts are designed to be temporary only, but have been renewed annually with little argument from members of parliament.

The most well-known aspect of law regarding Northern Ireland is the Prevention Of Terrorism Act, which applies to mainland Britain, as well as Northern Ireland itself. The Act was passed in 1974, after the Birmingham pub bombings, again, officially as a temporary measure. The Act has been renewed every year since.

Powers enshrined in this Act, amongst other things, allow officials at ports to stop, search and detain, without warrant, anyone suspected of 'terrorist' activities anywhere in the UK. It also allows the Secretary of State to issue an Exclusion Order, which excludes someone of Northern Irish origin from Britain, and gives that person no right to challenge the evidence on which the decision is made.

The Act also allows for a person to be detained in police custody for up to 48 hours without charge, and a further five days with permission from the Home Secretary. The UK has already been taken to the European Court of Human Rights over this seven-day detention law; the court held that this was an unnecessary abuse of a person's right to liberty. Having, thus, been found lacking, the British government withdrew from the relevant article in the European Convention of Human Rights in order to allow the practice to continue. In 1986, of the 202 people detained under the act, all but thirteen were released without charge. This means that all the other people may have been held in custody for up to a week without any evidence that they broke the law.



Other differences in Northern Ireland law mean that there is no race relations legislation; protection against discrimination on grounds of race simply does not exist. Protection of an individual's rights in Northern Ireland are piecemeal.<sup>20</sup>



ACTIVITY  
DISCUSSION  
**AD**

## Activity and Discussion

**Q** How might the police conclude that someone has undergone training in resisting interrogation?

Paramilitary groups, such as the IRA and UVF, abuse Human Rights.

Consider the implications of the British authorities doing the same.

**Q** Do you think any group is justified in abusing human rights in particular circumstances. Explain your answer.

**Q** Do you think any of the laws summarised in the case study might constitute a breach of Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (see start of section)? Why? Why not?

➔ Write a play or a poem about being held for seven days without charge under the prevention of Terrorism Act.

# The Costs of War

Billions of pounds are spent every year on weapons and warfare, but the cost of war goes far deeper than the purse.

People are killed and maimed. The environment is damaged and destroyed. Costs of health, death, emotional deprivation, loss of opportunity (the things you might have done if money had not been spent on war and militarism), the removal of citizen's rights are immeasurable, and many opportunities to prevent such problems are lost in favour of supporting the war machine.

Of course, these are only some of the costs of war.

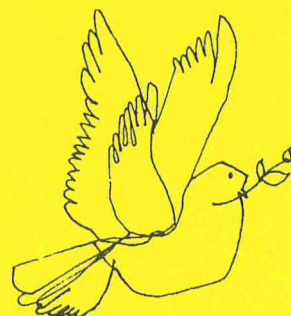
Use the table to add more from your own thinking. There are some examples provided to start you off.

The Costs of War - Which are without price	The Costs of War - Which may be priced
People are killed	Buildings are damaged
Natural habitats are destroyed	

**'War is an act of force... which theoretically can have no limits.'**

*Karl Von Clausewitz (Soldier throughout the Napoleonic Wars)<sup>1</sup>*

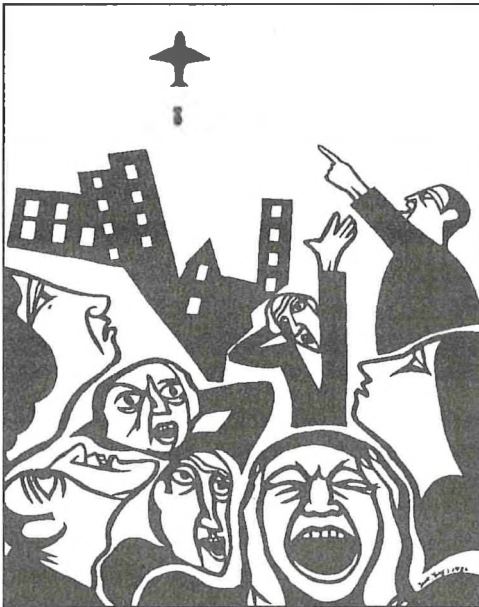
**These study sheets may be photocopied for classroom use**  
Peace Pledge Union Education 6 Endsleigh Street London WC1H 0DX



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- (16) Swimming Against the Tide - (Ed.) Melichar (Peace Pledge Union, 1992)
- (17) Your Life in the Army - (MoD Army, 1991)
- (18) See 17
- (19) Education Guardian - 15 September 1992
- (20) MEDACT Factfile - Medical Action for Global Security (1993)
- (21) In 1990 \$980 billion was spent world wide on military expenditure. (MEDACT Factfile, 1993)
- (22) The UN Declaration of Human Rights states that everyone has the right to read. Educating women not only improves their quality of life, it also reduces infant mortality and family size. 900 million people in the world can not read or write. Of these two-thirds are women, (New Internationalist, October 1993)
- (23) Based on extracts from:  
World Military and Social Expenditure 1991 - Sivard
- Additional Information:  
SIPRI Yearbook 1992 World Armaments and Disarmament
- (24) Arming the World: Problems and Possibilities - (Peace Pledge Union Information, 1992)
- (25) Beyond the Gulf War: The Middle East and the New World Order - (Ed.) Gittings (Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1991)
- (26) Your Life in the Royal Navy - (Central Office of Information, 1990)
- (27) Your Life in the Army - (MoD Army, 1991)
- (28) The World at Your Feet: Women in the RAF (Central Office of Information, 1992)
- (29) Peace and War - Randle (Edward Arnold, 1984)
- (30) CND Today Summer - Our Nuclear World - Gibbons (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 1993)





*'In the First World War 5% of those killed were civilians, in the Second World War 48%, while in the Third World War 90 – 95% would be civilians.'*

Colin Ward

**The following are two accounts of separate bombings which took place towards the end of the Second World War:**

**I** 'In front of me, smoke still overhung the city, and there was increasing confusion as the people leaving the city met those trying to enter it. I began to come across people with tattered clothing and injuries of a kind I had never seen before.

By now the area around me was burnt out wasteland, with no houses standing... In places the railing of the bridge had been completely blown away. Dead bodies lay where they had fallen...

Looking downstream to the river mouth. I saw strange black shapes... At that time people made turpentine from pine roots, and I assumed that these shapes were piles of roots. However, as I drew nearer I realised that in reality they were dead bodies, possibly deposited there by the river... Farther on, in the water, floated countless bodies of men, women and children. The misery was indescribable.

...Burned in to my memory is the sight of a young mother, probably in her twenties, a baby on her back and a three or four year-old clasped tightly in her arms. Caught against the girder of the bridge, her body bobbed idly in the gentle current...

It was utterly impossible to think of these dead people as peacefully at rest... But it was worse for those who remained alive for several hours, or even two or three days. When I saw people dying in such pain that they no longer even knew who they were, I could only think that those who had died immediately were far better off.'

**2** 'As soon as we jumped into the street, we saw the inferno outside. Like the flakes in a snow-storm, fire showered down on us. My mother looked at it all, panicked, and started running towards the city. Thinking of water, I quickly managed to get her to run with me to the end of our road, to the embankment of the [river]. We were just in time: soon after we passed, the houses on both sides of the street collapsed and blocked the end of the road. And had it not been such a short distance, the heat of the firestorm would have set our hair and our clothes alight, turned us into human candles.

[The city] was to burn for seven nights and days. The heat reached over 1000 degrees Fahrenheit. In the centre, there was no escape. The town was a mass of flames. People, burning like torches, jumped into the [river] on this cold night. Screams and cries for help were heard everywhere. The embankment was covered with bodies or pieces of flesh.'

DISCUSSION  
**D**

## Discussion

- ➔ Compare the two descriptions.
- 🗨 Which sounds the more horrific (if either) ? Why?

The first description is of the American bombing of Hiroshima, Japan, with an Atom Bomb on 6 August 1945. No accurate figures exist as to how many people died as a result of the bombing of Hiroshima; however, the following figures are considered reasonably accurate:

130 000 to 140 000 people died of acute injuries within four months of the explosion. This is out of a population of 350,000 people. Of these dead, it is estimated that 74% died on the day of the bombing and a further 15% within the following two weeks.<sup>4</sup>

The second is a description of the British bombing of Dresden, Germany, on the night of 13 February 1945. This '1000-bomber' raid resulted in a **firestorm**. Incendiary bombs were dropped onto the city; a few hours later when fire brigades were on the streets to try and control the flames, more bombs were dropped, thus killing or injuring the fire crews and rendering the fires out of control.<sup>5</sup> It is estimated that one incendiary bomb was dropped for each inhabitant of the city, and in this way a city was destroyed.<sup>6</sup> Estimates of numbers killed vary from 35 000 to 135 000 people, with 350 000 people made homeless. It is impossible to say whether such figures are accurate, as immediately following the British attack, the US Eighth Bomber Command again attacked Dresden on the morning of 14 February.<sup>7</sup>

DISCUSSION  
**AD**

## Activity and Discussion

In the light of your knowledge that one of the means employed was an Atom Bomb and the other used more 'conventional' weapons:

- 🗨 Is there any difference between the impact of conventional and nuclear weapons ?
- 🗨 Why do you think so many people want to abolish nuclear weapons, but do not consider getting rid of 'conventional' weapons ?

**Choose one of the two descriptions. Either:**

➔ Write a story based on your chosen description. You might be a survivor or an aid worker at the site of the bombings.

or

➔ Write a newspaper article describing one of the attacks.

### Information

Both '1000-Bomber Raids' and the Atomic Bomb will cause a firestorm and blast effect.

An Atomic Bomb, however, has the added complication of the production of radiation.



*'If you are a refugee  
without papers, you are  
always  
frightened of being  
picked up.'*

*Refugee in Sudan.*

## **War affects far more than the selected few who are usually mentioned on war memorials.**

In the Second World War, of the 60 million (from all the countries involved) who were killed or died, only 17 million were soldiers; 34 million were civilians and a further 9 million were casualties of war-borne diseases.

Five years after the First World War, the International Labour Organisation in Geneva estimated that over 10 million soldiers invalided from the war were receiving state pensions. Many more millions of widows, orphans and parents, whose livelihood was affected through injury or death of their male relatives, were also in receipt of pensions. Such figures can only give a clue to the suffering and dislocation of people's lives and of the drain, both human and financial, on the community.<sup>8</sup> One particular type of human-suffering which is an ever increasing problem throughout the world is that of the **refugee**.

## **Refugees – The forgotten Victims of War**

The official definition of refugees is 'Persons who are outside their country because of a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.'<sup>9</sup> The vast majority who are forced to flee do so because of wars, or the economic and social disruption caused by war, and from fear of ill-treatment by repressive – and often military – regimes.

The main goal for probably all refugees is survival. In every case, refugees try by leaving their own country to save what is essential for their own identity – whether it be life itself, or economic or political freedom.<sup>10</sup>

These refugees are victims of war though they are not usually seen as such: they suffer great hardship and distress in their flight from home. Many are women and children. There are 19 million refugees and maybe as many as 25 million more internally displaced people living in the world.<sup>11</sup>

## **Information**

Displaced persons leave their homes for the same reasons as refugees – threatened or actual **persecution**, or war – but they have not crossed an international border. Displaced persons do not qualify for protection under international law or for any financial assistance from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.



CASE STUDY

CS

Case Study: first-hand experiences of refugees

### Leaving Home

'They say this is the border. But this isn't the end. Soldiers on the other side waiting to shoot you. We meet a trader. He tells us we have to walk along the border to find a camp, maybe another week. We have to pass O Chrau, it used to be a big trading place, and find the bridge into Thailand.

'What's that?' I ask the woman I go with. It's a bamboo stick in the ground with a leaf on top of it.

She says it's good luck. But it smells bad here, funny, greasy, burning smell. Then I see it. The leg. Just a leg, lying there, black from sun, no person to go with it. Oh no! Over there is a man without a leg.

'Mines.'

The lady says it's a dangerous place. People go through here before us, they leave two or three bamboo sticks as a mark. This is a trail of the dead. See another body. Another, another. Their own body leaves a mark, so we know when the mines are there. Sometimes we don't know if the body is dead or they fall asleep or they still alive. Just keep running.

Mine blows up in front of us – phhssh-swok! See a hand floating out of the air, it looks so natural, then a finger floats by. Natural as a leaf blowing in the wind.

Always scared now, all the time. My hands shake every minute. Big gun noise overhead – blam! blam! blam! – hear fighting all the time. Even when I sleep, I dream it's still happening. Imagine myself walking around a mine, imagine myself dropping down fast because a bomb just exploded. It's in your mind all the time. If I don't have all those things to think about, I don't know if I can go on.

You become accustomed to it. You even see people killed in front of your face, shot by the big gun or blown up; you see it all the time. Your eyes see, but your mind, it's not like a human mind anymore, it doesn't care what it sees.

I even see a head come off a body.

They tell us to run on top of bodies. You can't step on a mine if you walk on the bodies that have already fallen. Can I do it? I just want to get over.

It funny. Doesn't bother me that much.

Pass O Chrau. See the river! Across the river, little Thailand house. Bridge is destroyed by the time we get there. Just put some tree across...have to go..keep going...'

*Ten-year-old girl, Cambodia.*<sup>12</sup>

### Nowhere to Go

'We were deported from the United States to Korea on March 29. The next day Korean Airlines took us to Taiwan and then to Hong Kong. Hong Kong refused us and sent us back to Korea. The Koreans then sent us to Sri Lanka and told the Sri Lankan authorities that we should be sent on to Afghanistan, because the US. State department has instructed them to do this. The Sri Lankan government refused to accept us, and stated that sending us back was against all human rights principles. So Korean Airlines took us to Saudi Arabia.

*Afghan refugee.*<sup>13</sup>

### Losing your Identity

'... Why is this war happening? Why are people dying? Why are children suffering? Why are they destroying churches and mosques, for how long is this war going to last? I want to come back home, I want this war to stop as soon as possible, I don't want my name to be a 'refugee'. Do I have to forget all my friends?'

*Teenage Refugee from Bosnia, now living in Slovenia*<sup>14</sup>

ACTIVITY

DISCUSSION

AD

## Activity and Discussion

**Q** Can you think of any well-known people who have been refugees?

**Q** Do you know any one who has been a refugee?

**Q** Do you know any books or films about refugees?

Imagine your country is at war; you and your family live under constant threat and in fear. You decide to escape to another country.

→ Write about the first twenty-four hours of being a refugee.

It is usually stressful to move somewhere unfamiliar.

→ List the things which might make such a transition easier.

→ What extra complications might there be if you are a refugee?

### Finding a Solution

The map of the world provided shows some of the countries in the world producing refugees and displaced persons. This is only a fraction of the people who are either refugees or displaced in the world:

→ State which continents (and parts of continents) have produced the most refugees and displaced persons. It may help you to shade the countries concerned.

**Q** From which other countries and areas have refugees come from?

**Q** Why do you think that refugees come from a particular area?

→ Choose one country or area. What actions might be taken to help solve the refugee and displaced persons problem in the chosen country or area?

### Refugees Around the World

ETHNIC ORIGIN	REFUGEES	DISPLACED
Afghans	4 300 000	500 000
Yugoslavs	← 3 500 000 →	
Mozambicans	1 150 000	1 750 000
Somalis	900 000	2 000 000
Eritreans	600 000	
Liberians	600 000	600 000
Sri Lankans	500 000	900 000
Angolans	400 000	900 000
Burmese	330 000	500 000 – 1 000 000
Sudanese	300 000	5 000 000
Sahrawis	170 000	
Turkish Kurds	70 000	





*'We're going to see children die, it may be particularly hard on parents. We can't let it get to us, or it will interfere with our jobs.'*

*Sergeant Darrell Johnson, preparing for duty in Somalia*

War has terrible effects on people. Those living in a country at war will witness or experience scenes of such horror that they are impossible to wipe entirely from one's mind. Years later people often have dreams of such experiences, so in many ways they never finish living through the war. They may not have the time to mourn for a loved one, because they are so busy trying to survive themselves. This can lead to acute feelings of guilt later in life. Some may also suffer feelings of guilt for having survived at all when so many people have died.

Sigmund Freud said in 1932, 'We doctors are the first to know the horrors of war, since up to the present day we still see daily the irreparable damage to health which the last war caused.' At the Geneva Anti-war Congress, Freud concluded, 'In our capacity as guardians of public health we raise our warning voice against a new international bloodbath.'<sup>16</sup>

## **Training for War**

For thousands of years young men (and more recently women) have been trained to fight, trained to believe it is brave to do so and cowardly to refuse.

During basic training (which is known as 'beasting' in the British Army) recruits will be pushed to the limits of their endurance, until they reach the peak of physical fitness and strength. Health and muscle, however are not the only requirements of the modern combatant : '... discipline is strict during basic training. It has to be - we've only got a few weeks to change you from a civilian into a soldier.'<sup>17</sup> A change from an ordinary person on the street to a soldier capable of firing a gun or driving a tank; of killing another human being. If you look at armed forces recruitment literature you will discover that this killing is rarely mentioned, everything is described as defence: 'All recruits are taught the characteristics and effects of Nuclear, Biological and Chemical weapons so that they may better understand the defence against such weapons.'<sup>18</sup> No mention is made of possible usage of weapons.

It is not only through choice that people will train as soldiers. In most countries in Europe, many more in the rest of the world, and 1916 - 1919 and 1939 - 1960 in the UK, conscription has been enshrined in law. This means that young men, and sometimes women, have to serve in their country's armed forces for a minimum amount of time. In Britain this was known as National Service. There are some people who refuse to undertake their National Service or fight in a war, because they do not believe it is right to be part of an army or to kill. These people are known as **Conscientious Objectors**, and many of them have been imprisoned for their beliefs.



### The Acceptable Face of Killing ?

When reading about a murder in a newspaper most people are horrified. Many demand that the people responsible for such crimes are punished, while some may argue that the criminal needs psychological help; both believe that killing is unacceptable and that the people who commit such crimes are either evil or psychologically disturbed.

However, when a soldier kills during a war, then this killer is labelled a hero. The lost lives of soldiers on 'our side' are seen as those of innocents. Only the 'enemy' is compared to the murderer society would punish.

### DISCUSSION

## Discussion

- Q Brainstorm how a soldier might be trained.
- How do you think this might affect the individual's personality?
- Q Do members of your group know people in the armed forces?
- Q What were their experiences of training?
- Q Do you think there should be a period of National Service in this country? Explain your answer.

### CASE STUDY

#### Case Study: Training for Somalia

Somalia, in Africa has become home to the 'world's worst humanitarian disaster.' This is the result of a combination of severe drought, the collapse of the Somali state, and clan infighting - mainly with weapons provided in the past by the super powers.

In 1991, all-out war followed months of fighting between the followers of General Aideed (who controls the south of Mogadishu, the country's capital, and most southern regions) and interim President Ali Mahdi (who controls northern Mogadishu).<sup>19</sup> Eventually, United Nations and United States intervention was sanctioned, ostensibly as military protection for aid. However, when this was seen not to be working, the military presence turned to enforcement of 'peace'.

In today's world the armed forces have new roles to play, including a **humanitarian** one. The following article looks at this new role for the armed forces and how they themselves perceive this role.



### Information

Relief Workers and CNN (America's National TV News Network) reporters established that the CNN coverage of the exercise cost more than the entire food relief operation mounted by Care International in Baidoa, the town worst hit by the famine where 100 people a day were dying of starvation.

## US Forces prepared for Unfamiliar Role in Somalia

US combat soldiers, trained to fight war not want, are being counselled in advance on how to cope with the famine and mass starvation that awaits them in Somalia.

Amid disquiet in the ranks about a mission which, for the first time, places humanitarian assistance above military or strategic objectives, troops are being told to guard against anger, helplessness and emotional distress.

As in occupied Southern Iraq after the Gulf War ceasefire, the lack of an easily identifiable 'enemy' can be expected to add to the US troops' discomfiture. Instead they will be asked to deal with the innocent casualties of the Somali tragedy, for example by using field hospitals to do what they can.

'We're going to see children die,' said Sergeant Darrell Johnson, preparing for duty in Somalia at his base at Fort Drum in New York state. 'It may be particularly hard on parents. We can't let it get to us, or it will interfere with our jobs.' Sgt. Johnson said he had been ordered not to cry.

Sergeant John Kitchen told USA Today that the Somalia intervention was not the kind of operation he had expected when he joined the marines – and very unlike the soldier's life depicted in the blood-and-glory recruitment advertisements shown regularly on American television.

'You can see the photographs and videotape, but you can never imagine the heat and the smell and the death out there,' said Sgt. Kitchen, who is based at Camp Pendleton in California and who served in Somalia earlier this year assisting UN relief efforts.

'You want to take everybody home with you. You want to give them whatever you've got on. I kept thinking: There's got to be more I can do,' he

said.

A Navy chaplain, Robert Satterfield, has tried to prepare the Marines at Camp Pendleton for their journey to a country many can barely find on the map, and which could not provide a more stark contrast with California. He admitted that it was difficult.

'The problem is dealing with our emotions when we can't render the help that as human beings we feel we need to give,' Lieutenant-Commander Satterfield said.

Some soldiers, many of whom fought in the Gulf War, Panama or Grenada, also expressed apprehension about the specifically military aspects of their role. 'We're used to having the enemy in front of us, but here it could be an armed 11- or 12-year-old kid who is hungry,' said Sergeant Louis Crooks at Fort Drum.

Colonel Bancroft McKittrick, speaking aboard a Marine transport ship off Mogadishu, summed up the dilemma facing the American military.

'As we become more involved in this kind of operation, we become less able to perform our primary mission which is to close with and destroy the enemy,' he said.

'If we have to use funds for training on these kinds of things, the training doesn't translate easily from humanitarian aid to shooting somebody.' Col. McKittrick whole-heartedly supported the Somalia intervention, which he viewed as a moral obligation, but was concerned about a tendency to see the use of the military as a solution rather than a means to an end.

'It ought to be an exception,' Col McKittrick said of Operation Restore Hope. 'I'd rather fund a government agency for relief. Our mission shouldn't be humanitarian. Our mission should be war fighting.'

The Guardian 9/12/92



### Activity and Discussion

- From the article, list the roles of the armed forces mentioned by the soldiers.
- Q What does this suggest about the type of training a soldier might undergo?
  - Q In small groups discuss the role of the military today.
  - Q Do you think the armed forces should undertake 'humanitarian' missions?
  - Q Do you consider such tasks to be a contradiction of their usual role?
  - Q Do you consider the necessity of soldiers being armed on such an occasion.
  - Q Make a list of reasons for and against them being armed whilst on a 'humanitarian' mission.

PEACE AND WAR  
peace pledge union education

THE COSTS OF WAR



*'Poor nations are hungry, and rich nations are proud; and pride and hunger will ever be at variance.'*

Jonathan Swift

Governments must continually make choices about the way they spend public money. The decisions made are not usually seen as direct alternatives, especially between military defence and people's welfare. Areas of government expenditure include: Defence, Overseas Aid, Agriculture, Trade and Industry, Arts and Libraries, Transport, Housing, Law and Order, Education and Science, Health and Social Security.

## ACTIVITY DISCUSSION AD

### Activity and Discussion

- Q What do you think are the most important items for government expenditure?
- In groups make a list of your top five.
- Try to agree on an order for your priorities.

900 Billion Dollars are spent annually on weapons and warfare world-wide;<sup>21</sup> if 5% (45 Billion Dollars) of the annual world-wide budget for weapons and warfare was made available as a global fund annually, especially for the protection of the environment, it could make a significant difference to how well the world's population lives and for how long.

### Information

#### Every two seconds:

one child dies in the world and one is disabled, who could have been helped by \$10

The world has spent \$64,000 on the military<sup>20</sup>



# choices<sup>23</sup>

## Reforest the Earth

Cost : 2 Billion Dollars.

Tropical rainforests are disappearing at the rate of 13 – 20 million hectares per year. This destruction leads to the rapid loss of soil and of nutrient sources, affecting the lives of one fifth of humanity. This also contributes to Global Warming. A world-wide citizen programme could plant several billion trees annually.  
**OR** buy 540 Abrams main battle tanks

## Provide safe water

Cost : 5 Billion Dollars.

One third of the World's population lacks an accessible supply of safe water. Impure water contributes to 80% of Third World Diseases. Developing countries could be provided with hand pumps, water taps or other basic access to safe water.

**OR** buy 68 Hornet Fighter planes

## Reclaim the Desert.

Cost : 2 Billion Dollars.

One third of the World's cropland is turning into desert through overuse by multiplying populations. Proper soil and water management, with protective planting, could restore arable land.

**OR** conduct one dozen nuclear tests

## Protect the Ozone Layer

Cost : 1 Billion Dollars.

A total ban on CFCs and other chemicals which deplete the ozone layer is an urgent global priority. Finding substitutes and converting current technology is beyond the means of many Third World nations. Help financially to aid transition will greatly speed up ozone protection.

**OR** buy about 4 Meko-200 type frigates

## Reduce Air pollution

Cost: 5 Billion Dollars.

Pollutants in the air threaten World health, increasing the number of acute and chronic illnesses. In the United States alone 150 million people live in areas where air is considered unfit to breathe. Reducing emissions of 191 toxic chemicals should be a world-wide goal.

**OR** buy 6 more Stealth bombers

## Conserve Natural Assets

Cost : 4 Billion Dollars.

Many Third World countries try to maintain their land for agricultural use and their forests for living species and fuel, but lack the knowledge and resources to solve the complex problems they face.

Providing expert guidance and sufficient funds would help preserve vital natural assets.

**OR** buy about 30 Khalid Main battle tanks

## Stabilise Population

Cost : 6 Billion Dollars

Some people regard rapid population growth as the single greatest threat to the planet's health. In developing countries family planning services are not available to 100 million couples who want them. Amongst other things family planning along with universal female literacy<sup>22</sup> are essential for population stabilisation.

**OR** buy nearly 4000 Tomahawk long range Cruise missiles

## Clean up Hazardous Waste

Cost : 10 Billion Dollars

A lethal mix of toxic waste, including radioactive elements, contaminates the soil and water in hundreds of thousands of sites world-wide. Finding safe ways to clean up toxins and store waste is essential. Clean up costs, though high, are only a fraction of the costs in terms of human lives and health.

**OR** buy about 3 Trident submarines

## Increase research into Energy Conservation

Cost : 10 Billion Dollars

There are many alternatives to fossil fuels. The burning of these pollute the atmosphere, damage forests and lakes and add to the Greenhouse Effect. Renewable sources of energy include **solar**, **tidal** and **hydropower**. Commercial possibilities have not been vigorously pursued in these areas, nor publicly subsidised as nuclear power has been.

Also, energy conservation measures are nowhere fully implemented

**OR** put a down payment on NASA's 120 Billion Dollar Space Station

## Activity and Discussion



**Q** In the section 'Choices' would any of the improvements listed reduce the likelihood of warfare? Why?

**Q** Look again at the list you drew up earlier. Would any of the items on your list reduce the need for arms spending? Why?

**Q** If a government wanted to reduce spending on arms, are there any reasons why it might find it difficult to do so? Explain your answer.





*'We must not get into a position of preventing our friends or preventing peace-loving nations from defending themselves.'*

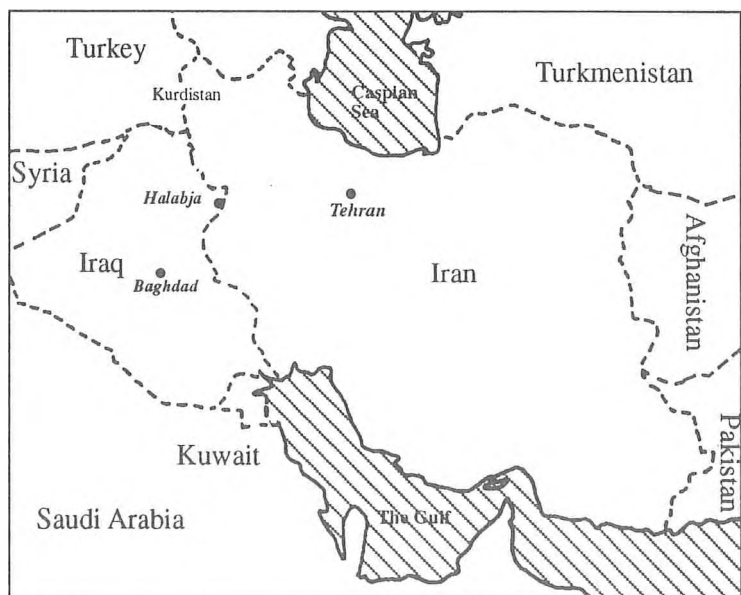
Douglas Hurd, May 1991

Arms traders portray themselves, at least publicly, as providers of services and equipment like any other industry. Their responsibilities are to shareholders, and to a lesser extent, to the workforce. They provide profits and employment and accept no responsibility for the weapons they manufacture and sell. Similarly, the workers accept no responsibility for the weapons they produce. Weapons are seen as a product. The sale of weapons is controlled by the government, so any use of these weapons is perceived as its responsibility.

On the surface this seems a reasonable argument. However, unlike the food industry, for example, which operates under strict controls over the quality of products so as not to harm people, the arms industry's test of quality is the opposite. What we have is a major industry whose task is exclusively to make things to harm and kill people.

Within governments there are competing pressures. While some departments may wish to implement some control over arms sales, others, whose jobs are to promote the growth of industry and the development of exports, will encourage arms producers as major employers and exporters.

While the number of jobs in the arms industry has declined in the industrialised world, in Britain over 600 000 civilian jobs are still directly supported by the Ministry of Defence. The MoD is British industry's biggest customer and accounts for 11% of industrial production. At a time of growing unemployment, cuts in arms production are strongly resisted. As Britain slims down its own military establishment, exports of weapons are seen as the only way to maintain employment: no clear strategy for converting to other products exists, and firms are reluctant to enter new and less protected markets.<sup>24</sup>



Case study: British arms to Iraq

See next page

ACTIVITY  
DISCUSSION  
**AD**

## Activity and Discussion

Governments often have to consider commercial interests when making decisions. All of these industries have been criticised for being socially unnecessary.

- ➔ Rank the list in order, starting with the most unnecessary.
  - Arms trade
  - Betting shops
  - Drug companies that test their products on animals
  - Alcoholic drink companies
  - Companies that invest in oppressive regimes
  - Cosmetics companies that test their products on animals
  - Fast food chains
  - Fur trade
  - Timber companies using tropical hardwoods
  - Tobacco companies
- ➔ Now find a partner and see whether your lists are the same.
- ➔ Try and make a new list that you both agree with.
- ➔ Then your pair should join another pair and try and agree the list again.
- ➔ You can continue doing this until you are unable to reach an agreement.

CASE STUDY  
**CS**

Case Study: British Arms Supply to Iraq

Between September 1980 and August 1988, Iraq was at war with Iran; one million people died in this conflict. A United Nations sponsored cease-fire came into effect on 20 August 1988, but there was no actual peace settlement until after Iraq's forces had invaded another neighbour, Kuwait, in August 1990. Meanwhile the Iraqi government's war against its Kurdish population continued; in 1988 this included the use of chemical weapons to gas 5000 men, women and children at Halabja.

During the first half of the 1980s Iraq was the world's biggest importer of major weapons systems. A report by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) in 1987 identified twenty-six countries, including Britain, which had supplied arms to both Iraq and Iran. Another twelve had supplied only to Iran, and four only Iraq.

### British Policy

By 1983, Iraq was having financial problems as spending on the war with Iran was increasing while oil revenue had fallen. The Prime Minister of Britain, Margaret Thatcher, announced a £250 million loan to Iraq to encourage trade with the country. Then in October 1985, because of increasing concern about the potential use by both belligerents of imported goods for war purposes, Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, stated the British policy on selling arms to Iran and Iraq: the UK would refuse to supply 'lethal' equipment and, in the future, would not approve orders which would 'enhance the capability of either side to prolong or exacerbate the conflict.' This remained officially stated policy until the embargo on trade with Iraq after the invasion of Kuwait.

The British government encouraged the export to Iraq of military equipment categorised as 'non-lethal' by inviting Iraqi representatives to the British Arms Exporters Exhibition in 1986. Although by the autumn of 1989 UK-Iraqi relations

were deteriorating – partly because of human rights abuses such as the Halabja massacre, but mostly because of £80 million arrears in loan repayments – a new credit of £250 million was agreed for 1990. In a parliamentary debate the Trade Minister Lord Trefgarne explained this: ‘if we cut off trading relations... we would lose many opportunities to convey our views on other matters’, and that trade sanctions had ‘never ever worked’.

It was in this context that the British government continued to approve applications from British companies to export militarily useful equipment to Iraq until Iraq actually occupied Britain’s ally and former colony Kuwait. Iraq was seen as a counterweight to Iran’s growing power in the region, and an oil-rich country which could be a useful trading partner.<sup>25</sup>

## DISCUSSION AD ACTIVITY

### Activity and Discussion

Imagine you are a government minister who has to decide whether to give a licence to a company wishing to sell radar equipment to Iraq during the Iran-Iraq war. Take the following factors into consideration:

An aid agency has applied for money to help people who are the victims of this war.

The arms firm who want the licence may have to make redundancies if you refuse the licence.

First you must take into account the British government policy as stated by Sir Geoffrey Howe, then use your own judgement to make a decision.

Write how you would hope to behave and explain what you hope the consequences might be.

#### What do you do ?

It is May 1982. You work for the electronics firm, Plessey, assembling parts for French Exocet missiles exported to places like Argentina. Britain is at war with Argentina over the Falklands. Your brother is on the frigate, HMS Sheffield. Your family receives news that the Sheffield has just been sunk by an Exocet missile fired by Argentine forces. Your brother is feared dead. The French Exocet missiles contained parts from your factory.

Do you :

- leave your job ?
- stay in the job and content yourself that it is up to the company management and the government to control arms exports ?
- ask your trade union to strike until the export of the components for Exocet missiles is banned?
- take some other action?

Explain the decision(s) you make.





*'Every monarch keeps on a war footing all the troops which he might need in case his people were in danger of being exterminated, and this state of tension, of all against all, is called peace.'*

Montesquieu

### What is Defence?

The idea of **defence** depends on there being something to be defended and someone to defend that thing against (*a threat*). We might want to defend jobs from cuts, or defend our hospital from closure, for example, or we may wish to defend our country's interests in Europe or the world. The three branches of the armed forces in the UK see defence as the most important role they have:

**The Royal Navy:** 'After our Falklands Victory, we must continue to patrol the South Atlantic to *defend* our interests in case of trouble.'<sup>26</sup>

**The Army:** 'Obviously the first duty of the Army is to *defend* our own country.'<sup>27</sup>

**The Royal Air Force:** '.... commitment to keeping the peace, because *defence* is our primary job.'<sup>28</sup>

### DISCUSSION

## Discussion

- Q What are they talking about defending?
- Q From whom is it being defended?
- Q What does 'defence' mean to you?
- Q What things are important to you?
- Q Are any of these things being threatened by anyone?
- Q Do you find it necessary to defend them?
- Q How do you defend them?

### Military Defence

Calling military usage 'defence' can be misleading. The same weapons and tactics used by the attacking forces are often used by the defending one.

#### Friend or Foe?

Defence relies on the idea of an *enemy*. It is a word which implies that others are likely to attack you. Labelling everyone in a country as an 'enemy' because we are told to by leaders and the media is obviously unfair. A 'nation' is a collection of individuals, each with different ideas and beliefs. Political leaders and the media can create an enemy overnight; this power is so great that a friend one month can be labelled an enemy the next. In the Second World War the former Soviet Union



was a 'friend and ally', afterwards it became an 'enemy and threat.' Similar changes over the centuries have occurred in the way the British have viewed the Spanish, the French, the Americans, the Germans, the Japanese, the Argentinians and so on.



## Discussion

- Q Do enemies really exist or are they created in order to justify using military tactics against them?
- Q Have you any 'enemies' in your own life?
- Q How might you make that 'enemy' a friend?
- ➔ The word 'Defence' assumes that people are bound to have enemies and that therefore they need to defend themselves from those enemies.

## Deterrence

One form of 'defence' is 'deterrence'. This is the idea that if one country has the same number as or more weapons than another country, then this will frighten the other country from attacking them. Individual people tend to get along peacefully with each other – it is certainly rare to shoot one's neighbour because of a disagreement or argument. Except in places where there is a long history of violence, most people don't shop for guns and ammunition.

## The Nuclear Deterrent

Humanity now has enough weapons to destroy all life on earth. The centuries old view that 'attack is the best form of defence' could lead to the end of the world as a habitable planet.

Many politicians and commentators say that nuclear weapons have kept the peace (between major powers) ever since the end of the Second World War. However, there have always been wars going on in this time, some of which, may be described as **proxy** wars.

Deterrence relied on two adversaries each having enough nuclear weapons to destroy the other's cities and industries; each being able to detect a hostile launch, but neither being able to prevent delivery of the other's weapons to their targets. If either side launched an attack, the other would launch its own weapons thereby achieving **Mutually Assured Destruction** (MAD). Then the public was told that nuclear weapons were not there to be used, but to deter through mutual *threat* of use. This idea of deterrence did not allow for third-party nations to have or use nuclear weapons, or for any possibility of accident, whether caused by human or computer error.

Military strategists were uncomfortable with a weapon the use of which was unthinkable. Thus, strategies were reformulated to make the use of nuclear weapons 'thinkable'. These weapons were made more 'accurate': it became possible to destroy missiles before they were even launched, or at least before they reached their target. MAD was no longer assured.

In addition, old enemies have become friends, and old friends, enemies. Despite treaties and agreements, increasing numbers of states now have their own nuclear capability or the potential to construct one. This includes countries such as Israel, India and North Korea.<sup>30</sup>

## Information

An involved example of a proxy war was the war in Angola in the 1970s. Three liberation movements fought for control of the country. Many of the troops – and most of the arms – were provided by the superpowers, USA and USSR, or their satellites. In effect, the conflict became one between 'East' and 'West'<sup>29</sup>



## Discussion

- Q Why do you think more and more countries are wanting their own nuclear weapons?
- Q Do you consider deterrence to be a good way of defending oneself? Explain your answer.

# Alternative Visions

Even when a war is over, the circumstances that led to that war often remain; the rivalries, the oppression, the lack of resources. The conditions associated with a war will continue – people are driven from their homes, unjustly imprisoned, separated from their families, flung into detention camps, oppressed by the government, starved and ill-fed because of official neglect and official policies; many in fact die because of these conditions. Circumstances such as these inflict such damage on human life that it is impossible to refer to them as peaceful. They inflict on human beings, though in a less concentrated form, many of the same destructive horrors as does war.

As we approach the twenty-first century, new ways of solving conflicts are required if we are to survive. New ways which do much more than prevent a fight or end a war; methods which will not allow injustice to continue under the title of Peace.

Some people believe that by approaching a problem from an unorthodox or alternative viewpoint they can gain a better opportunity of solving that problem.

In this section, belief that warfare can never be abolished is questioned, and we consider alternative responses to solving conflict.

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## Appendix

The following is the entire text of the UN Charter, Chapter I Article I, outlining the UN's principal purpose:

The UN Charter

Chapter I Article I

The Purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;
2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of human rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;
3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction to race, sex, language, or religion; and
4. To be a centre for harmonising the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

San Francisco, 1945





*'We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war ...'*

*from Preamble to UN Charter*

## The Purposes of the United Nations:

- To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the removal of threats to peace.
- To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for human rights.
- To take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace.
- To achieve international co-operation in the solving of international problems.
- To be a centre for harmonising the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

When the United Nations was set up, in 1945 it was intended that the collective strength of UN members would be used to deter or punish aggression. National armies were to be reduced, and the UN Security Council was to deploy military units for joint action. These aims have never been realised, apparently due to the five permanent members of the Security Council failing to agree on the types, scale and control of forces and facilities to be placed at the disposal of the Council.

## The Security Council

This is probably the most well known of the United Nations Councils. The Security Council consists of five permanent members (Republic of China, France, Russia [formerly the Soviet Union], United Kingdom, United States of America), and ten other members elected by the General Assembly.

The Council has 'primary responsibility' for maintaining peace. The General Assembly has undertaken to accept and carry out the Security Council's decisions.

The five permanent members have the power of veto on decisions made by the Council. This means that even when the majority of members of the Council are in favour of a proposal, if one of the permanent members votes 'no' then that proposal is defeated. Until about 1970 this power of veto was used mainly by the Soviet Union, but it has increasingly been used by the three western permanent members, especially the United States, usually on Middle Eastern or Southern African issues.



## Activity and Discussion

Q How do you settle an argument?

→ Make a list of ways you might try to reach compromise or agreement with someone

***The UN as Peacemaker***

States joining the United Nations undertake to settle by peaceful means any international disputes they may be involved in. This may be through **negotiation** between the relevant parties or with the help of a third party, who might help to establish the facts of the disagreement or suggest ways in which a settlement might be reached. In some cases disagreements might be taken to the International Court of Justice, which will advise on the legal aspects of disagreements. However, the International Court cannot enforce their judgement.

The powers of the Security Council regarding peaceful settlement are limited to making recommendations only; but, if peaceful settlement fails and the problem worsens, the Security Council has at its disposal a series of **coercive measures**. They can call for the ending of military action or the withdrawal of military units, for example. If such demands are not complied with, then the Security Council has non-military measures of **enforcement** to which it can turn, such as **economic sanctions**, and the severing of **diplomatic relations**.

If this also fails, then military action may be taken with the permission of the country involved.<sup>1</sup>

***Military Action***

To reiterate, the Security Council has '... primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security'. The Charter interprets this to mean 'peace and security' as between sovereign states and so applicable only to external aggression. But today, wars are more often civil wars between groups within a state, as in Cambodia, Angola, Afghanistan, Somalia, Liberia...

***Collective Security***

Contained in the United Nations Charter is the notion of **collective security**. The principle behind this was that member states would ear-mark particular armed forces for United Nations work, and over time these forces would eventually come under the **jurisdiction** of the Security Council itself. Provision for disarmament was also included, thus leading to a reduction in the armed forces of individual states and increasing the possibility of 'collective security'.

To help facilitate this goal, a 'Military Staff Committee' was set up. The Committee would eventually become responsible for commanding United Nations troops. This has never happened. The 'Military Staff Committee' were given no powers to even discuss military action, let alone control it. Arguments over the financing of such a corps have never been resolved and individual states have never ear-marked particular regiments for UN work.

***Peace-keeping***

Peace-keeping is not mentioned in the UN Charter, and consequently all 'peace-keeping' operations have occurred on an ad-hoc basis. Between 1948 and 1993 there have been 27 separate operations, in which over 600 000 military personnel have been employed. There are currently (January 1993) thirteen peace-keeping operations under way.<sup>2</sup> According to the rules, these operations require the consent of all parties to the conflict and start after a ceasefire. The UN force must be only lightly armed and use its arms only in self-defence, and it must be strictly impartial.

Soldiers employed in such operations are paid by their own states – this means that there is often a large difference in the amount individual soldiers are paid whilst serving on the same operation. Different nationalities of troops tend to be segregated, and mixing between personnel is not particularly encouraged. This can lead to a lack of unified goals and differing interpretations of the conditions under which they are acting, as has been recently witnessed in Somalia. Lack of an independent UN Commander can also be problematical.

Soldiers are not usually given specialist training in dealing with the circumstances under which they are working, making it difficult, for example, to interpret the time when it would be appropriate to retaliate violently in self-defence, as is provided for in such operations.

'Peace-keeping', it is said, is an impossible task. How can the peace be kept where there is no peace? Because there was no peace to keep, UN operations in Cambodia, Somalia, Angola and Bosnia have been changing the ground rules to include the disarming of opposing forces, the administration of government services, the supervision of elections and of peace negotiations and the protection of humanitarian relief work.

The Charter gives countries the right to self-defence. Thus, the United Nations outlaws aggression, but not war, and on two occasions, the Korean and Gulf Wars, war has been waged in the name of the United Nations itself.



## Activity and Discussion

**Q** What other non-military measures of enforcement against a particular state might the Security Council be able to turn to? e.g. economic sanctions.

**Q** How might such measures affect:

- a) the leaders of the state?
- b) the population as a whole?

The Security Council has '... primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security'.

**Q** Under such guidelines should the Security Council be able to sanction military action? Why? Why not?

- ➡ As a class or in small groups brainstorm: How might 'Collective Security' be realised?
- ➡ Write a paragraph to explain why you think the United Nations should not legally recognise war.





*'The very existence of armaments and great armies psychologically accustoms us to accept the philosophy of militarism. They inevitably increase fear and hate in the world'.*

*Norman Thomas, Address to League for Industrial Democracy.*

Some people associate **disarmament** only with nuclear weapons. Many people believe that to remove the possibility of any more wars it makes sense to work for total disarmament. Some people say that they want *nuclear* disarmament because these are weapons of mass destruction. **Conventional** weapons, however can harm as many people and cause as much sorrow and distress to individuals as a nuclear weapon can.

## Unilateral or Multilateral?

A decision to make, buy or acquire increasing numbers of weapons by any country is a **unilateral** one. This means that such decisions are not made around a conference table or with the agreement of other countries, but are made by the leaders of that country alone. Similarly, the decisions made by countries like Canada and Sweden not to have nuclear weapons were also unilateral. However, in most discussion of nuclear disarmament there is a demand for a **multilateral** approach – an agreement that two countries or more should disarm at the same time.

Multilateral nuclear disarmament has been approached through **negotiations** and **treaties**: limits may be set on how many of one type of missile a country can own; or a certain number of one particular type of weapon may be disarmed and destroyed by all the countries involved in the agreement. Disarmament is rarely discussed in terms of total nuclear disarmament, let alone the disarming of all military personnel and the dismantling of all military equipment.

## Information

Conventional weapons killed as many people in mass bombing raids on Tokyo and Dresden during the Second World War as the atomic bomb killed in Hiroshima. Total disarmament would include the disbanding of armed forces, dismantling of military establishments, liquidation of all armaments and an end to all military expenditure.

## ACTIVITY DISCUSSION AD

## Activity and Discussion

Q Do you agree/disagree with the following statements?

Total disarmament is the most important step in preventing war.

Nuclear disarmament is a good idea.

A country should disarm unilaterally as an example to other states.

The only way to achieve total disarmament is through negotiations and treaties in the same way that nuclear disarmament is approached.

➔ Explain your answers

*'Removing the threat of a world war – a nuclear war – is the most acute and urgent task of the present day. Mankind is confronted with a choice: we must halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament or face annihilation.'*<sup>3</sup>

### Conversion

Without employment in armaments production, the armed forces and connected industries, the rise in unemployment would be massive. Many of the people involved in these industries are highly skilled workers and could, given the opportunity, make a large contribution to the economy as a whole and to the well-being of people in this country. In the absence of alternative proposals, defence and aerospace workers have found themselves either demanding that military projects continue or joining the end of the dole queue. With a well-thought out plan for conversion, however, such problems would not exist.

### What is Conversion?

Simply, it is the converting of military-oriented industries to civilian use. However, it is not as simple as converting tanks into cars or lorries, or converting fighter planes into space skimming aeroplanes – both these ideas may not be the most intelligent of acts. Conversion must mean releasing skilled people from military work and a re-adjustment of society's principles.

Conversion of the arms industry to alternative, socially useful production would:

- facilitate disarmament
- produce greater stability and enhance employment prospects for those currently employed in the armaments industry
- provide a stimulus for economic growth by diverting resources and spending to civil production
- allow urgent social needs to be met

### Conversion can be done because it has been done

At the end of the Second World War, the UK demobilised millions of service personnel and munitions workers. In fact, 8 million workers were redeployed from military production in the space of just 18 months.

In the United States, after the Vietnam War, military spending was reduced by 35% between 1968 and 1976, thus halving the number of jobs in the defence industry. Many sites successfully converted, such as the army depot in Sidney, Nebraska, which when closed affected 20% of families in the area. The site was redeveloped for industry and became a magnet for manufacturing activity. All lost employment was replaced and extra employment was created.



## Activity and Discussion

Q Do you agree/disagree with the following statements?

Conversion can only work with the support of the population.

Conversion means no more than converting military products to civilian ones.

Disarmament without Conversion would create massive unemployment.

➡ Explain your answers.

### Steps to Conversion

- Alternative products must match skills similar to those already possessed by the workforce – although some retraining might be needed.
- Alternative products must be able to be produced in the same workplaces using mainly existing plant and other material resources, although some modification and new investment might be required.
- New products must be feasible and must be needed – they must be products people will buy or which the government needs.

## STUDY CASE CS

### Case Study: The Lucas Aerospace Plan

*'The government, that is me the taxpayer, buys Harrier jump jets and medical equipment like kidney machines. Lucas says its profitable to produce Harriers but not profitable to produce kidney machines. People are dying because there aren't enough kidney machines to go round. We collected pennies on street corners and in pubs to buy a kidney machine for a little boy who was dying because the National Health Service couldn't provide one. The money was raised in no time. I wonder if somehow things were reversed and it became profitable to produce kidney machines and unprofitable to produce aircraft, how many people would give pennies to government ministers or civil servants on street corners when they wanted a new Harrier or Tornado?'*

Lucas Aerospace Worker<sup>4</sup>

In 1975, as now, there were many cuts being made in military expenditure. At the time defence contracts accounted for 50% of Lucas Aerospace's work. To avoid massive cuts in jobs if the arms contracts were lost, the Lucas Aerospace Combined Shop Stewards Committee worked out a strategy for conversion. The Committee represented all 14,000 workers in all of the 17 British sites of Lucas Aerospace.

The process to set up the plan involved consultation with all grades of workers, and eventually twelve products were selected. The projects chosen were selected to achieve balance between long and short term projects; projects of direct use to the UK and for newly emergent countries; projects which required high initial investment and those which could be started right away.

Products selected included telecheiric machines (electro-mechanical extensions to the human body and remotely controlled by the operator, for use in dangerous environments), alternative energy sources (wind generators, solar collectors, turbines for tidal power stations) and medical equipment (portable life-support systems for ambulances, kidney machines, aids for the disabled, sight substituting aids for the blind).

The Lucas Proposal was believed to have been capable of producing enough work for all Lucas Aerospace employees, and for thousands of others.<sup>5</sup>

## DISCUSSION ACTIVITY AD

### Activity and Discussion

You are on the board of an armaments factory. You wish to convert production to civilian use.

- ➡ Make a list of products you believe are marketable. (You may wish to brainstorm ideas in groups).
- ➡ In pairs or small groups devise an advertising campaign for your new product.
- ➡ You may want a slogan, a poster, radio or television advertisement. Make it clear you are converting from military manufacturing, and say why you are doing this.
- ❓ Who do you think should be responsible for deciding what kinds of manufacturing are acceptable?  
Should it be industry, trade unions, government, the public or a combination of all four?  
Explain your answer.
- ❓ What is socially responsible manufacturing?  
How might conversion fit into this?





*'If its natural to  
kill, why do men  
have to go into  
training to learn  
how to do it?'*

Joan Baez

**Nonviolence** is essentially the search for alternatives to using violence. Nonviolent actions begin with the recognition of the violence in society.

*As a class, brainstorm where violence exists in our society.*

The first action of nonviolence might be a refusal to take part in that violence, or a refusal to co-operate with a society that accepts such violence, or a refusal to become a victim.

*What nonviolent action might you take against the violence in our society?*

Behind such refusals is a commitment to give people more control of their own lives and a vision of a society where human beings can fulfil their potential for good.

Nonviolent action may be heroic: such as the defiance of soldiers by unarmed people in Beijing in 1989, Manila in 1986 and Prague in 1968. Many nonviolent actions are dramatic, seeking to demonstrate the illegitimacy of a regime – for instance, South African Blacks seeking to bathe on a whites-only beach; or to alert the world to crimes against humanity – for instance, people entering nuclear testing zones. Some involve thousands of people and aim to instil a sense of their own power for change – demonstrations, strikes, boycotts. Some happen on the quiet; for instance, when shipbuilders in Nazi-occupied Denmark pretended to misunderstand orders and did their work so badly that the ship they were building could not be used in war.

For contemporary adherents of nonviolence, it remains something that has to be rooted in everyday life. This has many aspects: from the way we get on with other people to an awareness of the impact of our lifestyle on people in other countries and the planet itself. The systems which threaten our world – militarily, ecologically, economically – seem out of control. The nonviolent response is not to look for technological answers but to work out how and where we can affect these systems, to ask moral and social questions directed not only at those in power but also at ourselves and our behaviour in everyday life. What can we do?

In everyday life as in massive social struggle, the nonviolent adherent does not deny that there is conflict, but tries to find creative solutions to that conflict: encouraging people to stand up for themselves and finding non-destructive ways of expressing anger. Nonviolence seeks to create a culture that values the basic humanity of all people, that does not look to dominate the earth but to live in harmony with it, that cherishes diversity and celebrates what people have in common, and that both practices and defends basic freedom and rights.<sup>6</sup>

ACTIVITY DISCUSSION  
**AD**

## Activity and Discussion

➔ Consider how you might change your own lifestyle in order to encourage a more peaceful world. e.g. how you relate to other people, what kind of products you buy etc. You may like to design a poster or write a poem explaining what people can do.

Q Why do you think nonviolence has been tried far less than violence as a means of solving international conflict?

CASE STUDY  
**CS**

While you read the case study : Martin Luther King and the Birmingham campaign, consider the demonstrators' choice of nonviolence as a means to an end. In 1963 Birmingham, in the state of Alabama, was the most segregated city in the United States of America. White racists threatened, attacked and even killed the Black people living there.

At this time Martin Luther King was the president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). The local civil rights movement, Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights asked the SCLC and King to join them in a massive civil rights campaign in Birmingham.

Large meetings were held to inform the Black population of this intention. The initial 250 volunteers that came forward attended training sessions in nonviolence.

At last the time came for the first protest. This was directed at lunch counters in department stores which Black people were not allowed to use. Small groups of people maintained a series of sit-ins at these counters. When asked to leave, the demonstrators refused and were arrested.

Three days later the next stage of the protest began. Thousands of people took to the streets in a march towards the City Hall. Police blocked their route by standing in the road. Instead of turning back, the marchers stood silently, facing the police, refusing to move. Forty-two people were arrested.

As time went on the civil rights campaign gained more and more support. Thousands of people came forward to take part in marches and thousands more lined the roads in support.

For a time no attempt was made by the city officials to stop the demonstrations. Suddenly, however, the city governors obtained a court injunction directing demonstrators to cease their activities immediately, until a court case was heard about their rights to demonstrate. This kind of legal tactic had been used in the past to stop similar demonstrations in the southern States of America. This time the SCLC were determined to continue their campaign and the injunctions were ignored.

On 2 May 1963, a thousand young people took to the streets and many were arrested. The jails were becoming full and the police were unable to arrest any more people.

Unable to arrest marchers, the police turned to violence to stop the demonstrations. They armed themselves with clubs, dogs and water hoses and many people were injured. A few spectators threw bottles and bricks at the police in retaliation, but the demonstrators themselves would not fight back and they remained nonviolent. These people continued to march despite the possibilities of being beaten by clubs, attacked by police dogs and having their ribs broken by high pressure hoses.

The situation was reaching a crisis point. The local officials realised the demonstrators were not going to give up. People outside Birmingham were finding it increasingly difficult to stand by and see these peaceful demonstrators being so brutally treated.

The American President of the time, John F Kennedy, began to pressurise the local government of Birmingham to negotiate with the protesters.

Eventually, secret meetings took place between the city governors and protest leaders. Soon, all the protest demands were agreed to:

- The **desegregation** of lunch counters, rest rooms, fitting rooms and drinking fountains in department stores.
- Equal employment rights throughout the business and industrial community of Birmingham.
- The dropping of all charges against jailed demonstrators.
- The formation of a bi-racial committee to work out a timetable for the desegregation of Birmingham life.

Not all these changes occurred overnight, but Martin Luther King and the other protesters had won an amazing victory.<sup>7</sup>

*'I still have a dream that one day war will come to an end, that men will beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks, that nations will no longer rise up against nations, neither will they study war any more.'* Martin Luther King

## DISCUSSION

### Discussion

Select either:

➡ the civil rights campaign in Birmingham.

or

➡ another nonviolent campaign of your choice.

In groups describe the methods of nonviolent action used in the chosen case, and assess the effectiveness of these methods.



## IF YOU WORK FOR PEACE



*'War is a crime against  
humanity.  
I am therefore deter-  
mined not to support  
any kind of war and to  
strive for the removal  
of all causes of war'*

Most people believe 'peace' is an acceptable idea, however, they do not necessarily believe in the abolition of international violence. This is where a war resister would disagree. They believe that not only is peace a good idea, but that to achieve a real peace then international violence – War – MUST be abolished.

### Conscientious Objection

A **conscientious objector (CO)** is someone who refuses to fight in a war. Some indeed, refuse to take any part in a war at all. A **pacifist** (a person convinced that fighting is wrong in any circumstances) would obviously be a conscientious objector if called up to serve in the armed forces. However, it is possible to become a CO for other reasons. For example, a person may conscientiously object to fighting in a particular war for political reasons.

### Information

A Conscientious Objector is someone who individually objects, on grounds of conscience, to being conscripted for military service.

### Gulf Protester has no Regrets

Gulf War deserter Vic Williams was hailed as a hero when he walked free from jail yesterday. The former soldier, who served eight months of a 14-month sentence at Highpoint prison, Stradishall, said, he still had no regrets about refusing to fight in the war.

He was jailed by a court-martial and thrown out of the army after going absent without leave in December 1990 as his regiment prepared to leave for the Middle East.

The 29-year-old ex-gunner, who now plans to study law, was greeted at the gates of the jail with cries of 'War hero' by about 50 supporters.

Mr. Williams was adopted as a prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International. He said he had received thousands of letters from people all over the world who backed his stand.

'It is some sort of recognition of the fact

that there are a lot more people than generally accepted who did not like the war and thought it was wrong. Without that support, I do not know if I would have lasted eight months in this place', he said.

He gave himself up to army authorities four months after going AWOL. During the time he campaigned against the Gulf War and spoke out at demonstrations, including one at London's Hyde Park, which attracted 40 000.

He repeated his belief yesterday that the war was about oil and little else and described it as nothing more than global bullying.

'I thought the war was wrong and unnecessary, it came too soon and it was too harsh. I knew that millions and millions of people would suffer.

'A year of my life is a very small price to pay for being able to object actively to something that was wrong. I am not sorry for what I have done – it was right for me'.

Published 24 April 1992

ACTIVITY

DISCUSSION

AD

## Activity and Discussion

➔ Some people consider it morally wrong to kill anyone. For this reason they will refuse to take part in any war.

Imagine yourself in such a position and attempt to justify it. What pressures do you expect your family, your friends and society as a whole to use to make you change your mind?

or

Q Do you know anyone living in your area who was a Conscientious Objector during the Second World War, or since?

You might like to ask such a person to come and tell you of the experiences of refusing to fight, or maybe to make a recording for you. Perhaps you could write up the story, or use it as a focus for art or drama.

### War Resistance Today

Military preparation goes on all the time. Most people in employment are subject to direct taxation, known as Pay as You Earn (PAYE). This means that their employer deducts the tax due on their earnings, and this is passed on to the Inland Revenue. Indirect tax operates when we pay VAT on purchases etc. These taxes are collected together, from which a percentage is used by the government for funding military preparations. Thus, nobody in Britain escapes from paying something towards the military.

This being the case, some people conscientiously object to paying the portion of their taxes which is to be spent on the military. These people feel that, as they could not engage in military service, then they morally cannot pay for others to do so instead. Few employers, however, are willing to face the penalties to which they would be liable if they were to refuse to pass on a percentage of one of their employee's salaries to the Inland Revenue. Some, however, are willing to support their employee's conscientious objection. The Peace Pledge Union, the Quakers and the Campaign Against Arms Trade, among others, have withheld that portion of their staffs' PAYE calculated to be spent on military preparations, in defiance of the law. The Peace Pledge Union has also withheld the military portion of tax due on its own corporate income, and a number of self-employed individuals have withheld the military portion of their own income tax.

The Peace Tax Campaign aims to persuade Members of Parliament to introduce legislation that would allow individuals to claim exemption from paying for military expenditure. The full amount of tax would continue to be paid in the normal way, but the proportion of it normally destined for military purposes would instead be directed by the Inland Revenue into a special Peace-building Fund set up by the government but independently monitored.<sup>10</sup>

DISCUSSION

D

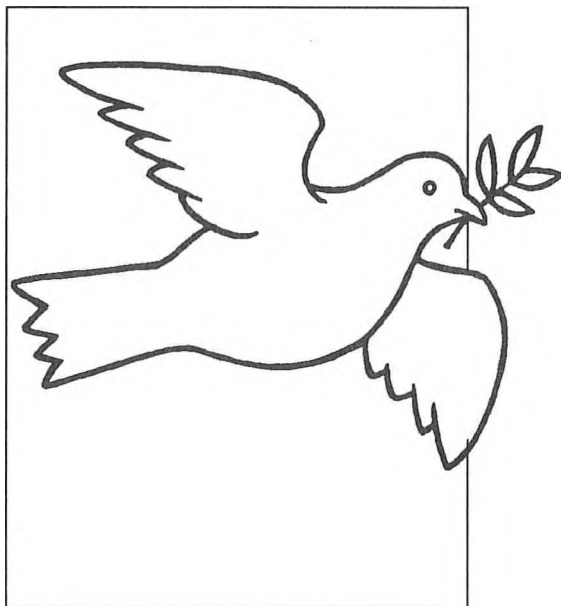
## Discussion

Q Do you think everyone should pay towards the armed forces as happens now?

Explain your answer.

Q How do you feel about a Peace Tax?

Q What might money from such a fund be spent on?



*'Violence is impractical, because the old eye-for-an-eye philosophy ends up leaving everybody blind ...'*

Martin Luther King

*'I am a Pacifist on the strength that I see no need for any human beings to harm another. I know why they do, inspired out of greed for money or power or out of misguided intentions.'* – 'A' Level Student.

*'I am a Pacifist because I strongly believe that war in any shape or form is wrong... Maybe if the world knew there's been so little peace since the end of World War Two, they might be interested in preserving our world not just environmentally but morally, because murder in whatever shape or form is wrong.'* – GCSE Student.

Pacifism is not a belief-system that can be set down rigidly. The two statements above give two different views of what pacifism might be.

All forms of pacifism reject killing, especially in war. Some also disagree with the use of force and violence of any kind, whilst other versions allow degrees of force to be used in self-defence. No form of pacifism accepts the killing of another human being for whatever reason.

Essentially, Pacifism is a very personal thing – it may be based on a person's religion, philosophy, upbringing or simple abhorrence at the idea of taking another's life.

*'What is called the utopian dream of Pacifism is in fact a practical policy – indeed the only practical, the only realistic policy that there is.'* – Aldous Huxley <sup>11</sup>

## What can a Pacifist do?

Pacifists will often work to improve society and remove the causes of war – **injustice, exploitation, the repression** of minorities. Some work politically, trying to influence governments on national or international issues. Others, who believe that people have to learn how to improve their own immediate situation, work on a smaller scale in their own localities. Others may, through their **life-style**, work to change the world, for example, by refusing to buy products from a harsh regime or withholding a certain amount of their taxes which is spent on the military. All these different ways of working (by no means the only methods towards peace at the disposal of a pacifist) stem from the pacifist's wish to move from a society where war and violence are taken for granted, to a situation where peace is not only what people seek but also the only method they use in trying to move forward.<sup>12</sup>



ACTIVITY  
DISCUSSION  
**AD**

## Activity and Discussion

➡ Compare the two statements at the head of this section.

Summarise these two views of what pacifism is.

What are their similarities and their differences?

➡ Summarise the methods towards peace of a pacifist.

List any other methods that might be available to a pacifist. e.g. Refusing to co-operate with violence in any way.

➡ Try and find an example of pacifist-style action from a recent newspaper.

Consider the 'pro's and con's' of such action.

### Conversation

**Fred** – OK. So you're a pacifist. Say, you're driving a truck. You're on a narrow road with a sheer cliff on your side. There's a little girl sitting in the middle of the road. You're going too fast to stop. What would you do?

**Joan** – I don't know. What would you do?

**Fred** – I'm asking you. You're the pacifist.

**Joan** – Yes, I know. All right, am I in control of the truck?

**Fred** – Yes

**Joan** – How about if I honk my horn so she can get out of the way?

**Fred** – She's too young to walk. And the horn doesn't work.

**Joan** – I swerve around to the left of her since she's not going anywhere.

**Fred** – No, there's been a landslide.

**Joan** – Oh. Well then, I would try to drive the truck over the cliff and save the little girl.

Silence

**Fred** – Well, say there's someone else in the truck with you. Then what?

**Joan** – What's my decision have to do with my being a pacifist?

**Fred** – There's two of you in the truck and only one little girl.

**Joan** – Why are you so anxious to kill off all the pacifists?

**Fred** – I'm not. I just want to know what you'd do if...

**Joan** – If I was in a truck with a friend driving very fast on a one-lane road approaching a dangerous impasse where a ten-month old girl is sitting in the middle of the road with a landslide on one side of her and a sheer drop-off on the other.

**Fred** – That's right

**Joan** – I would probably slam on the brakes, thus sending my friend through the windscreen, skid into the landslide, run over the little girl, sail off the cliff and plunge to my own death.

**Fred** – You haven't answered my question. You're just trying to get out of it...

**Joan** – No one knows what they'll do in a moment of crisis and hypothetical questions get hypothetical answers. You've made it impossible for me to come out of the situation without having killed one or more people. Then you say, 'Pacifism is a nice idea, but it won't work'. But that's not what bothers me. I'm thinking about how we put people through a training process so they'll find out the really good, efficient ways of killing. Nothing incidental like trucks and landslides. Just the opposite, really. You know, how to growl and yell, kill and crawl and jump out of airplanes. Real organised stuff.

**Fred** – That's something entirely different.

**Joan** – Sure. And don't you see it's much harder to look at, because it's real, and it's going on right now? Look. A general sticks a pin into a map. A week later a bunch of young boys are sweating it out in a jungle somewhere, shooting each other's arms and legs off, crying, praying and losing control of their bowels. Doesn't it seem stupid to you?

**Fred** – Well, you're talking about war.

**Joan** – Yes, I know. Doesn't it seem stupid?

**Fred** – It's human nature to kill. Something you can't change.

**Joan** – Is it? If it's natural to kill, why do men have to go into training to learn how? There's violence in human nature, but there's also decency, love, kindness. Man organises, buys, sells, pushes violence. The nonviolenter wants to organise the opposite side. That's all nonviolence is – organised love.

**Fred** – You're crazy

**Joan** – No doubt. Would you care to tell me the rest of the world is sane. Tell me that violence has been a great success for the past five thousand years, that the world is in fine shape, that wars have brought peace, understanding, democracy, and freedom to humankind and that killing each other has created an atmosphere of trust and hope.

**Fred** – I still don't get the point of nonviolence.

**Joan** – The point of nonviolence is to build a floor, a strong new floor, beneath which we can no longer sink. A platform which stands a few feet above napalm, torture, exploitation, poison gas, nuclear bombs, the works. Give man a decent place to stand. He's been wallowing around in human blood and vomit and burnt flesh, screaming how its going to bring peace to the world. He sticks his head out of the hole for a minute and sees a bunch of people gathering together and trying to build a structure above ground in the fresh air. 'Nice idea, but not very practical', he shouts and slides back into the hole. It was the same kind of thing when man found out the world was round. He fought for years to have it remain flat, with every proof on hand that it was not flat at all.

**Fred** – How are you going to build this practical structure?

**Joan** – From the ground up. By studying, experimenting with every possible alternative to violence on every level. By learning how to say no to the nation-state, 'NO' to war taxes, 'NO' to military conscription, 'NO' to killing in general, 'YES' to co-operation, by starting new institutions which are based on the assumption that murder in any form is ruled out, by making and keeping in touch with nonviolent contacts all over the world, by engaging ourselves at every possible chance in dialogue with people, groups, to try to change the consensus that its OK to kill.

**Fred** – It sounds real nice, but I just don't think it can work

**Joan** – You are probably right. We probably don't have enough time. So far, we've been a glorious flop. The only thing that's been a worse flop than the organisation of nonviolence has been the organisation of violence.<sup>13</sup>



## Activity and Discussion

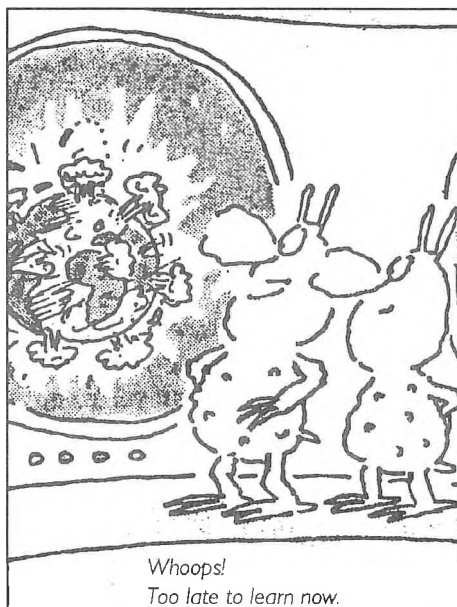
➔ Rework the conversation for a sketch or a short play.

What is the essential message of the piece?

Q How far do you agree with each of the arguments?

➔ Consider how humankind 'organises, buys, sells, pushes violence'.

Q How might these practices be stopped or challenged?



# *'You can never plan the future by the past'*

Edmund Burke

The Visitor from outer space was allowed time to become acclimatised to the Earth's atmosphere, and was then shown some aspects of our civilisation. On the third day of the tour, the visitor was invited to the Ministry of Defence. The top brass at the Ministry were naturally keen to hear how the visitor's planet equipped its armed forces. The visitor told them: 'I think we can pride ourselves that on our planet, no expense is spared to provide our services with the most up-to-date equipment.'

'What sort of guns do you use?' asked one of the generals.

'Guns? Why should we need guns?' The visitor looked puzzled.

'Why, to deal with your enemies.'

'Oh yes, our enemies: earthquakes, floods, hurricanes and so on. Of course this is where our army is most useful – a trained group of people ready to rush to any area where there is a disaster, provide medical treatment and food, and help to rebuild shattered homes and communications. But I'm still not sure what you mean about guns'.

Another general said: 'What we really wanted to know was, how are your services armed?'

The visitor replied: 'Our services are armed with all the necessary equipment that any army needs – ambulances, field hospitals, mobile kitchens, and all kinds of agricultural machinery to help restore the lands after floods and typhoons. Our Cavalry, of course, is specially trained in the use of horses for ploughing; our Pioneer Corps is expert at digging ditches and sewers; while our Parachute Regiment can be flown to a disaster area anywhere on the planet within a few hours.'

'We are very interested in hearing about your disaster work,' said another general. 'Our own forces occasionally do the same thing. But this must be only a small part of your army's work. Can't you tell us more about how they are usually employed?'

'Certainly', replied the visitor. 'It is true, thank goodness, that there are not so many disasters as to keep our army permanently occupied, and they have plenty of other duties to keep them busy. For example, the Cavalry normally does ploughing and other agricultural jobs at home, and they are often engaged abroad in helping less fortunate countries with their agriculture. Similarly, our Catering Corps, besides providing the best food for hungry people anywhere on our planet, is kept pretty busy at home with its 'Meals on Wheels' scheme that delivers regular meals to old people and invalids who can't cook for themselves but want to remain fairly independent. The Signals Corps likewise help old people by fixing up free telephones and radios for them.

By this time some of the military men were becoming restless. One of them, with ill-concealed impatience snapped: 'This is all very fine, but you still haven't said anything of preparations for conflict.'



'I beg your pardon,' said the visitor. 'You must forgive me for overlooking that very important part of the army's work – preparations for conflict.' The generals looked happier.

'We recognise,' the visitor continued, 'that there is bound to be conflict between people so long as they are different from one another, and that such conflict – while sometimes healthy – can be extremely dangerous. So our Intelligence Corps is given the important task of foreseeing and investigating conflicts. They watch out for areas where injustice or discontent may arise, and try to forestall such dangerous things as inequality of opportunities or the denial of full expression to a minority group. In this way, we can foresee potential conflicts and try to put right any injustice or disagreement before it leads to hostility. Reconciliation is usually possible, as long as a potential conflict is dealt with before bitterness arises.'

The generals were impatient again. One of them said curtly, 'You still haven't said anything about war!'

'What is war?' asked the visitor.<sup>14</sup>

## DISCUSSION AD

### Activity and Discussion

➡ Write a short piece about how you think the world might be in 100 years time.

You may find it useful to consider what things were like a hundred years ago, and how things have changed in that amount of time.

or

There are many fantasy and science fiction books around.

Q Do you think the view of the future presented in one of them you have read recently is probable or possible? Discuss.

### A Manifesto for Peace...

You may like to write a manifesto for peace, or express your hopes for the future through a drawing, painting, piece of poetry, sculpture or collage either in groups or on your own.

Think about the good things going on in the world now, e.g. all the people who are campaigning to save the rainforests.

If these good things were developed and enlarged, what might the world be like?

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