

# Peace By Peace

Issue 3  
Spring 2008



WE CAN BOMB THE  
WORLD TO PIECES  
BUT WE CANNOT  
BOMB IT TO PEACE

**Inside: Young peacemakers interviewed, the triumph of Just War theory?, new peace resources, military spending and lots more**



## What is FoR?

The Fellowship of Reconciliation began as a response to the challenge of the First World War. While opposing war and militarism it strives to promote those things which make for peace and justice, to build – in the words of our founders – ‘a world order based on love’.

Today FoR:

- Undertakes education work within the Christian and wider community on peace, war and nonviolence;
- Seeks to identify the causes of violent conflict and raises public awareness of them, encouraging supporters and the public to challenge the structures, policies and attitudes that lead to violent conflict
- Supports and affirms all those with a commitment to peace and nonviolence;
- Is committed to developing a spirituality of peace, justice and nonviolence in witness to Christian faith and gospel values.

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**This issue is respectfully dedicated to Ruby Paterson, Peggie Preston, Sheila Steele and Jean Andrews, four committed peacemakers who have died recently.**

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# Welcome

Five years ago, I, along with many hundreds of thousands of people – the exact numbers are still being argued about to this day – took to the streets to oppose the imminent invasion of Iraq. Everyone who took part in those huge gatherings felt the power of being not only in the right, but being in the right place at the right time. We felt our presence would make a real difference: “How could our politicians go ahead with the war with so much opposition?” we thought. ‘Not in our name’ was the slogan on our lips and our placards. But of course the invasion went ahead and we watched disaster unfold in Iraq. Over 150,000 Iraqi civilians and more than 170 British military personnel have since died in the war. For many – if not most – the power and certainty felt on that day quickly evaporated to be replaced by a feeling of helplessness, even hopelessness.

Fast forward five years and Tony Blair has gone (to be a Middle East peace envoy!) and George Bush, permanently tainted by the war, is at the tail-end of a lame-duck presidency. Meanwhile, military chiefs worry privately – and sometimes publicly – about the damage done to the armed forces reputation by the war; politicians argue about the rights and wrongs of sending troops to war without a vote in Parliament, and the media almost seems to have forgotten the whole thing. Those of us who opposed the war from the outset need to remind our friends, family and community that this disaster was predictable. It wasn’t just that there was a lack of post-war planning as has been claimed. Violence simply cannot bring peace and justice. This stark lesson doesn’t help the people of Iraq, but when we are facing the next war it will perhaps help us to be stronger.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation, Pax Christi and many other Christian peace organisations are calling for prayer vigils to be held on the 19th March, the eve of the 5th anniversary of the invasion (see insert or [www.for.org.uk/cpwi](http://www.for.org.uk/cpwi)). Let us pray for the people of Iraq as well as for forgiveness, healing and the strength to commit ourselves to future action for peace with justice.

## In this issue

In this issue of *Peace by Peace* we talk to two young members of the Fellowship about how they got involved and their reasons for being committed to peace making;



*Anon*

Tony Kempster from the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship argues that the triumph of the just war concept needs to be challenged by ‘rational pacifism’ and we report on the continued work of grassroots peace groups overseas supported by FoR’s International Peacemakers Fund. Elsewhere we examine the growing calls to increase UK military spending, look at some new peace resources and report on the launch of the ‘Study War No More’ report.

Thank you to those of you who have been in contact to say how much you enjoy *Peace by Peace*. If you know any one who might enjoy receiving a copy of *Peace by Peace* (within the UK) or if you would like a few copies for your church, please do let me know

*Chris Cole, FoR Director*  
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# Talking Peaces

## Martha Beale, FoR's Education and Campaigns Officer, talks to two young FoR members

### Hiranya de Alwis Jayasinghe

After leaving school Hiranya de Alwis Jayasinghe qualified and worked as a chartered accountant. After attending the FoR-sponsored Peace School she took a leap and started an undergraduate degree at the Schools of Oriental and Asian Studies (SOAS) in London in Development Economics. In October 2007 she attended FoR's Called to be Peacemakers conference.

**MB.** Hiranya, thank you for taking the time to let us interview you. It appears you took a huge move from Accountancy to Development Economics last year. What inspired the move?

**HdAJ.** Well, I fell into accountancy but it became apparent within time that it wasn't what I wanted to do. In Dec 2006, I went to Sri Lanka – I am a second-generation Sri Lankan – and was able to visit a number of NGO's whilst out there, and also discussed the civil war with lots of people. What became apparent to me was that economic injustice was very much linked to the war over there, even though people clothe it in other things, so I felt that development work would be a good place to start building peace out there. About 6 years ago, someone prayed for me and said that she felt peace was something really important to my character. I feel being part of Peace School was probably where the door opened up, and I've been learning so much there. Then going to



**Hiranya de Alwis Jayasinghe:**  
“We can learn so much from the individuals that have gone before us.”

the Called to be Peacemakers conference made me feel like I was part of a group of like minded individuals.

**MB.** What has been interesting or inspirational about Peace School?

**HdAJ.** For me, the idea of nonviolence as a value, because I am very big on peace starting with the individual before (or at least concurrently) to ‘getting out there’ as it were. I was really inspired by a book I read just after Peace School about the village of Le Chambon in France that took many Jews in during WW2. The instigator of this was a minister, André Trocmé, who, way before the actual event, had embraced nonviolence as an individual. [Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed – The Story of the Village of Le Chambon and How Goodness Happened There by Philip Hallie].

**MB.** So where do you see your peace journey taking you from here?

**HdAJ.** Well, increased involvement with organisations like FOR means I hope to go to Israel-Palestine which I hope will help me to learn a lot from the grassroots peace builders there. On an individual level, I am reading the autobiography of Ammon Hennacy who was an important man in the anti-war campaign against Vietnam.

**MB.** It sounds like the history of nonviolence and peace activism are very important to you.

**HdAJ.** Yeah, I think we can learn so much from the individuals that have gone before us, and even though their personalities may be completely different from our own, we

can be inspired so that God can use us in the struggle for peace and justice.

**MB.** So what do you see as the biggest challenges facing the peace movement today?

**HdAJ.** Woolliness!! I really see the need to speak with one voice. The peace movement is very diverse, which can be good, but I think doesn't help soften people's hearts to the possibility of peace (as opposed to the usual cynicism that'd it be a nice thing but is unrealistic). I think engaging with a world view which suggests that violence is an unfortunate but necessary part of life (because there are bad people out there) is a losing argument. What we should try instead is to take a lesson from Jesus, who, when questioned with some philosophical angle, didn't engage in an argument, but instead asked questions that got to the heart of the matter.

**MB.** Do you think the peace movement today is struggling to get to the heart of the matter?

**HdAJ.** In all honesty, I don't think we would ever get to the heart of the matter if we are two opposing movements, doves and hawks as it were. I do think, however, that individuals can make a substantial difference by humanising those with an opposing view, and talking to them on that level, rather than a philosophical one.

**MB.** That's brilliant! Thanks ever so much Hiranya.

## David Masters

David Masters is in his final year of an undergraduate degree in Theology and Politics at the University of Manchester. He is getting married this summer to a lovely lady called Siona and they are planning to move to Coventry where David will be taking a Masters degree in Peace and Reconciliation Studies at the University of Coventry. David has been an active member of FoR for the last year and a half, attending two Called to be Peacemakers conferences, and being on the organising committee for the 2007 conference.

**MB.** Hello David, thanks for taking time out of essay writing to let us interview you. How did you first become involved or interested in peace work?

**DM.** I was involved in peace work long before I realised I was interested in peace & conflict issues. When I was a child my mum used to work for a charity that would send clothes, toys & other useful things to Tanzania. I didn't



**David Masters: "FoR's theological rootedness is so important"**

really see it as relating to peace at the time, but now I see that peace and justice are so interlinked, I guess it was. I first became interested in peace work when I went on a YWAM [Youth with a Mission] course called 'God's heart for justice and reconciliation'. I liked the sound of the word reconciliation and thought I'd like to be a peace negotiator for the UN or something similar. So I decided I'd like to do a degree in reconciliation studies, but there were only MA's available, so I decided to do a BA in theology first. Then I attended an FoR 'Called to be Peacemaker's' conference, which challenged and changed a lot of my views about peacemaking and what peace is.

**MB.** How did the Called to be Peacemakers conference [C2BP] challenge and change your views on peacemaking and what peace is?

**DM.** The C2BP conference made me realise that peacemaking is much much more than international relations, political negotiations and the UN. I realised that peacemaking is most effectively done at the grassroots level, in and between local communities. I also realised that peacemaking isn't a day job, but a lifestyle choice; it's not a career, it's a vocation.

**MB.** Has your BA in Theology and Politics allowed you to explore peace work from an academic perspective?

**DM.** To an extent, although the majority of my degree isn't directly related to peace work. Modules I have taken in international relations tend to reinforce the view that the problems between countries and people are ultimately only resolvable through violence and warfare. Fortunately there are dissenting voices which are beginning to be heard, largely through feminist and postcolonial theories of international relations. Most of my reading about peace and peace work has been in my own time.

**MB.** Have you found that hard to have a dissenting voice from the teaching on your course? How have you dealt with/ come to terms with this?

**DM.** The most difficult thing about being a dissenting voice is that often you speak an entirely different language to the dominant viewpoints, because your starting point and your worldviews are so different. This can make it extremely difficult to dialogue, when there are so few meeting points between what you are saying and what the other person is saying. *Continued on page 14*

# Study War No More

FoR and CAAT published their joint report 'Study War No More' on 4th December 2007 to much attention by the media. The report reveals that 26 top UK universities have received contracts for at least £725 million over six years in sponsorship by arms companies and public military bodies. The report, looks at each university between 2001 and 2006 and uncovers over 1,900 projects funded in this way. The report is written by Tim Street and Martha Beale.



## Military involvement exposed

### Big guns trade their sights on universities

### Universities' arms trade funding revealed

### Angry over universities' links to military firms

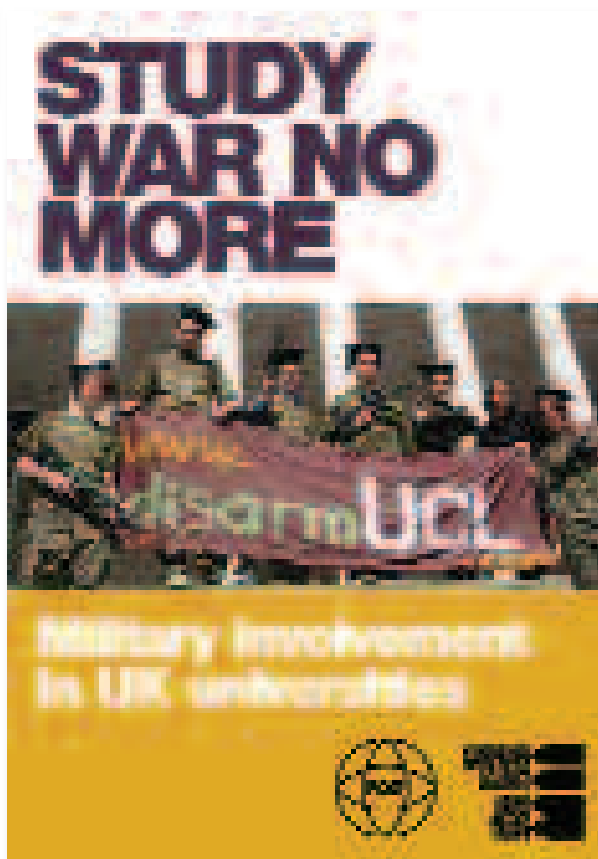
Examples of military projects include a scheme researching unmanned aerial vehicles across ten universities, funded jointly by BAE and public sources, which is run by a university professor and a project manager from BAE. In addition to research projects, arms companies were found to have sponsored numerous courses, bursaries, industrial placements and careers fairs.

Co-author Martha Beale said: "It was a huge struggle to unearth this information, due to a lack of transparency at many universities and the secretive nature of the arms trade. We were staggered to discover the depth of military involvement in higher education. It raises crucial questions about research funding and academic independence. It is vital that students, university staff and the general public tackle the alarming influence of military money."

Over two-thirds of identified military projects involved three leading UK arms companies – BAE, Rolls Royce and QinetiQ. The universities conducting the most military

projects were (in descending order) Cambridge, Loughborough, Oxford, Southampton and University College London.

For more details see the campaign website [www.studywarnomore.org.uk](http://www.studywarnomore.org.uk) or visit the FoR website [www.for.org.uk/swnm](http://www.for.org.uk/swnm)



# Peacemakers conference

FoR's conference for young people took place in late October and was grounded in its Christian roots but also had a truly ecumenical and interfaith vision of peace. It took place in the Hollowford Centre, a remote activity centre in Derbyshire surrounded by the beauty of the peak district. The theme for the conference was Conflict Transformation.



Conference Participants, Autumn 2007

Around thirty young people, ranging from university students to active professionals and even experienced peace activists, arrived on the Friday evening. After dinner, there was no hesitation before engaging in a group exercise challenging everyone to consider the different perspectives and situations of real people affected by the conflict in Iraq.

Over the next two days, there were inspiring sessions led by professional peace activists. Jacinta da Paor referred to her work in Northern Ireland, patiently bringing together victims of sectarian violence and combatants. After having spoken about her work, including its sensitive nature and the related challenges, we had a powerful experience whereby each member of the conference took on an imaginary role. Some of us were British soldiers, some IRA combatants, some Loyalist combatants, some Irish victims. After the moving session during which it was difficult to separate reality from the fiction, Jacinta confessed that for every imaginary story, there was a real person she could think of for whom each story could relate.

Ray Gaston, an Anglican vicar from Leeds who is currently doing a PhD in Birmingham, spoke about his experiences developing a relationship with local Muslims in the post-9/11 atmosphere. Referring to the experience of St. Francis of Assisi, whose Christian faith deepened when he visited Muslims in Jerusalem, Ray indicated the great need for interfaith cooperation and commented on the remarkable complementarity of especially the Abrahamic faiths. He concluded that any differences and conflicts that may arise between faith communities may indeed be God-given, as an opportunity to elevate members of all faiths.

There were also concurrent workshop sessions on the 'Tough Guise', challenging the common misconceptions of what it means to be a real man, and on positive communication, encouraging everyone to internalise the concept of peace, embodying peace in their thoughts and words.

While the quality of the sessions was exceptionally high, revealing a lot about how to transform conflict on many levels, the best part of the weekend from my perspective was the group of wonderful people with whom I shared the time. I was able to meet many amazing people, with whom I want to collaborate on many exciting projects. Although I knew nobody when I arrived on the Friday evening, I left on Sunday afternoon with many friends. *Matthu Huish*

## Called to be Peacemakers Conference 2008

**Plans are well underway for the 2008 conference which will take place over the weekend of 24-26 October.**

**If you would like to book on the conference - places are limited - or want further details, please contact Martha Beale: [martha@for.org.uk](mailto:martha@for.org.uk) 01865 748 796**

# Comment special: The dangerous triumph of just war theory

This is an abridged version of a paper given by Dr Tony Kempster, General Secretary of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, at The Modern Churchpeoples' Union conference, 'Violence: a stubborn pandemic', Hoddesden, July 2007

The Just War guru, Michael Walzer, said in 2004 that the just war theory was a 'triumph'. Having been revived from religious obscurity at the time of the Vietnam War by the anti-war camp and academic left, it has come to provide the accepted structure and language for debate about future wars. Walzer was one of 40 intellectuals who signed a public letter, entitled 'What we're fighting for' published in February 2002, which used the just war theory to justify the US-led war on terror. However, it was followed two months later by a letter signed this time by 128 US intellectuals which referred to the 'reflexive hyper-nationalism' of the first letter and challenged its interpretation of just war. This exchange of letters shows that the interpretation of the just war tradition can differ markedly and suggests that the success to which Walzer refers has been mainly in the realm of academic debate rather than in giving clear guidance and offering practical restraint to unjust wars.

Here in the UK, these differences and the lack of clarity in application of the just war theory is evident in the way the Church of England (CofE) tends to deal with military issues. It considers that its role is to deepen and broaden the discussion but not to polarize it by finding in favour of a specific judgement or policy. Church leaders express their views but consensual guidance is often lacking. Some would argue that this approach can be valuable if it informs a more ethical foreign policy. But there is little evidence

that it does. If anything, it confuses matters particularly at times when major changes are taking place in international politics.

## Confusion?

In his book, *Just war: changing society and the churches*, Charles Reed, International Policy Adviser to the Church of England's Mission and Public Affairs Unit, sets out how the Churches reacted politically to the two Iraq wars. He suggests that in the first Gulf War "the churches' confused and mixed response was a tension between a Christian realist and a Christian pacifist understanding of the just war tradition". However during the Second Gulf War "while the churches' opposition to the war was unprecedented, a closer examination of the underlying logic suggests more divergence than consensus as to when it is acceptable to use force".

The recent transatlantic dialogue on Just War, set up in 2005 by the CofE with the Catholic Bishops' Conference, seems to have added to the confusion. It involved British and American ethicists and theologians, and had the stated aim of doing the groundwork 'to rework the just war tradition to respond to the new challenges to international security represented by the end of the Cold War and the impact of terrorism'. In the event, It has been published as a set of papers in an edited book, *The price of peace without synthesis or attempt to say what a reconstituted just war tradition might mean in practice*. The editors, Charles Reed and David Ryall state, in fact, that: 'several authors disagree sharply about vital contemporary issues such as the Iraq War' and emphasise that the book "avoids deliberately the quest for consensus".

They also say: 'It is essential to see just war thinking as a dynamic tradition for reflecting the nature of international society rather than as a set of prescriptions to be rigidly



**Dr Tony Kempster**

applied to crises, a sort of checklist that can be ticked or crossed'. Fine words, but many Christians will look to the Churches for some guidance when next the war drums begin to beat. They would like to be sure that any future war is 'just' and rule-governed. It should not derive from a condition of lawlessness where leaders and their like-minded ethicists use the flexibility of the just war tradition to defend the morality of their policies – which brings me to George Weigel.

Weigel of the Ethics and Public Policy Centre in Washington has a prominent chapter in *The price of peace* which challenges certain aspects of the generally accepted view of the just war tradition. He insists, for example, that just war does not begin from a presumption against war, because it can be a duty to pursue war if it is undertaken for justice. He also argues that al-Qaeda should be regarded as capable of engaging in war (*bellum*) in the just war sense, something which many just war theorists do not recognise. Further, one of his principal arguments seems to be to justify preventive military attacks against rogue states

### **The Christian position on war**

Whether one holds pacifism or the just war tradition to be the more ethical approach, most Christians would agree that steps should be taken to reduce the incidence of wars. Such an aim is implicit in a statement by the 1930 Lambeth conference and reaffirmed by later conferences: 'War as a method of settling international disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ'. The Catholic Church's position has moved along similar lines – witness John Paul II's condemnation of war as a 'totally unacceptable' means of settling international disputes'.

The Churches have, in fact, been tending politically towards an anti-war stance which has led to the charge of 'functional pacifism' by just war advocates. Their concern is that the bar for accepting a war is 'just' is becoming too high.

The horizon where the pacifist and just war positions deviate is not reached until other possibilities of preventing war have been exhausted, so pacifists and non-pacifists have common interests in using the just war tradition to reduce the incidence of wars. The difference between committed pacifists and those that adhere to the just war tradition is largely a matter of the personal interpretation of scripture and the emphasis placed on tradition. The pacifist position is more consistent with scripture and the life of Jesus but it is seen as idealist by most Christians.

In my view the pacifist case would contribute more if it is made as rationally as possible, even if this means admitting to some scepticism about its value in some circumstances. We may believe as Christian pacifists that love is the way to resolve international conflicts; but this does not mean that the use of military force will always fail and contribute more to the sum of human suffering than it prevents. The words of Jesus tell us how to live a good life but do not promise that good actions will always produce the best outcome

Besides the commitment to Jesus' message, there is the crucial issue of whether it is ever possible to judge the justness of a war beforehand. We also know from hindsight that few, if any wars have fully met the just war criteria, particularly *jus in bello*. Once a war begins, the end normally justifies the means however brutal they may be.

### **Tightening and renewing**

This is why the just war tradition needs to be redefined and made relevant to the 21st century; and above all, given a clear voice in practical application. Among the areas that require particular clarification and refinement are right authority and proportionality, including a tightening of the requirement to minimise non-combatant deaths. But of most significance is the issue of pre-emption. From a Christian perspective, one might accept the risk that an attack has to be made before any military action is taken. Whatever the case, to err on the right side on this matter would be a step forward.

In the context of a religious doctrine, the outcome needs to be more clearly underpinned by theological reflection – The price of peace, for example, is surprisingly thin on theology. Further discussion should not simply be focused on a strategy which aims to provide national security at the expense of all other considerations. This issue turns on the

*Continued on page 14*

# A lifeline for grassroots peacemakers

FoR's International Peacemaker Fund continues to support grassroots peacemakers in areas of conflict around the world. Over the past few months we have enabled local groups to undertake nonviolence training and conflict resolution work in Zambia, Uganda and Zimbabwe.

their capacity as human rights monitors, mediators, conflict resolution/nonviolence trainers, local capacity builders, advisors and mentors. This combination of professional conflict transformation personnel working with committed local people helps to build real peace through, for example, the re-integration of refugees and ex-combatants, the resolving of disputes, opening of communication channels, building of democratic structures, establishment of free & fair elections, and the protection of human rights.



FoR Zimbabwe Nonviolence Training Group

The International Peacemakers Fund (IPF) was created by the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FoR) to provide essential support to international community-based peacemakers, who are seeking to empower, transform, and equip their local communities to respond non-violently to injustice and conflict. IPF funds community-based “grassroots” initiatives in which participants recognize and confront violence in their communities, in their own lives and in the world at large. As the groups we support work against the odds, amidst political, social, and economic upheaval, with extremely limited financial resources, the International Peacemakers Fund provides a crucial lifeline and can have a tremendous impact.

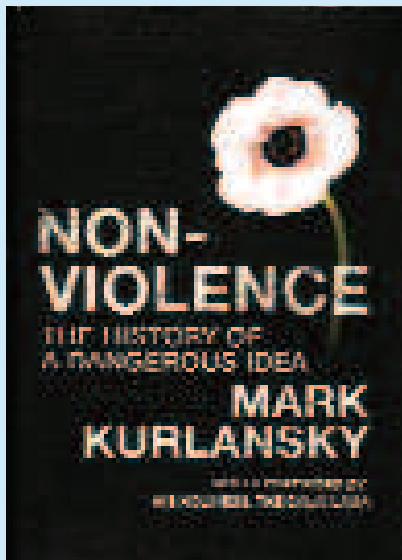
It is ordinary local people that are most effected by violent conflict and the ones who must ultimately be involved in resolving the conflict. Grassroots peace building projects are extremely effective in this situation. Working alongside these local projects are dedicated civilian professionals in

“It is ordinary local people that are most effected by violent conflict and the ones who must ultimately be involved in resolving the conflict.”

Some of the work that the International Peacemakers Fund has supported over the past year includes nonviolence and poverty reduction training in Zimbabwe; trauma and healing counselling in Sudan; cross border dialogue in Northern Uganda and nonviolence work with youth in Zambia. We work with groups that we know well and trust through the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Thanks to the generous support of a UK trust which covers all the IPF's administration costs all donations made to the International Peacemakers Fund go directly to projects overseas. As you can imagine, there are many calls on our funds. We currently have applications for funding of peace work from groups in Rwanda, Kenya, Cameroon, Nepal and Zimbabwe amongst others. If you would like to make a donation to the International Peacemakers Fund please send a cheque (Payable to Fellowship of Reconciliation – IPF) to the FoR office.

# Resources



## **Nonviolence: The History of a Dangerous Idea by Mark Kurlansky, Jonathan Cape, 2006**

The title of Mark Kurlansky's 'Nonviolence: The History of a Dangerous idea' is something of a misnomer as it is mostly a history of war resistance and anti-war thought. Starting with a review of anti-war thought within the main religions – arguing strongly that each was fundamentally anti-violence and anti-war before being corrupted by become powerful – the book continues by galloping through a history of anti-war resistance from the middle-ages to the present day.

Towards the end of the book, Kurlansky makes the key point that those committed to nonviolence need to know our history in order not to repeat past mistakes. He draws, for example, an interesting comparison between the



Albigensians from 13th century France and the SDS/Weathermen from 20th century American and their respective failure to remain committed to nonviolence. "Only if the nonviolent side has the discipline to avoid slipping into violence does it win" Kurlansky argues.

This is a well written, non-academic book, aimed at those new to the subject. Whilst much that the book contains will be known to longstanding members of the peace movement there is still something here for everyone.

## **How Nonviolence Protects The State, by Peter Gelderoos, South End Press, 2007**

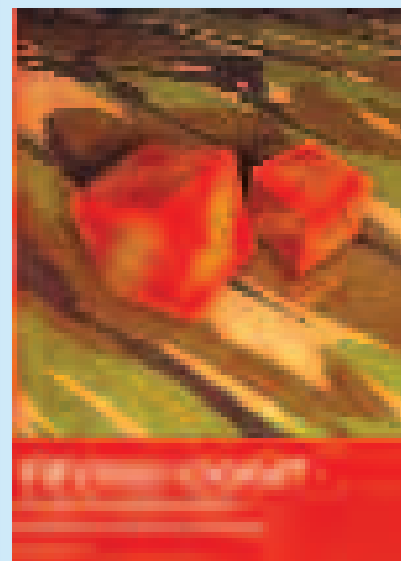
Peter Gelderoos argues that simply by being pacifist or nonviolent – he uses the words interchangeably – we are allowing the state to be violent and repressive; more than that, we are "endorsing" the right of the state to be so. Indeed even when pacifists respond to the latest piece of state violence by, for example, protesting at a military base, our very existence is making the state look "benign" and "humane" as it tolerates our presence. "Sticking a flower in a gun" he goes on to say, "does not impede the ability of the gun to fire".

Underneath his critique of nonviolence, he is really attacking what he sees as the conservatism of much of the peace movement. In this respect Gelderoos is echoing AJ Muste famous quote "In a world built on

violence, one must be a revolutionary before one can be a pacifist; in such a world, a non-revolutionary pacifist is a contradiction in terms, a monstrosity." This book won't change the minds of committed pacifists, but it is an interesting and challenging read.

## **Informed Choice? Armed Forces and Recruitment Practice in the UK, David Gee, informedchoice.org.uk, 2007**

Peace researcher, David Gee's in-depth examination of the recruitment of young men and women received much media coverage at the beginning of the year – and rightly so. According to the report, potential new recruits to the army are subjected to a misleading picture of life in the military as advertisements and recruitment literature glamorise



warfare, omit vital information and fail to point out the risks and responsibilities associated with a forces career. The report recommends sweeping changes to armed forces recruitment policies including: a new Charter setting out the state's responsibilities; a radical review of recruitment literature; phasing out recruitment of minors; and new rights for recruits to leave service.

# The push for more military spending

The past few months has seen the beginning of a coordinated campaign, not only to counter the declining support for the military operation in Iraq and Afghanistan, but also to raise UK military spending. In a highly unusual move last September, the current head of the British Army, General Sir Richard Dannatt, spoke out publicly arguing that the ‘covenant’ between the nation and its armed forces was in danger of breaking. He was said to be furious that soldiers were returning from Iraq and Afghanistan to “indifference” where they should be returning parades.

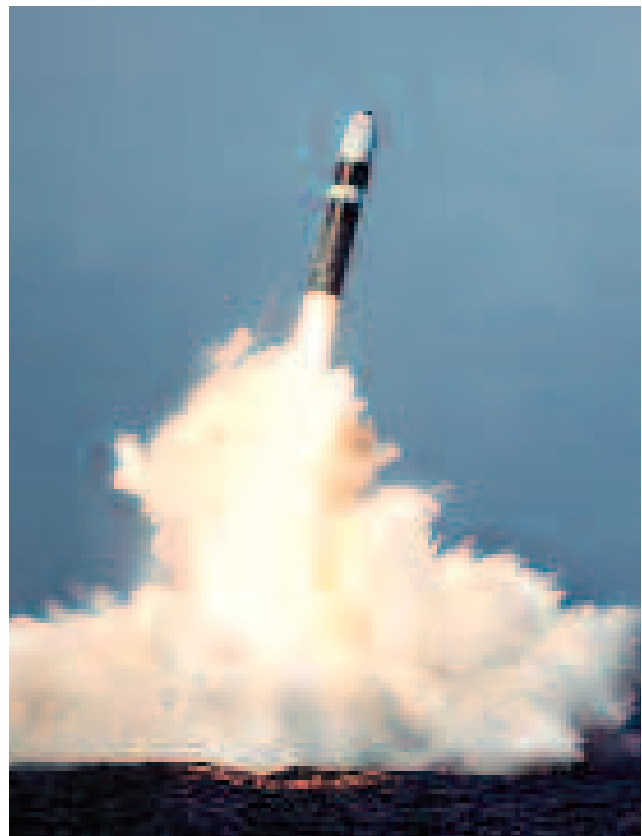
Almost at the same time, in November a new organisation called the United Kingdom National Defence Association (UKNDA), set up by a group of former military chiefs and politicians, was launched. President of the UKNDA is Winston Churchill, former MP and grandson of the UK’s prime minister during World War II. At the launch he declared “Whereas health and education have seen surges in spending, defence has seen a decline, and that needs to be reversed if we are to ensure our men and women on the front line have what they need”.<sup>1</sup> A few weeks later, during a debate in the House of Lords, five former defence chiefs made a splash by condemning the current government for failing to fund the armed forces “adequately”. All five, Lords Boyce, Guthrie, Craig, Bramall and Inge, also happen to be either patrons or vice-presidents of the UKNDA.

The UKDA argues that whilst the Defence budget was 5.3% of GDP in 1984, it is now down to 2.2%. They are calling for “an immediate and sustained real increase in the percentage of GDP allocated annually for Defence and the Armed Forces to at least 3%” The association admits this would represent an increase of 35–40% over current levels of spending – an increase of around £14 billion per year! Elsewhere, the Conservative ‘Way Forward’ group – a Thatcherite grouping within the Conservative party – issued a Defence Policy, written by former Shadow Defence Minister and current member of the Defence Select Committee, Bernard Jenkin MP, calling for a 50% increase in military spending.<sup>2</sup>

To support their argument for increased military funding, proponents point to the injuries and fatalities suffered by the armed forces each week in Iraq and Afghanistan and claim this is due to ‘inadequate resources’. The UKDA for

instance say: “It is no exaggeration to say that inadequate funding of Defence is placing our Forces at unnecessary risk. All too often the men and women of our Armed Forces are paying the price in blood”. Those calling for increased military spending also point to the poor state of forces housing, education facilities and lack of medical care for these injured on active duty.

However, the UKNDA and the Conservative Way Forward group are choosing to compare today’s military spending



**Trident renewal is estimated to cost £20–£25 billion**

figures with that of the height of the Cold War (1984). The reality is that billions of pounds continue to be spent on the military. In July 2007, the Treasury announced that under the Comprehensive Spending Review (CSR) the Defence budget for 2008–09 would be £34bn, rising in 2009–10 to £35.3bn and then to £36.9bn in 2010–11. an increase of £7.7bn over three years. In addition, the UK has spent over

## Top 10 UK current military equipment projects by cost

	Project	Quantity	Estimated cost
1	Typhoon (aka Eurofighter)	232	11,291m*
2	Type 45 Destroyer	6	6,466m
3	Aircraft Carrier	2	3,900m
4	Astute Class Attack Submarine	3	3,798m
5	Nimrod Aircraft Mk4	12	3,500m
6	Bowman Radios	47,000	2,009m
7	Joint Combat Aircraft	TBA	1,858m
8	Military Support Vehicles	7,285	1,263m
9	Meteor Missiles	Classified	1,168m
10	Watchkeeper unmanned aircraft	54**	901m
<b>Total</b>			<b>£36.15bn</b>

Data from National Audit Office's 'MoD Major Projects Report 2007', HC 98-1, 2007-08. \* The current estimated cost of Typhoon has been classified and is absent from the report. The figure used here was given in 2004. \*\* Quantity figure comes from various press reports.

£6.6 billion on the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan according to MoD figures.<sup>3</sup>

In fact the UK has the highest per capita spending on the military in Europe and is second in the world only to the United States. Even those who are a very long way from being pacifists – such as the former NATO Secretary General, George Robertson – say that the government has been 'tremendously generous' towards the armed forces.<sup>4</sup>

So why are there calls for increased military spending despite the fact that the military budget is so high? The underlying reason is that huge chunks of the military budget are being spent on out-dated and outmoded weapons and equipment rather than on the men and women in the armed forces (or conflict prevention!). According to MoD figures, the UK spends between £5 and £6 billion each year on new weapons systems, whilst another £6 to £7 billion each year goes on equipment 'support costs'.<sup>5</sup>

Each year the National Audit Office examines the MoDs major projects and each year there are cost overruns and delays, costing billions. According to the latest report published in November 2007, the current top ten military project by spending are currently estimated to cost just over £36 billion – more than the entire MoD budget for one year! (see table)

And that doesn't include the projected cost of the replacement of Trident (estimated to cost £20–£25 billion)

as it hasn't yet been given the final go-ahead (known as Main Gate decision) although at least £1 billion will be spent over the next three years on the 'assessment phase'.<sup>6</sup>

The obvious way forward – both for those who want to see the military budget reduced and for those who want to see resources allocated to the health and well-being of the UK soldiers – is to call for the reallocation of the huge amount of resources currently being given over to military equipment budget into other more productive areas. In fact there are plenty of other security issues that it could be spent on – countering climate change and conflict prevention are just two examples. There will be howls of protest of course from the defence industry and their friends (and the jobs argument will once again rear its head) but these should be resisted. If we are serious about peace and security we need to spend our money wisely. Rather than 'defence' being too low on the list of priorities, war is far too high up on the list.

- 1 The battle over forces spending, Caroline Wyatt, [news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/7084444.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/7084444.stm)
- 2 A Defence Policy for the UK: matching commitments and resources, Bernard Jenkin MP, p56
- 3 *The Guardian*, 26 July 2007
- 4 Cabinet split over £15bn proposed defence cuts, David Hencke, 4 December 2007
- 5 Evidence of Mr Trevor Woolley CB, Finance Director, Ministry of Defence before Defence Select Committee, 28 November 2007
- 6 *Ibid*

*Continued from page 5*

For me, the most important thing in dealing with this is having a community of friends who I can turn to – for example at C2BP, or at Peace School – who have a similar worldview to myself and with whom I can engage more constructively.

**MB.** Thank you. You mentioned you do a lot of reading on peace in your own time. What books/ authors etc can you recommend?

**DM.** If I had to recommend one book it would be *Soil and Soul* by Alistair McIntosh. I found a lot of who I am in that book, and a lot of who I am becoming and the world I would like to see flows out of McIntosh's vision. John O'Donohue, Thomas Merton, Walter Wink, John Paul Lederach, John Yoder are all important authors for me. My reading is much more theological than political (if it is possible to separate those). I should add Rene Girard and James Alison to that list.

**MB.** What attracted you first to FoR as an organisation?

**DM.** If I'm honest, I was first attracted to FoR because it was the only organisation I could find at the time that was doing peace work with people of my own age. I think that's partly because peacemaking charities seem to keep a low profile. I like FoR because it is rooted theologically and historically, i.e. it works within a Christian view of the world and it's been around a long time.

**MB.** Where would you like to see FoR go/ what would you like FoR to achieve in the next 5 years? Are there particular areas you would like to see FoR working on?

**DM.** I would like to see FoR more active in universities. I know at the moment FoR's view is that there are so many student societies with political/ peace goals that the 'market' is saturated, and so FoR prefers to work alongside existing student groups. However, there are no student groups (that I know of) which specifically work for peace. That's something I would like to see set up.

**MB.** Thanks David, and finally, what do you see as the biggest challenges facing the peace movement/ FoR in the modern day?

**DM.** As a theologian I like to look beyond appearances at what is behind things, to try to see the heart of the matter. For me, the most important thing the peace movement can do is look beyond the surface level problems (such as terrorism, climate change, the arms industry – these are huge problems, and I am not denying that they are important) to what lies behind these problems, what people believe about the world, about other people and about God

that causes and allows these problems. Politicians are a prime example of a 'surface level' approach as they skate from crisis to crisis, addressing the symptoms and moving on to the next crisis – never taking the time to discern what lies at the heart of the matter, at the heart of all these problems.

This is why, for me, FoR's theological rootedness is so important. because it allows FoR to approach issues at a deeper level than just the surface.

**MB.** Thank you David, it has been wonderful to talk to you.

*Continued from page 9*

willingness of Christians to sacrifice for others, often in other countries far away.

Beyond this, there is a case for placing the just war tradition within the context of an ethical foreign policy. At the moment it is concerned essentially with the waging of war and does not cover associated military activities which can be equally dangerous and immoral. The main ones are as follows.

- The incitement and potential fuelling of military conflict in other countries by the international sale of arms. There has been an almost 50% increase in the major conventional arms sales over the past four years and the UK and, of course, the US are major players (SIPRI, 2007).
- Clandestine involvement in military conflict by providing intelligence and support of mercenary soldiers.
- Provocative action which threatens other nations and leads to an increase in global militarism, as, for example, the development of the US missile shield with bases in Eastern European countries.
- Non-involvement with or renegeing on international agreements to reduce armaments.

### **In conclusion**

So in a sense, this argument brings us full circle. The just war tradition developed as a means of justifying Christian involvement in war could evolve and bring us back through functional pacifism to committed pacifism. The fact that the argument for pacifism, or at least functional pacifism, can be made rationally does not detract from the Christian pacifist belief based on the teachings of Jesus. 'To love one's enemies' is not a command without purpose and to reach it through a path of enlightened self-interest is unlikely to be a sin, particularly if the self interest in question extends to the whole of humanity.

# What you can do

## Join FoR

As FoR member Margaret Mead said, "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it's the only thing that ever has." To build real change for peace and justice in our world we need to work together. The Fellowship of Reconciliation has always recognized the importance of working with others. Why not join us? For more details on becoming a Member or a supporter of FoR, please use the reply slip below or see <http://www.for.org.uk/join>.

## Support FoR's Campaigns

FoR seeks to challenge the causes and structures that lead to violent conflict. In addition we aim to be advocates for the victims of war and conflict by enabling their voices to be heard. Currently we are campaigning on the arms trade through our 'Living by the Sword campaign'; we are supporting the people of West Papua in their struggle for independence through the 'Papua: Land of Peace campaign; and we shall shortly be launching a new campaign called 'Study War No More' which is looking at military research being undertaken in British universities. For more details on these campaigns see our [www.for.org.uk/campaigns](http://www.for.org.uk/campaigns) or contact us at the office.

## Donate to International Peacemakers

Our International Peacemakers Fund (IPF) makes grants directly to small grassroots groups who are working for peace and justice in regions of conflict. Because administration is covered by a Trust every penny you donate will go directly to these projects. For more details see the back cover.

## Email News

About once a month FoR sends out an email newsletter with details of coming events, publications, resources and other information in relation to building peace in our world. You can see a copy of the latest FoR email news on our website [www.for.org.uk](http://www.for.org.uk), where you can sign up for further issues.

## Join FoR Young Peacemakers Network

FoR is committed to supporting young peacemakers and one way we do this is through our Young Peacemakers Network. YPN is an association of young people (18- 30ish) interested in peace and conflict issues. If you are interested, please use the reply slip below to receive more information and an invite to a YPN gathering.

## Invite an FoR Speaker

FoR is always very happy to provide a speaker for your church, school or group to speak about our work or about peace and conflict issues in general. Ideally we would like at least six weeks notice but you can always contact us to see if we have someone available. Please contact us at the office on 01865 748796 or email [office@for.org.uk](mailto:office@for.org.uk)

## Join FoR

- I would like to join FoR as a Member/Supporter/Group affiliate (please delete)
- I enclose a donation towards the work of the Fellowship of Reconciliation
- I am a UK tax payer. Please treat my donation as Gift Aid and reclaim tax on all donations until I notify you otherwise (please sign and date below)
- I would like to make a regular donation. Please send us a standing order form
- I would like to subscribe to FoR's monthly Email News
- Please send me more details about the Young Peacemakers Network

We are interested in a speaker for our church/group/school. Please contact me.

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*The Fellowship of Reconciliation is a registered charity no. 207822*

# Give peace a fighting chance

If peacemaking were given a real chance, it could transform our global society, relieve human suffering and make our communities more secure.

This is why we established the International Peacemakers Fund

FoR's International Peacemakers Fund provides essential support to war-torn communities who dare to realise their own potential to end conflict. Often local people are already working hard to build peace in their own communities and simply need our support. The projects, in Colombia, Palestine, Zimbabwe and West Africa use nonviolent methods to address the causes of conflict, promote dialogue and build reconciliation. Often these peacemakers are putting their lives on the line to disseminate peacebuilding skills amongst their communities.

In Palestine for example, where the community has been severely weakened by thirty eight years of Israeli military occupation, International Peacemakers Fund partner 'Wi'am' helps to resolve disputes by complementing the traditional Arab form of mediation, called Sulha, with Western models of conflict resolution. Wi'am challenges violence in the region on many levels. Wi'am mediates Israeli-Palestinian disputes, issues relating to Israeli military, youth delinquency as well as domestic conflicts.

Because they work against the odds, amidst political and social upheaval, with extremely limited financial resources, the International Peacemakers Fund is a crucial lifeline.

**Return to: Freepost RLYH-ABXY-YJZG, FoR, St. James' Church Centre, Beauchamp Lane, Oxford OX4 3LF**

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