Loving your enemy: working with military museums on peace education

DR CLIVE BARRETT
The Peace Museum, Bradford and Leeds Metropolitan University

The popularity of military museums

Every country seems to have its museums of war, armies and armaments. In the UK alone, there are 136 army museums as well as naval and air-force museums and museums featuring armaments and war in general. Most receive substantial government funding. They often glorify in and perpetuate attitudes of nationalism, militarism, and, in the case of the UK, imperialism as well. By looking romantically at the brutal slaughters of the past, and by absolving the perpetrators, some may contribute towards a culture of war acceptance, and even the promotion of war as a means
of ‘solving’ international disputes in a way agreeable to the UK. Military museums can openly promote recruitment to the armed forces and lead to the unthinking justification of today’s unjust wars. Quite simply, the museum visitor will be led to think that if the British army is involved, then the war must be justified. A registered charity established to support UK military museums states that ‘The British Army has a rich history that is added to continually as today’s regiments and corps carry forward the proud traditions of their forbears’. In other words, the war crimes that have been and are still being committed in Iraq and Afghanistan may one day be glossed over in yet another set of triumphant military museum exhibitions. This depressing picture is not unique to the UK, and is replicated to a greater or lesser extent across the world.

Many within the International Network of Museums for Peace may find military museums distasteful, yet it remains the case that those institutions attract hundreds of thousands of visitors, and influence and educate far more members of the public than does any peace museum in the world outside Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The question arises as to whether or not it is possible to engage with these museums, and to work with them in a way that presents an alternative version of reality, that can leave visitors to military museums asking, ‘Does it have to be like that?’ I would like to give some examples from the story of The Peace Museum, Bradford, to indicate what can be achieved within practical and philosophical limits.

The Yorkshire Air Museum, Elvington

Some 65km from Bradford there is a World War II airfield at Elvington, near York. An independent air museum opened there in 1986, with a collection of military aircraft which now attracts 85,000 visitors each year. The present director of the Air Museum is perhaps more broad minded than the museum founders and can see beyond nationalism and a strictly military perspective. He realised the shortcomings of an exhibition on the experience of flying bomber aircraft. Undoubtedly, the pilots and crew were courageous. But what was the cost of their actions? The director included a copy of Picasso’s Guernica in his exhibition but wanted more so the museum staff contacted The Peace Museum for assistance with a temporary exhibition.

Immediately, this raised a set of questions for The Peace Museum. Did we want to co-operate with the Yorkshire Air Museum? What was the purpose of this exhibition? What would be the editorial policy? Did we have suitable material in any case? Under what circumstances would we be prepared to loan items from our collection to this exhibition? There have been occasions in the past when The Peace Museum has refused to co-operate with museums that present a different world view to our own. The privately-owned UK nuclear power industry has its own museum celebrating aspects of nuclear power. It wanted items from The Peace Museum about the opposition to nuclear weapons. However; those items would have been displayed as part of an exhibition that said, in effect, ‘despite opposition from an ignorant minority, nuclear power has been a great success’. The Peace Museum was not prepared to let its collection be used in that way.

In the case of the Yorkshire Air Museum, some of The Peace Museum management team were cautious about co-operation, but those who argued for collaboration have been vindicated. It was decided that one of our travelling exhibition would be shown. Created by Nihon Hidankyo, the Confederation of A and H Bomb Sufferers in Tokyo, this travelling exhibition consisted of a set of art works and photographs of the destruction of Hiroshima and its people by the first atomic bomb. It fitted perfectly in the Air Museum alongside its own displays relating to the heroism of aircrew. Called The A Bomb and Humanity, it makes the human cost and consequences of air bombing horrifically real to the visitor. Through the co-operation of the two museums for this five month exhibition, forty thousand visitors to a largely military air museum will be challenged by seeing the horrendous consequences of air warfare.

The Imperial War Museum, London

Currently receiving 750,000 visitors a year at its London site alone, the Imperial War Museum was opened in 1920. Its website states that it ‘illustrates and records all aspects of modern war... Its role embraces the causes, course and consequences of conflict and it has an essentially educational purpose. The totality of war includes not only stories of heroism and weapons to explore – the Imperial War Museum has these in abundance – but also the horrific experiences of war from both ends of the rifle, and even the stories of those who oppose war. So it has been represented at least twice in conferences of the International Network of Museums for Peace, and is often included in lists of peace museums. It does include, in its collection, a set of oral history interviews with many conscientious objectors to military service. On occasions when The Peace Museum has asked for assistance, such help has been willingly given. So although the perspectives, scale and resources available to the two museums are very different, there is the potential for a positive and constructive relationship.

That potential for constructive relationship with the Imperial War Museum reaches across the peace movement. One leading group, the Movement for the Abolition of War; together with the International Peace Bureau (Geneva), has recently established an annual peace history conference at the Imperial War Museum. This has proved to be a valuable resource for the peace movement activists, for peace historians and other peace academics, and a useful forum within which The Peace Museum can raise its own profile.

Those associated with The Peace Museum have chaired sessions and have spoken on such diverse topics as Bertha von Suttner, the woman behind the Nobel Peace Prize; the History of Art; Working for Peace; Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the frontier Gandhi. Add to this, Kazuyo Yamane speaking on the Japanese peace pioneers Masaharu Oka and Yayo Matsui, and the impact of peace museums on these conferences has been considerable.

The Peace Museum, Bradford, has displayed travelling exhibitions, set up stalls promoting the Museum, invited participants to contribute to a peace history timeline, and engaged in countless valuable conversations with key figures in the peace movement in the UK and beyond. And it all took place within the Imperial War Museum, with the sponsorship, generous hospitality and co-operation of the Museum director and staff.

The Royal Armouries, Leeds

Another major London tourist attraction is the Tower of London. It not only holds the Crown Jewels, but part of the Royal Armouries, the national collection of arms and armour. That collection, however, is far greater than can be held in the Tower; and most of it is based at a purpose-built museum in Leeds, less than 20km from the Peace Museum, Bradford. Directly funded by the national government, the Royal Armouries, Leeds, received 260,000 visitors in 2007. This is not Luzern, 1902, when Jan Bloch’s pioneering Internationale Kriegs- und Friedensmuseum displayed
Dear friends,

As Advent approaches, we start to think about preparations – for the Christmas festivities, yes, but before that of the different ways of preparing for the coming of the Prince of Peace. In our Church’s tradition, on the first Sunday in Advent, we think of the part played by the Patriarchs: Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and of King David, the ancestor of our Lord, in alerting the human race to its need to live according to our Creator’s purposes and acknowledging God as our sovereign. So on that day, we peacemakers may look back into history and see how we have arrived at our present position.

Without doubt, we shall read a sorry tale of wars, bloody battles, massacres, murder and misery, and equally without doubt if we read on we see that nothing was permanently achieved for good by any of them. Moving to the more recent history, we find that we are now allies, and often best buddies, with the people who were our bitterest enemies in the past: France, Holland, Germany, Italy, Spain, Japan etc. So why were so many promising lives wasted? Surely it would have been better to talk, negotiate and even exchange gifts, that all of humanity, created in God’s image, might flourish? The work of the Patriarchs was, clearly only partially successful. We all need to learn from history before it is too late.

On the second Sunday in Advent, we turn our minds to the role of the Prophets: those forthtellers (not foretellers) who called their contemporaries back to the ‘paths of righteousness’, to live according to God’s ordinances, summed up in the two great commandments, to love the Lord our God with all our heart, with all our mind, with all our strength, and one’s neighbour as oneself. The prophets spoke out fearlessly, starting with Nathan confronting King David, Amos who tackled the religious hierarchy for their hypocrisy and the wealthy on behalf of the poor they had exploited, calling for God’s justice to be established and so on through Isaiah, Jeremiah and the rest. Only then would God indeed dwell among them and hear their prayers. Without justice and honesty, there will be no peace, either in Amos’s day or ours. So our preparations must include a renewal of our efforts to bring justice to the world’s poor and stop their exploitation by the rich and greedy.

On the third Sunday, it is John the Baptist who is remembered. His cry of ‘Prepare ye the way of the Lord…” is taken directly from the prophet Isaiah, chapter 40; and John, adopting the persona of Elijah, was uncompromising in his demand for repentance from King Herod down to the humblest shepherd who joined the crowds who flocked to hear him in the desert. Time was getting short, the nation was still a ‘nest of vipers’, people were still greedy, dishonest and immoral. So John gave his life in a last desperate attempt to prepare the world to receive the Saviour, the God of Love, the Prince of Peace. Are we, the peacemakers of the 21st century, ready to risk all (as John did) when the world looks ready to plunge into a more disastrous war than any yet seen; and as love is driven out from Africa, the Middle East, and elsewhere? Or do we just happen to think that peace and justice are a nice idea, for which we will pray and even go on the occasional march, if we have no other commitments that day? Please do take to heart the theme of this issue of The Anglican Peacemaker and speak out - communicate the message.

The fourth Sunday brings us to the preparations made by Mary, the mother who gave birth to the Prince of Peace in a world that was as inhospitable to his coming as a newborn infant (born to a disgraced, unmarried mother) as it was at his departing 30-odd years later on a cross. How shall we, each one of us, prepare our heart, our home and our neighbourhood, as Mary did, for the birth of the Prince of Peace?

Whatever form your preparations take, I wish you all a very joyful and blessed Christmas and pray that, in the words of the carol, in the year to come the noise of strife will be hushed, that we may hear the angels sing.

UK recruitment and the use of child soldiers

By Sue Claydon, Vice Chairperson and APF link with the UK Coalition Against the Use of Child Soldiers

When most of us think about child soldiers, the image is of someone caught up in one of the many armed conflicts around the world (and, as I write, our media are filled with reports of conflict in the North East Democratic Republic of the Congo, with the fears for more children separated from their families and being forced into becoming soldiers to survive).

This article is about something much closer to home for many APF members – and for many families in the UK. On a regular basis, each signatory of the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child is asked to report on progress to the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child. This September it was the turn of the UK to report. Along with the general Country Report, the Committee also reviewed the Optional Protocol.This is the protocol to restrict the age of members of the armed forces to 18 years of age or over: The UK is a signatory, but exercised an option to continuing the recruitment of those between 16 and 18 years.

The Children’s Rights Alliance for England was present at the reporting to the UN in Geneva and assisted Bill Hetherington (Peach Pledge Union) to represent the UK Coalition Against the Use of Child Soldiers. The Committee then issued a seven-page report (available on the APF website). The report recommends that the UK Government should do as follows.

- Provide training on the Optional Protocol to all members of its armed forces. It further recommends that training be given to those working with children, especially asylum-seeking and refugee children;
- Consider reviewing its position and raise the minimum age for recruitment into the armed forces to 18 years in order to promote the protection of children through an overall higher legal standard;
- Reconsider its active policy of recruitment of children into the armed forces and ensure that it does not occur in a manner which specifically targets ethnic minorities and children in low income families;
- Ensure that parents are included from the outset and during the entire process of recruitment and enlistment;
- That all persons who are still below 18 have the right to convert their minimum term of service to four years from the first day of duty.’ (The situation is that the time served presently by those under 18 does not count in the four year requirement, so that this becomes a 6 year requirement).

Progress on these, together with other recommendations that have been made, will now be monitored. The UK Coalition will be asking questions in Parliament and campaigning to see that the recommendations are implemented. This is a major step to stop the recruitment of those below 18.

The UK is only one of two EU member countries that allow the recruitment of the under 18s. If you would like to know more visit: www.beforeyousignup.info
The triumph of hope and many talks

FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY
TONY KEMPSTER GIVES HIS REPORT

The future is nearer than we think for better or worse. Nancy Gibbs in this week’s Time (4th November) wrote ‘Some princes are born in palaces, some are born in mangers. But a few are born in the imagination out of scraps of history and hope.’ Barack Hussein Obama did not win because of the colour of his skin. Nor did he win in spite of it. He won because, at a very dangerous moment in the life of a still young country, more people than have ever spoken before came together to try to save it. This newsletter has, in the past, included much about the threats we face us and there can be no doubt about the immensity of the new president’s task. He takes over at a time that is also historic for the depth of its crisis. I am sure our prayers ride with him, although John Pilger has been quick to tell us not to believe the hype (New Statesman 17th November). Obama he said ‘represents the worst of American power’. As pacifists, we are bound to judge his performance on how he handles the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan and whether he continues to build up his country’s military power. In the case of Iraq there are positive signs. The deal agreed with the Iraqi cabinet announced on 16th November prescribes the timeline for a US withdrawal, which Obama had foreshadowed as top of his foreign policy agenda when he takes office in January. All US forces will leave Iraq by 2011 with combat troops quitting most provinces next year. The bulk of British troops are expected to leave by the middle of next year. The deal will strengthen the powers of the Iraqi government. It will ban the American troops from launching raids into neighbouring countries, like the operation carried out late last month by US special forces into Syria.

And, incidentally, there are signs that the US military is beginning to understand that firepower is not all. In General David Petraeus’ 2007 book, The US Army Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual (The University of Chicago Press), there is an excellent article by Sarah Sewell of Harvard University which explains the change in military thinking in this area. The field manual makes securing the civilian, rather than destroying the enemy, top priority and also tells US troops something they may not wish to hear: in order to win, they must assume more risk. The manual also stresses the role of politics and outlines an ideal balance of civilian and military responsibilities. But, the big unknown is how the US will respond to the knowledge that the bi-polar moment is coming to an end. The latest issue of The global trends review, produced by the US National Intelligence Council (NIC) every four years makes sobering reading for Barack Obama. It marks a dramatic shift from its 2004 review which confidently predicted ‘continuing US dominance’. The NIC now expects emerging economies such as China, India and Brazil to grow in influence at the expense of the US. Looking ahead to 2025, it foresees ‘a fragmented world, where conflict over scarce resources is rising, poorly contained by ‘ramshackle’ international institutions, while nuclear proliferation, particularly in the Middle East, and even nuclear conflict grow more likely’.

I am working with the CCADD management committee to upgrade the organisations website so that information from valuable meetings is more accessible for students and researchers. We are also widening the range of speakers at the CCADD lunchtime seminars in London. We even have Sue Gilmurray speaking in December (see Events Diary on page 8).

Discussion on nuclear weapons was a dominant theme at the international conference of the Council for Christian Approaches to Disarmament (CCADD) which I attended.

CCADD conference in Washington

CCADD is a high-minded group, consisting largely of clerics, civil servants, military officers and diplomats, with just a few of us peace activists bringing a particular point of view. The conference, held at the Cathedral College at the Washington National Cathedral, was an excellent event, with several expert speaker form the US. There were nine sessions with titles including ‘Reversing the spread of nuclear weapons: realities of the NPT’, ‘Environmental degradation, security and humanity: the changing role of the military’, ‘The US Bishops’ pastoral 25 years on: transformational responsibilities for the laity’ and Ethics and intelligence – dealing with torture’.

TOM D’AGOSTINO, undersecretary in the US National Security Administration and responsible for the security of the entire US stockpile of nuclear weapons - for decommissioning them and managing the projects to control and secure nuclear weapons and materials world-wide. An impressive and committed man, he also works closely with Russia on the dismantling of nuclear weapons. He argued strongly that, while other countries are increasing their nuclear capability, the conditions are not right for the USA to comply fully with the NPT. With a rather different view, the second was Ambassador Max Kampelman, Head of US nuclear and space arms negotiations.
in the Reagan Administration. He was highly influential in persuading the group of senior US officials (Kissinger, Shultz, Nunn and Perry) to speak out publicly for the abolition of nuclear weapons. From his background as a Romanian Jewish family in New York, he explained what this had taught him about religious tolerance and our conflicting powers to love or hate, to build or destroy. The challenge was to face such issues in the realisation that survival requires leadership towards total elimination of nuclear weapons. It must be done multilaterally led by the USA (as the leading nuclear armed nation) and through the UN. ‘Remember that people in government do have some noble thoughts’, he said.

**Remembrance Sunday lecture at the Imperial War Museum**

As chairperson of the Movement for the Abolition of War, I introduced its annual lecture, the eighth in the series. It was given this year by Kathy Galloway, Leader of the Iona Community who spoke on ‘Hope in a time of war: a religious perspective’. Recent lectures in the series have tended to be on the legal or political aspects of war and international relations. This year, the 90th anniversary of the ending of the First World War, we focused on peace and reconciliation.

Kathy’s was an inspiring lecture, rooted in the Christianity of the early Scottish priests. If anyone would like the text, please let me know. It is also on the MAW website: www.abolishwar.org.uk.

The lecture was part of a full day at the IWM (attended by several APF members). After a short Remembrance Ceremony at 11.00 in the museum atrium, MAW’s AGM took place with Stuart Parkinson, Executive Director of Scientists for Global Responsibility, discussing the relationship between ‘Climate change and global conflict’.

**Launch of the book: The palace of Crystal: a world without war**

I chaired the launch of a new book by Harry Davis at Kingston University in October. The book is about the potential role of democracy in the abolition of war. The linkage is best illustrated by two contrasting quotes from the book, one a famous democrat, the other a famous pacifist. First Tom Paine: ‘What inducement has the farmer, while following the plough, to go to war with the farmer of another country?’ Now Herman Goering, spoken to his lawyer while awaiting trial at Nuremberg for crimes against humanity: ‘After all, it is the leaders of the country who determine policy, and it is always a simple matter to drag the people along.’ Goering may have been right – he has history on his side – but certainly the more mature we make our democracy, the harder it will be to drag the people along.

The launch was excellent and a credit for the Richmond Peace Council. It was attended by the both the Mayor of Kingston and Susan Kramer (Lib. Dem. MP for Richmond) who contributed much to a spirited discussion on the future of British democracy.

The discussion ranged widely and included the legal aspects of war. In this regard it is significant to make reference to the statement made on 17th November by Lord Bingham in his first major speech (at the British Institute of International and Comparative Law) after retiring as the most senior law lord. In a blistering attack on the invasion of Iraq, he described it as a serious violation of international law and accused Britain and the US of acting like a world ‘vigilante’.

Clearly law and democracy must go hand in hand to make the world a safer place.


**Just War principle – practically impossible**

On Armistice Day I took part in a panel discussion at Worcester Cathedral with Lord Richard Harries (retired Bishop of Oxford) and Major General Tim Cross (who was the senior officer involved in the ‘rebuilding’ of Iraq) and notable for being highly outspoken in his criticism of US post-war planning, saying it was ‘fatally flawed’. The topic under discussion was the Just War principle with an audience of 350 sixth-form students from six schools and colleges in the area.

The organisation of the event was first class and could be an exemplar for such events. The students had done preparatory work before they came, they had electronic voting devices which gave an immediate indicator of their views, questions were prepared in subgroups and the panel discussion was chaired by a student. During the day, the students attended the Act of Remembrance at the Worcester war memorial.

**Questions to the students were designed to determine how their views changed when they heard the speakers, which was very illuminating! They better understood the issue involved but only marginal changes took place in attitudes which tended to be anti-war from the outset.**

We did examine the subject of ‘talking peace to young people’ in TAP 7.4 (October 2007) where reference was made to some key points of emphasis: that (1) truth in the socio-political sense is multi-faceted, (2) the past does not prescribe the future and (3) positive action by individuals is valuable and can contribute to making the world a better place.
In September, I attended the Point of Peace Summit in Stavanger, Norway and the launch of The Peace Channel, the brain-child of Bob Geldof.

The summit was entitled ‘Unignorable messages: alarms and solutions’. The object of the discussions was to advance the core concerns of Nobel Laureates and influence policy makers. Three interconnected themes were addressed: environment, with a focus on climate change; security to meet human needs and the role of media with a focus on the challenges of informing the public without bias or prejudice. (I was present as a vice-president of the International Peace Bureau (Geneva) which is a Noble Laureate organisation. APF is a member organisation of IPB.)

Talks were given by several Noble Laureates; a particularly important one by Kim Dae-jung, former president of South Korea, who spoke on the ‘Power of dialogue: dialogue for reciprocal benefit and a win-win outcome’. He concluded with the following words:

We have learned from history that all conflicts should be resolved by means of peaceful dialogue and for mutual benefit. Mutual benefit is a precondition for the success of dialogue. This is the pressing task that we have been given by history. In the world today we have armed conflicts in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America and Asia but it is not by force that these can be resolved. It is through a peaceful dialogue aiming at a win-win outcome that we can find solutions to such situations. The people of the 21st century, living in the age of globalization, find that they are called upon to engage in more dialogue and at a level unprecedented in history.

The Peace Channel is an internet-based portal, www.peacechannel.tv, for showing videos on peace issues. These might be impartial videos produced by the Peace Channel editorial team, videos from peace and other organisations, and UGC (phone) videos sent in by people around the world. Text and audio-recordings will also be presented and the portal also includes debate forums and user-generated content about the world’s wars and potential flashpoints.

The channel’s mission statement is: that it shall be a global arena for anyone who wants to share and access knowledge and information about ongoing conflicts and the work for peace. It will provide insight into both the reasons for conflicts and their possible solutions.

The launch content included a report from Kenya on how last year’s upsurge in violence was resolved and an interview with the country’s Prime Minister, Raila Odinga. In a separate video, East Timor’s president Jose-Horta also discusses the options for an international tribunal for the country.

IPB is planning to work closely with The Peace Channel to facilitate the showing of material from its 300 member organisations around the world.

International Peace Bureau

APF is an IPB member organisation and we endeavour to work closely with it.

This year IPB’s annual Sean MacBride Peace Prize has been awarded to Jaqueline Cabasso, a well-known US advocate on nuclear disarmament. The award was presented on 14th November during the bureau’s annual meeting in Copenhagen.

IPB President, Tomas Magnusson said: ‘At this crucial time in history, just days after the momentous US election result, IPB believes this award to Jackie Cabasso will help underline the urgency for the new Administration, and for all other nuclear-armed states, of taking bold steps towards the elimination of nuclear weapons. Jackie had played a vital role within the anti-nuclear movement by action as a constant ‘watchdog’ monitoring closely (and challenging) the work going on inside the nuclear weapons laboratories; and as a critical voice in the nuclear debate ‘beyond the Washington beltway’.

‘New priorities’

As the world struggles to understand and react to unfolding financial crisis, IPB has drawn up and is promoting a Global Call for Action on Military and Social Spending entitled ‘Time for New Priorities’. This urges action on one of the most important elements in the world’s economic system, which could make a huge impact on the fate of the world’s poor: the military sector. This now spends US$1,400 billion annually, corresponding to 2.5% of world gross domestic product (GDP).

During all the high level debates on financial issues hardly a single voice has been raised to point out the discrepancy between the colossal sums spent by the world’s governments on the military, and the needs that cry out to be met in order to end the scandal of mass poverty. This initiative aims to make the point beginning at the International Congress on Financing for Development to review the Implementation of the Monetary Consensus, in Doha (29th November to 2nd December).

‘Time for New Priorities’ is a call which is being signed by peace and justice organisations around the world. This is an important initiative and APF has signed up to it. We hope it will resonate with many people’s worries about the current financial crisis and the ongoing misappropriation of huge amounts of money.
On page 5, when discussing education, reference was made to nature of ‘truth’. Here are three recent books which show that it is sometimes important to be sceptical about what we hear. The fourth simply points up a criticism.

**Laurence Rees (2008)**

*World War II behind closed doors: Stalin, the Nazis and the West*

BBC Books

From the dramatic and secret deals that helped make the war possible, to some of the most crucial decisions taken during the conflict, the book is a challenge to conventional views about World War II. Drawing on material only available since the opening of archives in the East, Laurence Rees re-examines the key choices made by Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt. As the truth about Stalin’s earlier friendly relations with the Nazis is laid bare, a devastating picture of the Soviet leader emerges.

The emotional core of the book is the new testimony obtained by nearly a hundred separate witnesses from the period. So the narrative is a mix of international politics and the dramatic personal experiences of those on the ground who bore the consequences of their decisions. But it is the larger and graver issues that are most significant. Rees discusses the monumental cynicism of the Nazi-Soviet Pact in August 1939, which precipitated war. He deals at length with Britain’s dealings with Russia over Poland, noting which precipitated war. He deals at length with the relationship between the Polish elite and the attitude of other governments to this.

The book’s principal message is that the allied cause was inescapably and deeply compromised by association with the bloodstained Soviets, morally indistinguishable from the Nazis. The West had no alternative save to make common cause with Stalin. The Soviets paid the blood price necessary to defeat Hitler’s legions. Had they not done so, British and American soldiers might have filled cemeteries as large as those of the World War I. The relationship between Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill makes an ugly story, and Rees tells it well.

**Paul Preston (2008)**

*We saw Spain die*

Constable

This is a story of deception in war. Many observers regarded the Spanish civil war as a dress rehearsal for the Second World War: General Franco’s coup against Spain’s elected government in 1936 seemed to be part of a global struggle between fascism and democracy. It is not surprising, therefore, that foreign correspondents covering the conflict became deeply involved in what both sides called a ‘crusade’. Many of them lost their objectivity because they were not so much witnesses but participants in the tragedy of war particularly those present at the siege of Madrid.

Some journalists made no attempt to record the facts impartially, as if to confirm George Orwell’s assertion that history stopped in 1936, and after that there was only propaganda. Sacrificing their ethics on the altar of their cause, they told useful lies and suppressed harmful truths for both sides. Even Orwell himself gave a distorted picture of the strife out of regard for the particular communist faction he had joined. Like many who wrote about it, he succumbed to ‘doublethink’, holding contradictory convictions and tampering with reality.

Ernest Hemingway was among those, accepting the need for communist terror and journalistic licence in the interests of defeating Franco. Arthur Koestler wrote: ‘Anyone who has lived through the hell of Madrid with his eyes, his nerves, his heart, his stomach, and then pretends to be objective is a liar.’

It wasn’t until Hemingway wrote his novel *For whom the bell tolls* did he give a candid view of such deception saying: ‘If a thing was right fundamentally the lying was not supposed to matter … but it was a very corrupting business.’

It was especially corrupting on the rebel, nationalist side. Here reporters were harassed and threatened if they showed the least sign of independence. Censorship was brutally enforced.

**David Loyn**

*Butcher and bolt: two hundred years of foreign engagement in Afghanistan*

Hutchinson

What are we doing in Afghanistan with so much disregard for the lessons of history? This new history shows how since the 1840s, the British, the Russians and now the Americans have all tried to bring stability and order to the country through force – and have been defeated by its implacable resistance.

David Loyn a BBC foreign affairs reporter argues that history shows that the current war is a very bad idea. It now presents the same horrible quandary, as for previous involvements, about how to end it. This time because withdrawal will almost certainly return the Taliban to power with al-Qaeda not far behind. He asks if there is a solution and answers, probably not. Absolutist Islam lacks the means but not the will to defeat the West; the West has the means but not the will to defeat absolutist Islam, least of all inside Afghanistan. However, it might help if we dumped well-intentioned fantasy. Loyn makes the point, again and again, that first British, then Soviet and now the US policy on Afghanistan has been formed by tellers of fairy tales in London, Moscow and Washington and not by the complicated and difficult reality on the ground. But above all, the book challenges rigidity of thinking. Loyn rubbishes the Americans’s supernatural belief in technology, and points out that the Taliban have one and a half million recruits in Pakistan’s madrasas, just over the border.

**Timothy Blewett, Adrian Hyde-Price and Wyn Rees (editors) (2008)**

*British foreign policy and the Anglican Church*

Ashgate

This book examines the role the Church of England has played in contemporary foreign policy issues: including the use of force – intervention, counter-terrorism and arms sales – and overseas trade, aid and debt forgiveness. The book brings together the views of senior individuals from within the Church, academia and non-governmental organisations.

One of the authors is Dr Richard Lock-Pullen from University of Birmingham. His chapter is entitled ‘The Church and the war on terrorism’ where he discusses the House of Bishop’s 2005 Report, *Countering terrorism: power, violence and democracy* post 9/11. He criticises it on a number of issues particularly its methodology and failure to define terms; and the fact that it is virtually silent on Afghanistan and Guantamano. But he says: ‘Fundamentally, the Report is marked by a lack of distinctiveness in argument, language and analysis, all of which are desperately needed if the Church is to play a full role in the political debate on the war on terror’. Strong words indeed but it is good to hear them when, at the Lambeth Conference and elsewhere, APF has been calling for such a distinctive voice.
2008

8 December  Sue Gilmurray is speaking at a lunch-time meeting of the Council on Christian Approaches to Defence and Defence (CCADD) on communications and connections: writing songs about war and peace. 13.00 at 39 Eccleston Square, London SW1. This is an open meeting, all are welcome, but it is important to tell CCADD that you are coming on 01603 279939 or ccadd@lineone.net.

10 December  Human Rights Day. The Day marks the anniversary of the UN Assembly's adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. For details visit: www.un.org/events/ref43.htm.

28 December  Holy Innocent Day events organised by APF under the auspice of the Network of Christian Peace Organisations. We begin at noon in St Martin-in-the-fields, Trafalgar Square. (Note that this is later than usual.) It will be followed at 2.00 by a witness at the Innocent Victim's Memorial outside Westminster Abbey. Contact APF on 01908 510642 for details.

2009

4 February  Network for Peace AGM. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn. Details from NfP: 020 7278 3267 or mail@networkforpeace.org.uk.

10 February  Council for Christian Approaches to Defence and Disarmament lunch-time meeting with speaker, Malcolm Rifkind MP talking on 'Nuclear issues in the context of British foreign policy' (the discussion led by Michael Quinlan). 13.00 at the International Institute of Strategic Studies, 13-15 Arundel St, London WC2R 3DX. This is an open meeting, all are welcome, but it is important to tell CCADD that you are coming (01603 279939 or ccadd@lineone.net).

Notices

Congratulations to David Mumford, APF Governing Body member who has been appointed Dean in the diocese of Brechin.

And remember to visit APF's website: www.anglicanpeacemaker.org.uk, which has recently been revamped, to find out more about what we do. An administration facility exists on the website and we wish to become an Associate of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.

If you would like to join the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship and are in agreement with the pledge:

“We communicate members of the Anglican Communion or Christians in communion with it, believing that our membership of the Christian Church involves the complete repudiation of modern war, pledge ourselves to renounce war and all preparation to wage war, and to work for the construction of Christian peace in the world.”

Then please (□) box one in the form below.

If you are sympathetic to the view expressed in the pledge but feel unable to commit yourself to it, you may like to become an associate of the APF and receive the Fellowship's newsletter and notice of our various open events, then please (□) box two.

Send your completed form to the Membership Secretary:- Sue Gilmurray, 1, Wilford Drive, Ely, Cambridgeshire, CB6 1TL.

☐ I am in agreement with the pledge and wish to become a member of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.

☐ I wish to become an Associate of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.

Name and designation (Revd, Dr, Mr, Mrs etc): please print clearly and give your Christian name first.

Address

Year of birth ___________________________ Diocese ___________________________

I enclose a cheque for …………….. as my first subscription (makes cheque payable to the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship)

Please / if you are a UK-income tax payer and want your donation to be treated as a Gift Aid donation.

APF can then reclaim income tax paid on the donation.

Please / if you want to make a regular monthly or annual subscription using a Standing Order

I heard of APF through ……………………………………………………………………

Signed ___________________________ Date ___________________________

If you want to make a regular subscription using a Standing Order, please contact Roger Payne at rjpayne@o2.co.uk.

2008

Notice of a second AGM

APF is now working under a new constitution agreed with the Charity Commissioners which specifies a quorum of 20 for the AGM. We were rather optimistic when we proposed this number and found that were not quorate on 18th October when we held our 2008 meeting. We now have to call a second AGM meeting which we will hold on the 17th January arranged conveniently to coincide with the next Governing Body. At this second AGM we can adjust the number for a quorum.

The annual accounts are shown on page 11.

The meeting will be held at Flat 1, 43 Benslow Lane, Hitchin SG4 9RE which is just a five-minute walk from the railway station. Please tell the Secretary if you are coming to receive travel details (01908 510642 or ajkempster@aol.com).

OFFICERS OF THE FELLOWSHIP

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mary@roes.org.uk

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sue.claydon@cambridgeshire.gov.uk

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(Also the address of the Fellowship)
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ajkempster@aol.com

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eastoe@dslstart.net

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1 Wilford Drive, Ely CB6 1TL
01353 668495
S.Gilmurray@anglia.ac.uk

are looking for someone to look after this. If you are interested or would like further information about what is involved, please contact Roger Payne at rjpayne@o2.co.uk.
The five films reviewed here were produced to communicate specific messages. The last two were designed to be used in peace education, particularly in schools.

**CSNY: DÉJÁ-VU**

Directed by Neil Young (Bernard Shakey)

This is a documentary directed by Neil Young (under the pseudonym Bernard Shakey). Neil is a member of the rock band, Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young (CSNY), and one of the most prolific rock/folk guitarists of the last half century. The band was an important voice in the 1960s backlash against the war in Vietnam. The film documents the band's 2007 'Freedom of speech tour' of the United States which was a damning political statement against the war in Iraq.

Young's thoughts were that he was surprised – particularly compared to the 1960s – how apathetic the US public was in its reaction to an unjust war in Iraq, and so he recorded an entire album of material on the subject, much of which CSNY played on the tour to provoke debate on the subject. Many audiences were moved by the songs but, as the tour entered Middle America, reactions to the material became decidedly mixed...

The live on stage footage of CSNY playing the provocative new material from Young's album as well as classics including a 'Hey stop what's that sound' and a new version of 'Let's impeach the President'.

The film is billed as a milestone musical documentary; a feature film of lasting political and social relevance. Perhaps not quite this, it is nevertheless an insightful documentary giving a telling reminder of the impact the band had in shaping and moving the hearts and minds of the anti-war youth a generation ago, by bringing into focus the global anti-Iraq war movement.

**Contempt of conscience**

Clarity Productions

Joe Jenkins

In 2004, Joe Jenkins (one of the UK Peace Tax Seven) made a 12 minute short using some of the material he had gathered and interviews with each of the Peace Tax Seven. This was an excellent film which set out concisely the case for conscientious objection to paying war tax. Already it has been a stimulating and invaluable campaigning tool, shown at over 30 schools, and peace and Quaker groups up and down the country. Joe has now produced a full-length documentary which has just been released.

Although military conscription is no longer physical it is financial, with each of us conscripted through our taxes. Filmed over five years, the film follows The Peace Tax Seven as they fight to redirect the proportion of their taxes destined for military spending to peaceful means.

Placing conscientious in its historical and social context, the documentary combines striking visual archive with an engaging struggle taking us on a journey from the group's inception to the arrival of the bailiffs, through the British High Court and beyond... It features Mark Thomas and the late Dame Anita Roddick with music by Billy Bragg.

The film received its world premiere at the 13th Milano Film Festival and the organizers said it had been selected because it exercised not only the head but the heart.

The film is available on line at www.booserver.com/projects.php?ProjectID=3167

**Waltz with Bashir**

Directed by Ari Folman

Israel filmmakers Ari Folman's latest film is an animated docudrama in which the director and his friends play key roles.

One night in a bar, a friend tells Folman about a recurring dream in which 26 vicious dogs are chasing him. The two decide that the dream is connected to Israel's war with Lebanon – in which they both served during the 1980s. Eager to find out about his involvement in a conflict of which he has little recollection, Folman seeks out fellow former recruits and sets their animated testimonies to real audio recordings. What follows is a personal and moving study of selective memory, repressed feelings and the folly of war.

This is a compelling film which exposes how war can damage soldiers psychologically. It has a vivid cartoon format and a pulsing techno-rock-classical soundtrack which gives it a fresh approach to understanding the massacres that took place in Beirut in 1982. But nothing can prepare you for the shocking blow with which the film ends.

**Where is the love?**

Communitiespeak 2004

This 10-minute film was produced, with a little professional help by a group of six students from the Royal Docklands Community School in London, as a gem for several reasons. It deals with a problem which lies on the school's doorstep, the DSEi arms fair held at the Excel Centre. It also explains that the docklands were heavily bombed during WWII and that many refugees from countries with conflict, such as Sierra Leone and Croatia, have settled there – indeed some of their children go to the school. Thus it has a direct local link to militarism and arms exports.

The message that the arms trade is morally wrong comes across very well through the mouths of young people. The students do the interviewing, one interview with a representative of the arms export industry. The film is also developed around a song, 'Where is the love' by a well-known pop group, Black Eyed Peas. Not only is this the background music but the students also sing the song.

The CD is available from the Campaign Against Arms Trade.

**War no more**

Movement for the Abolition of War, 2004

This short film aims to convince people that wars are not inevitable and that conflicts – national and international – can and must be solved in other ways, if the human race is to survive. There is an excellent accompanying booklet by Valerie Fessati which discusses the major issues raised by the film, lists some of the organizations working in the peace field and gives references to other sources of information.

This is also a very good film and particularly useful for use in schools and colleges but it takes quite a different approach from 'Where is the love'. It has a dialogue and interviews with a number of high profile people including Martin Bell, Caroline Lucas, Professor Sir Joseph Rotblat and Archbishop Desmond Tutu. It also uses library film of war and conflict.

It is available directly from MAW (www.abolishwar.org.uk) or from Kevin Mayhew Ltd, Buxhall, Stowmarket, Suffolk. IP14 3BW

**Note:** MAW is currently planning to make an education film examining the relationship between global warming and military conflict and will probably aim to combine some of the best aspect of both approaches.
Accounts for the year ended 5/4/2008

Treasurer's comments

These accounts have been prepared wholly on a receipts and payments basis in accordance with the requirements of the Charity Commissioners. Income has recovered from last year’s low.

Excess expenditure (over income) is £1234, but with 2 years Gift Aid reclaim the real deficit was £2540. The reserves are sufficient to meet the policy requirement to maintain more than one years expenses. This situation may change during 2008 with £5000 budgeted for the Lambeth Conference campaign. A copy of the Independent Examiners report is available and will be included in the annual return to the Charity Commissioners.

Roger Payne

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### 1. Receipt & Payments Account (General Purpose Fund)

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**NOTES TO ACCOUNTS**

- **General Purpose Funds**
  - **Sub Total** | £12179.33 | £6534.15 |

- **Gift Aid Subscriptions & Donations** | £4982.70 | £4122.20 |

- **Income Tax Refunds** | £2532.49 | 0.00     |

**PAYMENTS**

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**HONORARY AUDITOR’S REPORT**

I have examined the relevant books and vouchers and am satisfied that the above account is correct.

An Independent Examiners report has been submitted to the Governing Body.

Signed Richard Harries

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### Notes to accounts

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**Note b3: Conferences**

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**Note b4: Affiliations and Grants**

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**Note c1: Income tax and Covenants**

Only money recovered in the year is shown as receipts. Further amounts recoverable for the year is shown as Debtors (£166.55).

**Note d1: Stocks of publications**

Consists of 43 different types of leaflets, CD’s, tape, books used to promote the work of APF.

Publications are valued at realisable cost.

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**Note d2: Office Furniture and Equipment**

Items are valued at cost.

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HONORARY AUDITOR’S REPORT

I have examined the relevant books and vouchers and am satisfied that the above account is correct.

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Signed Richard Harries
weapons in order to generate feelings of revulsion and rejection of war. Even before its opening in 1996, the Royal Armouries in Leeds provoked local concern that it would stimulate an unhealthy fascination in arms and their use. Such local peace movement feelings led to the Armouries appointing a member of staff who would champion those concerns within the institution. One early outcome of that appointment was the invitation to The Peace Museum to hold a temporary exhibition at the Armouries in 1997. The opportunity to produce *A Vision Shared; Art from the History of the Peace Movement* led to considerable growth of knowledge and expertise among those involved with The Peace Museum. It proved to be a highly successful collaboration.

Building on this success, however, has been problematic. Although larger-scale plans foundered, it was possible to establish a small, permanent gallery within The Armouries with an exhibition entitled ‘Farewell to arms’. The process felt Kafkaesque at times, as representatives of the small, independent Peace Museum became aware of the very different styles and management structures of the huge, national government institution that is The Armouries. Key decisions seemed to get lost in corridors and committees and over-pressed middle managers, for whom, in any case, Peace Museum concerns were not the over-riding priority.

Having a presence in such a well-visited institution as the Armouries also brings a new visitor market to The Peace Museum, and is valuable outreach. Although we are not precisely sure how many people visited the ‘Farewell to arms’ exhibition we estimate that has been some 20,000 people a year.

For The Peace Museum to have an attractive, permanent, exhibition in venue like the Armouries is a great achievement.

**Overview**

I have shown above three ways in which collaboration between a peace museum and a military, or similar, museum can be effective. Certain conditions, however, do need to be fulfilled before such collaboration can proceed. It is important to know from the outset, what the aims and objectives of collaboration are. The two museums may not have identical aims, but they may be compatible. For a peace museum to have confidence in the collaboration, it is essential to have agreement on editorial control of text.

Mindful of the principles involved and the practical pitfalls, I would encourage peace museums to be open to the possibility of collaboration with war and armament museums. The staff of these institutions may not themselves be military enthusiasts, and the leadership may be looking for ways to break out from a narrow military or armaments perspective. There will be occasions when it would not be right to collaborate, but there will be others when a peace museum could benefit from such collaboration, and could make a significant contribution to peace education. It might be a step towards the day when all armaments are in museums, as the 17th century English poet, John Milton, wrote,

*No war, or battle’s sound*
*Was heard the world around:*
*The idle spear and shield were high uphung;*

Maybe on that day, military museums would have become peace museums.

**Editor’s note on recent developments at The Peace Museum.**

The Peace Museum is now on the way to being established, not as originally intended in Bradford, but in Leeds. It will be attached to a new peace centre for peace and conflict resolution (the Senator George Mitchell Centre) at Leeds Metropolitan University in the ‘Civic quarter’ of the city, within walking distance of Leeds City Museum, City Gallery, City Library, Town Hall and Millennium Square.

The museum will have some ten times more space that at present; greater emphasis on both formal and informal education, with purpose-designed space for education, evening talks, activities and events. The cost of getting the museum up and running will be around £2 million. One million has been raised and a further million is being sought.
Eloquent protest III: reading between the lines

Held on the afternoon of Remembrance Sunday at the Trafalgar Studios, Whitehall, this was a delightful piece of theatre fusing music, poetry and drama. It was billed as a response to the price of war, which honours the dead and counts the cost of their sacrifice. It explores the power of words and music against the human cost of war.

It is now an important fixture in London’s theatrical calendar and returned this year because of its successes in 2006 and 2007.

Introduced by Tony Benn, it had a host of artists including Rosemary Ashe, Stella Duffy, Two’s company and Fiona McDonald.

Open port: songs across walls of separation

On the international page (6) mention was made of the Point of Peace Summit in Stavanger, Norway. Stavanger is non-EU European Capital of Culture 2008 and a highlight of the Summit week was a performance of an outdoor theatre play ‘Songs across walls of separation’ in the square by the town harbour.

This was an exciting piece of theatre, using the harbour setting and using helicopters to bring in performers from above.

It was wonderful family entertainment but also communicated a clear message about peace and justice.

‘Songs across walls of separation’ began as a music project with a CD-release comprising, what it describes, as eleven ‘impossible duets across walls’.

The idea was to focus on the way individuals, families and friends are affected by political borders and the physical ‘security’ walls built to keep peoples apart. Erik Hillestad, the musical director of the project travelled to different parts of the world where such walls have been erected or where uncrossable lines have been drawn by political authorities. In Palestine, Morocco, Mexico, Syria, Cyprus and Kashmir he found singers that were directly affected by the separation.

He asked them to find suitable songs and to help him find a counterpart on the other side of the wall that also knew the song so that he could record the same tune on both sides of the barrier.

The simple symbolism is of course that music cannot be restrained and that the songs travel over the walls of separation.

The artistic theme, thus, draws attention to the importance of open doors, open ports and open gates in an era when walls are dividing the world, physically, politically and socially.

It is also part of Norway’s own history because of the great migration of Quakers to America in the 19th century.

The performance involved hundreds of people including a large children’s choir; a youth choir and a youth symphony orchestra from the music schools in the county of Rogaland. Also participating, were several famous actors, singers, and amateur groups.

Songs against war

The CD was launched at the Imperial War Museum (London) on Remembrance Sunday and is already a success. It brings together 18 songs from some of the finest protest songwriters in Britain, the USA and Australia, each song chosen because of its lyrics and the way it describes a certain aspect of war or peacemaking, particularly the effect of conflict on individuals.

It includes three songs by Sue Gilmurray who also performs on the CD.

To order the CD send a cheque for £12 plus £1.60 p&p to MAW ORDERS, 1 Theisniger Rd, Abingdon Oxon OX14 2DY.

It is the editorial policy of The Anglican Peacemaker to include a range of articles expressing a variety of opinions. The views expressed are not necessarily those of the editors nor of the APF.

The CD was launched at the Imperial War Museum (London) on Remembrance Sunday and is already a success. It brings together 18 songs from some of the finest protest songwriters in Britain, the USA and Australia, each song chosen because of its lyrics and the way it describes a certain aspect of war or peacemaking, particularly the effect of conflict on individuals.

It includes three songs by Sue Gilmurray who also performs on the CD.

To order the CD send a cheque for £12 plus £1.60 p&p to MAW ORDERS, 1 Theisniger Rd, Abingdon Oxon OX14 2DY.

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The editor for this edition was Tony Kempster.

Letters and contributions for the next edition should be sent to the commissioning editor (details on page 8 by January 31st 2009).