War and Climate Change

The debate about the link between climate change and war is (forgive the pun) hotting up. At the beginning of December world leaders gathered in Bali to address the problem of climate change (perhaps next time they could have a video-link conference and save on air travel). While there, senior diplomats were warned that security issues were a major threat of global warming (Independent, 6 December 2007). This is something MAW is trying to get into the public arena. We were present at the Climate Action march in London on December 8th, handing out our leaflets on the links between war and the environment. Other organisations have made this important link (see page 4). Unless we find a way to resolve conflict without resorting to war, we may be faced with seeing life destroyed either by climate change or by global war; one or the other – a stark choice. But while people are making the link, it is also noticeable that, although many aid and environmental organisations are campaigning against climate change and some recognise the threat of conflict, they are for the most part running their own campaigns rather than working together. Also, although many if not most local peace groups are engaged, national peace organisations do not appear to be. MAW believes that this issue is too important for us to be banging our individual drums. That is why there was a meeting in Cambridge (see p 4) We must, quite urgently, learn to put aside our loyalties to our own organisations so that we can act together. (If you would like some of our leaflets please contact the editor.)

MAW and the Imperial War Museum

We continue our very successful relationship with the Museum. On Remembrance Sunday Baroness Helena Kennedy gave our annual lecture (see page 6), and the cinema was packed for this important event. Two generous donations were handed to MAW, one with a letter which said ‘I am enclosing a cheque for £1100 which includes my life membership and ten other life memberships for ten whose lives will be saved by the abolition of war.’ A truly ‘feel-good’ moment for MAW!

Following last year’s successful Peace History Conference, we will be back at the Museum on March 28th and 29th for our second Conference. See page 3 for details. London singer-songwriter Leon Rosselson, well-known for political and protest songs, will be performing on the first evening, promoting his new CD A Proper State. We also hope to have the choir Raised Voices with us. Book up now!

‘We fear you are over-focussed on human rights to the detriment of British interests.’

This was the Foreign Office reply to a diplomatic telegram from Craig Murray, detailing the human rights abuses committed by the Uzbek government. It leaves a nasty taste in your mouth when you discover how little your own government cares about the lives and rights of human beings. And, for Craig, it also meant choosing between making a stand on human rights, or keeping a career he loved and had a talent for. Luckily for those of us who campaign on these issues, he chose human rights.

Craig’s talk at MAW’s AGM was both shocking and enlightening. He gave a very clear breakdown of the reasons why places like Uzbekistan were and are important to US (and UK) policies. He detailed the links between oil companies like Enron, an oilman named Bush, and Uzbekistan. He confirmed what everyone said at the time of the Iraq invasion – it’s about oil isn’t it? He talked about the network of American bases that ring the Middle East and parts of Asia, the ‘lily pad’ bases that can, in a matter of 48 hours, get American troops to wherever in the area the US wants to control. And explained why states like Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iraq are so important to US interests. The answer is not just oil, but natural gas, of which Uzbekistan has a large supply, and the fact that the gas has to be transported by pipeline through or bordering – guess which countries? Although, unfortunately (at least where the US is concerned) Uzbekistan’s Prime Minister Karimov has now shown the door to the Americans and opened it to Russia. Where that leaves British interests is anybody’s guess.

Almost within days of taking up his post as British Ambassador in Uzbekistan, Craig was finding out firsthand about the horrifying abuses the regime was capable of.

(Continued on page 10)
Gloucestershire’s First Festival of Peace

This was an amazing week of activities. Peace was truly on the agenda throughout Gloucestershire. All local newspapers carried at least one article over the duration of the festival. We were featured on local BBC News and we had seven radio interviews. BBC Radio Gloucestershire did their own celebration of World Peace Day by playing Peace songs. The message of peace was seen and heard by many.

More than 2,600 people saw the ‘Gandhi, King Ikeda - Peacebuilders’ exhibition. Of these many were pupils at the schools that hosted the exhibition and held their own Peace Festivals. Pupils used a wide variety of activities to explore the themes of the exhibition - non-violent conflict resolution, empowerment of the self, be the change you want to see, tolerance and respect.

Activities included: drama, poetry, writing songs, sculpture from recycled materials, UN Peace Assembly simulation, local radio broadcast, producing a newspaper, exploring other religions, building a peace garden and holding a world flag ceremony. Three school choirs learnt a song ‘For the Sake of Peace’ with Howard Jones and performed it at the World Peace Day Celebration at Cheltenham Town Hall. It was a very moving experience seeing and hearing 160 young people singing this powerful vow of peace. This is what the pupils had to say:

‘I would like to see more things like this in schools.’ ‘Today I have had a brilliant day! It makes me think how amazing people can be when they are fighting for what they believe in.’ ‘Today has had a big effect on me. It has opened my eyes to this whole peace idea.’

Gloucestershire County Council hosted the launch of the festival. Councillor Lady Mavis Dunrossil, the chairwomen of Gloucestershire County Council said in her opening address: ‘Bringing this high profile exhibition to the county is a real first for Gloucestershire. Peace is important for our children and young people and for the realisation of our best hopes for our county and country. The County Council is very proud to be sponsoring these events’

The County Council wishes to continue to support us next year.

Lin Kear

Aspects of Peace

Promoting MAW’s vision requires more effective communication, and revision of how we engage with a wide variety of other groups, especially those new or hostile to our ideas. This was the focus of a talk I gave at a conference called Aspects of Peace, in September. Within this, I asked whether our language may need to alter radically, particularly the over-use of the term ‘peace’ which seemed poorly interpreted and understood by many outside our ‘club’.

I also encouraged people to imagine how we may relate our message more closely with environmental and developmental issues. This was vital if the world was to realistically address the threats facing humanity – indeed, all life and life-systems on earth. To support this I raised awareness of the Oxford Research Group’s report Sustainable Security in the 21st Century (discussed in a previous newsletter)

I explained how MAW plans to relate the concerns of these three areas as much as possible from now on. Those working in one area cannot treat it in isolation from the other two, if they are to be effective. Although many of us have been aware of this for years, it has remained largely unreflected in our materials and our activities. It is vital we promote a more unified front to show how all these groups’ concerns point to a single emergency – the security of human existence.

The conference was organised by South Hants Peace Council, at the Sustainability Centre, East Meon, near Petersfield, and attended by 60 people. I was one of three speakers, the other two being from Peace Direct and Peace Child International. It was notable how each of us included remarks or ideas that so closely reflected those of the other two speakers – we had not met beforehand!

Our three brief talks were followed by robust question sessions and, after lunch, several workshops which sought to address specific questions set by the speakers.

This conference is an annual event held to mark the International UN Day for Peace, which is on September 21st.

Christine Titmus

What is your local group doing to mark World Peace Day?

They just don’t get it, do they?

‘One day while I was in a bunker in Vietnam, a sniper round went over my head. The person who fired that weapon was not a terrorist, a rebel, an extremist, or a so-called insurgent. The Vietnamese individual who tried to kill me was a citizen of Vietnam, who did not want me in his country. This truth escapes millions.’


Over 1,000 Alleged War Criminals Living in U.S.

New figures reveal the United States has become a haven for accused war criminals from around the world. According to the Department of Homeland Security, more than one thousand people accused of crimes including rape, killings, torture and genocide abroad are living in the U.S. Democratic Senator Richard Durbin of Illinois says torture is currently the only serious human rights violation committed abroad that can lead to prosecution of a non-American national on U.S. soil.

No one could make a greater mistake than he who did nothing because he could only do a little.

Edmund Burke
**Letter from the Chair**

Why are we so bad at learning and responding to lessons from the past? As we enter this New Year, it is clear that the ongoing conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan have been overtaken by other factors, particularly climate change and the global economic situation. Even the US presidential contest, for which Iraq was predicted to be the defining issue, has been dominated by immigration, health and other domestic issues. Yet the suffering of the Iraqi people continues as the death toll approaches a million. ‘As we move on’ (to use the political euphemism for forgetting mistakes), we seem no further forward in the constitutional reform that would prevent a future prime minister making the same mistakes as Blair. Indeed, we recently heard two establishment figures, Lord Guthrie (formally Chief of the Defence Staff) and Sir Kevin Tebbit (former permanent secretary at the MoD), on the Today programme, defend the secrecy and lack of accountability that allowed the events to take place. To go to war is such a terrible thing that it demands the public remorse and regret which bring about the changes that will minimise the risk of it happening again. To promote this is one of MAW’s objectives.

It has been a busy year end with the our AGM and the Remembrance Day lecture in November, the recording of the new MAW CD (which will be available in February) and preparation of events for 2008, particularly the second peace history conference to be held at the Imperial War Museum in March. The conference is again being held in partnership with the International Peace Bureau. IPB has an excellent new website which includes an international events calendar and newsletter. The Remembrance weekend was a great success. Craig Murray, former UK Ambassador in Uzbekistan, gave an excellent and revealing lecture at our AGM (front page), and Baroness Helena Kennedy gave an outstanding Remembrance Day lecture (page 6). As last year, we also leafleted outside the Albert Hall to people attending the Royal Festival of Remembrance arguing that the best way to honour their memory is to work for the abolition of war (page 6).

In October, MAW published the new booklet entitled Remembrance for today which offers a wide range of readings, reflections, prayers, hymns and songs. Many copies were sold and are likely to have been used around the country on Remembrance Sunday. The CD is going well and we are already beginning to play some of the songs at events around the country; the most recent being a concert in Cardiff prison and the Holy Innocent event at St Martin-in-the-Fields. A film is being made during the production of the CD for use in schools.

MAW is taking an increasing interest in environmental issues with particular reference to the potential effect of global warming on future military conflict (page 4). An explorative meeting was held at St John’s College Cambridge with local organisations to explore links and a larger event in Westminster is being planned for April. MAW also intends to have a presence at demonstrations and in the lobbying of MPs.

I visited Ireland again in November to promote MAW, speaking on the ethics of nonviolent intervention in conflict situations, in Belfast and Dublin. I shared these platforms with Dr Suman Aggarwal, professor of philosophy at Delhi University and Gandhian scholar.

Following the four-year rule of our constitution (adopted in 2003) we have several new people on our executive and look forward to the contribution they will make to our work. Thanks are due to the members who are standing down. But we are still looking for more support, particularly for people with time/skills, and whom we can co-opt during the year, so please contact us if you are interested.

*Tony Kempster*
War and Climate Change

The danger of increased violent conflict due to climate change was the subject of a talk by Dan Smith OBE*, speaking at the annual conference of Scientists for Global Responsibility in October. ‘We cannot any longer treat climate change as a threat that’s coming. Climate change is already here, we are experiencing it now. The first consequences are with us,’ were the salutary opening words. ‘Four hundred million people depend on the river Ganges, yet the water level is falling already, year by year. Although mitigation of climate change effects is still essential, it will not affect the changes already in the environmental system and feeding their way through. Whatever we do now, the glaciers won’t stop melting,’ Dan continued.

‘Fighting over the leftovers: resource depletion and the potential for conflict’ was the chilling title for the conference, whose other speaker, Dr Mandy Meikle, of Depletion Scotland, talked about ‘Energy, peak oil and conflict.’

The broad scientific consensus about climate change tells us that in many areas of the world the physical consequence of climate change will make human habitats less habitable. This will sharpen existing social divisions and conflicts and make them harder to handle and resolve peacefully. A further likely consequence is migration, potentially involving hundreds of millions of people, generating further risks of division and conflict.

The issue is whether these conflicts will be pursued peacefully or violently. The risk of violence is greater in countries where there is already violent conflict, or the risk of it, because of poverty, bad governance, corruption or chronic instability. In these countries, the social and political knock-on effects of climate change will simply add to the existing pressures and make violent conflict more likely; this will, in turn, make adaptation to climate change even more difficult. These are countries that mostly have fewer capacities for conflict resolution and peace-building. Helping strengthen those capacities now will both help these countries adapt to the consequences of climate change and contribute to their prospects for sustainable peace and equitable, sustainable development.

Forty six countries have been identified as being at high risk of war linked to climate change. For another 56 political instability linked to climate change is likely, increasing the risk of violence. In fact the most dangerous condition for any country was that of undergoing ‘democratisation’ – the time of transition between dictatorship and democracy.

Dan expressed in detail how poor management of the dire effects of climate change had influenced the current horrors in Darfur, and used this example to emphasise how vital it is that measures to adapt are put in place well before the situation is serious. At the recent UN Security Council meeting on Climate Change and Security, the representative from northern Ghana said they were now seeing the fighting between herders and farmers (due to climate change) that happened at the beginning of the Darfur crisis. Co-operative and mediatve processes must be brought in now or a repeat will happen. He went on to explain the various threats and self-interests that could lead to this failing – or not even being started.

‘Adaptation means people have to change. But how to do this? It has to happen at the community level, with local leaders, local government, talking and working out the changes. There has to be agreed social understanding of the problems,’ said Dan, who suggested that just using the law was not enough. They needed to understand why they had to adapt, and work out best for themselves on local levels, how to do this the best way.

Dan, claiming to be an optimist, suggested that, despite the difficulties, climate change offered an opportunity as well as a threat. With all facing such a superordinate danger, instead of reacting to conflicts with violence, we could all be brought together by talking about the best way we can survive and how we can help one another in this, thus helping ourselves. The route of consent and co-operation would ensure that most survived, for the longest time period. The “common enemy” of climate change is the task around which hugely diverse groupings can unite. ‘In this smaller, more interactive world, I believe that states’ interests will be better met through a co-operative rather than an antagonistic model,’ he concluded.

Christine Titmus

*Dan Smith is Secretary General of International Alert. For details of his and Dr Mandy Meikle’s presentations, see www.sgr.org.uk. And do look at International Alert’s website. They have just produced a new study, A Climate of Conflict, which can be downloaded, and is well worth a read, if a bit frightening.

Opening the Discussion - MAW, War and Climate Change

MAW Committee member Brian Heale was the organiser of a meeting held at St John’s College, Cambridge on 7th December 2007 to discuss the connections between war, environment and poverty. As well as MAW, other organisations represented were Pax Christi, the Student Pugwash Society, the Cambridge World Development Movement and the Cambridge Green Party. Also there was David Howarth (MP for Cambridge and on the Joint Committee for the Climate Change Bill). The big issue under discussion was how the inevitable military conflict that results from global warming and resource shortages can be prevented/reduced. There is also a lack of information about the military contribution to global warming. For instance, David Howarth referred to the Stern Report, pointing out that it did not include any reference to the military contribution or the cost of the refugee problems and conflict that global warming will bring. And how much would be gained by transferring finance from military activities to conflict prevention?

MAW will be arranging a larger meeting in London in April, where it is hoped there will be representatives from the major environmental and aid organisations, as well as those already concerned with the question, such as International Alert.

Nothing that I can do will change the structure of the universe. But maybe, by raising my voice, I can help the greatest of all causes – goodwill among men and peace on earth. Albert Einstein
War, Poverty & Environment
El Salvador’s Nightmare

My interest in El Salvador began last February, when Cambridge World Development Movement hosted a talk by Ricardo Navarro. Ricardo’s talk focused mainly on global environmental problems and how the wealth/poverty divide contributes to these problems. Violent conflict was only touched on; and I had just vague memories (from the media) of El Salvador’s 1980s civil war. It took only some cursory investigations to discover the incredible intensity and horror of that civil war – and to realize why Ricardo had such a bee in his bonnet about the ‘twin evils of excessive wealth and excessive poverty’.

**The Environment**
Like most Central American countries, El Salvador is rich in biodiversity - globally important say USAID. Its natural habitat is tropical deciduous forests, containing mammals, reptiles, amphibians, birds, freshwater fish, and at least 2,500 species of plants. Quantitatively, much of this has disappeared. Some species have become extinct, e.g. jaguar, bowler monkey. Only 5% of the rainforest remains, hillsides have been denuded, resulting in deadly landslides. Two thirds of the forest destruction has occurred in the last 40 years – the civil war responsible for much of it.

**History of Inequality**
Spain was probably the richest, most powerful nation on Earth in 1525 when it completed its conquest of El Salvador. Still it wanted more. It took the most fertile land for itself. Environmental degradation began as the indigenous people were pushed onto marginal land to sustain themselves. Intermittent uprisings occurred until the 19th century. Then things got worse. Coffee plantations arrived. More land was taken from the many by the few. In 1882, all rights to communal holdings of land were abolished; with more of the most fertile land taken by fewer large landowners. A ‘coffee elite’ (mainly of European descent) ruled the country, with utterable poverty and political exclusion for the vast majority. The 1929 Wall Street crash almost destroyed El Salvador – 95% of its exports were one commodity - coffee. As always, the landless poor suffered the most. A military coup, engineered by the Vice President, clamped down on unrest from the poor. Thousands rebelled in January 1932. They attacked military installations and associated civilians with machetes. The attacks were soon quashed; the rebel ringleaders executed. Unprecedented repression followed. Anyone found wearing indigenous dress was shot. Villages disappeared. Up to 30,000 people were killed in a violent frenzy lasting just one week.

**Towards Civil War**
Landlessness, poverty and high unemployment led to the establishment of guerrilla groups, in the 1970s. Police fired on crowds; 300 unarmed demonstrators were shot and killed on the steps of the National Cathedral. The guerrilla groups banded together to become the FMLN. The assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero in 1980 catapulted El Salvador towards civil war. This began in January 1981 when the FMLN attacked and drove back Government forces in parts of El Salvador. Ideology then raised its ugly head. Ronald Reagan must have been living in a McCarthy-era time warp in 1981 when he pledged to ‘draw the line against communism’ in El Salvador. US financial aid totalled at least $1.5 billion (some sources say $6 billion) in the course of the 12 year war, and US military ‘advisors’ directed Salvadoran forces.

**The Civil War**
The Salvadoran government used bombing as their main strategy to defeat the rebels, intended to destroy hideouts of insurgents. This meant deliberate large-scale environmental destruction. Government forces ‘bombed and burned forests and fields, razed croplands and villages, slaughtered wildlife and livestock and conducted military sweeps of peasant communities to kill or drive out the population.’ They used napalm incendiary bombs capable of setting ablaze 1.5 hectares of countryside in seconds. White phosphorous rockets ignited forest fires and marked targets for bombing. Other horrors occurred. Around 75,000 lives were lost, a fifth of the population became homeless; half a million people fled the country. Eventually both sides asked the UN to intervene and a rare UN-brokered peace settlement was achieved. The FMLN are now a respectable political party and the military are excluded from government. But environmental destruction continues through urbanisation – and the inequality in land ownership and wealth also continues. On land damaged in the civil war, Ricardo Navarro’s Forest of Reconciliation is planting one medicinal fruit-bearing tree for every person killed in the war. At least 65,000 have been planted so far. Such (non-industrial) regeneration projects inspire and give optimism. But they do not keep pace with the continuing destruction.

**The Lessons**
El Salvador provides a clear example of how excessive wealth for a few and poverty for the rest can cause both violent conflict and environmental destruction. El Salvador’s local economy cannot compete with the coffee plantations and urbanisation. It is like a microcosm of the world. The global economy defeats and destroys the local. A more equitable economic system is needed. Powerful machinery can destroy people and environment, those with the machinery can treat both as insignificant, to do with as they please. And ideology can be obsessive and outdated, to the point that the difference between right and wrong is no longer perceived. Ricardo said, ‘...poverty and wealth are generated by the same process. There is a need for a different process.’ Yes. But time is short.

Brian Heale

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**Musicians Against Nuclear Arms**
**CONCERTS FOR PEACE**

**Saturday 16 February**
Ruth Underwood, flute and Margaret Lion, piano
Works by JS Bach, Jules Mouquet and Dvorak.
Guest speaker: Robin Brookes (Peace Tax 7)
7.30pm at Hinde Street Methodist Church, Thayer Street, London W1

**Saturday 3 May**
Concert with John Williams, guitar
7.30pm St James’s Church, 197 Piccadilly
Info and tickets from: MANA Administration, 71 Greenfield Gardens, London NW2 1HU. 020 8455 1030.
Helena Kennedy at the Imperial War Museum

The seventh in MAW’s series of annual Remembrance Day lectures at the Imperial War Museum was given by Baroness Helena Kennedy QC. Entitled ‘Law not war’, it discussed some of the urgent legal, moral and political questions that the March 2003 invasion of Iraq raises for the 21st century - questions about the motivations for war and the effects of war in a globalised world.

Helena began by stating her belief that the war was illegal and immoral. ‘By its actions’, she said, ‘our government violated the right of all of us as citizens in a democratic society to trust in the integrity of our leaders, especially in matters of war and peace.’

She then rehearsed the historical development of human rights thinking and the role of the United Nations, coming up to date with the recent European Convention on Human Rights, the creation of an International Criminal Court at The Hague, and the tribunals there to try Milosevic and others for crimes against humanity.

In 1999, she had believed that the dawn of another century would mark the beginning of new urgency around ending war. ‘But now,’ she said, ‘we have seen a catastrophic dismantling of that construct – Guantanamo Bay, Abu Ghraib, rendition, acceptance of investigation involving torture.’

Moving on to the issue of humanitarian intervention, Helena argued that there was an international responsibility to intervene to prevent ethnic cleansing, citing the example of Kosovo. However, in the case of Iraq she said that to invoke self defence of another when the egregious crimes (against humanity) were long in the past would not succeed in international courts. Saddam Hussein’s gassings and mass killings brought no response from the US or the UK when they were actually taking place back in the mid nineties. This, of course, is why we had dodgy dossiers and the sexing-up of intelligence and the cobbling together of legal argument in the run-up to the 2003 invasion. In this context, she was very critical of the behaviour of Peter Goldsmith, the Attorney General, since the war was judged illegal by the great majority of judges.

The events had also emphasised the need to reform the Security Council with its Byzantine, undemocratic workings; particularly when one remembers that the impulse which created the UN was a desire to avoid wars and at every turn to wage peace.

Ending her lecture, she said the invasion of Iraq was ‘an almighty folly which screams to the heavens for its wrong-headedness. It has eroded international law, undermined the UN, damaged British relations around the world and fed the flames of Islamic fundamentalist terrorism here and abroad. Most of us could have written the script for the disastrous events now playing out in Iraq.’ Then for three quarters of an hour she answered questions with immaculate clarity and, at times, with a sense of humour. She ended with moderate optimism about the creation of a better world order, believing that we have to find new ways of dealing with conflict. ‘In the end’, she said ‘the rule of law and a workable democratic structure of international law will be a far greater guarantor of peace and security than displays of power and might.’

Tony Kempster

MAW has developed a close working relationship with the Imperial War Museum and is most grateful for their support with this event. We are pleased that Sir Robert Crawford, the Director General of the Imperial War Museums gave the welcome and opening. The lecture can be heard on the MAW website (www.abolishlwar.org.uk). The text is also available on the website or can be obtained on request from the MAW address.

Festival of Remembrance – with Responsibility!

Well - they came, they queued, they watched and sang, they went – and many of them read our Remembrance with Responsibility leaflet.

In under two hours 500 leaflets were handed to festival-goers outside the Royal Albert Hall, for this year’s annual Royal British Legion Festival of Remembrance. This features military bands, parades, and a red poppy ‘shower’ from the ceiling at the end of the performance. Held to commemorate military war dead, this occasion could be said to be more ‘celebratory’ than sombre, and for the second year running MAW’s leaflet encouraged people to reflect on our responsibility to prevent war and address its causes – the best way to ‘honour their memory’.

Six MAW members were positioned strategically around entrances to the Hall and very few people refused to take a leaflet. Some worthwhile exchanges took place, not least Will’s encounter with a group of young soldiers. After one loudly derided and scorned the leaflet, his friend then read it and said, ‘hey, actually they’ve got a point...!’

Security around the Hall is extremely tight with a very high police presence. One reason for this is that the Festival is opened by the Queen. MAW gained advance authorisation for the leafletting, and I would like to thank the Metropolitan Police for their generous cooperation in enabling us to gain excellent, unhindered access to festival-goers.

To engage with hundreds of serving and ex-military and their families and relatives in this way, at this time of year, is an opportunity MAW must continue to embrace. I wish to explore the possibility of a similar exercise in the area of the Cenotaph on the Sunday, when the actual Service of Remembrance takes place.

Christine Titmus
Why can’t Tony Blair be prosecuted for the crime of aggression?

As Baroness Helena Kennedy QC explained in her Remembrance Day lecture, the 2003 Iraq war was illegal. There were no grounds for a claim of self-defence or humanitarian intervention; regime change has no basis in international law; and the argument that the authority to use force conferred by a previous Security Council resolution had been revived by Iraq’s material breach of its disarmament obligations was described by Lord Steyn as ‘scrapping the bottom of the legal barrel’.¹

So why can’t the former Prime Minister and others be prosecuted for the crime of aggression? After all, in his advice on 7 March 2003, the Attorney General envisaged an attempted prosecution for what the Nuremberg Tribunal described as the supreme international crime. He wrote: ‘Aggression is a crime under customary international law which automatically forms part of domestic law. It might therefore be argued that international aggression is a crime recognised by the common law which can be prosecuted in the UK courts.’²

The crime’s existence in customary international law was recognised by the House of Lords in R v Jones and others.³ With reference to Article 5 of the Rome Statute, which states that the International Criminal Court cannot exercise jurisdiction over the crime of aggression until a provision has been adopted defining it and setting out the conditions for exercising jurisdiction, the Crown argued that the crime lacked the certainty of definition required of any criminal offence, particularly a crime of such gravity. But Lord Bingham accepted the appellants’ proposition that, since 1945 at least, the core elements of the crime had been understood with sufficient clarity to permit the trial of persons accused of committing it. He said: ‘It is unhistorical to suppose that the elements of the crime were clear in 1945 but have since become in any way obscure.’⁴

While Lord Bingham accepted that a crime recognised in customary international law may be assimilated into our criminal law, however, he held that in the absence of statutory incorporation the crime of aggression is not a crime in English law. Today, he said, the courts have no power to create new criminal offences and when domestic effect is to be given to crimes in customary international law, the practice is to legislate.⁵ This reflects an important democratic principle: ‘it is for those representing the people of the country in Parliament, not the executive and not the judges, to decide what conduct should be treated as lying so far outside the bounds of what is acceptable in our society as to attract criminal penalties.’ There were compelling reasons for not departing from that principle: ‘A charge of aggression would involve determination of an individual’s responsibility as a leader but would presuppose commission of the crime by his own State or another State. Thus, resolution of the charge would (unless the issue had been decided by the Security Council or some other third party) require a decision on the culpability in going to war of Her Majesty’s Government or a foreign government, or perhaps both if the states had gone to war as allies. But there are well-established rules that the courts will be very slow to review the exercise of prerogative powers in relation to the conduct of foreign affairs and the deployment of the armed services, and very slow to adjudicate upon rights arising out of transactions entered into between sovereign states on the plane of international law.’⁶

The House of Lords certainly got the right answer from an international law perspective. There is no doubt that the crime of aggression exists in customary international law. Were they also correct from a constitutional law and a human rights perspective? One cannot argue with the proposition that new criminal offences are for Parliament alone to establish. But is the crime of aggression a ‘new’ criminal offence? It is not as though their Lordships were being asked to create or recognise a brand new crime. Lord Bingham accepted that the crime of aggression has existed since at least 1945.

As for human rights, some people might argue that the crime of aggression is not defined with sufficient certainty to pass the test used by the European Court of Human Rights when considering whether something is ‘law’. That term has a qualitative dimension implying accessibility and foreseeability. In particular, it must be possible to ascertain where the limits of acceptable behaviour are so that those affected can regulate their conduct. At the time of the Iraq invasion, was the crime of aggression – a leadership crime – defined clearly enough for a State’s leaders to regulate their conduct? Their Lordships thought so as far as customary international law is concerned, but that did not obviate the need for statutory authority on the domestic front. So we are where we are: the crime of aggression does not yet exist in English law, unfortunately, and therefore no one can be prosecuted for it in our courts, however flagrant the violation.

Nick Grief
Steele Raymond LLP Professor of Law at Bournemouth University and an associate tenant at Doughty Street Chambers

¹ The Times, October 19, 2005.
² Para 34 of the AG’s advice.
³ (2006) UKHL 16. The case raised the question whether the crime of aggression is a ‘crime’ for the purpose of s 3 of the Criminal Law Act 1967 or an ‘offence’ within the meaning of s 68(2) of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994.
⁴ Ibid. para 19.
⁵ See e.g. sections 51 and 52 of the International Criminal Court Act 2001. Lord Bingham observed that the crime of aggression had obviously been deliberately excluded from the Act.
⁶ Jones, loc cit, paras 29-30.

They wrote in the old days that it is sweet and fitting to die for one’s country. But in modern war there is nothing sweet or fitting in your dying. You will die like a dog for no good reason.

Ernest Hemingway
The Nuclear Question - 50 Years of CND and still needed

A CUMBRIAN DIARY 30 October 2007

Today, a nuclear submarine was quietly launched at Barrow. There were no crowds, just some local people and workers. A few children waved flags. The vessel slid silently down into the water against a weak cheer. This vessel will be sent down to the ocean floor, ‘to test for leaks’ I was informed. I do not think there is much chance for water penetration, the men who built her are too skilled for that. Their skills are wasted in the names of War.

The launch of the vessel coincided with another launch today, this time at Wharton. The BAE Typhoon fighter was launched into the air for its first flight before being sent to Saudi Arabia as part of the $40 billion arms deal. Two launches on the same day. How about that for a coincidence! This deal with the Saudi’s has been the subject of an enquiry into bribery by the Serious Fraud Office. Upon the orders of the Attorney General Lord Goldsmith last year, the investigation was stopped. Washington was embroiled in the deal known as Yamaha. King Abdullah’s son is the Saudi Ambassador in Washington. These two unsavoury coincidences have a third.

Today, King Abdullah sits down with the Queen at Buckingham Palace to a banquet held in his honour. Gordon Brown sits alongside them at table. I wonder what they will discuss? Who says we do not welcome people who leave a country which practices persecution? Why don’t we extend the ultimate expression of our welcome to the King and allow him to behead a couple of adulteresses in the Mall?

Derek Longmire

Nuclear Proliferation: History and Current Problems

A character from Stanley Kubrick’s Dr. Strangelove was the cover for the brochure at October’s conference in Florence on Nuclear Proliferation, reflecting how insane our world is with current nuclear states and their non-compliance with the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty.

The aim of the meeting was to have a deeper understanding of political and psychological roots of nuclear proliferation. One of the challenges are nuclear powers that signed the NPT but have not fulfilled their commitment to reduce their nuclear arsenals.

There were several interesting presentations by experts from academic institutions and international organisations. For example Dr. David Krieger from the Nuclear Peace Foundation, USA talked about an issue that not many are aware of - the involvement by the University of California in the management and oversight of US nuclear weapons laboratories. This is clearly the wrong use of education, making world a more dangerous place.

The end of the conference saw a ceremony when Dr. ElBaradei (Head of the International Atomic Energy Authority) received an honorary degree and gave a speech. Some points in the presentation by Dr. ElBaradei were that in a globalized world there is a link between development, human rights and conflict resolution and enduring peace.

There is also the fact that there is a lot of contradiction by the weapons states that they rely on nuclear weapons for their security but insist no one else should have them. There was a sense that Dr. ElBaradei’s experience with the illegal invasion of Iraq has made him determined to prevent another war. An attack on Iran would inflame the region further, but as long as Dr. ElBaradei is head of IAEA, a diplomatic solution will be preferable by the world body.

Robert Lastman

Suicide in the Trenches by Siegfried Sassoon

I knew a simple soldier boy
Who grinned at life in empty joy,
Slept soundly through the lonesome dark
And whistled with the early lark.

In winter trenches, cowed and glum,
With crumps and lice and lack of rum,
He put a bullet through his brain.
No one spoke of him again.

You smug-faced crowds with kindling eye,
Who cheer when soldier lads march by,
Sneak home and pray you’ll never know
The hell where youth and laughter go.

This Ongoing War Game by Dave Davis

Where are we going?
You and I may well ask.
Shall we throw away the rifle
And grasp the sling as we pursue our war-like task?

For thousands of years we have slaughtered each other
And coloured our hair and clothes
To celebrate our ability to murder.
My personal medals could be symbols of Germans I helped to kill.

The educated barbarians speeded by electronic equipment,
The history of war is a collection of all the excuses
Yet known to justify our organised murder.

The butcher is made into the saint of society
Yet his blood turns to water as he too, falls over the precipice.
Images of War

When the atomic bomb was dropped I was 13 years old. I was sick on that day, then at the moment of the bombing I was sleeping at home, about 1400m from ground zero. Therefore I did not see the flash of the heat ray nor feel the shock wave of the blast. Everything happened instantaneously.

When I came to my senses, I found that I was trapped under my crushed house. I struggled and wiggled, and at last I was able to crawl out of the piles of broken wood and plaster. When I stood upon my crushed house, the world I found was like night – the morning sunshine blocked by dark brown air that changed to yellow and then white, and finally became clear. At that moment, I was shocked to find that all the city of Hiroshima was flattened as far as I could see. I could not grasp what had happened.

Immediately I heard my mother call my name. Her voice seemed to come from far away, though I knew there was not much distance between her and me, that her voice came from just under my feet. So I inferred that the broken roof and piles of crushed plaster prevented her voice from reaching me directly. My mother said that she was unable to move, that her legs were caught between big beams or pillars. I tried with all my might to pull away these beams or pillars. But it was far beyond my ability. I called out in vain to adults for help; but those wounded could do nothing more than find a safe place for themselves. During rescue work of my mother I asked her, 'Is this a big earthquake?' She said, 'No, a huge bomb exploded very close to our house.'

I did not notice the fires at first, but it was spreading gradually. At the instant of the atomic bomb explosion, everything to burn caught fire but was smouldering for a while. When I told my mother of the approaching fires, she told me, 'You should survive, you should become a good person by studying well.' Though she could not see the fire, which was growing stronger, she said, 'That's enough, never mind your mother. Get away from here!' I hesitated in leaving my mother. But when a large firestorm arose, my mother said, 'Get away right now.' It seemed faint, but it was strong, and so I could decide to leave without her. As I escaped I said, 'Forgive me, mother!' That was the last conversation I had with my mother.

There was no road, and amidst the flames and smoke I could see only piles of houses, and badly burned people escaping. Their burned skins were hanging down from their chins or nails which were not burned. At last I could reach the riverside, and swim across the river, and sat on the dry riverbed watching the burning town from the other side. The smoke and the flames became a cloud over my head. When I thought of my mother beneath the flames, my heart was broken, and I thought, 'Was there not something I could have done to save her?' Even now, the same feeling comes over me whenever I think of my mother.

In my conception, I have a double responsibility for all human beings to abolish nuclear weapons and this will be response to my mother’s last words. One is as a survivor who had experienced the disaster of that day. Now about 280,000 survivors of atomic bombing in Japan, Korea and in other countries are still struggling against physical, living and mental difficulties which grow harder with age. For survivors of the atomic bombing, it is obvious that using nuclear weapons is the most inexcusable crime in human history. It should never be used against anyone, for any purpose and any reason, and upon anywhere.

My other responsibility is as a scientist or as a physicist. A hydrogen bomb test done at Bikini atoll in 1954 gave me a great shock, because at that time I was an undergraduate student learning physics. I thought nuclear physics was badly used to construct weapons which could destroy the whole human society as well as lives on the earth. Then I began to act to abolish nuclear weapons as a student of physics and later as a physicist.

I appeal that it is time to abolish nuclear weapon for the future human being.

Sheji Sawada: a theoretical particle physicist and an emeritus professor of Nagoya University, and a representative director of Japan Council against A&H Bombs (Gensuikyo)

Paul Tibbets,
Commander of the Enola Gay, just before taking off on August 6, 1945 At 8.15 am the Enola Gay and its crew dropped the 5 ton ‘Little Boy’ on Hiroshima, the first nuclear weapon to be used against human beings. Mr Tibbets never expressed any regrets over what he considered to be his patriotic duty. 'I slept clearly every night', he said.
He died, aged 92, on 2nd November, 2007
Craig Murray - continued from front page.
He attended show trials, started to speak to human rights activists, and was sent evidence by frightened Uzbeks. One case in particular stood out. A woman sent him a photograph of her dead son, whose body had been returned to her for burial after he had been in the hands of the security forces. The state of the body was bad enough to prompt Craig into sending the photo to a Scottish pathologist for his opinion. The opinion was that the man had died from being immersed in hot liquid. How long did it take Craig’s shocked mind to translate that into ‘boiled alive’? And all the detentions, torture and trials had one aim – to produce ‘intelligence’ for the regime’s allies, the US and by extension, the UK, about Al Qaeda and the ‘war on terror’.

Having informed the FCO that the intelligence they were receiving out of Uzbekistan was the result of torture, Craig was told that ‘the legal opinion is that we can use intelligence obtained by torture provided that we don’t use torture ourselves’. That the tortured would admit to anything to stop the pain, and that the ‘intelligence’ gained was useless also didn’t matter. It was ‘operationally useful’. It helped you to do what you wanted to do. For instance, the intelligence that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction was ‘operationally useful’. The government knew it was, at best, a gross exaggeration, but useful in that it provided a justification for the invasion. Surely a nation has lost its honour if its government’s policy could countenance having a person tortured (by a third party) into a confession that could give it an excuse to attack another state. The idea that a country could go to war on the basis of a lie born out of torture is abhorrent. That it could do so by design is utterly damnable.

After his talk Craig signed and sold copies of his book Murder in Samarkand to a queue of eager buyers. If you can’t get to hear Craig talk then buy this book. I can thoroughly recommend it. Or why not ask Craig to come and talk to your local group? He himself says ‘I will speak against the war and Bush foreign policy, and in favour of human rights, to any audience’. Go to his website www.craigmurray.co.uk and click on Invite Craig to Speak at the top of the page. And while you’re on his website, read his blog!

Lesley Docksey

War is an evil ... no one is forced into war ... the fact is that one side think the profits to be won outweigh the risks to be incurred. Thucydid, History, IV.4

A Straw in the Wind?
At the invitation of the Farnham Humanist Society I took part in a debate on the 20th November in front of about 150 people in a packed school hall on Tuesday 20th November. The motion debated was ‘There can be no Just War’. Out of self defence and fearful of the result I tried to get the word ‘today’ added but no such luck.

Speaking with me was Albert Beale, editor of the Housmans Diary and Directory and a long-time Peace Pledge Union member.

Against us there was a formidable pair - Professor Richard Norman and Field Marshal Lord Bramall, one time head of all the British armed forces and a very pleasant man.

On the way down from London I discussed with Albert how badly we would lose. After all, Farnham is in the middle of British military country somewhere between Aldershot and Salisbury Plain. Retired officers and their wives come in handfuls and were present in quantity on the 20th.

Our opponents made a good case on their home ground. Richard was convincing. Why do we peaceciks go on about specific unjust and illegal wars if we think all wars are illegal and unjust? The Field Marshal, who told me at the start that he had opposed Trident in the Lords, pitched in powerfully. The Second World War unjust? Nonsense.

Albert and I made all the points that a MAW member would expect and I did my best to get the focus onto the wars of recent years. There was a lively discussion from the floor. Then came a vote.

I was amazed. Some 30 held up their hands to abstain. Others did not vote at all. But by a narrow margin ( something like 52 to 59) we won.

This has to be a straw in the wind. The result of the wars of recent years starting with Afghanistan and ending, so far, with Iraq has been a shift in opinion in Middle England and Middle England was there is force in Farnham that night.

Opinion is on the move. Our MAW job is to help it along and to make it politically and culturally effective

Bruce Kent

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**MAW TO BUY**

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What do you mean – abolish war?

That’s what I’m always asked when I’m campaigning for MAW. Also, of course, what do I mean by war? What is it I am trying to get rid of?

War impoverishes many and makes a few rich. Wherever it happens it damages everything around it. It makes no sense to almost all of those caught up in it. It is used to force the desires or views of a few on the many. It alienates whole peoples and makes them divide the world into ‘them’ and ‘us’. And at its most basic, it is nothing more than one group of people setting out to kill another group of people. The reasons why any people should do that don’t matter, because war is an act without reason. The most unreasonable thing about it is that over the centuries it has been a constant pastime of a species that prides itself on its ability to reason. But then it also makes no sense that this much vaunted reason, while producing medicines, advanced surgical techniques (much of which is the result of surgeons having to repair war-damaged bodies) and hospitals, should spend so much of its energy and time in producing ways to kill people or put them in hospital.

Right now the war I want to abolish is the ‘war on terror’. There’s tautology for you. War is terror. Think of the saying ‘Terror is the poor man’s war; war is the rich man’s terror’. All war is terror. And those with the most resources can and do wage a more terrifying war than anyone else. Take missiles. Take napalm and white phosphorus. Take DU. Take cluster bombs. Take rendition and torture. Take them, take them all away and out of the hands of men. Are there not enough natural ills in the world for us to cope with, without visiting upon us such instruments of terror? And how does flashing a country, killing and maiming innocent civilians, poisoning the air and the river, removing the livelihoods, the resources and most of all, the hope – how does all that defeat terror?

Does a phrase like ‘the war on terror’ allow those using it to hide from the realisation that they themselves are world-class terrorists, in the same way that the term ‘collateral damage’ hides the reality of maimed and shattered bodies or ruined and polluted environments? Collateral damage doesn’t come with screams and groans, with blood and tears, with coffins and mourners. For those who call it collateral damage, it doesn’t even make statistics. Statistics is the number of ‘enemy installations’ you have taken out. But installations, buildings, ministries, telephone exchanges – these are all built and used by people. How can you bomb them and not know in your conscience that you are bombing people? Push that further and see that all these installations, whatever their purpose, are only of importance because of their use by people. In themselves they are no threat, no use. So of course you are bombing the people who use them.

How can you make war on war? Do you bomb bombs or blow up explosions? It’s a nonsense. War creates war – it is self-perpetuating. Each war that is fought holds the seeds for the next one. The only way to defeat ‘terror’ is to rid ourselves of the politics and policies that don’t just allow it to happen but actively foster it. And they foster it by making us afraid – through lies, through manipulating the way facts are presented, by teaching us to always see the other as alien, as the enemy. We have to stop being afraid of each other. People are just people. Not aliens. Not enemies. And certainly not collateral, damaged or otherwise; although, one meaning of collateral is ‘side by side’, and that’s how we should be if we want to stop this terror called war.

Lesley Docksey

Ban Cluster Bombs! Sign the petition now on www.handicap-international.org.uk

Rae McGrath of Handicap International has been speaking all over the UK, promoting the campaign to rid the world of these terrible weapons that release several hundred smaller ‘bomblets’ when fired. Between 5 and 30% fail to explode on impact. 98% of reported casualties are civilian, 27% are children. In March 2007 the UK banned ‘dumb’ cluster bombs, while retaining the right to use the M85 model. But all cluster bombs are ‘dumb’, and the UK currently stockpiles and exports them.

In November 2006 Norway declared that it would spearhead negotiations towards an international ban on cluster bombs following the failure of an arms control conference in Geneva to move against the weapons. This became the Oslo Process, a series of conferences aimed at producing an international ban on cluster bombs. The UK has signed up to this, but wants the weapons to be part of the Convention of Conventional Weapons, which will allow them to delay the ban. It is vital that we press for a successful conclusion to the Oslo Process. Landmines were banned - let’s do the same for cluster bombs.

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Yes, I’d like to become a member ……. I would like to make a regular standing order payment …..
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Please make cheque payable to MAW and send to Movement for the Abolition of War, 11 Venetia Rd., LONDON N4 1EJ
Or join online: - www.abolishwar.org.uk

WHY YOU SHOULD JOIN MAW!

Our aim: to create a world where war is no longer seen as a way to solve a problem; where it has ceased to be an option; where conflict resolution means resolution, not more conflict. We have the tools, the skills and the laws that we need. We also need you. We work through education and dialogue, both nationally and in our own local communities; ordinary people taking action to realise our goal - THE ABOLITION OF WAR.
Events Diary

Saturday 9 February LONDON Network for Peace Annual General Meeting, 2–5pm. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn. AGM 2 pm. ‘Human Rights 1948–2008 - Promotion & Protection’ 3:00, guest speaker, Stefanie Grant

PLYMOUTH Training: Challenging Oppression, a workshop exploring how to reclaim power, create freedom and justice, exercise power differently. For more info contact Turning the Tide, 020 7663 1061/1064, www.turning-the-tide.org

9 – 10 February LONDON London Aware ‘98. UK AWARE, a social enterprise, is staging a pioneering environmental expo for everyone who wants to live and work in a more sustainable way. The exhibitors will be showcasing a huge variety of products, services and advice to help you reduce your carbon footprint. Barbican Exhibition Hall 1. 9-6pm Daily. Contact UK Aware Limited Studio 301 Panther House Mount Pleasant London WC1X OAN 0845 458 8350, www.ukaware.com

Saturday 16 February LONDON MANA Concert for Peace. See advert on page 5

16-17 February LONDON Global Summit for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World: Laying the Practical, Technical and Political Groundwork at City Hall. This is a delegate Conference and commemorates the 50th anniversary of the founding of CND and will bring together experts and activists from a number of different arenas, nationally and internationally, to discuss how nuclear disarmament can be achieved. For more information: CND 020 7700 2393, www.cnduk.org


8 March EVERYWHERE International Women’s Day.

24 March ALDERMaston The Bomb Stops Here: Surround the Base at Aldermaston on Easter Monday at 12pm. 2008 is the 50th anniversary of the first Aldermaston peace march. In commemoration CND is organising a special event at the Atomic Weapons Establishment at Aldermaston. For more information: CND 020 7700 2393, www.cnduk.org


Saturday 29 March OXFORD ‘Caring for Creation.’ All Faiths for Peace, Justice and Sustainability. An Inter-Faith conference with workshops, discussions, fun! Oxford Town Hall. Contact Christian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Mordechai Vanunu House, 162 Holloway Rd, London, N7 8DQ. Tel 020 7700 4200/2393 Email: christians@cnduk.org

10 - 12 April BELFAST ‘Building Relationships and Getting Results’. European Mediation Conference, organised by Mediation Northern Ireland and the Scottish Mediation Network, Waterfront Hall, Belfast. Full details: www.mediationconference.eu Keynote speakers Professor John Paul Lederach, Ambassador Herbert Salber (Director of the OSCE Conflict Prevention Centre) and Jan Egeland (Director of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs and a Special Adviser to the UN Secretary-General on matters relating to the prevention and resolution of conflict). European Mediation Conference, 1 Dublin Road, Belfast BT2 7HB, tel: 028 9023 5001

Saturday 19 April LONDON Nuclear Power and Nuclear Proliferation; World Disarmament Campaign AGM and Spring Conference. Wesley’s Chapel, 49 City Road, London EC1Y 1AU, 1030am – 4.30pm. Contact: editor.worlddisarms@ntlworld.com

April WORLDWIDE. Chernobyl Day.

28 April – 9 May GENEVA Preparatory Committee (PrepCom) of the Review Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). For info: www.reachingcriticalwill.org

3 May LONDON MANA Concert for Peace. See advert on page 5.

15 May EVERYWHERE International Conscientious Objector’s Day

16 May INTERNATIONAL World Debt Day

17 May BURFORD, OXFORDSHIRE Levellers’ Day. webenquiry@levellers.org.uk

24 May WORLDWIDE International Women’s Day for Disarmament

4 June WORLDWIDE International Day for Children as victims of war

5 June WORLDWIDE World Environment Day (UN)

21 June WORLDWIDE World Refugee Day.

LONDON Walk in Peace – the first Sunday of every month. Meet by ‘Speakers Corner Café’, just south of Speaker’s Corner, Hyde Park (Marble Arch tube), at 10.55am to start walking at 11.00am, returning at 12 noon. Contact: Clare 020 8755 0353 or beatricemillar@freeuk.com

Some Facts about the Territorial Army

20% of the UK forces invading Iraq were TA. No family care or liaison with families. No medical care – ‘go see your GP’. No proper training – one fifth of the amount that should be given. Training took place out in Iraq, particularly with tanks and armoured vehicles – the TA has none to train with. The TA ‘provided spare parts for the army’ – opinion of an ex-TA man.

Tools For Peace- PEN Annual Conference

London - March 1st

MAW is a member of the Peace Education Network which organises an annual conference for teachers and educationalists. The next, entitled ‘Tools for peace: sharing successful strategies’ will be held at Friends’ House, London on 1st March. Details from Pax Christie 0208 2034884 www.peaceducation.org.uk

MAW NEWS PLEASE!

You want to read about events that are not all London-based. We want to hear from members around the country, and we want your actions to inspire others. So if you have organised events/actions, or are planning some, and would like to have them reported in the newsletter, then send the details to the editor: - Lesley Docksey, 1 Court Farm Cottages, Buckland Newton, Dorset DT2 7BT E-mail: Lesley.Docksey@abolishwar.org.uk

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