



**WHY WE NEED A  
MINISTRY FOR PEACE**

*For a less violent Britain,  
a less violent world*

**A Manifesto For Action**

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April 2005



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## Introduction

The British people have a moral tradition going back centuries. Governments in the past have eventually responded to popular movements to correct the injustices of slavery, colonialism, inhuman working conditions and lack of suffrage; the injustices of limited access to education, health care and housing; and, more recently, the injustices of sexism, racism, and attitudes to disability and sexuality.

The British people also have a long military tradition. In the last century, more than a million sacrificed their lives in the defence of freedom. They fought bravely but with reluctance, believing there to be no alternative in the face of aggression.

Now, though, there are alternatives – peaceful, non-violent and *effective* alternatives to armed struggle, developed through direct experience, that are urgently needed to reverse the increasing violence of our times. These alternatives, which are also applicable to the growing violence *within* the UK, must find their way into government thinking. There is a distinct Treasury perspective in all government deliberations. There is a distinct health perspective and a distinct environmental perspective. There is not, however, a distinct peace perspective. We need one. We need a Cabinet minister specifically devoted to creating a culture of peace.

Inspired by the initiative of US Congressman Dennis Kucinich to establish a Department of Peace in the US government, *ministry for peace* was founded in July 2003 by Diana Basterfield and John McDonnell MP. Three months later John introduced a Ten-Minute Rule Bill in the House of Commons calling for a Ministry for Peace. With cross-party support it was passed unopposed, but fell for lack of Parliamentary time.

Since then our thinking has continued to develop through our dialogue with politicians, academics and peace workers, and through the monthly open meetings – supported by a variety of excellent speakers – that we have held in the Grand Committee Room at the Houses of Parliament. With the General Election in mind, we have produced this Manifesto of practical proposals for moving away from war and violence, especially violence in UK society. Our hope is that it will be seen as a positive contribution to the debate.

Peace is achievable. It has a methodology and very practical steps that can be taken. Just think - with vision, passion and political commitment, within a generation the choice of violence as a strategy to achieve our ends could seem anachronistic, clumsy and inadequate. Those many people whose lives would have been blighted by violence will have the optimism and energy to contribute fully to society. The vast financial resources currently spent on weapons will have been liberated to deal with the critical environmental and humanitarian crises that we face.

We call on government to respond to this new century's popular movement. We call on government to put human and financial resources into vanquishing violence. We call on government to put power into peace and peace into power.

## Background

To work for peace is to work to transform violence. The fundamental aim of a Ministry for Peace is to reduce violence, both in the UK and internationally.

The twentieth century is often cited as the most violent in history. It embraced two world wars, a Cold War that was fought out in several proxy wars across the globe, wars of revolution and national liberation, civil wars and wars for regional domination, all overshadowed by political killing on a massive scale. While it is difficult to quote figures with any certainty, it has been estimated that more people died as a result of wars and government murder during the last century than in all previous centuries combined.<sup>1</sup>

Combat deaths in twentieth century wars	First World War	9,000,000
	Second World War	15,000,000
	Other wars	11,654,000
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>35,654,000</b>
Mass murder as government policy in the Soviet Union, China, Nazi Germany, Cambodia and elsewhere (including government-made famine)		169,000,000+
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>204,654,000+</b>

Added to this is the financial cost of war and its aftermath, which usually far exceeds military expenditure. Physical infrastructure must be rebuilt, disrupted businesses re-established, agricultural land reclaimed and the pollution of war cleaned up; all after the loss of much of the best talent of the warring parties and in the face of the depression that violent conflict so often leaves behind. Relief and reconstruction after the civil war in Rwanda, for example, is estimated to have cost over £2 billion. The total for the major wars in the 1990s (not including Kosovo) was estimated at £199 billion. Damage in Mozambique's civil war, which lasted sixteen years, reduced post-war production to little more than a quarter of pre-war capacity.<sup>2</sup> The financial consequences also fall on the international community, as refugees must be cared for and disrupted economies repaired.

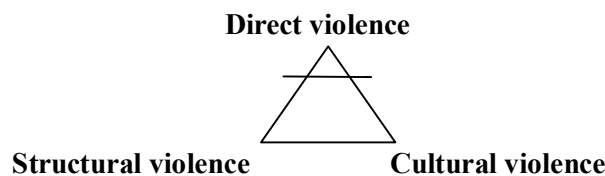
This century has also started with extreme violence. In addition to those wars unresolved at the end of the 1990s, the attack on the World Trade Centre on 11 September 2001 has spawned the 'war on terror', which has already seen the invasion of Afghanistan, the invasion of Iraq and the continuing insurgency there, and acts of murderous violence by terrorist groups around the world. The 'peace dividend' that followed the end of the Cold War has disappeared and global expenditure on arms is once again increasing. According to the *SIPRI Handbook, 2004*: 'World military spending in 2003 increased by about 11 per cent in real terms. This is a remarkable rate of increase, even more so given that it was preceded by an increase of 6.5 per cent in 2002. Over two years world military spending increased by 18 per cent in real terms, to reach \$956 billion (in current dollars) in 2003.' The global aid budget in the same year was roughly \$50 billion.

Violence also appears to be rising again within the UK. Figures recently published by the Home Office show that violent crime increased by six per cent over the twelve months to September 2004, including a 22 per cent rise in sex offences, a 12 per cent rise in offences against the person involving injury and a five per cent rise in gun crime.<sup>3</sup> Reported domestic violence accounts for 16 per cent of all violent crime and claims the lives of two women each week.<sup>4</sup> Warnings against physical and verbal abuse towards staff are now posted as a matter of course on public transport and in hospital A&E departments. School violence has escalated from playground bullying to fatal stabbings; how long before we see the first shooting in a UK school? The prison population for England and Wales of around 75,000, already one of the highest in Europe, is expected to increase over the next several years, putting further strain on a system currently running at levels ‘perilously close to full capacity’.<sup>5</sup>

So how would a Ministry for Peace make a significant difference in any of these areas, above and beyond what the government is already doing? To begin to answer this question, we need to examine more deeply the nature of violence.

### **The ‘iceberg’ of violence**

The pioneer of peace studies, Johan Galtung,<sup>6</sup> identifies three categories of violence. *Direct violence* is the name given to the physical manifestation of violence, which ranges from verbal abuse to killing. It is the type of violence discussed above and that most people would immediately recognise. According to Galtung, however, direct violence is merely the visible tip of a much larger ‘iceberg’ of violence, most of which is hidden from view but which sustains and gives rise to direct violence. The invisible part of this iceberg consists of *structural violence* and *cultural violence*.



*Structural violence* refers to social, economic and political structures, built on unequal power, that repress, harm and kill people. Examples include apartheid, slavery, colonialism, imperialism, totalitarianism, autocracy, the negative aspects of economic globalisation and international debt. The enormous human and financial resources spent each year by the military-industrial complex is another form of structural violence, since it denies those resources to education, healthcare, nutrition, social infrastructure and human development. The estimated 30 million people who die each year from hunger are the victims of structural violence. Structural violence is often imposed by direct violence or the threat of it, and often leads to violent protest or revolution.

*Cultural violence* is the name Galtung gives to those aspects of a culture that legitimise and normalise direct and structural violence. Films and video games that approvingly show the use of violence to ‘resolve’ conflicts are one example. Religions and ideologies that condone violence towards non-believers or opponents are another. The concept of cultural violence also helps in understanding how a community or individuals view themselves in relation to those they regard as different, and often inferior – women, for example, or people from another ethnic group. Cultural violence is usually so deeply embedded in a society, however,

that its members are unaware of its effect in shaping popular thinking. The refrain to *Rule Britannia*, for example, declares that Britons ‘never, never, never shall be slaves’, which expresses an admirable desire to remain free and independent, but ignores the fact that for hundreds of years Britannia’s rule subjugated millions of people around the world. And as an expression of its imperial past, most of London’s statues commemorate war in some way.

These three forms or aspects of violence support and reinforce each other. Additionally, each has produced a political response. *Direct violence* tends to be the focus of right-wing politics, which emphasise the need for strong defence internationally and for law and order domestically. Ironically, this focus also tends to emphasise the use of direct violence to address direct violence. *Structural violence* is usually the focus of left-wing politics, which stress the need to reform unjust, exploitative and repressive structures as a means of solving conflict at home and abroad. *Cultural violence* tends to be the concern of social liberals, who focus on reforming attitudes and belief systems, and encourage people to act in more ‘civilised’ and ‘reasonable’ ways.

This analysis is a simplification, of course, and increasingly political parties – in the UK at least – have adopted aspects of all three approaches. Thus Tony Blair can talk of being ‘tough on crime [direct], tough on the causes of crime [structural/cultural]’.

One reason for this merging of approach is that increasingly people are seeing (if not in these exact terms) how direct, structural and cultural violence are interlinked, and how tackling only one aspect of the ‘iceberg’ is ineffective. The problem is like a three-legged stool – omit any one and the whole thing falls down. Confronting direct violence with direct violence might appear to work for a time, but if the underlying structural violence is not addressed the direct violence will reappear in the future, often in a stronger form. This is the basic pattern of many guerrilla/terrorist conflicts, and much crime. On the other hand, it is virtually impossible to deal with structural violence if direct violence is ongoing. Social injustices are usually addressed after a war, not during it. But even then, the violent overthrow of unjust or repressive regimes has often led to equally or more repressive regimes – for example, the Soviet Union that replaced Tsarist Russia. Equally, trying to solve deep-rooted conflicts simply by changing attitudes (cultural violence) rarely works. Educating Palestinian and Israeli children alongside each other is laudable, but is unlikely to end hostility between the two communities if the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza persists (structural violence) and the two sides continue to attack and kill each other (direct violence).

Peace and justice are two sides of the same coin. Dwight D Eisenhower
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### **Violence and government**

Applying this concept to current government organisation, one can see how *direct violence* when projected internationally falls under the remit of the Prime Minister, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) and the Ministry of Defence (MoD); and under the Home Office, through the police, when projected domestically.

*Structural violence* overseas, in the form of poverty, is the province of the Department for International Development (DFID), although the current Chancellor of the Exchequer is also now taking a prominent role in this area. Responsibility for other aspects of international structural violence is shared by several departments; for example, the FCO (international treaties), the Treasury (economic and financial agreements) and the Department of Trade and

Industry (trade agreements). The responsibility for tackling structural violence at home is similarly spread across government, since the problem impacts on so many areas of society – income, education, health and housing, to name but a few.

*Cultural violence* within the UK is addressed officially in statutes and public bodies that limit the depiction of direct violence in the media – the 1990 Broadcasting Act, for example - and the expression of hostility or discrimination towards ethnic minorities and other potentially vulnerable groups. But as explained above, much cultural violence is simply accepted as normal – abusive chanting at football matches, for example, or newspaper articles explaining ‘why we hate the French’. Cultural violence with regard to other countries and cultures is addressed at government level on an ad hoc basis, according to what the government

Since the end of the Second World War, a British serviceman has died on active duty in every year bar one - 1968

deems to be in the national interest. Much of the time the issue doesn’t even arise, as UK governments are culturally habituated to regarding direct violence as a legitimate tool of foreign policy. Since 1945, UK forces have seen action in Korea, Palestine, Malaysia, Kenya, Cyprus, Aden, Suez, the Falklands, Iraq (twice), the Balkans, Sierra Leone and Afghanistan - not forgetting Northern Ireland, of course. By contrast, the armed forces of one of our nearest neighbours, Sweden, haven’t fought at all and even remained neutral during the Second World War. Such a disparity calls into question the idea that violent, armed conflict is somehow an

Sweden last fought a war in 1814.  
Costa Rica abolished its armed forces in 1949.

inevitable aspect of the human condition. If these two countries can avoid it, why can’t we?

### **The Conflict Prevention Pools**

As in domestic politics, however, there is a growing awareness in the international arena that direct, structural and cultural violence are inextricably linked. Reflecting this, in April 2001 the UK government established the Global Conflict Prevention Pool and the Africa Conflict Prevention Pool, in an attempt to co-ordinate the efforts of the FCO, the MoD, DFID and the Treasury to prevent costly overseas conflict. In the words of the government publication that explains the Conflict Prevention Pools (CPPs):<sup>7</sup>

The cost of conflict in terms of lives lost, communities divided and livelihoods devastated is immense. The cost to the UK and the wider international community of resolving violent conflicts and their aftermath is substantial. Preventing conflict is both better and more cost-effective than resolving it. Preventing conflict is also vital if we are to promote international security and stability, protect human rights and reduce poverty. It is therefore a fundamental responsibility of the international community to find ways to stop violent conflict from erupting or re-igniting.

The UK has been successfully working in the field of conflict prevention and reduction for many years. But we want to keep improving the effectiveness of our work. We have therefore begun to approach conflict-related work by combining the different perspectives of security, foreign policy and development to achieve coherent and creative solutions, seeking to address the underlying causes of conflict as well as tackling the consequences.

This suggests that government thinking is developing along the integrated, ‘joined-up’ lines that are vital to tackling the problem of violence ‘root and branch’. The statement is severely undermined, however, when one realises that it was published just five months after the UK

invaded Iraq as part of the US-led coalition. Preventing conflict is vital, it seems - as long as it is someone else's. Our own conflicts answer to a different set of priorities.

Additionally, as one of the world's leading arms exporters the UK is making a global contribution to violent conflict that far outweighs the positive work of the CPPs. Not counting peacekeeping costs, which are funded separately, for 2004-05 the Global Pool budget is £74 million and the Africa Pool budget £60 million. UK arms sales delivered in 2003 were valued at £4.7 billion,<sup>8</sup> sales that a recent report has estimated were subsidised by the government to the tune of £450 million.<sup>9</sup> This is an example of UK structural violence on a massive scale, and is second only to that of the USA. What is especially disturbing is that a large proportion of these sales was to developing countries - taken together, the US and the UK were responsible for 61 per cent of the value of all arms deliveries made to developing countries in 2003.

The five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council – USA, China, Russia, UK and France - are also the world's five leading arms exporters

Even within their own terms, however, the CPPs are struggling in the face of some basic contradictions, as highlighted by an exhaustive Evaluation conducted last year into their working and effectiveness.<sup>10</sup> For example, the Global Pool is led by the FCO and the Africa Pool by DFID. This structure reflects a division of operational culture regarding conflict prevention within government, and militates against the 'joined-up thinking' the Pools are supposed to embody. To quote the Synthesis Report of the Evaluation:

The first operational culture is what might be termed 'classic foreign and security policy', and has traditionally been the remit of the FCO, the armed forces, the MoD, and other intelligence and security services. In the traditional diplomacy of the state, the goal of preventing – and if necessary winning – wars of national survival was a key plank of policy. Preventing deadly conflicts involving other states in strategic locations, where the state's vital national interests of a geopolitical and economic kind were perceived to be involved, also occupied a central position in the traditional diplomacy of a state. This threat-driven approach constitutes the classic foreign and security policy approach to the causes of conflict and appropriate policy responses.<sup>11</sup>

In other words, the focus of this operational culture is direct violence – how to prevent it or, if necessary, how to use it (or the threat of it) most effectively in the interests of the state. This focus makes a poor fit with DFID's structural approach, as the Report notes:

The second operational culture might be termed the 'security and development approach', which in the UK has developed recently largely as a result of initiatives by DFID. Its main feature has been [the] realisation that the best efforts of donor governments and international organisations to promote development in poorer countries were all too open to reversal if violent conflicts could not be prevented or contained. Another prominent feature of this operating culture is the importance it attaches to grassroots politics, to civil society and to the structural causes of violence. There has been a high degree of bureaucratic determinism at play because development agencies, such as DFID, have been the main advocates of the need to address the root causes of conflicts where the UK's classic (geopolitical and economic) foreign and security interests were not seen to be in play.

One feature of the security and development approach has been its emphasis on ‘human security’, the need to protect people, not just at a group or state level, but also at an individual and personalised level, from the depredations of violent conflict.<sup>12</sup>

An obvious source of tension between these two cultures can be seen in the difficulty of forming policy towards countries that the FCO might identify as advantageous to support from a strategic perspective, but which DFID might identify as having an appalling record on human rights and gross structural inequalities. Uzbekistan is a good example.

The Evaluation also discovered other weaknesses, such as the lack of training in conflict prevention among the civil servants who run the CPPs, and the fact that they all have other jobs around which they have to fit their responsibilities for conflict prevention. Above all, there is the lack of a single, permanent conflict prevention unit with the task of co-ordinating and harmonising the approaches of the different ministries. Indeed, in its response to the Evaluation, the government specifically rejected the suggestion that such a unit be set up, arguing that ‘it would detach strategic management of the Pools from the three main Departments, and thus decrease Departmental ownership’;<sup>13</sup> in other words, each Department still wants to retain control of its own turf.

We applaud the government’s initiative in establishing the CPPs as a definite step in the right direction. But its response to the Evaluation shows that it has not yet realised that conflict prevention demands not just joined-up thinking but vision, consistency, resources, ongoing training and research, long-term political commitment – and a champion. It needs, in short, a Ministry for Peace.

Building on the establishment of the CPPs, we believe that the government should set up a permanent conflict prevention unit as the next step towards a Ministry for Peace. This unit should be headed by a minister of state and based in the Cabinet Office, for several reasons – it will be close to the prime minister, which will signal its serious intent and also give it some clout; and it will enable the unit to take a view across the breadth of government, free of departmental culture. In due course, as it gains experience and expertise, the unit can grow into a separate department, in a similar way to which the Overseas Development Agency grew out of the Foreign Office to become DFID.

‘For it isn't enough to talk about peace. One must believe it. And it isn't enough to believe in it. One must work at it.’  
Eleanor Roosevelt

## Direct Violence - A New Approach

### Towards direct non-violence, step by step

Make no mistake - the growth of a Ministry for Peace will not leave the nation defenceless. It will not mean the abolition of the Ministry of Defence or, of course, the FCO. As already stated, all three aspects of the 'violence iceberg' have to be addressed, and the UK will continue to need a defence against *direct violence*, actual or threatened, and diplomacy to safeguard the national interest in various arenas. Over time, however, a Ministry for Peace will undoubtedly influence both defence and foreign policy away from reliance on armed force and increasingly towards non-violent conflict prevention and transformation.

As a step in this direction the UK could move towards a 'defensive defence' policy that threatens no one yet makes it clear that attacks will be strongly resisted. Under such a policy, a country's armed forces are capable of providing a credible defence but are incapable of offence. Military systems capable of being used to threaten other countries, like nuclear weapons and long-range aircraft, missile systems and warships are decommissioned.

The implementation of such a policy has major benefits in terms of international arms control and disarmament. The defence policies of countries such as New Zealand and Switzerland have many elements in common with 'defensive defence'. As a result, these countries spend significantly less on their respective armed forces as a proportion of GDP, demonstrate much less military involvement in science, engineering and technology and do not support a large indigenous arms industry.

As peace academic Steven Schofield concludes, 'Defensive defence represents a fundamental challenge to the present strategy, involving a re-orientation both to UN peacekeeping and to a new European security architecture. By 2010 the armed forces would be cut by nearly half, all major offensive systems stripped out of the procurement cycle and overall military spending down by at least a third and up to 40 per cent. The UK would have a policy of combined territorial defence and a contribution to a EU corps dedicated to peacekeeping operations, as the first stage in the replacement of NATO with a European security system based on a strengthened OSCE.'<sup>14</sup> The savings made could be contributed to reducing structural violence in this country and abroad.

Additionally, conventional weapons could be made less, not more, destructive. Indeed, research has been going on for some time to produce battlefield weapons that incapacitate, rather than kill, the enemy - for instance, that render his computer systems useless, and disrupt or destroy his communications. Some of these weapons are themselves pretty horrible, though - battlefield lasers, for example, designed to blind enemy troops - and are already the subject of moves to ban them; but as a step forward in a steady march towards a less violent world, further efforts should be made in this direction.<sup>15</sup>

'An eye for an eye will leave the whole world blind.' Gandhi

At the same time, the role of the armed forces could be reconceived so that they become, in essence, a peace force that might be called upon in the last resort to defend the realm. Overseas they would be deployed in peace-keeping missions, as now, but also more widely. Some personnel will be deployed in medical and humanitarian contingents, whose primary task would be to care for non-combatants including civilians, prisoners of war and displaced

persons. Working with other contingents - for example, in the building of temporary accommodation - and with non-governmental disaster relief and development organisations, their duties would include providing medical services, nutrition and education. Individuals in these contingents would therefore need to be trained for a variety of roles, and to be adaptable, flexible and multi-skilled.

Military involvement in medical and humanitarian work is not unprecedented, of course. For at least the last half a century there have been MACC operations: Military Aid to the Civilian Community (such as assisting with flood relief). There is a proposal to build further on this work, however, by recasting the UK's armed forces as defenders not just of the realm, but of the environment. This role has been adopted by the Indian Army since the 1980s and has been copied, on a limited scale, in several other countries. The rationale is explained by the late Brigadier Michael Harbottle, who was Chief of Staff of the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus from 1966 to 1968:<sup>16</sup>

Many might question whether it is desirable or appropriate for the armed forces to undertake this [environmental] role; for their *modus operandi* could be said to be directed towards destruction rather than conservation. There are some green activists with whom I have discussed the potential of the armed forces in this role who are openly sceptical and suspicious, even hostile, to any idea of them becoming involved. Such hard-line and, in my view, negative reaction is to a degree understandable because of the very nature of the armed forces *raison d'être*. However, the ecological, environmental and humanitarian crises which threaten the survival of the peoples of the planet and of the planet itself call for the mobilisation of all human resources to combat them. As with the case of peace, the survival of our planet's environment is everybody's business, and has become a holistic concern.

Not surprisingly, the idea has also attracted hostility from more traditionally-minded elements within the services, but Harbottle argues that new political and strategic realities demand new military thinking, which would consider it 'no longer appropriate for the armies, navies and air forces to train for war all 365 days of a year.' He insists that 'the armed forces could effectively use their skills and their infrastructure [in] peacekeeping, disaster relief and environmental security while at the same time in no way downgrading their military standing or efficiency. One might describe it as a new philosophy of service.'

Soldiering as a form of healing will make an attractive recruiting campaign. The profession of arms will appeal to a broader section of the community and transform the image of the military. A Ministry for Peace would encourage the MoD to take up Harbottle's ideas as part of a gradual move away from force and towards non-violence; a deliberate, step-by-step *process* that both leads and responds to the changing international climate. Moreover, we believe that the very fact of a UK government establishing a Ministry for Peace would send positive shock-waves around the world that would significantly alter the tenor of the times, in the same way that Mikhail Gorbachev changed the age when he announced *glasnost* and *perestroika* in the Soviet Union.

'There's no honourable way to kill, no gentle way to destroy. There is nothing good in war. Except its ending.'  
Abraham Lincoln

### **Non-violent change**

Even so, many people are highly sceptical about the whole concept of non-violence, which they see as naïve and utopian against a logic that dictates that violence must be met with violence, and that international peace is achievable only through the use of arms. Yet this image of non-violence is false. As noted time and again throughout history, violence begets violence. This approach to international conflict is in sharp contrast to the non-violent daily behaviour expected of UK citizens and enforced by the government through the police. It is not as if non-violent ways of resolving conflict are untried or have been unsuccessful. In addition to Gandhi's campaign for Indian independence from 1919 to 1947, and the civil rights movement in the US South led by Martin Luther King Jr in the 1950s and 1960s, the last quarter of the twentieth century saw a series of remarkable non-violent transformations, as described by Jonathan Schell:<sup>17</sup>

In 1974, a junta of Greek colonels, who had overthrown the democratic government of Constantine Karamanlis in a coup in 1967, yielded power to civilians, after the military intervention in Cyprus in support of the Greek community. Next came the overthrow in Portugal of the autocratic regime of Marcello Caetano, successor to the dictator Salazar, by pro-democratic Portuguese military officers abetted by a powerful civilian movement. It's a suggestive historical detail that this second in a series of liberal democratic revolutions brought the downfall of the last of the Western European colonial empires in Africa...

After Portugal came its neighbour, Spain. In 1975, following Franco's death, the regime, increasingly deserted by important elements in the Catholic Church and by the king, Juan Carlos, yielded without violence to the democratic government. Although the liberal revival so far was largely a southern European affair, the fall of Franco foreshadowed the Soviet collapse in certain respects... All three of these violent regimes defied expectation by giving up the ghost with a minimum of violence, or even struggle. By the end of the century, all Europe was under democratic government – the culmination of a remarkable transition on the continent that had given birth to both the right-wing and the left-wing versions of totalitarianism, and as recently as the late 1930s had been ruled mostly by dictatorships.

Similar events unfolded in Latin America. In 1982, the draconian regime of Argentina's generals surrendered power after suffering defeat by Great Britain in the war over the Falkland Islands, and a year later a civilian president, Raul Alfonsín, came to power in an election. In 1985, a military regime was removed in neighbouring Brazil. In 1989, the military dictator of Chile, Augusto Pinochet, also yielded power to an elected government (a successor government later considered prosecuting him). In the same year and in the years following, a profusion of more or less democratic governments replaced outright military dictatorships in most of the other countries of Latin America.

Meanwhile, in Asia several authoritarian governments were giving way to democracies. The dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines yielded in 1986 to a vigorous, peaceful, popular resistance, led by the Catholic Church and a rebellious faction in the military. Pressure from allies, including the United States, which had previously supported Marcos, played a role. Two years later in South Korea, the autocratic Chun Doo Hwan agreed to an election that led to his replacement by his rival Roh Tae Woo. In Taiwan, the first multiparty legislative and

local elections were held in 1989, after four decades of one-party rule by the Nationalist Party that had once governed mainland China.

In the late 1990s, the autocratic regime of General Suharto fell in Indonesia; free elections were held in Nigeria in 1999; and in Iran a strong opposition challenged the autocratic rule of the mullahs who had installed themselves in power in the revolution of 1978-79, against the regime of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi. In 2001, seventy-one years of unbroken rule by the People's Revolutionary Party in Mexico was ended in a free election won by the presidential candidate of the National Action Party, Vicente Fox. In October of that year, the murderous regime of Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia was overthrown by a non-violent, democratic movement... In the autumn of 2003, an opposition movement [in Georgia] which had studied the Serbian revolution, drove out the government of Edward Shevardnadze after his regime had falsified election results.

Of all the peaceful transfers of power from tyranny to democracy of the late twentieth century, however, perhaps the most remarkable was the one in South Africa...

The Washington think tank Freedom House keeps a record of countries it considers to be elected democracies. In 1971, it counted thirty; in 2002, after a quarter century of the liberal revival, it counted one hundred and twenty-one.

One can argue with some of the details in Schell's description – the run-up to the South African election in 1994, for example, was far from peaceful (as he later acknowledges) – but the general thrust of his case is overwhelming. In country after country, non-violent opposition to violent power has resulted in democratic change. One of the functions of a Ministry for Peace will be to remind people of this and, drawing on the lessons of this recent history, to encourage and support similar movements in those parts of the world where repression still holds sway.

For example, in his classic study *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*<sup>18</sup> Gene Sharpe lists 198 methods of non-violent protest, persuasion, non-cooperation and intervention, all gleaned from the history of non-violent struggle. They range from simple gestures of defiance, like turning one's back, through organising a general strike, to establishing a parallel government.

Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable.  
John F Kennedy

If such methods have toppled tyrants and repressive regimes in the past, might they not be applied to tyrants and repressive regimes in the present? If knowledge of this wide range of methods becomes common currency, might war come to seem an extraordinarily obsolete, wasteful and destructive means to unseat dictators like Saddam Hussein? And if we have institutions that teach the lessons of war, should we not also have institutions that teach the lessons of peace? A Ministry for Peace will establish and support such institutions.

### **Conflict transformation**

Complementing this, another major function of a Ministry for Peace will be to increase the capacity for conflict transformation at home and abroad.

The number of organisations engaged in peace-building and conflict transformation worldwide has increased significantly in recent years. Many of these are institutions and non-governmental organisations actively engaged in this work in war affected countries; but there

are also organisations, networks and groups within many communities across the globe working to address and transform the problems and challenges that face us.

Information about these non-violent approaches is increasingly available. Over the past decades, peace studies researchers, development organisations and UN agencies have been systematically gathering together ‘best practices’ and lessons learned from strengthening and supporting local capacities for peace. In recent years, an increasing number of experiences have been published that relate how individuals and organisations have brought an end to war and fighting, and transformed conflicts constructively through peaceful means.<sup>19</sup> Sharing this information helps empower communities to transcend violence, make the transition from war to peace and engage in post-war reconciliation, recovery and healing.

A Ministry for Peace will take leading role in this, as well as the training of dedicated peace workers skilled in the tools and techniques of conflict transformation. We need to produce - and value - cohorts of people with a vocation for peace work in the same way that we now produce great numbers of doctors and nurses. A Ministry for Peace could even take a lesson from the MoD in how to increase capacity:<sup>20</sup>

<b>Facilities provided for armed defence</b>	<b>Facilities proposed for non-violent conflict transformation</b>
Recruitment campaign	Recruitment campaign
Counselling for applicants	Counselling for applicants
Training and education	Training and education
Cadet Corps	Peace workers
Public Relations	Public Relations
A capacity to attract voluntary assistance	A capacity to attract voluntary assistance
Jobs and careers	Jobs and careers
Part-time reserve	Part-time reserve
Professional status	Professional status
Medical support for personnel	Medical support for personnel
Pension support for personnel	Pension support for personnel
UK and overseas educational travel	UK and overseas educational travel
Regular camps, seminars, conferences	Regular trainings, seminars, conferences
Exercises, manoeuvres and simulated campaigns	Simulations of conflict transformation
Hosting overseas trainees	Hosting overseas trainees
Libraries and publications	Libraries and publications
Telecommunications	Telecommunications
Insignia, Flags, Badges	Flags, Badges
Uniforms (dress)	Not required
Uniforms (working)	Not required
Administration: MoD	Administration – MfP

The task of these peace workers would be to transform violence both overseas and within the UK. Training would follow tried and tested programmes that include understanding violence theory – direct, structural and cultural violence – and violence practice. This enables peace workers to identify the roots of violence in the cultures, structures and parties to a conflict. Through dialogue they then seek to change violent attitudes and behaviour by introducing

empathy, non-violence and creativity into the conflict. Working to understand the conflict from the perspective of each of the parties, they then identify valid goals and non-violent approaches to attain them, eliciting from all parties creative ways to transcend the incompatibilities.

A good example of how creativity can unlock the peace process can be seen in the settlement of the long-running border dispute between Ecuador and Peru.<sup>21</sup>

In 1995, Johan Galtung had an opportunity to meet with the incoming President of Ecuador, Jamil Mahuad, after he was elected and before he took office. He listened to what [the President] had to say about Ecuador's border dispute with Peru over an uninhabited strip of border territory in the upper reaches of the Amazon, over which Ecuador has fought four wars with Peru since 1941. But he also listened carefully to what [the President] did not say. He did not mention that each piece of land must belong to one and only one state, clearly demarcated by a border, as has been assumed to be self-evident since the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia. Galtung asked the President what he thought of the idea of making the disputed border territory into a jointly administered 'binational zone with a natural park'. The President was at first sceptical, arguing that this idea was creative, but too creative. It would take at least thirty years to get used to such an idea, and another thirty years to implement it. But he did propose it to Peru in the next round of peace negotiations, and to his surprise, Peru accepted it with minor modifications. This led to the peace treaty signed in Brasilia on 27 October 1998.

Galtung pointed out that this initiative cost him only \$250 for an extra stopover in Quito, a night in a hotel, and a very lavish meal for the incoming president and his wife. By comparison, the Gulf War cost \$100 billion, not counting the destruction it caused. Most of all, peaceful conflict transformation can save countless lives.

While using dialogue to find creative ways out of emergencies, peace workers are also aware of the need for medium and long-term perspectives. Educating people for peace and reducing peace illiteracy are key elements here, and requires peace educators to work at all levels, from nursery school to university, and within local and national government.

Additionally, there is usually a considerable amount of reconstruction to do after a violent conflict to repair the visible and invisible damage. Much of it demands the skills of experts, and part of the role of the peace worker is to sensitise people to the range of the work needed and to engage them in a dialogue about how to proceed. This work can include the rehabilitation of people who have been wounded, deformed, raped, displaced, traumatised and bereaved. Peace workers seek to enable the parties to redefine and transcend their conflict, so that all can gain more than they lose. Contrast this with traditional thinking where the outcomes are usually limited to victory for one side or the other, withdrawal – where both give up – or compromise, where both parties give something to gain something.

'If you want to make peace with your enemy, you have to work with your enemy. Then he becomes your partner.'  
Nelson Mandela

More broadly, peace work can also involve rebuilding society along democratic lines that respect human rights and invite citizen participation. Research has shown that the more democratic society and government are, the less likely they are to harm their citizens or wage war on others. Democracy is not a guarantee against violence, however, but normally acts as

an effective brake on it. In the words of Rudy Rummell, ‘Power kills; and absolute Power kills absolutely.’<sup>22</sup>

There is no dramatic climax to peace work, maybe not even a signed agreement. Good ideas are enacted and something gets unblocked. Real transformation comes from inside the parties; the peace worker is a catalyst, helping, not pressing from above. Only in this way can the process of transformation be not only acceptable, but self-sustaining.

### **Reducing direct violence in the UK**

It should not be assumed, either, that peace work is limited to conflict overseas. There are many communities within the UK where peace workers could help to transform conflicts. In Northern Ireland, for example, many people in both the British and Irish governments and in voluntary organisations focus on mediation efforts. This is to be applauded, but much more needs to be done, particularly since many others involved in trying to resolve the dispute have little or no formal training in conflict mediation or transformation. This is akin to lay people, with no medical training, attempting to perform complex surgery – on themselves. Moreover, once the violent phase of the conflict is truly over, there remains the enormous challenge of reconciliation and healing, itself a complex task demanding the help of skilled peace workers.

Communities experiencing the impact of high levels of immigration also need help to address in a peaceful and creative manner what are often legitimate grievances. The difficulties of the immigrant communities likewise need to be heard and addressed. Bradford’s Programme for a Peaceful City grew out of the work of Bradford University’s Peace Studies Department in the wake of the riot of 7 July 2001. Its remit is to bring together academics and the various parties, confront the problems highlighted by the riots and further aggravated by them, and collaborate in finding solutions.

A Ministry for Peace would learn from such initiatives and replicate best practice in other parts of the country - before they erupt into violence. Similarly, the problems experienced – and posed – by large sections of disaffected and often violent youth need to be aired, recognised and tackled with imagination and sympathy. Peace workers sponsored by the Ministry could also be very active in this area.

More generally, a Ministry for Peace could work closely with the Home Office to formulate initiatives to reduce crime, especially violent crime. Concern about crime usually ranks high in UK opinion polls despite the fact that the risk of being a victim of crime fell 40 per cent from a peak in 1995 to 2004 - the 2004 British Crime Survey found two-thirds of the public thought crime had increased in the previous two years, and one-third said by ‘a lot’. 16 per cent were highly anxious about violence.

Research into violent crime has thrown up some surprising facts. For example, ‘One of the most disturbing social statistics is that babies under the age of one are the age group most at risk of homicide; while the number of cases per year is small, the risk is four times as great as

Each year, the NHS spends around £1.2 billion treating the survivors of physical abuse, plus another £176 million on associated mental health services

for any other age group.’<sup>23</sup> At least two women a week are killed in the UK by a partner or former partner, more than 20 are raped and many more sexually assaulted; there are hundreds of cases of forced marriage and at least 12 ‘honour killings’

every year.<sup>24</sup> Young men, aged 16 to 24, were most at risk of being a victim of violent crime in 2003-04.<sup>25</sup> A recent survey conducted by the NSPCC for the teen magazine *Sugar* revealed that 16 per cent of teenaged girls have been hit at least once by a boyfriend, while four per cent were hit regularly. Of those who were attacked, more than two thirds remained with their boyfriend. At home 33 per cent of teenaged girls said they had experienced some form of domestic abuse, with 20 per cent saying they had been hit by their parents and 11 per cent saying they had seen their parents hit each other.<sup>26</sup>

While the structural and cultural causes of violent crime are complex, strategies have been developed that enable individuals to control and transform the personal impulse to commit direct violence. One such is ‘non-violent communication’ (NVC), a process created and refined over many years of experience by US psychologist Marshall Rosenberg:

NVC is founded on language and communication skills that strengthen our ability to remain human, even under trying conditions. It contains nothing new; all that has been integrated into NVC has been known for centuries. The intent is to remind us about what we already know – about how we humans were meant to relate to one another – and to assist us in living in a way that concretely manifests this knowledge... As NVC replaces our old patterns of defending, withdrawing, or attacking in the face of judgment and criticism, we come to perceive ourselves and others, as well as our intentions and relationships, in a new light. Resistance, defensiveness, and violent reactions are minimised.<sup>27</sup>

Rosenberg has taken NVC into many conflicts, both within the US and around the world. These have ranged from students in conflict with their school authority, to war-torn areas in Africa, South America, the Balkans and the Middle East. In every case, the approach involves understanding emotion as the expression of needs that are being met – or not. For example, he describes working with a convicted murderer who was extremely angry that a request he had made to the prison authorities for remedial training was being ignored. Using NVC, Rosenberg encouraged the prisoner to focus on what was going on inside himself rather than on the shortcomings of the prison staff. After a while, the prisoner realised that he was scared that without the training he might never be considered fit for release. His anger arose from his fear, which was itself an expression of an unmet need. After this realisation the prisoner became withdrawn and uncommunicative for a while:

Three hours later [he] approached me and said, ‘Marshall, I wish you had taught me two years ago what you taught me this morning. I wouldn’t have had to kill my best friend.’ All violence is the result of people tricking themselves, as this young prisoner did, into believing that their pain derives from other people and that consequently those people deserve to be punished.

A Ministry for Peace would support and help promote the extension of programmes like NVC throughout the UK. The more individuals learn the skills of non-violence, the less direct violence there will be.

‘A great revolution of character in just a single person will help achieve a change in the destiny of the nation and, further, will cause a change in the destiny of all humankind.’  
Daisaku Ikeda

### **Terrorism – a non-violent strategy**

What, though, of terrorism? Surely a hard military response is called for to counter the extreme and indiscriminate violence that terrorists use to try to achieve their goals. This is an understandable response, but one has to ask whether it is effective, or whether the direct violence of governments prompts even more direct violence from the terrorists. History suggests that there is rarely a military solution to terrorist campaigns that have support in a wider social community; one reason why they often last for years, even decades. But what is the non-violent alternative, especially in light of the attack on the Twin Towers in 2001, which has taken terrorism to new depths?

Many analysts point to the need to address the structural causes of terrorism, such as the enormous disparities of wealth in different parts of the world, lack of education and repressive political systems. Critics of this approach object that the terrorists themselves, especially the leaders, are often well-off, well-educated and driven by ideological motives connected to but not reliant on these structural causes. Osama bin Laden, for example, is a multimillionaire whose main aim appears to be to eject Western influence from the Middle East, and re-establish the rule of the Islamic caliphate throughout the region and beyond. And anyway, the critics say, we cannot wait for structural causes to be remedied, even if they are the root of terrorist actions – the direct violence must be confronted *now*.

But effective alternatives to the armed war on terror are already being employed. Jason McCue is a partner in the law firm that represents the families of the victims of the 1998 Omagh bombing. The families made legal history in 2001 when they brought a civil action against the members of the Real IRA (RIRA) whom the police had identified as being responsible for the atrocity, but against whom they had too little evidence to convict in a criminal court. Civil law allows hearsay evidence to be presented before the court, however, and so generally has a burden of proof more favourable to the plaintiff. McCue explains the strategy in a recent article:<sup>28</sup>

Let us consider the possibility that victims, their families and their community of supporters might be a better counter-terrorism delivery mechanism than governments. But how could ordinary citizens take the fight to the terrorists? How could they take the fight to the new public-relations and financial battlegrounds?

The answer found by the families of the victims of the Omagh bombing was to sue the terrorists. McCue continues:

Their legal action is, in effect, a vehicle for a wider public-relations and media campaign that has targeted the IRA, their domestic and American supporters, and terrorist ideology itself...

The campaign went into battle against the highly successful IRA propaganda machine. It sought to explain real victimhood and ensure that victims were not just seen as numbers on another terrorist news item that could be forgotten. They decided to humanize their plight while de-humanising the IRA. Yet, the neo-terrorists - in this case, the RIRA - were unable to portray their victims as large oppressive forces hostile to humanity (or even civil liberties for that matter) ...

Why is their campaign so important? A community stance is a new, powerful and unconventional weapon against terrorism. The state is disadvantaged in its war because of the inherent power inequality vis-à-vis terrorists. The latter's propaganda

machine will always portray itself as a weak David facing an oppressive, imperialistic Goliath. This often turns conventional counter-terrorism measures into propaganda victories that further the terrorists' support base and cause. A civil action, however, juxtaposes a cold-blooded murderer with a mother who lost her son. It provides a humane and emotional media campaign that even the most adept terrorist spin doctor cannot win.

Although the case has not yet come to trial, the wider campaign has already notched up important victories. It has frustrated fundraising events by the RIRA and its sympathisers; it has publicly shamed RIRA supporters in the press, which has led to them being ostracised in their community; the RIRA is now designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization in the USA, which means its funds can be frozen. Additionally, the authorities have been able to highlight and track assets the defendants have moved in anticipation of the litigation, for as McCue notes:

Another goal of a civil action is compensation. The fear of losing the family home and fortune can become burdensome to a terrorist. The effectiveness of this deterrent does depend on the terrorist group in question. Many *shahids* [martyrs who die for Allah] are recorded in their martyrdom videos as claiming that becoming a homicide bomber will increase the pride and position of their families. The deterrent of death and the criminal law is not enough to stop them, but perhaps the ostracisation and financial ruin of their families might be. If the Omagh precedent [makes] an Irish terrorist think twice before committing another terrorist act, or the mother of a *shahid* to make a compassionate plea to her son, the effort involved in such campaigns would be worthwhile.

In short, McCue observes that the RIRA is no longer the threat it was prior to the Omagh writ being issued. The families-led campaign has cut off the fuel of terrorism - positive publicity - and dried up the oil that greases the cogs of the terrorism mechanism in the form of support and recruitment. A similar reaction has been seen in the campaign of the McCartney sisters to bring to justice the IRA killers of their brother Robert. Even long-standing US supporters of the IRA and Sinn Fein have turned against the organisations, which are being forced into a fundamental reconsideration of their attitude to violence.

McCue sees worldwide potential in civil actions against terrorist groups and their individual members. 'All is possible in legal and practical terms,' he says, 'if the international will is there to foster them. What is prudent to pursue at the state level might be so at the civil level.' To protect the political independence of such actions - which are, above all, the response of the victims to terrorist outrages rather than their governments - the funding could come from the UN. McCue concludes:

A reckoning is upon us. The terrorists live in a world far more diverse than that of the Cold War, which required a securicratic response to the needs of civil societies. New unconventional responses must harness the power of ordinary people and seek to tackle ignorance, poverty and injustice on all contemporary battlefields. These are not just liberal ideals in today's world; they have become a necessity in the 'War on Neo-Terror'. Success on these new fronts will accelerate the arrival of a terrorist ice age that could wipe the scourge of terror from our lands.

McCue's observation is an important one and applies generally to the non-violent approaches to direct violence discussed above – at issue is not so much morality as *effectiveness*. In too many instances direct violence as a response to direct violence simply doesn't work, or merely offers a short-term cure that leads in the longer term to a bigger problem.

In addition to promoting non-violent responses to terrorism, a Ministry for Peace would have an important role in initiating dialogue within society about the essential meaning of our civil liberties, and how best to safeguard them while ensuring individuals are protected from direct violence. As Arlene Audergon notes, 'This would prevent issues getting polarised and acted out between radical groups and reactionary leadership, while others quietly accept emergency measures and new laws that take away more civil liberties.'<sup>29</sup>

In summary, while the challenge of direct violence will continue to be met by existing bodies such as the armed forces and the police, gradually, over time, it will increasingly be met by *direct non-violence* in the form of conflict prevention, transformation and resolution, and legal action. The armed forces and the police will continue to have a role, but the balance of action will shift inexorably towards non-violence.

The same step-by-step approach will also apply to the other two aspects of the violence iceberg – structural and cultural violence.

'For to win a hundred victories  
in one hundred battles is not  
the acme of skill. To subdue  
the enemy without fighting is  
the acme of skill.'  
Sun Tzu: *The Art of War*

## Transforming Structural Violence

### Structural violence and the arms trade

To reiterate, structural violence refers to political, economic and social structures and systems that give rise to violence. The term was coined by Johan Galtung after a visit to New Delhi:<sup>30</sup>

One evening, he sat on the flat roof of the building and noticed homeless people sleeping in the street, children crying from hunger, and sick people waiting to die. It struck him that this is a form of violence as much as violent crime or war. But nobody walks around with a gun intentionally shooting people. They suffer as a result of gross inequality, of an unjust structure of society. He created the term structural violence for such phenomena, in contrast to direct violence. Later he added the concept of cultural violence - the intellectual justification for direct and structural violence.

Statistics from the United Nations Development Programme highlight the extent of this structural violence. According to the UNDP, the past thirty years have seen some dramatic improvements in the developing world. Life expectancy increased by eight years. Illiteracy was cut nearly in half, to 25 per cent, and in East Asia the number of people surviving on less than \$1 a day was almost halved just in the 1990s. Even so:

For many countries the 1990s were a decade of despair. Some 54 countries are poorer now than in 1990. In 21 a larger proportion of people is going hungry. In 14, more children are dying before age five. In 12, primary school enrolments are shrinking. In 34, life expectancy has fallen. Such reversals in survival were previously rare...

More than 1.2 billion people - one in every five on Earth - survive on less than \$1 a day. During the 1990s the share of people suffering from extreme income poverty fell from 30 per cent to 23 per cent. But with a growing world population, the number fell by just 123 million — a small fraction of the progress needed to eliminate poverty. And excluding China, the number of extremely poor people actually increased by 28 million.<sup>31</sup>

Much of this poverty is held to arise from the trading conditions laid down by the World Trade Organisation and the 'development' loans made by the World Bank. In 2000, the debt of developing countries amounted to almost \$2,000 billion – the result, some say, of a phenomenon called 'global monetocracy'.<sup>32</sup>

Over the past twenty years, however, the issue of global poverty has attracted more and more attention with the result that, along with environmentalism, it has climbed ever higher up the political agenda. Make Poverty History is the latest step in the movement to eradicate poverty worldwide, and is complemented by the efforts of the UK Treasury and DFID to restructure and even cancel large portions of global debt. Another proposal is for the equivalent of the post-war Marshall Plan to be implemented in various parts of the world.<sup>33</sup> Meanwhile, the 1997 Kyoto Protocol, the internationally and legally binding agreement to limit global greenhouse gas emissions, finally came into effect in February this year.

'The free market is not, as Right-thinkers have claimed, a gift of social evolution. It is an end product of social engineering and unyielding political will.' John Gray

But while the world is at last waking up to these two areas of concern - and taking action – scant attention is paid to the massive structural violence of global weapons manufacture and trade, and the network of international agreements that supports it.

The UK military budget is the third highest in the world. It is the fourth largest consumer of taxpayers’ money after social security, health and education. The MoD spends around £12 billion per year on the procurement of goods and services, of which about £6 billion is spent by the Defence Procurement Agency on weapons and other military equipment.<sup>34</sup> UK forces have been deployed in Afghanistan and Iraq and between 2001-2 and 2004-5 the Government has provided £4.4 billion of taxpayers’ money to meet the cost of these conflicts.<sup>35</sup>

<b>Defence expenditure in real terms in the UK (1997-2004)<sup>36</sup></b>	
1997-98	£24.268 billion
1998-99	£25.319 billion
1999-2000	£24.878 billion
2000-01	£25.660 billion
2001-02	£25.966 billion
2002-03	£27.198 billion
2003-4	£29.242 billion

According to the 2004 Spending Review and the MoD paper *Delivering security in a changing world: future capabilities*, planned increases on defence of 1.4 per cent per year in real terms will mean total spending £3.7 billion higher in 2007-8 than in 2004-5. These increases are despite the MoD’s declaration that ‘there is no longer a major conventional threat in Europe, but more frequent crises over a wider geographic area’.<sup>37</sup> As a result the budget for counter-terrorism and ‘resilience’ will rise from £923 million in 2001-3 to £2.115 billion in 2007-8 and although the 2004 Spending Review underscores the importance of ‘tackling [terrorism’s] underlying causes’<sup>38</sup> it is unclear how it is envisaged that this will be done.

The UK also continues to deploy approximately two hundred nuclear weapons on four Trident submarines.

As a result of the major influence of the US-UK ‘special relationship’ on UK military policy, the UK is at the forefront in deploying ever more powerful weapons of mass destruction. Despite being a signatory to the 1970 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, in which the UK agreed to pursue global nuclear disarmament, Geoff Hoon, Secretary of State for Defence, made an unprecedented series of statements in 2002 on the first-use of UK nuclear weapons in the face of non-nuclear attack.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, the UK is currently expanding its nuclear weapons laboratories at Aldermaston, which may contribute to the development of a new generation of nuclear weapons.

This military machine is paid for on the assumption that it insures against perceived threats, provides for national defence and hence maintains security. But the majority of threats are now *within* rather than *between* states. In addition, the ‘war on terror’ has dramatically changed the whole concept of security, to which the answer is not the use of sophisticated and overpowering weaponry. On the contrary, current global increases in military spending,

including those in the UK, mean a lessening of funds available to tackle precisely those pressing human needs that provide an ocean in which terrorists spawn and swim.

On top of this some of the poorest countries in the world have substantial defence burdens – these include Burundi, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Serbia and Montenegro, Bosnia Herzegovina and Croatia. The Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT) in their report *Fanning the Flames* show that UK arms sales maintain conflicts in these areas.<sup>40</sup> The World Health Organisation estimates that around thirty-five people are killed each hour as a direct result of armed conflict.<sup>41</sup> The report also shows that arms transfers across the globe significantly contribute to the creation of refugees. The numbers of displaced people has increased from 2.5 million in 1970 to more than 23 million in the latter part of the 1990s.<sup>42</sup> In addition there are some 22 million people who are displaced from their homes and families within national borders.<sup>43</sup>

### **The economic issues**

When these issues are raised and it is suggested that military expenditure be reduced in favour of these pressing needs to the benefit of greater human security, two counter-arguments are normally advanced - first, that a large number of British jobs would be lost, which would be politically unacceptable; and second, that arms exports contribute significantly to the balance of payments and thus benefit the wider economy.

These arguments do not stand up. A recent report from three leading UK security policy think-tanks concludes that employment dependent on arms exports constitutes only 0.25 per cent of the UK labour force and that far from providing jobs, diverts skilled workers and investment away from more effective job-creating activity in the civil economy.<sup>44</sup> Any defence jobs lost, the report states, could easily be absorbed within the overall job market:

Indeed, the [government's own]York Report<sup>45</sup> concluded that a halving of exports would result in the loss of 49,000 jobs in the defence sector, but that this would be more than offset by the creation of 67,000 new jobs elsewhere in the economy. Although many of these replacement jobs were likely to be at a lower skill level, they would be helping to meet shortages currently within the civil economy. This conclusion is supported by a study on skills deficiency within England, from the Department for Education and Skills,<sup>46</sup> which highlights the skills shortage in the craft-intensive construction and manufacturing industries, in particular.

The report also challenges the contribution arms exports make to the wider economy, especially as UK defence-related production is increasingly being outsourced abroad. The share of total UK exports made up by defence exports has reduced over recent years to the point where, in 2002, the gross UK arms exports revenue amounted to only 1.5 per cent (£4.12 billion) of total UK exports. Accordingly, even the York Report concluded that the economic benefits of arms exports are insignificant and that the 'balance of argument about defence exports should depend mainly on non-economic considerations'.<sup>47</sup> These include:

...the argument that a strong indigenous defence industrial base (which, so the argument goes, requires a strong export performance if it is to be sustained over time) is necessary to safeguard the UK's security of supply of defence equipment. However, in a written parliamentary answer in June 2004, Defence Minister Lord Bach appeared to restrict the application of this argument to 'a very small number of

capabilities which for national security reasons we place a high priority on retaining within the United Kingdom industrial base'. The examples Lord Bach gave were 'in the fields of nuclear technology, defence against biological, chemical and radiological warfare, and some counter-terrorist capabilities'.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, time and again when justifying the merits of arms exports, ministers continue to frame the debate in terms of economic benefits.<sup>49</sup>

How, then, is this aspect of structural violence to be transformed, given the fact that any perceived threat to the arms industry will certainly be strongly resisted?

'They shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks.' Isaiah

### **Arms conversion and military diversification**

One answer, alluded to above, is through arms conversion and military diversification. Arms conversion means converting military production to civil production. Military diversification is a halfway house that does not necessarily mean the permanent conversion of defence production. Rather, it involves the development of flexible systems that can shift between military and civil production, depending on current military demand. If demand is low, non-military projects can be developed. Government has to play a key role in both processes, as Helen Hughes explains:<sup>50</sup>

Arms conversion needs to provide employment and an improvement in the balance of trade. It needs to re-train skilled workers and explore opportunities for the development of civilian production that would benefit the UK economy, such as environmental technology to improve our recycling facilities and better transport. There is no doubt that diversification and conversion requires a deep level of commitment and involvement from the Government. Though previous experience demonstrates that restructuring other sectors such as steel, mining industries or textiles is best done through local initiatives, it is the government that needs to take a responsible and more active role in enabling the initial transition to civil markets. This is not surprising since it is the government who has to a large extent established the situation where much of our industry is dependent on defence.

The Arms Conversion Project (ACP) is a national organisation established in 1998 and supported by local authorities initiating practical diversification projects through a number of local networks. These bring together political parties, trade unions, local authorities, academics, ACP and so on to bring about local defence diversification activities. These groups were successful in pressing the Government to introduce the Defence Diversification Agency (DDA), which is located within the Ministry of Defence and is supposed to address the civilian utility of defence technologies developed by the Defence, Research and Evaluation Agency (DERA).

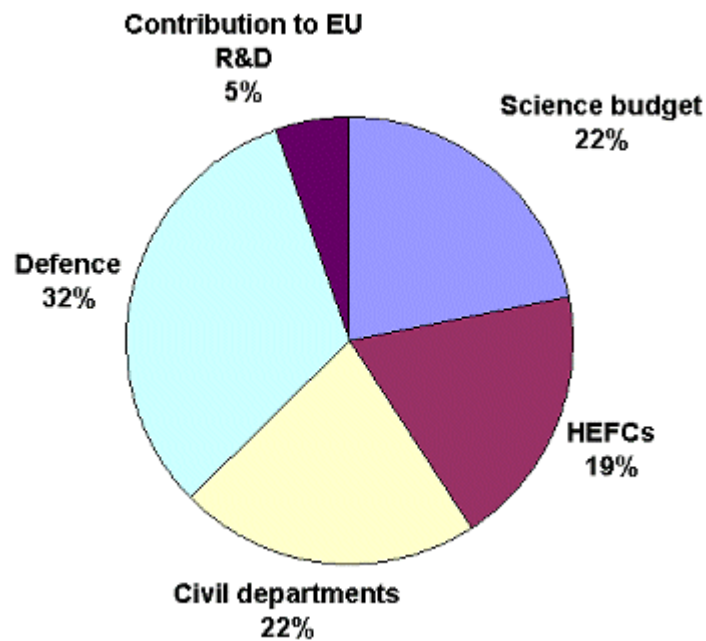
The driving force behind this development was the scaling down of the defence industry in the late 1980s and early 1990s, part of the 'peace dividend' that followed the end of the Cold War. The Labour Party promised to address the problem of the resulting job losses in its 1997 election manifesto, and the Defence Diversification Agency was duly set up in 1999. But the government made it clear that the DDA is as much about the transfer of civilian

technologies *to* military programmes as the conversion *from* defence to civilian production. Moreover, as a simple two-way conduit for transfers of technology, the DDA does not deal with the economic and human issues involved in arms conversion - the diversification of companies and communities. These wider issues were partly recognised by the planned creation of a Defence Diversification Council that would include representatives of industry, local authorities, trade unions, the Department of Trade and Industry and devolved government. To date, however, no action has been taken to establish the Defence Diversification Council.

With the establishment of a Ministry for Peace arms conversion and military diversification will be given a much higher priority, and will ensure the process is undertaken in a way that protects the long-term welfare of those employed in the defence industry. The Defence Diversification Council could be located within the Ministry, for example. Additionally, the Ministry would also tackle the associated problem of defence industry research and development.

**Restructuring defence research and development**

The UK trains excellent scientists, engineers and technologists, yet relatively few of these are funded to research solutions to problems of meeting fundamental human needs. Instead we have the ‘militarisation of science’, with much of the UK’s energy and creativity going into defence research and development. In a report published at the beginning of this year, Scientists for Global Responsibility (SGR) highlight the extent of this militarisation.<sup>51</sup> The MoD spends over 30 *per cent* of the total UK government R&D budget, which has a major impact on work done in UK universities and research institutions.



**UK Government Funded R&D 2003-2004<sup>52</sup>**

Recent joint initiatives have included the Defence Technology Centres, the Towers of Excellence and the Defence and Aerospace Research Partnerships. In addition to the MoD, corporations such as BAE Systems (the largest defence manufacturer in the UK), Boeing and GKN have, since early in the Cold War period, pursued their own R&D programmes within

universities and provided undergraduate and postgraduate funds and career support. Rolls Royce at present supports over twenty University Technology Centres, which are embedded in fifteen universities throughout the UK, including Sheffield, Oxford, Cambridge and Imperial College, London. BAE Systems deliberately links its name with scientific excellence while making little of the fact that it produces weapons systems, military aircraft and a variety of support equipment, often sold to regimes with poor human rights and environmental records. The net result of this process is that bright minds seeking a career in science, engineering and technology (SET) have fewer and fewer non-militarised opportunities.

It is often claimed that civil society benefits from the spin-offs of military R&D, but the SGR report concludes that these claims 'are in general overstated. Attempts at technology transfer from military-supported R&D to civilian use have proven to be complex and expensive and have, to a large extent, been disappointing in view of the massive investments involved.'

By contrast, the report highlights the benefits that can be gained from switching funds from military to civil SET research, especially in key areas such as poverty, environmental degradation and resource depletion. They also cite examples of research into disarmament and alternatives to the use of military force. These include the work of the University of Bradford Department of Peace Studies, established in the early 1970s, whose three major research groups cover social change, conflict resolution, and mediation and peacekeeping set within the context of international relations. The Oxford Research Group, meanwhile, has examined 280 non-violent interventions in conflicts across the world and published costed details of fifty of the most effective initiatives.<sup>53</sup> Their overwhelming finding is how cheap and effective non-violent intervention can be, but note that the UK spends only £550 million on conflict resolution, peacekeeping and enforcement - less than two per cent of the government's military budget.

To transform this situation, SGR stresses the urgent need to restructure SET research and development within the UK. They recommend that the government:

- diverts a large fraction of current UK military R&D funds – some 30-50 per cent - to addressing wider issues, and involves public discussion in the process
- restricts military involvement in the R&D of emerging technologies, such as nanotechnology
- makes MoD funding of R&D more transparent and open
- devotes more resources to implementing a far more inclusive concept of security
- conducts a full and transparent review of the military agreements between the UK and the USA that drive new nuclear and other military technologies, and which have not received full Parliamentary scrutiny or public debate
- ceases all work relating to the design and development of new nuclear weapons, in line with its obligations under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

SGR also targets the professional bodies, publishers, and scientific and engineering institutions – and individuals – who service military R&D. Amongst other suggestions, it calls on them to acknowledge military funding (and its scale) in all academic papers and reports arising from work based on this funding, to lobby for SGR's proposals to government, and to promote discussion of the issues with their colleagues, employers and professional bodies. As with poverty and the environment, a change in action will follow a change in consciousness, especially of the individuals most closely involved.

### **Withdrawal from the arms trade**

An oft-stated objection to the reforms outlined above is that any UK withdrawal from the global arms trade would leave gaps that would simply be filled by other suppliers. However morally righteous, it would simply enrich other countries without making any difference to the overall situation. In other words, nice gesture – but globally this aspect of structural violence would continue.

While it is true that some other countries might for a while take advantage, we should not underestimate the moral – and practical - effect of a major supplier like the UK gradually turning its back on a pernicious and deadly trade. Much the same argument was made when Britain banned the slave trade throughout the British Empire in 1807, following the example of some of the northern states of the USA after the revolution of 1789. But one country after another gradually followed suit. Slavery was banned in the region that now includes Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela in 1821, then Chile in 1823 and Mexico in 1829. Slavery (as opposed to its trade) was finally banned throughout the British Empire in 1833; in France and all its colonies in 1848 (after an earlier attempt in 1794-1802); Denmark and all its colonies in 1848; the Netherlands and all its colonies in 1863; the rest of the USA in 1865; Cuba in 1886; Brazil in 1888; China in 1910; and even Saudi Arabia, eventually, in 1961. That slavery persists in many parts of Africa and Southeast Asia - and has reappeared in Europe in the form of sex trafficking – is now viewed with horror by much of the world, and has prompted a concerted campaign to end it permanently. This is an indication of the extent to which attitudes have changed since slavery was considered the norm – rather as the manufacture and trade in arms are today.

'We must be the change  
we wish to see.'  
Gandhi

The UK's withdrawal from the global arms trade would not anyway be the result of an overnight ban. Rather, as outlined earlier, it would occur over time, through military diversification, arms conversion and a demilitarisation of R&D. Other countries will adjust to this as they see the economic (and other) benefits that flow to the UK from the process.

Indeed, the establishment of a Ministry for Peace within the UK government would itself be part of a reform of structural violence worldwide. It would set an example that other countries would follow, one by one. Its initiatives would be copied, bit by bit, around the world; and it would likewise copy good ideas arising in other countries.

One foreseeable consequence of this process would be the emergence of a growing international consensus on the need for fundamental reform of structural violence, in the same way that we have seen a consensus emerge on global poverty and climate change. Some players, notably the USA, might distance themselves from this consensus, as they do now with regard to Kyoto, the International Criminal Court and even the international treaty banning land mines; but we believe the current of the times will eventually bring along even the laggards. After all, racial segregation continued in some US states for more than a hundred years after slavery had been banned, and it was actually imposed by law in South Africa in 1948. Both are now gone, legally at least.

So a major part of the remit for a Ministry for Peace would be to work within the international community to develop this consensus for the fundamental reform of structural violence, complementing and influencing the work of the FCO, DFID and other departments of state.

Drawing on the experience of the European Union, for example, it could help establish economic and political unions in other parts of the world as a step towards transforming regional conflicts. The EU began as the European Coal and Steel Community after the Second World War, partly because coal production had been a flashpoint between France and

'War is an instrument entirely inefficient toward redressing wrong; and multiplies, instead of indemnifying losses.'  
Thomas Jefferson

Germany as they struggled to rebuild their economies after the First World War – witness the 1923 Ruhr crisis. What had been a source of conflict became in 1951 a source of cooperation, so much so that the EU now embraces most of Europe, making another war between European states much less likely. Applying

that model to, say, the Middle East, why not make the growing conflict over water resources the catalyst for peace rather than, as some predict, another war?

A growing international consensus on reforming global structural violence would find expression in many ways, not least reform of the UN to reflect the changed reality of the world six decades after the founding of the organisation. A Ministry for Peace would be a driving force behind reform.

### **International agreements, old and new**

Reform of structural violence across the world would also find expression in new international agreements and treaties. For example, the world is awash with small arms. Personal machine guns, in particular, have become so light and easy to use that, in some parts of the world, children as young as nine or ten are being pressed into service by unscrupulous commanders, brutalised and then sent out to kill. With a Ministry for Peace at its helm, the UK could take the lead in an international campaign to limit, and eventually outlaw, the manufacture, sale and export of light arms. This could be the forerunner to a series of fully-binding international agreements that ultimately render all conventional weapons unacceptable.

In addition to these initiatives, a Ministry for Peace would make strenuous and continuous efforts to ensure that *existing* international agreements limiting violence are observed and enforced. These include:

- the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty and related IAEA safeguards
- the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty
- the Biological Weapons Convention, draft verification protocol
- the Chemical Weapons Convention
- the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
- the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty
- the OSCE Open Skies Treaty and Confidence and Security Building Measures
- the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) and Intermediate Nuclear force (INF) Treaty
- various regional Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone Treaties
- various informal export control regimes including the Missile Technology Control Regime, the Wassenaar Agreement, the Australia Group, the Nuclear Suppliers Group and the Zangger Committee

Of particular importance is the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). There were forty-three original parties to the NPT when it came into force in 1970, including the US, UK and the former Soviet Union, but today the number stands at 187. Israel, India and Pakistan remain outside the NPT, however, and North Korea joined in 1985, but in January 2003 announced its intention to withdraw.

Despite this welcome growth in signatory countries, fundamental aspects of the NPT remain contentious. For example, Article VI of the NPT obliges all parties to pursue good-faith negotiations on effective measures relating to ending the nuclear arms race at an early date, to nuclear disarmament, and to achieving a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control. Nuclear-armed parties to the NPT such as the US argue that they have done much to disarm both themselves and others, and that their continued retention of nuclear weapons should not be used by some states as a justification to acquire such weapons themselves.<sup>54</sup> But this is exactly what India and Pakistan did argue during their tit-for-tat nuclear tests in the late 1990s; and a number of smaller countries, such as Korea, Israel and (possibly) Iran, argue that only nuclear weapons can safeguard them from attack from potential aggressors. The UN Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change reported in December 2004 that:

'Peace is the one condition of survival in this nuclear age.'  
Adlai Stevenson

...the nuclear non-proliferation regime is now at risk because of lack of compliance with existing commitments, withdrawal or threat of withdrawal from the [NPT] to escape those commitments, a changing international security environment and the diffusion of technology. We are approaching a point at which the erosion of the non-proliferation regime could become irreversible and result in a cascade of proliferation.<sup>55</sup>

The upshot of all this is that we can never feel totally safe while *any* nuclear weapons still exist. There is no excuse for their continued existence, and urgent progress should be made towards their complete destruction. A Ministry for Peace would take a lead role in this, bearing in mind the words of Dietrich Fischer:<sup>56</sup>

Some argue that...nuclear weapons cannot be disinvented. We have not disinvented cannibalism either, but we abhor it. Why can't we develop an equal abhorrence against incinerating our planet?

As part of this, a Ministry for Peace would work for the expansion of nuclear-free zones around the world. These ban the production, siting or testing of nuclear weapons within the zone by any country. Currently, there are four such zones - in Latin America and the Caribbean, in the South Pacific, in Southeast Asia and in Africa. A further, bolder step would be to declare that these and future nuclear-free zones are also 'war-free' zones. Each nation within the zone renounces war against its fellow members, except as a means of legitimate self-defence. But with no potential aggressors within the zone, its members can 'build-down' their armed forces, and pool the remainder in a form of collective security. Clearly, this is not an ideal solution, as each zone can still wage war against states outside its area. Neither is it any guarantee against civil wars within individual member states. But it would be a move in the right direction and, in effect, is what has already occurred within the European Union.

Against this background, the UK could also of course reach agreements on a bilateral basis, regionally and worldwide, according to the partners we can find to join us in the gradual demilitarisation of global politics.

A Ministry for Peace could, for example, start to negotiate bilateral Treaties of Permanent Peace with other countries. Effectively, we have had just such a relationship with Portugal since the Treaty of Alliance of 1373. This was formally confirmed in the Treaty of Windsor in May 1386, regarded as the oldest alliance between two sovereign states. Treaties of Permanent Peace could first be signed with countries with whom we now consider it inconceivable that we should ever go to war; and interim treaties signed with other countries to state our joint intent to move towards a Treaty of Permanent Peace. The idea would not be to offer support to each other if threatened but simply to mark, symbolically perhaps, the desire never to fight one another. As other countries followed our lead the world would gradually be criss-crossed with ties of peace.

‘There never was a good  
war or a bad peace.’  
Benjamin Franklin

### **Transforming structural violence within the UK**

As noted earlier, structural violence is built in to many areas of UK society – for example, poverty, education, health and housing – and manifests itself in a number of negative ways, including violent crime. *Crime in England and Wales: Quarterly Update to September 2004* showed a six per cent increase in violent crime. Young people, particularly young men, are often marginalised as a result of limited educational and economic opportunities, which often leads them into violent behaviour and crime, then prison.

We do not as a society address the root causes of (predominantly male) violence, just as we do not address the root causes of racist violence. Rather we leave individuals and groups to experience the violence and then attempt to resolve it through the courts and prison - in those cases where a suspect is actually caught.

One of these root causes is undoubtedly economic inequality. Since 1997 the UK has enjoyed high growth combined with low inflation, low unemployment and low interest rates. But a strong economy is not an end in itself. Despite the introduction of the national minimum wage

‘Around 40,000 people die needlessly each year in the UK because they cannot afford to heat their homes properly.’  
Public Health News,  
21 February 2005

and of tax credits tailored to the poorest in the community, inequality has, if anything, increased. Between 1991 and 2001, the percentage of wealth held by the richest 10 per cent of the population increased from 47 per cent to 56 per cent. Almost a third of total wealth in Britain is owned by just two per cent of the population.<sup>57</sup> In 2002-03, 28 per cent of children in the UK were living in income poverty (below 60 per cent of median income after housing costs), up from 14 per cent in 1979.<sup>58</sup>

George Monbiot notes that according to the ‘human development index’ published by *The Economist*, Sweden ranks third in the world for quality of life and the UK eleventh.<sup>59</sup> Sweden has the world’s third highest life expectancy, the UK its twenty-ninth. The contrast between the average figures is stark enough but is far greater for the people at the bottom of the social heap. The 2004 *UN Human Development Report* shows that in Sweden 6.3 per cent

of the population lives below the absolute poverty line for developed nations (\$11 a day). In the UK the figure is 15.7 per cent. 7.5 per cent of Swedish adults are functionally illiterate – the UK's figure of 21.8 per cent is almost three times as high. In the UK, according to a separate study, you are more than three times as likely to stay in the economic class into which you were born than you are in Sweden.<sup>60</sup>

The reason for these differences, Monbiot says, is straightforward. 'During most of the twentieth century, Sweden has pursued policies designed to narrow the inequality of condition between social classes.' According to the UN, in Sweden the richest ten per cent of the population earn 6.2 times as much money as the poorest ten per cent. In the UK the ratio is 13.8 times. These policies have had no harmful impact on Sweden's economic growth. In 2002, its GDP per capita was \$27,310 and the UK's was \$26,240, a higher rate that has been the norm for thirty-seven out of forty-one years between 1960 and 2001.

For many groups, economic inequality is exacerbated by other forms of structural violence. According to the Commission for Racial Equality:<sup>61</sup>

- Ethnic minority workers are more likely to be among the unemployed and long-term unemployed, especially young workers
- Schools are up to four times more likely to permanently exclude African Caribbean pupils, increasing the chances that they will be disengaged from education in the longer term and black pupils and those from Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds achieve poorer GCSE results than other groups
- Gypsy and traveller children have the lowest results of any ethnic minority group and are the group most at risk in the education system
- People from Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities are one-and-a-half times more likely to suffer ill health, and African Caribbeans a third more likely than white people
- Irish born men are the only migrant group whose mortality is higher in Britain than in their country of origin.

Sexism also impacts on economic inequality. Average hourly earnings for women working full-time are 18 per cent lower than for men working full-time, and for women working part-time hourly earnings are 40 per cent lower. Although women make up 46 per cent of the labour market, they are under-represented in many jobs and positions with power or influence - only 18 per cent of MPs and 24 per cent of UK MEPs are women.<sup>62</sup>

**Women in the public and voluntary sectors make up:**

- 45.4% of chief executives of voluntary organisations
- 38.6% of public appointments
- 30.5% of secondary school head teachers
- 27.7% of health service chief executives
- 27.4% of FE college principals
- 24.4% of Civil Service top management
- 12.4% of local authority chief executives
- 16.9% of trade union general secretaries or equivalent
- 16.7% of heads of selected professional bodies
- 15.0% of university vice chancellors
- 8.3% of senior police officers
- 8.3% of top judges (high court judge & above)
- 0.8% of senior ranks in the armed forces

This structural violence within the UK is persistent. As far back as the 1980s peace scholar Tom Woodhouse argued that the UK has a ‘violent economy’ and should shift to a ‘peaceful economy’.<sup>63</sup>

<p><b>A Violent Economy</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• large scale production, hierarchically and bureaucratically organised</li> <li>• high levels of conflict over possession of the world’s resources</li> <li>• a complex of military interests in industry and the economy</li> <li>• mass-production, standardisation and de-skilling</li> <li>• a high demand for energy for the industrial machine and consequent pollution and exploitation of the environment</li> </ul>
<p><b>A Peaceful Economy</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• democratic control and co-operative working patterns</li> <li>• a diversity of modes of economic activity – with an emphasis on human-scale activities</li> <li>• production of arms playing a small part of the economy</li> <li>• low levels of violence within and between societies</li> <li>• a sustainable attitude to the environment</li> <li>• an awareness of the global consequences of economic activity</li> </ul>

While a Ministry for Peace cannot by itself redress the structural violence within society, it can influence overall government policy, especially economic policy, along more equitable lines. Additionally, with the gradual emergence of a new peace benefit - reaped from the switch of resources away from defence spending - there will be more funds to invest in human development, especially education. One area where this could make a significant impact is in prisons.

**An example of an integrated approach - prison policy**

There is a strong case to be made for moving responsibility for prisons away from the Home Office and placing it with a Ministry for Peace! Whereas the Home Office tends to emphasise prison as a place for punishment, a Ministry for Peace would emphasise it as a place for re-education and reform.

For example, Michael Howard once famously said, as Home Secretary, that ‘prison works’. In a very limited sense, of course, he was correct. Prison is a form of direct violence that counters the direct violence of the criminal by removing him or her from society. But prison in the UK has a poor record for reducing re-offending - 59 per cent of prisoners are reconvicted within two years of being released. The reconviction rate for young male adults (under 21) over the same period is 74 per cent. For prisoners who are sentenced for burglary, one of the most common offences, the reconviction rate is 76 per cent. Re-offending by ex-prisoners accounts for roughly one in five of all recorded crimes.<sup>64</sup>

In other words, the UK prison system as it currently operates clearly does *not* work in terms of tackling either the structural or cultural violence that can result in criminal behaviour. According to the Prison Reform Trust, ‘Many prisoners have experienced a lifetime of social exclusion.’ Indeed, if one wants to see the effects of structural violence in society as it manifests in the prison population, one has simply to read the following table:<sup>65</sup>

<b>Characteristic</b>	<b>General Population</b>	<b>Prison Population</b>
Ran away from home as a child	11%	47% of male and 50% of female sentenced prisoners
Taken into care as a child	2%	27%
Regularly truanted from school	3%	30%
Excluded from school	2%	49% of male and 33% of female sentenced prisoners
No qualifications	15%	52% of men and 71% of women
Numeracy at or below Level 1 (that expected of an 11-year-old)	23%	65%
Reading ability at or below Level 1	21-23%	48%
Unemployed before imprisonment	5%	67%
Homeless	0.9%	32%
Suffer from two or more mental disorders	5% of men and 2% of women	72% of male and 70% of female sentenced prisoners
Psychotic disorder	0.5% of men and 0.6% of women	7% of male and 14% of female sentenced prisoners
Drug use in the previous year	13% of men and 8% of women	66% of male and 55% of female sentenced prisoners
Hazardous drinking	38% of men and 15% of women	63% of male and 39% of female sentenced prisoners

A Ministry for Peace would work to transform prison policy. First, it would seek to reverse the current trend of sentencing policy, which has seen a dramatic increase in the rate of imprisonment over the past five years. It is hard to understand why our rate – up from 125 to 141 per 100,000 of the population since 1999 – should be 44 per cent higher than Germany (98 per 100,000), and 52 per cent higher than France (93 per 100,000).

Second, in relation to this, a Ministry for Peace would seek to greatly expand the use of restorative, rather than punitive, justice. This is a voluntary but systematic response to wrongdoing that emphasises healing the wounds of victims, offenders and communities caused or revealed by criminal behaviour. Typically, an independent mediator or facilitator enables the parties involved in the crime (victim, offender and community) to communicate with each other in order to repair any harm that has been caused. This empowers victims in ways denied them by the current system – for example, by offering them an opportunity to explain the impact of the crime and seek an acknowledgement of the harm caused. It gives them some degree of control and choice, the chance to ask the offender questions, and often peace of mind about the future. In addition, an apology, reparation or recompense is sometimes agreed. The restorative approach can also provide the offender with the chance to explain what happened and to try to put right any harm caused. This can help him or her regain some self-esteem and reintegrate into the community.

Restorative justice is relatively new to the UK – it was introduced in the 1980s - but has been practised successfully across the world. The government sees its potential and is starting to use it, but its overwhelming emphasis is still on simply locking people up - in September 2004 the Home Office announced funding of around £100 million to create a further 1,300

prison places in addition to the extra 2,400 places already planned. This will increase the total operating capacity of the prison estate to around 80,800 places by 2006-07.<sup>66</sup>

Third, a Ministry for Peace would massively expand the provision of education and skills training within prison. In 2002-03 prisoners undertaking education spent an average of six hours per week in formal learning activities. In the same year, an average of £1,185 per prisoner was spent on education in jails. This is less than half the average cost of secondary school education (£2,590 per student per year), which many prisoners have missed.<sup>67</sup> Given the enormous cost to society of re-offending by ex-prisoners – the Social Exclusion Unit has estimated the figure at some *£11 billion* per year<sup>68</sup> - it obviously makes good economic sense, if nothing else, to invest in integrated policies that offer the best chance of reforming offenders and keeping them on the straight and narrow. A Ministry for Peace would offer – and implement – that much-needed joined-up approach.

'A prison ought, as far as possible, to be a school in which a criminal is taught how to reform himself.'  
Arnold Toynbee

# Creating A Culture Of Peace

## Implementing global initiatives

The third strategic task of a Ministry for Peace would be to transform cultural violence and work to create a culture of peace. A culture of peace delegitimises direct and structural violence, makes it appear abnormal and unacceptable, and provides the intellectual justification for direct and structural *non-violence*. This document is itself a contribution to the growing effort worldwide to establish a culture of peace.

This task would begin with a widespread educational programme about recent major peace initiatives. The first of these is UNESCO's Seville Statement. In 1986, an international meeting of scientists was convened in Seville by the Spanish National Commission for UNESCO. This meeting asked the question: 'Are humans warlike by their very nature and so destined to be constantly fighting – or is the appetite for war something that humans have learned and therefore can eventually unlearn?' The scientists refuted the notion that organised human violence is biologically determined. Humans are not genetically programmed to do violence to each other. The conference adopted a 'Statement on Violence', now known as the Seville Statement, that contains five core propositions on what does *not* cause war:

1. *War is not acquired from humankind's animal ancestors.* Animals do not kill each other as humans do in a systematic way. Animals kill to eat. 'Fighting' is usually a highly ritualised activity between males seeking to gain the favours of females; losers are not killed – they admit defeat by leaving the area.
2. *War is not inherited from our forebears.* We cannot blame our parents or 'human nature' for our warlike activities. Some societies have no tradition of warfare at all (such as the Inuit in Canada). Other societies have changed over time. For example, the Vikings killed and plundered their way across western Europe a thousand years ago; now Sweden has a more peaceful image, not least in UN peacekeeping operations.
3. *War is not necessary to ensure a better standard of living.* Humans can gain more from co-operation.
4. *War is not due to the biological composition of the brain.* Humans need to be trained for war – and the tradition of pacifism suggests that some humans find such training contrary to their own inclinations. The fact that warfare has changed so radically over time indicates that it is a product of culture. Human biology makes warfare possible but not inevitable.
5. *War is not due to some basic 'instinct' or any other single motivation.* Modern war involves the institutional use of personal characteristics, such as obedience, suggestibility and idealism; social skills such as language; and rational considerations such as cost-calculations, planning and information processing.

The Seville Statement ends: 'Biology does not condemn humanity to violence and war. Instead, it is possible to end war and the suffering it causes. To do this will require everyone working together, but it must begin in the mind of each person with the belief that it is possible. The same human being who has made war, is capable of constructing peace. Each of us has a task to do.'

Now it is necessary to gain international acceptance of the Statement. At the end of the Second World War UNESCO produced a statement on race, challenging the then fashionable notion that white people were genetically superior to black people. That statement, by receiving international endorsement and publicity, helped reshape attitudes to race. People may still be racist – but there are no scientific arguments to support their opinions. A Ministry for Peace would work to build a similar momentum in favour of the Seville Statement, for example through a public education campaign. This would help prompt deep-seated changes,

‘War will exist until that distant day when the conscientious objector enjoys the same reputation and prestige that the warrior does today.’  
John F Kennedy

as has been shown in the success of the UNESCO statement on race. People may still say that war is inevitable because it is somehow part of human nature - but they will not have any scientific arguments to support their opinion.

The second major initiative that Ministry for Peace would highlight is the Hague Agenda for Peace and Justice for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, known as the Hague Appeal for Peace. This emerged from the 1999 Hague Conference of Non-Governmental Organisations, and represents what these civil society organisations and citizens consider to be some of the most important challenges facing humankind as it embarks upon a new millennium. The Appeal had four major strands – the root causes of war and a culture of peace; international humanitarian and human rights law and institutions; the prevention, resolution and transformation of violent conflict; disarmament and human security – and served as a launch pad for several major initiatives and campaigns that a Ministry for Peace would embrace, support and help to promote:

- International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA)
- Global Campaign for Peace Education
- Global Ratification Campaign for the International Criminal Court
- International Campaign to Ban Landmines
- Abolition of Nuclear Weapons
- Global Action to Prevent War
- Stop the Use of Child Soldiers

A third major initiative was the Carnegie Commission, which produced a final report, *Preventing Deadly Conflict*, in 1999. The Commission was chaired by former US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and included Mikhail Gorbachev, Jimmy Carter, Condoleeza Rice, former Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir Shridath Ramphal, former US Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, and other world leaders and scholars. The Commission concluded:

- First, that deadly conflict is not inevitable
- Second, the need to prevent deadly conflict is increasingly urgent
- Third, that preventing deadly conflict is possible

Finally, the report ‘looks at the strengths and weaknesses and the way in which international organisations might contribute towards developing an effective system of non-violent problem solving.’<sup>69</sup> The fact that a report from such a distinguished group went virtually unnoticed in this country when it was published is a clear indicator of how far we are from a peace culture in the UK. A Ministry for Peace would bring the Carnegie Commission report

belatedly to the public's attention and, more importantly, work to implement its recommendations.

The concept of a culture of peace was first adopted by UNESCO in 1989. Peace was to be seen no longer as just the passive absence of conflict but as an active, continuous endeavour. In a culture of peace, dialogue and respect for human rights replace violence; inter-cultural understanding and solidarity replaces 'enemy' images; the free flow of information replaces secrecy; and egalitarian partnerships and full empowerment of women succeeds male domination. There is also the recognition that true peace cannot be kept by force – it can only be achieved by understanding.

UNESCO further developed the concept of a culture of peace in the 1990s, culminating in two UN Resolutions passed by the General Assembly. The first, in November 1998, established 2001-2010 as the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-violence for the Children of the World. The second, establishing the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace, was passed unanimously in October 1999. This called for everyone – governments, civil society, the media, parents, teachers, politicians, scientists, artists, NGOs and the entire UN system – to assume responsibility for taking action in eight areas at national, regional and international levels. These were (i) fostering a culture of peace through education; (ii) promoting sustainable economic and social development; (iii) promoting respect for all human rights; (iv) ensuring equality between women and men; (v) fostering democratic participation; (vi) advancing understanding, tolerance and solidarity; (vii) supporting participatory communication and the free flow of information and knowledge; and (viii) promoting international peace and security (*see Appendix B*).

'After slavery and apartheid, let's abolish war.' Archbishop Desmond Tutu, The Hague, 1998.

Like the other initiatives outlined here, these two resolutions have received scant attention in the UK. This suggests that the government, while supporting the resolutions, considers the problem to lie outside the UK, where it is taking action through DFID and the FCO - for example, through the Conflict Prevention Pools, through action to further strengthen the UN's conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peace-building capabilities, and as a major financial contributor to UNESCO.

### **Creating a peace culture within the UK**

These efforts are commendable and should be applauded. They should also be significantly increased and given much greater resources. However, they fail completely to tackle the challenge of creating a culture of peace *within* the UK. Cultural violence is woven so deeply into the fabric of our society that to many people it is completely invisible. For example, as children we are encouraged to 'stand up to bullies'. Almost invariably this means that at some point we should fight back, physically. The idea that there could be an effective non-violent response is rarely considered, let alone taught. By extension, this reasoning is often applied to war. Violence might be the last resort, but the alternative is usually presented as 'to do nothing' or to let the bully 'get away with it'.

Consequently, fundamental to countering cultural violence is a focus on the root causes of violence. The Commission on Children and Violence convened by the Gulbenkian Foundation looked at this in detail, and drew up four principles that are equally relevant to parents, childcare workers and teachers, and to infants, pre-school and older children.<sup>70</sup> The

focus on children is necessary because there is ample evidence that what happens in the early years, particularly in the family, is most influential in determining attitudes to violence:

*Principle One*

Expectations of, and demands made on children should realistically reflect their maturity and development

*Principle Two*

All discipline should be positive and children should be taught pro-social values and behaviour including in particular non-violent conflict resolution

*Principle Three*

Non-violence should be clearly and consistently preferred and promoted

*Principle Four*

Adults should take responsibility not only for protecting children from violence done to them, but also for preventing violence done by them

It follows from this that peace education should be promoted within the education system at all levels, and informally throughout society. Not only should we learn the largely hidden history of peace and non-violence, we should also be taught the basic skills of conflict transformation, ideally from an early age. Models for this could include Marshall Rosenberg's NVC, discussed earlier; Values Education, an approach that helps children to discover, explore and develop lasting values that can be applied in school, at home and in the wider community; and Pierre Weill's 'Art of Living in Peace', a method that takes account of the totality of a person's psychological, emotional and physical characteristics, so that learning about peace can be internalised. Peace education could become part of the national curriculum, alongside health education and lessons in citizenship. We could learn lessons here from Finland, where laws were passed in 1983 and 1985 requiring day-care and school education to support growth towards shared responsibility and peace. Despite also having national service, peace education has continued to find a place in Finnish schools.

More widely, we can promote peace tourism, in the same way that tourists now visit sites of famous battles, and establish associated peace museums. We can explore ways in which the

'Peace has its victories no less than war, but it doesn't have as many monuments to unveil.'  
Kin Hubbard

arts can further promote peace; similarly the sciences. Scientists for Global Responsibility, quoted earlier, have examined the increasing militarisation of research and development: how else can scientists draw our attention to the negative effects of violence and the benefits of peaceful alternatives? The same question can be asked of business. How can business not only benefit from peace but also contribute to creating it? For example, if creating lethal weapons were one day viewed with the same revulsion as child pornography, would the arms trade be such a lucrative business in which to invest? So how might the advertising industry help change attitudes and make violence seem repellent and peace 'sexy'?

Then there is the concept of peace journalism. There is a growing debate about what the function of the media should be in times of war. Should it try to report events dispassionately and objectively? Should it take sides when it perceives that one party is in the right, and the other clearly in the wrong? Should it back Britain whenever it becomes involved in a war, in

the spirit of ‘my country, right or wrong’, so that ‘our boys’ in the field know they’re supported at home, and the enemy can take no comfort from a split in the ranks?

Supporters of the idea of peace journalism argue that the media is never an objective observer to violent conflict. It always has an agenda, supporting - often subtly - one side or the other; or simply following an agenda of its own, dictated by the needs and policies of editors back home. Conflicts must be simplified and pared down to fit TV news slots; arresting, but perhaps misleading, visual images are often given preference over more considered, but visually duller, items; and coverage must be toned down to avoid antagonising the authorities, who control access to what the media can and cannot see.

Peace journalists reason that the honest thing to do is to acknowledge all the agendas operating in a conflict, and take an active role in seeking solutions that harmonise and transcend them. To quote from *The Peace Journalism Option*:

Peace journalism consciously adopts an agenda for peace, believing it to be the only alternative to an - unacknowledged or otherwise - agenda for war. It maps the pre-violence conflict, identifying many parties and more causes, thereby opening up unexpected paths towards dialogue and peace-making. Peace journalism humanises all sides of the conflict and is prepared to document both deceit and suffering, as well as peace initiatives, from all parties.<sup>71</sup>

This is a novel – and controversial – approach, but it would be very interesting to see what effect it would have on attitudes towards new conflicts as they arise.

As can be seen from the ideas mentioned above, the actions of a Ministry for Peace in creating a culture of peace will be very varied. The Ministry could also actively support the initiative of others, with grants and resources to peace projects, say; and would respond to society at large through regulation and legislation – to limit the violence in video games, for instance. The Ministry would also work closely with interfaith groups. Religions have been a cause of war but they also have enormous potential to further the development of a culture of peace. Additionally, the Ministry would be the focal point for the creation and maintenance of the UK’s peace research institutes. These would not be government controlled, but in the same way that the government provides research funds for defence science and technology, money will be given for peace research and allocated through the Ministry.

For all their variety, however, one consistent element will run through the actions of the Ministry in seeking to create a culture of peace - the promotion of non-violence as the norm, and violence as the energy to be transformed and sublimated.

### **The Forum for a Culture of Peace**

One clear message we have taken from the many dialogues we have conducted in the last eighteen months is that people feel strongly that building peace requires input both from within Parliament and government, and from outside. Such structures already exist for other ministries – for example, the Home Office and the Commission for Racial Equality; the Department of Health and the National Institute for Clinical Excellence, the Healthcare Commission and other independent health organisations; the Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Ofcom; to name but a few. The relationship of government and these formal

but autonomous bodies is one of creative tension, where the perspective of each complements and, to some extent, corrects the other.

We believe that a Ministry for Peace should likewise be balanced by an external body, namely the Forum for a Culture of Peace. This would bring together the extensive and well-organised peace movement, faith organisations, women's organisations, black and minority ethnic organisations, the armed forces, industry, the trade unions, young and old, all to be regularly consulted and involved in issues relating to the reduction of violence, to peace and war, and to disarmament and security. As James Surowiecki notes:<sup>72</sup>

The idea of the wisdom of crowds implies that if you set a crowd of self-interested, independent people to work in a decentralised way on the same problem, instead of trying to direct their efforts from the top down, their collective solution is likely to be better than any other solution you could come up with. A wider distribution of real decision-making power would involve two distinct ideas. The first is that decisions about local problems should be made, as much as possible, by people close to the problem. Instead of assuming that all problems need to be filtered up the hierarchy and every solution filtered back down again, start with the assumption that people with local knowledge are often best positioned to come up with workable and efficient solutions.

This is the creative, constructive role of the Forum, as the source of ideas and initiatives on which the Ministry can act. It can also act as a sounding-board for government policy and, if necessary, as a restraining force, as Robert Hinde and Joseph Rotblat explain.<sup>73</sup>

The abolition of war and violence does not only depend on the work of international bodies or large non-governmental organisations. Leaders cannot go to war without followers and the citizens of a country can do much to prevent violence by bringing pressure on governments to produce civil conditions that are not conducive to conflict or unrest; by campaigning against involvement in foreign wars; and by bringing pressure on their government to ameliorate conditions in other countries that might be conducive to violence.

In other words, the Forum will act as a conduit between government and civil society, and will seek to ensure that decisions on peace are owned not just by the few, but by everyone.

### **Summary**

So far we have discussed peace in terms of transforming direct, structural and cultural violence, and have offered a number of suggestions as to how a Ministry for Peace might approach the challenge; there are very many more. The building blocks described above can be brought together as five broad tasks:

- **Conflict transformation by peaceful means:** transforming conflicts - including conflicts in our own lives, organisations, communities, countries and internationally - using empathy, non-violence and creativity, working to meet the needs of *all* the parties
- **Ending violence:** normally considered as 'ceasefires', but also working to end violence, from the micro-level to the macro, in all its forms - physical, emotional, psychological and

verbal violence; domestic violence, sexual violence; and the institutions and structures of violence and war

- **Addressing root causes:** including peace-building and meeting people's basic human needs, as well as transforming deep structures and deep cultures of violence; transforming social, economic, and political systems which are themselves rooted upon and based in violence and inequality; and working to create at every level social, political, and economic democracy i.e. *people's power*
- **Building peace resources** – creating, developing and strengthening the skills, tools, capacities, institutions and resources, within ourselves, our communities, countries, and internationally, for peace-building, resisting violence, and transforming conflicts constructively; developing peace organisations in our communities that we can be involved in, the creation of a global non-violent peace force; encouraging Ministries for Peace in other countries; developing peace education, peace journalism, peace institutes, and much, much more
- **Healing** – from the visible and invisible effects of violence; working for reconciliation, both psychologically, between and within individuals and communities, and politically, socially, economically; developing the ability to apologize and forgive, and weaving this into textbooks and monuments; removing the cult and celebration of war and superiority; and not continuing and repeating the very acts that cause harm (and subsequent healing) in the first place

We are proposing a Ministry for Peace not because we believe the government is somehow opposed to peace or to resolving violence within the UK. We recognise and support many of the initiatives that this government has introduced, such as the Conflict Prevention Pools and the efforts to alleviate global poverty. Our argument is that a Ministry, with the thinking, the skills, the methodology and the strategies already outlined would provide the government with a theoretical and practical framework to assist it in developing and prioritising the policies the UK – and the world – needs so desperately if it we are all to avoid making this century as bloody and destructive as the last.

‘You never change things by fighting  
the existing reality. To change  
something, build a new model that  
makes the existing model obsolete.’  
Buckminster Fuller

## Conclusion

We do not underestimate the size of the task to be accomplished. It has been calculated that for the past 1000 years, the people of this island have been engaged in war, on and off, for 50 years in every 100. Our military tradition says 'if you want peace, prepare for war', 'attack is the best defence' and 'peace is achieved by deterring any potential aggressor'. Despite this, we see the public mood is changing. Increasingly, people are seeing that more war and violence are not the answer to the serious problems now confronting us all. That is why we believe that an intensive effort over the next several years could result in a Ministry for Peace and a Forum for a Culture of Peace being established by 2010.

Critics of setting up yet another government ministry point to the likelihood of 'turf wars' between departments. We accept that this will be a challenge but also recognise that before a ministry could be established a radical move towards a 'culture of peace' would have to be championed at the highest levels - by the prime minister and Number 10. As Anthony Sampson points out, 'Such a tight structure can move mountains to achieve its goals as indeed it did over the Iraq war.'<sup>74</sup> In other words, the work of a Ministry for Peace would not have to wait for Whitehall to be restructured. It could start with the prime minister initially appointing a minister to the Cabinet Office and giving him or her full support to start implementing a peace agenda.

As a society we must challenge all the deeply held beliefs that serve to define peace in terms of arms. We have the beginnings of a method to take us from a war culture to a peace culture but we have to go to the roots of conflict and violence. We need to go beyond the belief that merely transferring ownership of the means of production from private to public hands will liberate humankind from the scourge of war. Whether in public or private hands, the means of production can still be used violently if this is in a society's culture. We also need to go beyond the belief that simply democratising nation-states will bring peace – indeed, some peace scholars argue that democracy can actually serve to articulate more effectively any violent tendencies in a nation's culture. In short, the structures and culture of a society must both change. As the preamble to the Hague Agenda for Peace and Justice states:

In a great many cases, the world's governments have manifestly failed to fulfil their responsibility to prevent conflict, protect civilians, end war, eradicate colonialism, guarantee human rights and create the conditions of permanent peace.

Therefore, this historic mission and responsibility cannot be entrusted solely to governments. A fundamentally new approach is required, building on the recent model of New Diplomacy in which citizen advocates, progressive governments and international organisations have worked together for common goals. We have embraced the moral imagination and courage necessary to create a 21<sup>st</sup> century culture of peace and to develop national and supranational institutions which ultimately must be the guarantors of peace and justice in this world.

There is already much to choose from. Civil society has flourished since the end of the Cold War and launched many campaigns. These grassroots efforts are having a major impact. They are succeeding because they mobilise ordinary people, because they integrate different sectors (human rights, the environment, humanitarian

assistance, disarmament, sustainable development, etc) and because they invite the full participation of women, youth, indigenous peoples, minorities, the disabled and other affected groups.

These campaigns have generated unity and cohesion and demonstrate what can be done when people are listened to instead of talked at.

*ministry for peace* has two over-arching goals for the Ministry for Peace. First, the abolition of war as an institution, like the abolition of slavery and colonialism as institutions. Violence will still exist, of course; some still organised collectively as war. But it will not be seen as legitimate. Our second goal is to reduce violence in all its forms within the UK; and especially to convince people that the use of direct violence as a means to achieve ends is outmoded, immature, crude and counter-productive. The vast majority of the population already chooses not to use direct violence to meet their needs. The task is not, therefore, insuperable but does require co-ordinated and imaginative effort starting from the earliest age.

Peace is not simply a goal or an objective to be hoped for or studied academically; rather, practical steps can be taken *now* to achieve it. We refuse to accept the logic of violence and terror. The people of the UK have the courage, the creativity and the passion to bring about a much longed-for culture of peace. Establishing a Ministry for Peace will require dedication and hard work, but the result will be worth it. What was once seen as purely utopian will become conventional wisdom and where one government leads others will follow. But what cannot be in doubt, surely, is the importance – and the urgency – of the task. As the Buddhist philosopher Daisaku Ikeda notes:

Unless we can widely spread and deeply implant among all peoples the principle that violence can never be condoned as a means of advocating one's beliefs, humanity will have learned nothing from the lessons of the twentieth century. The real struggle of the twenty-first century will not be between civilizations, nor between religions. It will be the struggle between violence and non-violence. It will be the struggle between barbarity and civilization in the truest sense of the word.

We believe that creating a Ministry for Peace will be one step towards ensuring that non-violence and civilization win. At the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, will Britain once again show the way?

## Appendix A – Acronyms

ACP	Arms Conversion Project
CAAT	Campaign Against the Arms Trade
CFE	Conventional Forces in Europe
DDA	Defence Diversification Agency
DERA	Defence, Research and Evaluation Agency
DFID	Department for International Development
EU	European Union
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HEFC	Higher Education Funding Council
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Authority
IANSA	International Action Network on Small Arms
INF	Intermediate Nuclear Force
MACC	Military Aid to the Civilian Community
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
MoD	Ministry of Defence
MP	Member of Parliament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NPT	Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty
NVC	Non-violent Communication
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
R&D	Research and Development
RIRA	Real Irish Republican Army
SET	Science, Engineering and Technology
SGR	Scientists for Global Responsibility
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
START	Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty
UNDP	United Nations Development programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

**Appendix B – Eight action areas outlined in the United Nations Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace, October 1999**

<b>Fostering a culture of peace through education</b>	by promoting education for all, focusing especially on girls; revising curricula to promote the qualitative values, attitudes and behaviour inherent in a culture of peace; training for conflict prevention and resolution, dialogue, consensus-building and active non-violence.
<b>Promoting sustainable economic and social development</b>	by targeting the eradication of poverty; focusing on the special needs of children and women; working towards environmental sustainability; fostering national and international co-operation to reduce economic and social inequalities.
<b>Promoting respect for all human rights</b>	by distributing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights at all levels and fully implementing international instruments on human rights.
<b>Ensuring equality between women and men</b>	by integrating a gender perspective and promoting equality in economic, social and political decision-making; eliminating all forms of discrimination and violence against women; supporting and aiding women in crisis situations resulting from war and all other forms of violence.
<b>Fostering democratic participation</b>	by educating responsible citizens; reinforcing actions to promote democratic principles and practices; establishing and strengthening national institutions and processes that promote and sustain democracy.
<b>Advancing understanding, tolerance and solidarity</b>	by promoting a dialogue among civilizations; actions in favour of vulnerable groups, migrants, refugees and displaced persons, indigenous people and traditional groups; respect for difference and cultural diversity.
<b>Supporting participatory communication and the free flow of information and knowledge</b>	by means of such actions as support for independent media in the promotion of a culture of peace; effective use of media and mass communications; measures to address the issue of violence in the media; knowledge and information sharing through new technologies.
<b>Promoting international peace and security</b>	through action such as the promotion of general and complete disarmament; greater involvement of women in prevention and resolution of conflicts and in promoting a culture of peace in post-conflict situations; initiatives in conflict situations; encouraging confidence-building measures and efforts for negotiating peaceful settlements.

### **Appendix C – Some information about *ministry for peace***

*ministry for peace* is a voluntary organisation founded in June 2003 by Diana Basterfield and John McDonnell MP. It is a company limited by guarantee and a membership organisation with members from all parts of the country. It has a National Co-ordinating Committee, composed of nine directors (including Diana Basterfield) and three co-opted members, which meets fortnightly in the Houses of Parliament.

The Ten-Minute Rule Bill calling for the establishment of a Ministry for Peace was proposed by John McDonnell on 14 October 2003 and supported by the following MPs: Elfyn Llwyd (Welsh Nationalists); John Randall (Conservative); Alex Salmond (Scottish Nationalists); Dr Rudi Vis (Labour); Alan Simpson (Labour); Jeremy Corbyn (Labour), Alice Mahon (Labour), Kelvin Hopkins (Labour). The Bill was passed unopposed but fell due to lack of time at the end of the parliamentary session in November 2003.

*mfp* Open Meetings, held every month in the Grand Committee Room at the Houses of Parliament, have included the following topics - peace education; the UN 1999 Declaration on a Culture of Peace; the Northern Ireland peace process; the psychological dynamics of violent conflict; the Iraq war and wars of terrorism; Marianne Williamson and the US Department of Peace initiative; Marshall Rosenberg and NonViolent Communication; the economy and structural violence; and strategies for effective peace-building for governments and the citizen.

*mfp* supporters include the Dalai Lama, the Rt Hon Tony Benn, HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal, Tony Juniper, Lord Ahmed, Scilla Elworthy, Christopher Titmuss and Marianne Williamson.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Statistics based on Rummel, University of Hawaii; [www.hawaii.edu/powerkills](http://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills)
- <sup>2</sup> *War no More: Eliminating Conflict in the Nuclear Age*, Robert Hinde and Joseph Rotblat, Pluto Press 2003, p.146
- <sup>3</sup> *Crime in England and Wales: Quarterly Update to September 2004*. Some of the increase is accounted for by changed recording methods.
- <sup>4</sup> *What a Waste: The Case for an Integrated Violence Against Women Strategy*, WNC, March 2005
- <sup>5</sup> Anne Owers, Chief Inspector of Prisons, *Annual Report 2003-4*
- <sup>6</sup> Professor of Peace Studies at American, Ritsumeikan, Tromsø, Witten/Herdecke Universities and Director of TRANSCEND: A Peace and Development Network. Founder of the International Peace Research Institute in 1959 and the Journal of Peace Research in 1964. Widely considered to be a key founding figure in the academic discipline of peace and conflict studies.
- <sup>7</sup> *The Global Conflict Prevention Pool: A joint UK Government approach to reducing conflict*, London, August 2003
- <sup>8</sup> *Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations: 1996-2003*, Grimmet, US Congressional Research Service, August 2004
- <sup>9</sup> *Escaping the Subsidy Trap: Why Arms Exports are Bad for Britain*, Ingram & Isbiter, Oxford Research Group, September 2004. The authors say the hidden value of the subsidy may be as high as £930 million.
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- <sup>11</sup> Op. cit., p. 95
- <sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp. 97-8
- <sup>13</sup> *Evaluation Of The Conflict Prevention Pools: UK Government Response*, July 2004
- <sup>14</sup> *The UK and Non-Offensive Defence*, 2002, p.26
- <sup>15</sup> For a fuller discussion, see *Non-lethal Weapons: A Fatal Attraction - Military Strategies and Technologies for 21st Century Conflict*, Nick Lewer and Steven Schofield, Zed Books, London, 1997.
- <sup>16</sup> *Proper Soldiering*, Harbottle, The Centre for International Peacebuilding, Oxford, 1991
- <sup>17</sup> *The Unconquerable World: Power, Nonviolence and the Will of the People*, Jonathan Schell, Allen Lane, London, 2004, pp. 248-50
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- <sup>19</sup> For example: *Unarmed Heroes*, compiled and edited by Peace Direct, Claireview Books, 2004; *Peace is Possible*, Fredrik Heffermehl, International Peace Bureau, 2004
- <sup>20</sup> Adapted from *An Australian Campaign For A Ministry for Peace: A Worldwide Initiative*, Keith Suter, United Nations Association of Australia, Chatswood, 1984
- <sup>21</sup> [www.transcend.org](http://www.transcend.org)
- <sup>22</sup> *Death by Government*, Rummel, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, 1994
- <sup>23</sup> *Report of the Commission on Children and Violence convened by the Gulbenkian Foundation*, 1995, p. 10
- <sup>24</sup> *What a Waste: The Case for an Integrated Violence Against Women Strategy*, WNC, March 2005
- <sup>25</sup> *Crime in England and Wales: Quarterly Update to September 2004*
- <sup>26</sup> *Sugar* magazine, May 2005
- <sup>27</sup> *Nonviolent Communication: A Language of Life*, Rosenberg, Puddledancer Press, 2003, p. 3.
- <sup>28</sup> *National Interest*, Spring 2004
- <sup>29</sup> *The War Hotel. Psychological dynamics in violent conflict*, Arlene Audergon, Whurr Publishers 2005, p. 82
- <sup>30</sup> [www.transcend.org](http://www.transcend.org)
- <sup>31</sup> *Human Development Report 2003*, UNDP
- <sup>32</sup> *Gaian Democracies. Redefining Globalisation and People Power*, Madron & Jopling, Green Books for the Schumacher Society, 2003, p.11
- <sup>33</sup> *Nurturing the Natural Laws of Peace through Regional Peace and Development Programmes*, Ted Dunn, New European Publications, 2002, p.25
- <sup>34</sup> *HM Treasury 2004*: Chapter 13
- <sup>35</sup> Ibid., Chapter 6
- <sup>36</sup> *UK Defence Statistics 2003*, Defence Analytical Services Agency. All figures quoted make use of the HM Treasury GDP Deflator of 30.06.2004.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ministry of Defence 2004*
- <sup>38</sup> *HM Treasury 2004*: Chapter 6

- <sup>39</sup> See, for example, *Hansard*, 29 April 2002; Select Committee on Defence Minutes of Evidence, Wednesday 20 March 2002
- <sup>40</sup> CAAT, 2003
- <sup>41</sup> *WHO 2002*.
- <sup>42</sup> Zunes 2002, *WHO 2002*
- <sup>43</sup> *Hampton 1998*.
- <sup>44</sup> Ingram & Isbiter, op. cit.
- <sup>45</sup> *The Economic Costs and Benefits of UK Defence Exports*, (the York Report), Chalmers M, Davies N, Hartley K and Wilkinson C, York University Centre for Defence Studies, November 2001, para 86, p 33. This was later summarised in: Chalmers M, Davies N, Hartley K and Wilkinson C, 'The economic costs and benefits of UK defence exports', *Fiscal Studies*, September 2002, vol 23, no 3, pp 305-342.
- <sup>46</sup> *IER*, 'Skills Matter: a synthesis of research on the extent, causes and implications of skill deficiencies', Terence Hogarth and Rob Wilson, Department for Education and Skills, Brief No: RBX 19-01, October 2001.
- <sup>47</sup> Op. cit.
- <sup>48</sup> *Official Report*, House of Lords, 7 Jun 2004, Column WA9
- <sup>49</sup> Ingram & Isbiter, op. cit.
- <sup>50</sup> United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: [www.una-uk.org/Disarmament/armstrade/armsconvert.html](http://www.una-uk.org/Disarmament/armstrade/armsconvert.html)
- <sup>51</sup> *Soldiers in the Laboratory: Military involvement in science and technology – and some alternatives*, Chris Langley, Stuart Parkinson and Philip Webber, SGR, January 2005
- <sup>52</sup> [www.ost.gov.uk/setstats](http://www.ost.gov.uk/setstats).
- <sup>53</sup> *War Prevention Works: 50 Stories of People Resolving Conflict*, Dylan Matthews, ORG, September 2001
- <sup>54</sup> See, for example, 'Remarks to the International Workshop on "Prospects for the 2005 NPT Review Conference"', Andrew K. Semmel, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Nuclear Nonproliferation, Bali, Indonesia, January 20, 2005 (<http://www.state.gov/t/np/rls/rm/41896.htm>)
- <sup>55</sup> *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*, UN 2004, p. 39
- <sup>56</sup> [www.transcend.org](http://www.transcend.org). Fischer is co-director of TRANSCEND and Academic Director of the European University Centre for Peace Studies (EPU), Stadtschlaing, Austria
- <sup>57</sup> [www.inlandrevenue.gov.uk/stats/personal\\_wealth/03ir135\\_final\\_oct03\\_1.pdf](http://www.inlandrevenue.gov.uk/stats/personal_wealth/03ir135_final_oct03_1.pdf)
- <sup>58</sup> *Poverty; the facts*, Child Poverty Action Group, March 2004
- <sup>59</sup> *The Guardian*, 11 January 2005
- <sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*; see also [www.monbiot.com](http://www.monbiot.com)
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- <sup>62</sup> *Facts About Women And Men In Great Britain, 2005*, Equal Opportunities Commission; also the source for the following table
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- <sup>70</sup> *Report of the Commission on Children and Violence convened by the Gulbenkian Foundation*, 1995, p. 241
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- <sup>72</sup> *The Wisdom of Crowds. Why the many are smarter than the few*, James Surowiecki, Doubleday 2004, p. 31
- <sup>73</sup> *War no More. Eliminating Conflict in the Nuclear Age*, Hinde and Rotblat, Pluto Press 2003, p.191
- <sup>74</sup> *Who Runs This Place? The Anatomy of Britain in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, John Murray, 2005