

The challenging Road to Peace since the First World War

In memory of the 10 million people who died during the First World War 1914 -1918.

*Have we changed our way of thinking and behaving?
Have our politicians changed their way of thinking and behaving?*

Tavistock Peace Action Group promotes the absolute priority of non-violence and actively promotes peaceful coexistence. We oppose the planning of the use of war for national purposes and to defend our own interests.

There needs to be a cultural change amongst all people to conflict resolution rather than the present resort to aggression supported by the powerful arms trade.

This project has been produced to complement the commemoration of the First World War that is being supported by the Government. It engages with the themes of peace, tolerance and international understanding.

Our underlying thesis is that war is not a reasonable way to conduct international relations. World War One was a catastrophe that should never have happened.

We need to learn from the past to create a better future.

The document looks at some of the following:

Causes of the war like militarisation and nationalism.

Opposition to the war both in Britain and Germany and conscientious objection.

Horror of war using the example of poison gas, Wilfred Owen's poem and how Chemical weapons have since been banned and stockpiles destroyed.

The evolution of International Organisations and Laws to minimise the chance of war. People who have worked for peace.

National Organisations for peace

Challenges on the road like the Arms Trade, Nuclear weapons and Boy/girl soldiers.

It is completed by a 20 board Exhibition on these themes and includes a four board Time line over the last 100 years illustrating

1. Wars
2. Weapons development
3. International treaties promoting peaceful coexistence,
4. International and National Organisations promoting peaceful coexistence,
5. Champions of peace

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CONTENT

1. Introduction
2. The Slide into War
3. Enlistment and Conscription
4. Opposition to the war and Conscientious Objection
5. Those promoting the war
6. Dulce et decorum est, Wilfred Owen and Chemical Weapons
7. People and Organisation promoting cooperation 1864-1914
8. Hundred years since - Organisations, Treaties and Champions of Peace
9. National organisations promoting peace
10. War or Peace
11. The Challenges on the Road
12. Appendix One - One hundred years of a) wars b) weapon development
13. Appendix Two - Books, Films and Art around the First World War
14. Appendix Three - Quotations and sayings
15. Appendix Four - The pity of war and the deserter

Patriotism is not enough,
I must have no hatred or bitterness for
anyone



Edith Cavell , Nurse, shot at dawn in Brussels.
12th October 1915

She had been found guilty of treason under German military
law for helping British soldiers escape to Holland.

Henry John "Harry" Patch (17 June 1898 – 25 July 2009)

Harry Patch was the last known surviving soldier known to have fought in the trenches of the First World War.

In October 1916 he was conscripted, aged 18, in the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry. He fought as an assistant gunner in the battle of Passchendaele. He was wounded on 22 September 1917 and invalided out.



"When the war ended, I don't know if I was more relieved that we'd won or that I didn't have to go back. Passchendaele was a disastrous battle – thousands and thousands of young lives were lost. It makes me angry. Earlier this year, I went back to Ypres to shake the hand of Herr Kuentz, Germany's only surviving veteran from the war. It was emotional. He is 107. We've had 87 years to think what war is. To me, it's a license to go out and murder. Why should the British government call me up and take me out to a battlefield to shoot a man I never knew, whose language I couldn't speak? All those lives lost for a war finished over a table. Now what is the sense in that?"

"War is the calculated and condoned slaughter of human beings"

Section 2

The origins of the First World War

The Slide into War

In 1914 the Balkan countries in South East Europe wanted independence from the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

On 28th June 1914 the heir to Austrian Hungarian throne Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated in Sarajevo.

The Austro-Hungarian Government accused Serbia of supporting the terrorist assassins and made unacceptable demands.

On 25th July Austria-Hungary mobilised it's army against Serbia.

Russia pledged to support Serbia.

Germany has already pledged support for Austria - Hungary.

On 26th July Russia started premobilisation.

On 28th July Austria declared war on Serbia with a view to annexing it.

On 30th July Russia moved to full mobilisation of it's army.

On 1st August Germany mobilised it's army.

On 1st August 1914 Germany declared war on Russia.

Russia called on France to honour the 1894 treaty agreement.

France mobilised it's army but kept away from the frontier. Its fleet deployed in the Mediterranean.

On 2nd August Britain deployed its fleet to secure the North Sea and Channel ports in accordance with a 1912 secret naval pact with France. German troops invaded Luxembourg. Britain mobilised its army.

On 3rd August Germany declared war on France (after France declined to remain neutral).

On 4th August Germany invaded Belgium on its way to invading France.

Britain came to Belgium's aid because of a 75 year old alliance, the 1839 Treaty of London.

On 4th August 1914 Britain declared war on Germany.

On 6th August Austria-Hungary declared war on Russia.

On 15th August Russia invaded Germany.

Japan honouring the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902) declared war on Germany then on Austria-Hungary.

Italy stayed neutral until it declared war on Austria on 25th May 1916 and Germany in August 1916

Within 6 weeks of a man being assassinated, Europe found itself at war.

Four and half years later about 10,000,000 people had died.

Is there another way of solving the problems of independence movements and international disputes?

Nationalism, Arms race and Colonial ambition

Nationalism

Throughout Europe people had strong feelings about the importance of their own nation and harboured resentment about the behaviour of and threat from neighbouring countries. This led to a dislike and suspicion of foreigners.

These feelings were fueled by small conflicts and encouraged by the Governments and newspapers. There was no mood for negotiation and reconciliation.

Great Britain

In 1914 Great Britain was the most powerful country in the world with a huge Navy and an army largely controlling its Empire. The Empire fueled Britain's large industrial base, but economically it had been overtaken by the United States and Germany.

Germany

Germany was a new nation formed from many smaller central European powers. It had great ambitions to be dominant. It had rapidly developed a large industrial base which now exceeded Britain.

France

France had been a great power under Napoleon one hundred years before and was still uncomfortable about being beaten by Germany in the war of 1870.

Each country encouraged a belief amongst their own people that they were the greatest country in the world. There was a weak antiwar movement and due to the press, books and magazines there was an acceptance that war would come.

All sides were willing to risk war rather than back down.

Public support

Britain

There had been numerous anti-German books and plays.

Erskine Childer wrote a German invasion book 'The Riddle of the Sands' in 1903.

A novel 'The invasion of 1910' was commissioned in 1906 by Lord Harmsworth for serialising by the Daily Mail. It was followed by other books and plays about invasion from the European mainland.

(A previous invasion book 'The Great War in England 1897', published in 1894, portrays an invasion by a combined force of Russia and France!)

http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/britain_wwone/invasion_ww1_01.shtml

The newspapers demanded rearmament and stirred up xenophobia, fostering a growing acceptance among the population that war was inevitable. Germans were referred to as 'Huns' or 'Goths'.

Germany

Germany had a fear of being surrounded by aggressors. The semi feudal monarchy was about to be swept away by the large Socialist party and the Kaiser united Germany by harnessing patriotic and nationalist xenophobic sentiment. In particular he swung the socialists over by demonising the Russian Tsarist autocracy and calling for a 'war of self defence.'

France

The French wanted to avenge their defeat by Germany in 1870 and to reclaim Alsace Lorraine.

Russia

Russia had an autocratic Government with little democratic voice. The people were largely loyal to the Czar.

It had emotional ties to the Slavic people of Serbia but also wanted control over the whole Balkan area. Germany had its eye on this area too.

The peace groups were small, intellectual and ineffectual.
The Socialists were initially against the war but quickly swung behind their Governments at the outbreak of war.

The arms race

Navies

In 1890 Germany wanted more world power and sought to build up its Navy to challenge Britain.

1900 Germany began building short range battleships for the North Sea to protect its trade routes. Britain had threatened Germany with a trade blockade if Germany supported the Boers in the Transvaal.

Britain responded by starting a huge naval building programme and launched its first revolutionary Dreadnought battleship in 1906.

In 1914, eight years later, Britain had 49 battleships/battlecruisers.

Germany followed suit and built 4 new battleships a year.

In 1914 Germany had 42 battleships/ battlecruisers.

Russia also followed with a massive ship building programme.

Armies

In 1912 Germany pushed to expand its army.

In 1913 France increased conscription to three years to increase the size of its army.

In 1914 Russia started increasing its army by 40% and building railways westwards to facilitate mobilisation.

After mobilisation 2,000,000 French and 4,200,000 Russian troops faced 1,700,000 German and 1,000,000 Austro-Hungarian troops.

British Army had 247,5000 with between 209,000 reserves or 350,000 reserves (<http://www.1914-1918.net/recruitment.htm>) largely deployed to control the Empire.

Between 1908 and 1913 military spending by the European powers increased by over 50% (*Hochschild, To end all wars, p62*). New rapid fire artillery and machine guns were developed.

In 1873, Krupp the German steel and arms manufacturer had 16,000 workers.

In 1912 it employed 70,000 mainly due to Government military contracts.

France was selling arms to Serbia and Russia.

Germany was arming Turkey.

Britain built two battleships for Turkey but seized them before delivery at the outbreak of war!

Von Moltke, chief of German General staff said

“All sides are preparing for European war which all sides expect, sooner or later.”

Treaties

It became clear that through alliances and treaties, the countries of Europe were divided into two camps.

Treaty of London, Britain and Belgium 1839

France and Russia 1894

Entente Cordiale, France and Britain 1904

Triple Entente, France, Russia and Britain 1907

Secret Naval Treaty between France and Britain 1912

Germany and Austria-Hungary 1879

The Triple Alliance Germany, Austro-Hungary and Italy

Germany/Bulgaria/Turkey

War planning

Multiple small skirmishes resulted in all countries making war plans and making sure that their armed forces were large enough for deterrence!

**However both sides contemplated war.
Both sides were willing to use war.**

Two Balkan wars

Morocco (France + Spain and Germany)

Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia

Italian invasion of Libya against the Turks

Turkey against Greece

Britain clashes with France in the South Sudan

Germany developed an aggressive stance fearing encirclement from Russia and France. Germany encouraged Austro Hungary to invade Serbia knowing it might up the stakes and bring Russia into the war.

The German Schlieffen Moltke plan was of a rapid attack through Belgium and the Germans were prepared to make a preemptive strike before they lost the advantage.

There was pressure to mobilise forces that took weeks. If one side mobilised the other side had to do the same.

Indifference of the ruling elite

War was seen as a natural means of fulfilling national ambition with little regard to the potential suffering and death of the combatants.

Cultural attitudes

Lack of democratic control over the Military

Huge political power was held by European leaders.

German forces reported directly to the Kaiser who behaved erratically

Russian forces were controlled by the Czar personally.

France's Parliament had little control over the Military

To serve as an officer in the military forces was seen as noble and glorious and past battles were celebrated.

Many thought as Georg Muller (head of German naval cabinet) : 'war is not the worst of all evils' and had a distorted view of the superior strength of their own forces.

Some thought war was good for society in order to allow the powerful to flourish.

National honour was important and needed to be defended.

Ineffectual International negotiating bodies

Concert of Europe - a relic from the Napoleonic wars which was an understanding between nations with no written rules. It was only used as a conference if all bodies agreed. The 1912 conference in London discussed The Balkan wars. Britain proposed a conference on 29th July 1914 but Germany and Austria-Hungary refused to come.

Hague Peace Conference 1899 established an International Court of Arbitration but few were willing to use it.

Once Russia started its premobilisation measures a pan European war would inevitably follow.

Britain was not committed to the war until Belgium was invaded by Germany. Britain declared it was responding to the Treaty of London (for public opinion) but the strategic reason was because German control of the Belgium coastline and the threat from Germany's navy would be a danger to national security. The secret Naval treaty with France meant if France was at war with Germany, Britain would blockade the North Sea. This would inevitably be seen as an aggressive act by Germany and bring Britain into the war on France's side.

Britain counted on Germany invading through Belgium to make Britain's entry legitimate and warned France not to be the first to cross the frontier.

King George V said to his Foreign Secretary on 2nd August 1914 "You have got to find a reason, Grey."

Colonisation/Economic interest

1800 -1914 The proportion of the world's surface colonised by European powers rose from 35% to 85%.

Britain had major colonial interests making an Empire which had fueled a booming economy which was now overtaken by USA and Germany

France also had a huge world empire.

The Convention of Berlin in 1880 had led to some agreement how the Great European Powers were going to protect their colonial ambitions and develop new ones.

Germany wanted a slice of the cake. It sought more in Africa (Tanganyika and South West Africa) and China. It held discussions with Britain about dividing the degenerating Portuguese Empire. All eyes were on the crumbling Ottoman Empire and Persia with the promise of oil to power the new Navies.

With the support from the Banks each country was investing heavily and competing for a larger share in the world markets.

Each power felt threatened economically by the others.

Unrest at home

Rebellion by Protestants in Ireland

The Liberal Government had introduced an Irish Home Rule Bill for an autonomous Parliament in Dublin.

Ulstermen had formed a militia, The Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), and refused to implement the Home Rule Bill. They signed up 100,000 men, were drilling and were supported by the Tory and Unionist party. Lord Milner mobilised support for opposition to Home Rule gathering funds to buy arms for the Protestants.

In March 1914, 57 of the 70 British Army officers in the Army base in Curragh mutinied and refused to act against the UVF and offered their resignation. (They resigned before the actual orders were issued so technically it was no mutiny!). Later up to another 100 officers of the Irish Command threatened to resign rather than deploy to Ulster to protect the arsenals from looting by the UVF. In April the UVF imported 24,000 German rifles into Ulster (the Larne gun-running) and prepared for a civil war.

The Nationalists fearing they would have no support from the British army formed their own militia, The Irish Volunteers. Later British troops were used against the nationalist Irish Volunteers and opened fire on unarmed protestors in Dublin killing four men. The Home Rule Bill was passed in September 1914 but suspended until the end of the War.

(The UVF later became part of the Ulster Special Constabulary. Though disbanded in 1970, many members became part of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) reserve.)

Trades unions and strikes

Working conditions in 1900 were appalling with long hours, low pay and little security. Membership of the unions was surging and there was a struggle for union recognition. In 1911 a strike paralysed most ports. Two warships and 3,500 troops were sent to Liverpool and in the riots two people were killed and 200 injured. That year and in 1912 the Government sent out 50,000 troops to control the strikes.

Suffragettes

Under Emmeline Pankhurst the suffragettes campaigned vigorously for votes for women. When Parliament refused to pass a woman's suffrage bill in 1911, suffragettes rampaged through central London breaking windows in Government offices including Downing Street, hotels, clubs and over 400 shops. They burnt down an orchid house in Kew gardens, a London church and a racecourse grandstand. They cut the telephone wires from London to Glasgow and slashed the words 'No votes no golf' into golf course greens then poured in acid.

1000 had gone to prison, many went on hunger strikes and were force fed. Emily Davison lost her life whilst trying to stop the King's horse at Epsom.

A bomb destroyed 5 rooms in an empty house being built by Lloyd George.

Emmeline Pankhurst was given 3 years in prison for giving her enthusiastic support. However most ceased campaigning at the outbreak of War and supported the War.

The stage was set for a fight between powerful nations to increase their power by warfare.

<http://noglory.org/index.php/articles/132-world-war-one-1914-18-one-hundred-years-of-failure-to-learn-from-the-war-to-end-wars#.U2i688blpT6>

Germany's defence <http://www.4august1914.org/category/reichstag-translations/>

Who Started World War One?

Visit 'World War One: 10 interpretations of who started WW1'

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-26048324>

Synopsis

Max Hastings - Germany

Richard Evans, Professor of History, Cambridge - Serbia

Heather Jones, Professor of International History, LSE, London - Austria-Hungary, Germany, Russia

John Rohl, Professor of History, Sussex - Austria-Hungary and Germany

Gerhard Hirschfeld, Professor of History, Stuttgart - Austria-Hungary, Germany, Russia, France, Britain and Serbia

Annika Mombauer - Open University - Austria-Hungary, Germany

Sean McMeekin, Professor of History, Istanbul - Austria-Hungary, Germany, Russia, France, Britain and Serbia

Gary Sheffield, Professor of War Studies, Wolverhampton - Austria-Hungary and Germany

Catriona Pennell, Exeter - Austria-Hungary and Germany

David Stevenson, Professor of international History, LSE, London - Germany

Response from Tavistock Peace Action Group

Did anyone or any country start the war?

Maybe it is more useful to ask why did War occur and who played a part in the start?

There were people who wanted war.

In Germany, **Helmuth von Moltke**, the Chief of Staff was the most responsible. He saw war as inevitable and actively encouraged the Kaiser to attack France preemptively. **The military elite of Prussia** saw war as a natural state for a nation.

In Austria, **Franz Conrad von Hotzendorf**, Chief of Staff along with many senior officials like the War Minister **Alexander von Krobatin** and the Foreign Minister **Leopold Berchtold** had wanted war against Serbia for some years and some did not mind if Russia joined.

In Russia, **Sergey Sasanov**, Foreign Minister would have preferred war a few years later when Russia had fully rearmed. However he was prepared to go to war to protect the Slavs of south east Europe and Russian interest in the Balkans. He prepared Russia for mobilisation as soon as he read of the Austrian ultimatum, just as he had done in 1912.

In Serbia, **Col Dragutin Dimitrijevic** ('Apis') and **the Black Hand** a secret military society.

In France, **General Joseph Joffre**, Chief of Staff favoured an offensive attack on Germany and cleansed the army of defensive strategists.

In Britain, **Winston Churchill**, First Lord of the Admiralty, was eager to deploy his massive fleet to show the superiority of Britain and protect our interests. **General Henry Wilson**, Director of Military Operations, had a robust view that British military involvement in Europe was necessary and made unauthorised verbal commitments to military support for the French. (Also, he supported revolution against the Crown in Ulster and encouraged British Army officers in Ireland to oppose orders by resigning their commissions.)

Lord Milner, many of the ruling elite, the **Conservative Unionist Party** and a host of intellectuals like **Rudyard Kipling**, **Rider Haggard**.

There were those in power who could have tried to prevent the outbreak at that time.

Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria Hungary was 84 years old and let his Ministers conduct affairs. He was surprised about the severity of the ultimatum to Serbia but did not seek to change it.

Czar Nicholas II of Russia did not want war. He was persuaded by his Ministers that it was a national duty.

Russian Ministers for the armed forces could have counselled restraint.

Kaiser Wilhelm was volatile, opinionated and military obsessed.

He frequently made conflicting comments.

“He’s a child and will always remain one” said Count Zloditz, Controller of the Kaiser’s household. He was manipulated by his officials.

Chancellor Theodore Bethmann-Hollweg vacillated between seeing the danger of war and the huge social change it would bring and seeing the threat to Germany from Russia. He did not restrain von Moltke and rejected the British offer of mediation on 26th July.

President Poincarre of France was highly suspicious of Germany and insisted on the alliance with Russia to protect France from German aggression. Thus Russia’s wars became France’s wars.

Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Secretary, thought Britain should stand alongside its allies of the Entente. He had given unauthorised verbal support to France but had no coordinated plan of how the support could be given. He was concerned about Britain’s good name and reputation.

Prime Minister Asquith, supported his Foreign Secretary and was worried that a divided Liberal Party would fall and the Conservatives would take power and lead Britain to war in any case.

King George V met the Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey on 2nd August 1914 and told him that it was absolutely essential that Britain went to war with Germany to prevent Germany from achieving “complete domination of this country.” The King insisted that he needed to find a justifiable reason. (“You have got to find a reason, Grey”)

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/history/world-war-one/10991582/Revealed-how-King-George-V-demanded-Britain-enter-the-First-World-War.html>

There were those who actively opposed it but gave in

The Social Democrat Party, the largest party in the German Parliament. 100,000 demonstrated in Berlin against hostilities on 25th July.

Hugo Haas, the SDP leader and 13 others voted against the war in private session but next day in the German Parliament they voted for.

Istvan Tisza, the Hungarian Prime Minister initially advised against the invasion of Serbia

Nikola Pasic, the Serbian Prime Minister (his choices were very limited).

Archduke Ferdinand, (unfortunately shot in Sarajevo) said, “It would be unforgivable to start something that would pit us against Russia”. However, though not around to oppose the start of the war against Serbia, he still went ahead with the military review on the 26th July, Serbia’s National Day, which could be seen as a very provocative act by an occupying power.

Sir John Simon and **Lord Beauchamp** on 2nd August threatened to resign from the Cabinet if Britain declared war, but failed in their resolve and withdrew the threat next day.

There were those who actively opposed it

Jean Jaures, the leader of the Socialists in France (assassinated 31st July 1914).

Karl Leibknecht, founder of the German Communist Party and **Rosa Luxembourg**.

Valentin Bulgakov, the Russian pacifist Tolstoyan.

Keir Hardy, leader of the small Independent Labour Party.

Lord Morley and **John Burns**, The President of the Board of Trade who resigned from the Cabinet when Britain declared war.

Charles Trevelyan, MP, resigned from the Government and founded the Union for Democratic Control with Ramsey MacDonald.

Ramsay MacDonald resigned from leadership of the Labour Party.

Emily Hobhouse, **Charlotte Despard** (Sir John French was her younger brother),

Sylvia Pankhurst

George Lansbury, social reformer and editor of the Daily Herald.

Eugene Debs, American Socialist leader, who was imprisoned for 10 years for opposing the military draft.

Helen Keller, American socialist activist, **Jane Addams**, social worker.

But the conditions had built up to such an extent that a war between major European Powers was inevitable at some stage. The problem was how to find a *Casus Belli* and portray the other side as the aggressor.

Section 3

Enlistment and Conscription

Recruiting fighters

On 4th of August 1914 Great Britain declared war on Germany in response to the German invasion of Belgium. The German Army was huge with 1,700,000 men albeit fighting on 2 fronts. France had an army to resist of 2 million men many of whom were reservists. Britain had an Army of 230,000 regulars.

Britain did have 630,000 reservists and these were quickly mobilised. But even more remarkable was the enthusiasm to volunteer. By the end of September 1914, 750,000 men had volunteered to fight. But only one in three were passed for active service. Due to widespread malnutrition, 40% were considered medically unfit.

Britain was a militarised state. All towns of significance had barracks and military bands often played for the public. Children were encouraged to join the Church Lads Brigade and were given uniforms, haversacks and leather belts and pretended to be soldiers. Boys could join the Naval training vessel aged 13 years old. Locally in Plymouth one of the reformatory training ship HMS Mount Edgcumbe for Homeless and Destitute Boys along with two other training ships were anchored in Saltash, on the Tamar Estuary. Military exploits were celebrated and Lord Roberts expeditions to Abyssinia, Afghanistan and against the Boers or Lord Kitchener's fight against the Sudanese and the Boers made them national heroes.

Why the rush to enlist? Great Britain was not directly threatened, it could have stayed out of the War. Part was due the enthusiasm of youth to escape the normality of ordinary life, change of scenery and have an adventure or 'to feel like a grown man'. Part was due to high unemployment, poor working environment and the insecurity of jobs with low pay. Joining the army would give a soldier a regular income, his family would receive an extra allowance and if he died his widow would receive a pension. Part was patriotic enthusiasm to defend a small country or because of reports of German brutality. For some it was to avenge the death of a father or brother or in reaction to a Zeppelin bombing raid on their town. Part was due to social pressure and fear of being left behind and social pressure from their contemporaries. There was an embarrassment about being still in England especially about the attitude of girls of the same age and the fear of being labelled a 'slacker' or 'a shirker.' In some areas the parish support for the poor was withheld from men who were of enlistment age. Economic uncertainty in the autumn of 1914 led to the loss of 500,000 jobs as businesses cut back production.

Others enlisted for adventure, "*for no other reason than to see what war was like, to get a gun, to see new countries and to feel like a grown man,*" in the fiery words of the future IRA leader, Tom Barry. Poverty also featured. James Connolly, the socialist revolutionary, contended that "economic conscription" attracted a large number of

recruits from the improvised tenements of inner-city Dublin. In Sylvester's case, his father was dead and his army pay was sent to his mother and young sister.

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/apr/05/irish-soldiers-who-fought-for-britain>

Whatever the reason, there were recruitment drives and optimistic rallies. The soldiers thought it was a good adventure and that it would all be over by Christmas. The Churches rallied round, blessed the troops and reassured them that God was on their side. A similar enthusiasm, optimism for a short war and reassurance of Divine Support was seen throughout Germany as men poured into the German Army to support the Kaiser.

However The Ministry of War estimated that they would lose 40% of their manpower, dead or wounded, in the first 6 months but this pessimism was not used on the recruitment posters. Also due to widespread malnutrition, 2 out of 5 volunteers were rejected due to poor health.

But after 6 months, as the new year came, the full scale of the slaughter was immense. Half a million French dead or wounded, similar figure for Russia and a third of the British Army that landed in August 1914 were dead. The Germans had lost half their field Army. The opposing Armies settled down to a western battle front that was to change only by a few miles in the next 3 years.

In 1915 the public announcements from politicians and clergy stirred patriotic feeling. The enthusiastic volunteers of the previous year were ready to be used in battle. Some were in special workplace squadrons or student corps. War plans were tried out but the Germans did not capture Paris nor did the French and British liberate north France or Belgium. However both sides were convinced that one more last effort would bring success.

Following well publicised battles like Mons, Ypres and Loos, volunteers responded to the appeal to volunteer. **During the whole war 2,400,000 British men volunteered to enlist.**

Initially the flow of volunteers filled the gaps left by the dead and wounded. By September 1915, 30,000 new men were required every 7 days for the infantry and a further 5,000 to support. But the offensive strategy for 1916 required more men than could be filled by the dwindling volunteers and reluctantly Conscription had to be introduced.

Initially a National Register of all males aged fifteen to sixty-five was constructed. It was a legal requirement to give all details especially of one's work so the Government could decide how many men were available for Conscription.

One million men were considered to be doing work of national importance. Altogether 840,00 single young men attested and were placed in the Army reserves. Again due to malnutrition and poor physique one third were to be rejected on medical ground.

Rudyard Kipling

Rudyard Kipling is well known for his books about British soldiers in India and his children books like The Jungle books. His poems “If” is often quoted.

He was awarded the Nobel prize for Literature in 1907.

He was a fervent nationalist and an active supporter of the National Defence League that was advocating further rearmament. At the outbreak of World War he worked with the War Propaganda Bureau encouraging the new recruits and poured scorn on those who ‘shirked their duty.’

He encouraged his 16 year old son John (Jack) to go to war. John was turned down by the Navy and the Army due to bad eyesight. Rudyard Kipling persuaded an old friend Lord Roberts to take him on in the Irish Guards and he was commissioned in August 1914 just after his seventeenth birthday.

After training he was sent to France in August 1915 and six weeks later he was killed in the Battle of Loos in September 1915 just after his 18th Birthday. He was last seen stumbling through mud blindly, screaming in agony after an exploding shell ripped his face apart.

After his son’s death Rudyard Kipling was grief stricken.

In reflection of his part in getting his son out to the trenches he wrote

**“If any question why we died
Tell them because our fathers lied”.**

Rudyard Kipling became depressed and did not write much more of any significance. His belief in the Imperial notion and the need for blind patriotism was severely shaken.

He reflected on this in 1924 in his poem

A dead statesman

**I could not dig, I dared not rob,
And so I lied to please the mob.
Now all my lies are proved untrue,
And I must face the men I slew.
What tale will serve me here among
Mine angry and defrauded young?**

also see [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/My_Boy_Jack_\(poem\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/My_Boy_Jack_(poem))

Conscription 1916

After eighteen months of war, over 700,000 dead British and French men and no changes on the Western front a decision was made to make a big push in 1916. It was predicted that this would result in another 500,000 dead. The flow of volunteers were drying up especially after stories of the conditions on the Front and the reality of fighting a war started to filter back. There were over 500,000 dead and wounded in the ill fated 1915 Gallipoli landings.

Conscription was needed.

There was also a need to keep men in essential war work especially after the scandal in 1915 of insufficient shells for the artillery.

In Britain the Military Services Bill was passed in January 1916 and by March all unmarried men aged 18-41 would be deemed to have enlisted. The soldier had to be aged 19 to serve overseas. Conscription was soon extended on 25th May to married men. Within the Bill was a conscience clause that allowed men to be exempted 'on the grounds of a conscientious objection to combatant service.'

There were numerous other exemptions.

Lloyd George, now Minister of Munitions was eager to keep skilled workers in the factories and many men were exempted because of essential war work like miners, railway workers and those in the armaments industry.

Hardship due to family or business commitments was within the Act and many were exempted to continue a family business or work on the farm.

Many of those seeking to enlist were rejected because of their poor physical condition or ill health. They were often given non combatant duties which might include working in agriculture.

Then there were those who had conscientious objections usually on religious grounds.

The law did not apply to Ireland in recognition of the independence movement.

Ireland did supply 140,000 volunteers of whom 35,000 died, a higher attrition rate than the average for the British Army.

Two thousand local Tribunals were set up around the country and men who were seeking exemption had to appear before them. There was a military representative on the panels who usually opposed any application on conscience. Many Tribunals refused to recognise an appeal by a conscientious objector seeing that their role was to ensure maximum enlistment. Often applications were rejected in minutes with no real attempt to understand the personal beliefs of applicants.

Of the nearly 780,000 men who were exempted in the first twelve months of conscription, most were exempted because of essential war work or they were in poor physical condition.

Despite conscription fewer soldiers joined the Army in 1916 than in 1915. **In all 2,400,000 men were conscripted.** The British army grew nearly to 1,400,000 in mid

1916 and peaked at 1,800,000 in 1917 before falling as Britain had run out of fit young men to conscript.

Again only a third of men medically examined were fit for full military duties. This reflects the poor state of health of the ordinary man in Great Britain who had inadequate nutrition, poor housing and poor conditions of employment.

Six thousand men died every day.

The battles on the Western Front consumed huge number of dead and wounded.

On the first day of the Battle of the Somme along a line of twenty miles there were 57,000 British casualties (of which 19,000 died) out of a force (13 divisions) of 120,000 men. (About 1,000 dead per mile, one dead and two wounded every four feet). The French with a smaller force (5 divisions) but over a longer line had only 7,000 casualties with 1590 dead.

At the end of the Battle, five months later, there were 420,000 British and 194,000 French casualties. There were about 600,000 German casualties.

There was an acceptance of this slaughter by the High Command. Sir Douglas Haig noted 'I said if I attacked with say with 450,000 men the War Office should be prepared to provide 50% wastage of that number in two months''

The Director of Recruiting complained that commanders in the field were seeing the new recruits as 'expendable stores'.

The military historian Sir John Keegan said 'that for the British it was the greatest military tragedy of the twentieth century, indeed of their national military history'

However the highest daily death toll occurred in 1914 when 27,000 French soldiers were killed in one day during an attack on Alsace Lorraine. According to Max Hastings in '*Catastrophe*' there were higher death rates in the first six months and last six months when the front was mobile. The static trenches of the middle years of the war did provide some form of protection for the men even though the living conditions were often appalling.

The three battles over Ypres spread over 5 years resulted in 275,000 soldiers killed with a gain of 5 miles.

By 1918 about one in four British males were in the Army. Half of these had volunteered and over half of the new recruits were nineteen or younger. Britain had used up its young men.

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/>

[Recruitment to the British Army during the First World War](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Recruitment_to_the_British_Army_during_the_First_World_War)

By 1918 Britain was running out of young men to replace the dead and wounded. In April 1918 conscription was extended by the Military Services Act to include men upto the age of 50 and allowed young men aged 18 and 6 months to fight overseas provided they had had six months training. It was also extended to Ireland (which had previously been exempt) but it was never implemented there.

At the end of the war:

41.8 million had fought for the Allies and 5 million had died.

Britain 700,000 dead. France 1,400,000 dead. Russia 1,800,000 dead

25.8 million had fought for the Central powers of Germany/Austria - Hungary/ Turkey and 3.9 million had died.

Germany 2,037,000 dead. Austria Hungary 1,460,000 dead.

On average about 6,000 people died every day.

35% of German men aged 19 to 22 at the outbreak of war were dead by the end.

50% of French men aged 20 to 32 at the outbreak of war were dead by the end.

One in five of all the Serbian population had died.

I vow to thee, my country, -- A call to WAR!

*I vow to thee, my country, all earthly things above,
Entire and whole and perfect, the service of my love;
The love that asks no question, the love that stands the test,
That lays upon the altar the dearest and the best;
The love that never falters, the love that pays the price,
The love that makes undaunted the final sacrifice.*

*I heard my country calling, away across the sea,
Across the waste of waters she calls and calls to me.
Her sword is girded at her side, her helmet on her head,
And round her feet are lying the dying and the dead.
I hear the noise of battle, the thunder of her guns,
I haste to thee my mother, a son among thy sons.*

*And there's another country, I've heard of long ago,
Most dear to them that love her, most great to them that know;
We may not count her armies, we may not see her King;
Her fortress is a faithful heart, her pride is suffering;
And soul by soul and silently her shining bounds increase,
And her ways are ways of gentleness, and all her paths are peace.*

This battle hymn was composed by the diplomat Cecil Spring Rice in 1908 entitled *The Two Fatherlands*. It describes how a Christian owes his loyalties to both his homeland and to the heavenly kingdom. In 1912 he was appointed Ambassador to the United States and in January 1918 he presented the hymn to be used in the recruitment programme to try improve morale in the difficult last year of the war.

In 1921 it was set to the rousing music of 'Jupiter' from Holst's *The Planets*.

Since then it is often sung at schools, at weddings and funerals and at Remembrance day ceremonies.

1. Do people remember the words or do they remember the beautiful cadence of Holst's music?
2. Should we accept without question what our politicians ask us?
3. Should our own beliefs about what is right or wrong count? Would this hymn be appropriate for the Nazi regime in the nineteen thirties?
4. Does 'the love that pays the price, ... The love that makes undaunted the final sacrifice.' really reflect the horror of fighting in a war where the average life expectancy of a new officer was counted in weeks?
5. Why is this battle hymn still sung in schools when we should be asking our children to question what is happening in their world?
6. Is the last verse a form of reassurance for the fighter that they will be 'all right', just as a heavenly reward is offered to the Islamic jihadi fighter?

Section 4

Opposition to the War and Conscientious Objection

I will not kill: Conscientious objectors (CO)

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](#)

There was a small but significant group opposing the war. In the weekend before the war there was huge peace rally in Trafalgar Square led by Keir Hardy, the inspirational Labour politician.

Three women and one man reflect some of the opposition:

Emily Hobhouse, (1860 - 1926)

Emily was born and brought up at St Ive near Liskeard.

At the outbreak of the Anglo- Boer war she joined the anti war organisation South African Conciliation Movement and became the Secretary.

In 1901 she visited South Africa with food and supplies for the Boer families whose farms had been burnt to the ground and who had been herded into internment camps. She visited many camps making detailed notes and sought to relieve the suffering by insisting on better rations and clean drinking water.

On return to England she spoke out about the appalling conditions in the internment camps, writing to newspapers and MPs. The camps soon became an international scandal.

Alongside her brother and Bertrand Russell she campaigned for universal suffrage for both men and women.

She opposed the outbreak of the war and wrote to the Manchester Guardian “Few English people have seen war in its nakedness...they know nothing of its poverty, destruction, disease, pain, misery and mortality which follow in its train I have seen all of this and more”.

In January 1915 Emily Hobhouse circulated a letter addressed to the women of Austria and Germany expressing solidarity and encouraging them to seek peace.

She worked in a Quaker relief organisation in France, then moved to Italy where she helped to organise a women’s peace movement. She then travelled to Holland where she helped in the office of the newly formed International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace.

In June 1916 she visited Germany and met the Foreign Minister Gottlieb von Jagow. He felt the war was a stalemate and she hoped to act as a catalyst for peace discussions. She tried to arrange a meeting between representatives in neutral Holland. Britain was not interested and she was sidelined on her return. In Berlin she visited internment camps for British nationals and proposed the exchange of civilian detainees. Some months later this did occur but with no reference to her. She campaigned for better prison conditions for Conscientious Objectors (COs). Her cousin Stephen Hobhouse suffered harsh imprisonment as a CO and he later campaigned for prison reform. After the war she worked with starving women and children in central Europe using food provided by the newly formed Save the Children Fund. (Britain was still maintaining a trade embargo on Germany until the Versailles Treaty was signed and many thousands of people died of hunger.) She died in 1926. Considered a hero in South Africa her ashes are interred in the Women's Memorial, Bloemfontein with great ceremony.

Charlotte Despard (1844 - 1939) (Sir John French was her younger brother) Charlotte was born to Royal Navy Commander and a neurotic mother in Kent. Her father died when she was aged ten and she rapidly became independent as her mother was unable to cope. She married a wealthy business man in 1870 but he died twenty years later. She now embarked on her charitable work and quickly realised that the problems she encountered required political action for a solution. She lived amongst the poor of Battersea and provided social support especially to mothers and children. She was a friend of Eleanor Marx and attended the Second International. Charlotte campaigned for women's suffrage and joined the WSPU (Women's Social and Political Union). She campaigned against the Boer war and in 1909 met Mahatma Gandhi and was influenced by his theory of passive resistance. She spoke out against Conscription in the First World War and formed a pacifist group The Women's Peace Crusade to oppose all war. After the war she moved to Ireland where her younger brother was Lord Lieutenant. She bitterly opposed his work and supported the Republican cause. She was imprisoned for a while. She became an active Communist and campaigned into her late eighties.

Sylvia Pankhurst (1882 - 1960)

Second daughter of Emmeline Pankhurst, she was a gifted artist and graphic designer but she devoted her life to supporting women's rights and the poor. She joined her mother and sister in the Suffragette movement and was imprisoned many times. However she saw her work as a broader battle for the poor and dispossessed. She lived in the East End of London and was active in education and the trade unions, providing information about the legal position of women and sex education. At the outbreak of the First World War there was a bitter split in the Pankhurst family. Her mother Emmeline and her sister Christabel agreed to stop suffragette

campaigning and enthusiastically supported the war effort. Sylvia left her mother's WPSU and actively campaigned against the War in speeches, marches and in her paper Women's Dreadnought. Her mother refused to talk to Sylvia.

Throughout the War she campaigned against the hostilities. She organised anti-war rallies and marches to Trafalgar Square. She opened workshops in the East End, paying women the same wage as men and acted as a kind of social worker. She campaigned against conscription and spoke in rallies up and down the country. In 1917 she was encouraging soldiers to lay down their arms and publishing critical letters from soldiers at the Front. She was the first to publish Siegfried Sassoon's Soldier's Declaration at the same time as it was read out in the House of Commons. Her party became the Workers Socialist Federation.

After the war she wrote and campaigned against racial discrimination especially in South Africa and then against Italy's aggression in Libya and Ethiopia. She had a lifelong interest in the welfare of women and children. In 1956, at the request of Haile Selassie, she moved to Ethiopia where, four years later, she died and was buried.

“Where there is need, there is my country”

Bertrand Russell (1872 - 1970)

Bertrand Russell was a Cambridge philosopher, logician and mathematician.

He wrote Principia Mathematica and many books on logic and philosophy.

He actively opposed the War and had a deep regard for the conflict between national loyalty and anti war activity.

Bertrand lost friends, was dismissed from his Cambridge lectureship and eventually went to prison. He wrote numerous articles, books and letters to newspapers with a moral logic that few could counter. He supported the No Conscription Fellowship becoming the acting Chairman. He helped and advised Conscientious Objectors, attending their courts-martial and often visiting them in prison. After a successful lecture tour in the Summer of 1916 he was banned by the War Office.

He published a collected work of his writings Justice in wartime which prompted Siegfried Sassoon to make his statement.

In June 1917 he was a prominent organiser and speaker at the Leeds Convention advocating a peace settlement, appearing alongside the future Prime Minister Ramsey MacDonald.

In 1918 he was lecturing against the Americans coming in to the war. In an article in the No-Conscription Fellowship Tribunal he warned that the American troops might be used in strike breaking. He was charged and accused of interfering between Britain and a key ally. He was jailed for 6 months.

He became a member of the Order of Merit from 1949 and next year was awarded the Nobel prize for Literature.

He was made the first President of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in 1957.

In September 1961, aged 89, he was jailed for 7 days for 'breach of the peace' during

a CND rally. He continued campaigning during the Cuban missile crisis and against the Vietnam War.

‘This war is trivial for all its vastness. No great principle is at stake, no great human purpose is involved on either side....The English and the French say they are fighting in defence of democracy but they do not wish their words to be heard in Petrograd or Calcutta’.

Even in Government there was dissent. Sir John Simon and Lord Beauchamp on 2nd August 1914 threatened to resign from the Cabinet if Britain declared war, but failed in their resolve and withdrew the threat next day.

Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India and John Burns, The President of the Board of Trade resigned from the Cabinet when Britain declared war.

Charles Trevelyan, MP, resigned from the Government and founded the Union for Democratic Control with Ramsey MacDonald.

Ramsay MacDonald resigned from leadership of the Labour Party.

George Lansbury, social reformer and editor of the Daily Herald, gave support to opposition to the war

The **Union for Democratic Control** was founded in 1914 by Charles Trevelyan and Ramsey MacDonald supported by Norman Angell and E.D. Morel.

It was a pressure group campaigned for:

- 1) Parliamentary control over foreign policy,
- 2) Negotiation after the war with other countries about how to avoid further conflicts
- 3) The terms of peace should not humiliate the defeated country nor should there be artificial rearrangement of frontiers that might in time cause future wars. They advocated national self-determination and arms control.

<http://spartacus-educational.com/FWWudc.htm>

<http://www.hull.ac.uk/arc/collection/pressuregrouparchives/udc.html>

In 1916 200,000 signed a petition for a negotiated peace.

The No-Conscription Fellowship was founded in 1915 with the lifelong pacifist and campaigner Fenner Brockway as its first Secretary. He had been editor of the Independent Labour Party (ILP) newspaper ‘Labour Leader’. As the men were arrested for not joining the Army, women became more involved in keeping it running and supporting conscientious objectors. Catherine Marshall, daughter of a Harrow School housemaster was its secretary. Its activities were considered subversive by the Government and its meetings were often disrupted by noisy protesters. On one occasion it drew 2,000 supporters to a convention in a London Quakers meeting hall.

Ramsay MacDonald, the future Prime Minister was a leading member and the eminent philosopher Bertram Russell was the acting Chairman when the previous one was imprisoned. (<http://www.1914.org/news/podcast-37-conscientious-objection/>)

Eventually less than 2% of total applications, 16,000, applied to be exempted on the grounds of conscientious objection.

Germany only allowed exemption from conscription for members of the Mennonite church. Those who refused the call up were imprisoned or committed to a psychiatric Hospital.

In France conscientious objectors were considered to have deserted and were imprisoned for long terms or even executed.

The United States allowed conscientious objection on religious and later on secular lines. After 20,000 objectors were sent to training camps, 16,000 changed their minds!

Conscription and Objection

After conscription was introduced in March 1916, conscripts were allowed to object and had to appear before a special board.

Exemption to conscription could be

1. Doing war related work - armament industry, in the mines, boots or uniform industry
2. Sole supporter of the family or business
3. Serious illness
4. Conscientious objection on grounds of personal conscience (about 5% of appearances)

Most people who applied for exemption on conscience grounds did so because of their firmly held Christian belief that war and killing another man was against Christ's teaching. Some, who were Socialists or Communists, objected on the political grounds that they had close bonds with workers in other countries than transcended nationalism. Many had shared beliefs.

Some considered their stand as an active protest against what they considered the greatest evil in the world - killing another human being. They considered the method of protest was to refuse to acquiesce by a single act or deed in a system which they considered evil, both in origin and purpose.

The Military Service Tribunal could allow a CO

- absolute exemption
- performance of alternative civilian 'service of national importance'
- service as a non combatant in the Army wearing military uniform but not fighting.
- or refusal of their application. The man had to decide whether to join up or to make a stand against enforced conscription.

16,000 men were recorded as conscientious objectors

7,000 had noncombatant duties (the Non Combatant Corps, NCC) around the big military bases or in medical teams near the Front.

The Friends Ambulance Unit was established by the Quakers in 1914 and provided medical support on ambulance trains and hospitals. More than 1400 men served in the Unit and 21 died in service.

3,000 were allocated to special work camps

6,000 had their application refused and were allocated to be conscripted and join the Army but were then imprisoned when they refused to obey orders. Prison conditions were harsh with hard labour, a poor diet and a rule of silence.

The army had difficulty dealing with COs. When they found that they did not respond to being forcibly stripped of their civilian clothes or they refused to follow orders the Army concocted a plan to make an example of some of the more resistant prisoners. Secretly they sent 42 COs to France where they would be liable to Martial Law. If they refused an order they could be courtmartialled and shot. This could be done without any publicity and the news would only come out after the war.

On arrival at Boulogne they refused orders and were given Field Punishment Number One, being strapped up to barbed wire for 2 hours in a crucifix. Thirty five of these were court martialled and sentenced to death by firing squad. Fortunately news leaked out and a delegation visited the Prime Minister to protest.

General Haig confirmed the death sentence but at the last moment following pressure from the Prime Minister the sentence was changed to 10 years penal servitude and they were sent back to Britain. Questions were asked in Parliament and the army never tried this tactic again. The conditions of their imprisonment were so harsh that 10 of these men died in prison.

The Home Office came up with an alternative scheme of work camps to relieve the military from coping with these troublesome recruits who refused to cooperate. They were offered work of 'national importance' which usually consisted of agricultural work, road making or quarry work. However it was often unproductive and menial.

Over 1000 refused to cooperate in any way and were sent to civilian prisons for the whole of the war instead of military prisons.

Prison

For the first two weeks the prisoner was not given a mattress to sleep on. There was a rule of absolute silence, they had a very poor diet and often abusive warders. Fenner Brockway refused to abide by the silence rule and was given eight months of solitary confinement.

Emily Hobhouse and the No Conscription Fellowship campaigned for better conditions for COs. In December 1917 300 of the 1,300 in prison were released due to ill health, but remained disenfranchised for 5 years.

By mid 1919 all COs were released often in poor physical condition. Sixty nine had died and thirty nine had been declared insane. Most struggled to get employment and to continue their previous lives.

Some notable Conscientious objectors among the 6,000 imprisoned
(see also 'Champions of Peace' later)

Clifford Allen

Thomas Atlee (brother of Clement Atlee, Prime Minister)

Fenner Brockway, later to found the World Disarmament Campaign

Herbert Brown, later in 1921 was the founder of War Resisters International

Stephen Henry Hobhouse, (spent time in Exeter prison)

William Holliday was sentenced to 3 months hard labour for publicly insisting 'Freedom's battle has not to be fought on the blood drenched soil of France but nearer home - our enemy is within our gates'. He was acquitted on appeal he was arrested again on a pretext and died in prison.

Arthur Creech Jones, Labour activist who spent two and half years in prison. Later he was an MP with expertise in helping British colonies towards their independence.

George Lansbury - Leader of the Labour Party 1931- 35

Sir Francis Meynell, business manager of the Daily Herald

Herbert Morrison objected and did land work.(later Home secretary, Foreign Secretary and deputy Prime Minister)

Many supporters of COs progressed in politics:

Ramsey McDonald - the first Labour Party Prime Minister.

Bertrand Russell, the great logician and philosopher was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1950 and was appointed to the Order of Merit by King George VI. He cofounded the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and was its first President.

Fenner Brockway and **Stephen Hobhouse** worked together to publish details of the poor conditions in British prisons and led the way in starting a process of prison reform

There is extensive material under the Peace Pledge Union CO Project

<http://www.ppu.org.uk/coproject/coww1a.html>

Princetown Work Centre (Dartmoor Prison)



On 1st March 1917, 900 COs were taken to Dartmoor Prison which had been renamed Princetown Work Centre. There were many Christian groups represented from Plymouth Brethren to Salvation Army, Christian Scientists as well as Quakers, Methodists and Congregationalists. (3). Many were Socialists or communists who objected to fighting against their fellow workers. Many were both Christians and Socialists. Occasionally there was tension because of some who liked alcohol and used swearing freely.

The doors were not locked and there was freedom of association. Conditions were sparse with inadequate diet, clothing and bedding and there were frequent reports of maltreatment. The CO worked in the fields or quarries.

A group was involved in building a small road east from Bull Park towards Hexworthy which was called Conchies Road. It reaches just past the Crock of Gold. Some were given leave and rail passes to visit their families.

The Bishop of Exeter visited and was appalled by what he found. The free association of the inmates and their socialist ideas prompted him to write to the Times about 'Anarchic Dartmoor; a hotbed of malcontent.' 'If the Government desires a revolution after the war they could hardly have proceeded in a more efficient manner'. He thought most were politically motivated revolutionaries and was incensed that meetings ended with the singing of the Red Flag. He considered it a centre for revolutionary planning and conspiracy to overthrow the state. (1) He refused them use of the church in the prison.

By 1917 the comparative comfort of Princetown was arousing anger in the press, the Daily Mail enraged that 'The Coddled Conscience Men' were 'Princetown's Pampered Pets'. An MP suggested that they be should be exchanged for wounded prisoners of war captive in Germany. In the House of Lords a Princetown visitor reported on 'the intellectual anarchy' that he found there. 'Why not send the conchies

somewhere where they could be put in touch with enemy bombers? The dropping of a bomb might bring about a sudden conversion or at least a truer view of the political situation.’

(Lt Colonel Drury of Royal Marines Intelligence was said to have infiltrated Princetown for information about revolutionaries.)

Local councils were largely intolerant of CO and sought to dismiss anyone who was granted exemption. Tavistock U.D. Council thanked the Home Office for banning all CO from the town. Many councils condemned them for subversion and immorality ‘poisoning the minds of the youngsters with disloyal sentiments’.

The Mayor of Plymouth rebuked his fellow citizens for their intolerance but it did no good and the meeting still voted unanimously in favour of keeping the ‘bastard political agitators’ within the boundaries of the prison grounds.

Though most of the clergy were against, South Devon Congregational Union meeting October 1917 came close to vote for CO opinions to be recognised but they withdrew because they were not sure if they could carry their congregations with them. (1)

East Devon Congregational Union were braver and opposed the ill treatment of COs.

Nationally public opinion was hostile, stoked by newspaper articles. The Daily Express accused COs of being financed by German money.

COs were often mocked or even attacked, being accused of selfishness, cowardice and named ‘Shirkers’. Families who had a man on the front line resented the comparative safety of the COs and did not usually support some of their socialist ideals.

‘The CO is a fungus growth - a human toadstool- which should be uprooted without further delay’ screamed the Tabloid John Bull

Statements by COs of strong Christian belief created a problem for the Establishment as almost all the Christian Churches were united in supporting the war. Field Marshall Haig was convinced he was there to do God’s work. Similarly in Germany most of the Christian Churches backed the Kaiser and his war. The Congregational minister in Braunton asserted that if conscientious objectors were right then everyone else was not only wrong but stood ‘condemned before the judgement seat of God.’(1).

Similarly a Government lawyer Archibald Bodkin during a legal dispute with the No-Conscription Fellowship (NCF) thundered “war will be impossible if all men were to have the view that war is wrong.” The NCF created a poster with these words attributed to Bodkin and were promptly prosecuted for being subversive. They then suggested that Bodkin should be arrested and even prosecute himself. (2)

The No Conscription Fellowship’s campaign against giving hard and futile manual work to clerks, painters, teachers and doctors without adequate nourishment or

clothing was now stepped up. In November 1917 permission was won for men who had not broken any rules for 18 months to look for work with private employers.

- (1) The People of Devon in the First World War by David Parker (The History Press) pp107 -119
- (2) To end all Wars by Adam Hochschild
- (3) Peace Pledge Union <http://www.ppu.org.uk/coproject/coww1a6.html>
See p 43 Voices against War by Lyn Smith

Who were the COs

<http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2014/jan/23/who-conscientious-objectors-first-world-war>

Story of three Conscientious objectors.

<http://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2014/apr/25/conscientious-objectors-men-fought-different-battle>

Plymouth and West Devon Records Office (PWDRO)

<http://www.plymouth.gov.uk/archiveseducationpolicy>

In 1948 the rights of conscientious objectors were officially recognized by the United Nations, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

“Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.”

Champions for Peace

those who defied public opinion in wartime

http://peace.maripo.com/p_conferences.htm

Emily Hobhouse (1860 -1926)

In 1901 she visited South Africa with food and supplies for the Boer families whose farms had been burnt to the ground and who had been herded into internment camps. She spoke out about the appalling conditions in the internment camps, writing to newspapers and MPs. The camps soon became an international scandal.

Later she campaigned for universal suffrage for both women and men.

In a letter to the Manchester Guardian she spoke out against the war and later in January 1915 circulated a letter addressed to the women of Austria and Germany expressing solidarity and encouraging them to seek peace.

She worked in a Quaker relief organisation in France, then moved to Italy where she helped to organise a womens peace movement. She then travelled to Holland where she helped in the office of the newly formed International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace. She attended the socialist antiwar conference in Kiental Switzerland in April 1916.

In June 1916 she visited Germany and met the Foreign minister Gottlieb von Jagow. She hoped to act as a catalyst for discussions but she was sidelined on her return. She did propose the exchange of civilian prisoners. Some months later this did occur but with no reference to her. However she was not prosecuted.

She campaigned for better prison conditions for COs.

After the war she distributed food to women and children in central Europe.

Sylvia Pankhurst (1882 -1960)

Second daughter of Emmeline Pankhurst and active in the Suffragette movement, she saw her work as a broader battle for the poor and dispossessed. She lived in the East end of London and was active in education and the trade unions, providing information about the legal position of women and sex education. She had left her mother's WPSU and actively campaigned against the War in speeches and in her paper Women's Dreadnought. She opened workshops in the East end, paying women the same wage as men and acted a kind of social worker. She spoke out against conscription and spoke in rallies up and down the country. In 1917 she was encouraging soldiers to lay down their arms.

After the war she wrote against racial discrimination especially in South Africa and then against Italy's aggression in Libya and Ethiopia

(James) Keir Hardy (1856 -1915)

Born in poverty in a Glasgow slum, largely self educated, he worked as a child in the dockyards then down the coal mines. He became active in the miners union demanding safer working conditions and better pay but both he and his two brothers were fired.

He was a founder of the Independent Labour Party in 1893. He was a Member of Parliament for Merthyr Tydfil. He denounced the Boer War and collaborated with socialists on mainland Europe to oppose war in Europe. He opposed the increased military expenditure on Dreadnought battleships. He supported the suffragettes, self rule in India and an end to segregation in South Africa.

Keir Hardy was an ardent pacifist and during an anti war rally in Trafalgar Square on 2 August 1914 he called for a general strike if Britain declared war. He spoke out endlessly against the war but the reception was hostile. He kept up a stream of critical questions in Parliament and wrote many articles. He died exhausted in September 1915 aged 59.

Charlotte Despard (1844 -1939)

Popular novelist , she took a keen interest in social issues and the poor. Her work was supported by her husband. When her husband died she opened two community centres in the slums of Battersea and used to work and live there during the week. She spoke out against the Boer War, was active in the Suffragette movement, founded the Woman's Freedom League in 1907. She refused to pay taxes ('no taxation without representation') and went to prison four times. She took a pacifist stance in the War and spoke out against conscription. She supported COs and visited them in prison and their families at home. In 1917 she created the Woman's Peace Crusade. Her younger brother was Field Marshal John French, the ineffectual leader of the British Army 1914 - 1915.

After the war she moved to Dublin and supported Irish independence and Sinn Fein.

Hodgson Pratt (1824-1907)

He was a champion of international arbitration and founded the **International Arbitration & Peace Association** (IAPA) in London in 1881. Hodgson Pratt had worked 14 years for the East India Company and the Bengal government returning to England in 1861. He was active in the co-operative movement. After 1880, he visited a number of European cities as an IAPA representative. In 1883 he was with Henri La Fontaine (1854-1943), the inspiration for the Belgian Society for mediation and peace. Together with Franz Napian Wirth [1826-1897] he founded in 1886 the Frankfurt Peace Society. ("Bertha von Suttner learned about the IAPA in 1887, promptly joined, became its leading spokesperson.") Pratt was nominated in 1906 for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Fenner Brockway (1888 - 1988)

Editor of the paper The Labour Leader (founded by Keir Hardy) he was an ardent pacifist and spoke out frequently against the War. In December 1914 he cofounded the No-Conscription Fellowship. He was imprisoned as a CO.

In prison he continued to produce a clandestine newspaper twice a week each one written on one piece of toilet paper and passed around. He endured solitary confinement for eight months because he refused to abide by the rule of silence.

After the war he became an MP in 1929. He championed the causes of racial justice and human rights. In his nineties he founded the World Disarmament Campaign.

Stephen Hobhouse (1881-1961)

Son of a cousin of Emily, son of a wealthy MP, educated at Eton and Oxford he was an unlikely campaigner. He renounced his inheritance, became a Quaker and pacifist and worked for a boy's club in the East End of London. He went to Greece and Turkey with a Quaker Relief organisation in 1912 and saw first hand the effects of war. His wife Rosa was also a pacifist. In 1916 she shared a platform with Charlotte Despard and had spent 3 months in jail for distributing pacifist leaflets.

Stephen was a CO and was sentenced to hard labour in prison. He refused to be bound by the rule of silence and was put in solitary confinement.

After the war he helped in a survey of British prisons which led to significant reforms in the prison system.

Bertrand Russell (1872 - 1970)

Cambridge mathematician and philosopher.

He wrote Principia Mathematica and many books on logic and philosophy.

He actively opposed the War and had a deep regard for the conflict between national loyalty and anti war activity.

He lost friends, his Cambridge lectureship and campaigned against the war. He wrote articles, books and letters to newspapers with a moral clarity. He supported the No Conscription Fellowship becoming the acting Chairman. He helped and advised CO often visiting them in prison. After a successful lecture tour in the Summer of 1916 he was banned by the War Office.

He published a collected work of his writings Justice in wartime which prompted Siegfried Sassoon to make his statement. In 1918 he wrote an article suggesting that the newly arrived American troops could be used in strike breaking as they had been used in the United States. For his pains he received a 6 months jail sentence.

He was awarded the Nobel prize for literature in 1950.

Catherine Marshall (1880-1961)

Daughter of a housemaster at Harrow she first became a suffragette. At the outbreak of the First World war she became the political secretary of the No-Conscription Fellowship. She helped prevent the execution of the COs taken to France and organised political opinion against the harsh treatment of the COs in prison. She was active in WILPF and after the war served for 18 months with the Red Cross in the famines of Russia.

Chrystal Macmillan (1872-1937)

First female Science graduate from Edinburgh University and barrister, she was the leader of the international woman's movement. She helped organise the International Woman's Congress in the Hague in 1915. She travelled with several others to visit President Woodrow Wilson and many of the women's ideas, including a world wide negotiating and arbitration body, were used by him in his peace proposals.

Helena Swanwick (1864 -1939)

English suffragette, pacifist and journalist. She went to Girton College Cambridge and then wrote initially for the Manchester Guardian then the suffragette paper *The Common Cause*. She was one of the founding members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and was chair from 1915 to 1922. She was active in the Union of Democratic Control and after the war served in the British delegation to the League of Nations.

Other suffragette peace activists - Margaret Ashton, first woman city Councillor for Manchester and Maude Royden, vice president of WILPF,

Norman Angell (1872-1967)

An English Journalist he wrote a pamphlet in 1909 *Europe's Optical Illusion* which was published in 1910 as a book *The Great Illusion*. The thesis of the book was that the integration of the economies of European countries had grown to such a degree that war between them would be futile, making militarism obsolete. He was a co-founder of the Union of Democratic Control. He was a member of the executive committee of the League of Nations Union, a leading organisation of the British Peace movement in the nineteen twenties. He was a Labour MP in 1929-1931. In recognition of his work he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1933.

Edmund Dean Morel (1873 -1924)

In the years before the war he was active in a campaign against the forced labour system used by the Belgium King in the Congo. Initially he campaigned for neutrality and criticised France and Britain for their belligerent foreign policy. He cofounded the Union of Democratic Control arguing that foreign policy was made outside of Parliamentary control. The UDC called for the end of the war by negotiated peace with a stipulation of no change of territory without a plebiscite. He argued that the war was not only due to German aggression but also due to secret treaties and agreements as well as to an uncontrolled arms race. His writings were censored and his offices raided.

In 1917 he was given 6 months hard labour for sending pacifist literature out of the country.

Later he became foreign affairs spokesman for the Labour Party.

George Lansbury (1859-1940)

Pacifist and MP for Bow. He campaigned for social justice, women's suffrage and world disarmament. He cofounded the Daily Herald newspaper. He argued that the impending war was due to capitalism; workers were exploited in times of peace and sent out to be massacred in times of war. He supported the pacifist cause and opposed conscription. He publicised the pacifist stance of the CO.

Leader of the Labour Party 1931-35

John S Clarke (1885 - 1959)

Born in poverty in County Durham, he grew up in a circus. He was an adventurer and an ardent socialist. He edited the Socialist labour party newspaper The Socialist. The paper remained staunchly anti war during the duration. When he due to be arrested he went on the run and edited the paper underground.

Later became an MP for the Independent Labour Party.

Alice Wheeldon (1866 - 1919)

She ran a second hand clothes shop in Derby. She had two daughters and one son who were teachers and they all belonged to the No Conscription Fellowship. Her house was a haven for young men evading conscription.

In 1916 her son was on the run having been refused CO status. In a setup trap they were all arrested and accused of conspiring to murder by poison the Prime Minister and another member of the Cabinet. The trial was a sham and Alice Wheeldon was sentenced to 10 years hard labour and Hettie to 5 years hard labour.

She began hunger strikes and close to death was released after 10 months.

She died of flu in the great epidemic of 1919.

Arthur Creech Jones (1891 - 1964)

A committed Conscientious objector, he spent two and half years in jail. Later in 1935 he was an MP and served in the cabinet.

Thomas Atlee (1880-1960)

As a CO he spent two years in prison. Later he helped develop the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Helen Crawford (1877-1954)

Worked among the poor of Glasgow and set up a branch of the Woman's International League. She helped the woman left behind to cope with rents and feeding their families.

Vera Brittain (1893 - 1970)

Studying English at Oxford University she delayed her degree to work as a VAD nurse in France. Her brother, her fiancé and two close friends were killed in the War. Her book Testament to Youth which gave graphic account of the horror of working as a nurse near the front line was published in 1933 . She was a pacifist, joined the Peace Pledge Union in 1937 and spoke out passionately. She opposed the blanket bombing of German cities, nuclear weapons and apartheid. Her diaries 1913-17 were published as Chronicle of Youth after she had died in 1981.

Sir Francis Meynell (1891-1975)

Pacifist and business manager for the Daily Herald. He chaired the No-Conscription Fellowship and when called up he was imprisoned as a CO.

Clifford Allen (1889 - 1939)

Pacifist who became manager of the Labour Party newspaper The Daily Citizen. After the outbreak of war he cofounded the No Conscription Fellowship, an organisation that encouraged men to refuse war service. It campaigned nationally and after conscription started in 1916 it campaigned against the punishment and imprisonment of Conscientious Objectors. Refusing conscription he was imprisoned but refusing to cooperate with the prison regulations he was put in solitary confinement and a diet of bread and water. He contracted TB and was released seriously ill in December 1917. He worked for the Labour party and was the manager of the Daily Herald.

Ramsey MacDonald

Pacifist Labour MP, co-founder of the Labour Party. In August 1914 he spoke against the war and resigned as Leader of the Party. He co-founded the Union for Democratic Control

Prime Minister 1924 and 1929 -1935

The Peace Society

Founded in London in 1816 for the promotion of permanent and universal peace, it argued for gradual disarmament of all nations and for the principle of arbitration. It failed to condemn the outbreak of World War One but under a new Secretary Herbert Dunnico it pressed for peace negotiation.

In 1930 it merged with the International Christian Peace Fellowship to form the International Peace Society.

No-Conscription Fellowship

After the outbreak of war in December 1914 Clifford Allen and Fenner Brockway cofounded the No Conscription Fellowship, a pacifist organisation that encouraged men to refuse war service. It campaigned nationally and after conscription started in 1916 it campaigned against the punishment and imprisonment of Conscientious Objectors. Both Clifford Allen and Fenner Brockway were arrested for distributing a leaflet criticizing the introduction of conscription. After release they were imprisoned for being Conscientious objectors. Although banned from speaking in most major cities Bertram Russell helped to run the NCF until he too was arrested and imprisoned. Catherine Marshall worked as political secretary.

Fellowship of Reconciliation

A spiritually based movement founded in December 1914 by English Quaker Henry Hodgkins. He was inspired by an agreement made the previous year with German Lutheran Friedrich Siegmund-Schultze following a Christian Pacifist conference in Konstanz. It acted as an important support network for conscientious objectors and by 1917 had 7,000 members. It has been active since especially in the pacifist and antinuclear movement.

Union for Democratic Control

Founded in 1914 by Ramsay MacDonald, E.D. Morel and Charles Trevelyan, it was a pressure group that pressed for 1) parliamentary control over foreign policy, 2) there should be negotiation after the war with other countries about how to avoid further conflicts and 3) the terms of peace should not humiliate the other country nor should there be artificial rearrangement of frontiers that may in time cause future wars. They advocated national self-determination and arms control. Its membership exceeded 650,000 by 1917 and it was the most important anti-war organisation.

Jean Jaurès (1859 - 1914)

A passionate French socialist leader and antimilitarist. He tried to promote understanding between France and Germany. He attended an emergency meeting of socialist parties in Brussels at the end of July 1914 which passed an anti-war resolution calling for general strikes to force the Governments to negotiate. Jean Jaurès embraced Hugo Haas a German Social Democrat leader who said they would vote against the war. A few days later he was assassinated in Paris on 31 July 1914.

Eugene V Debs (1855 - 1926)

American socialist and union leader who was against America's participation in the War. He urged resistance to the military draft and was sent to prison for 10 years.

Social Democrats in Germany

Biggest party in the German National Legislature.

Their literature was banned from Army barracks and party members from the officer corps.

They voted against the increasing military budget.

As Austria declared war on Serbia there was an anti-war demonstration of 100,000 people in Berlin.

However when the time came to vote on war credits they voted 'for' as nationalism and the desire to be accepted overcame their original peace intentions.

Hugo Haas along with 13 others voted 'against' in the party meeting but next day in the parliament they all voted 'for'.

August Bebel, one of the founders of the Social Democrat party, opposed war against France in 1870 and German policy in South West Africa. In 1911 he warned against an European war, 'Every nation will continue to arm for war until a day comes when one or another says, "Better a terrible end than a terror without end"'.
He died in 1913.

German Parliament passed a resolution in mid 1917 calling for a peace agreement without annexation or indemnity.

Karl Leibknecht (1871 - 1919)

German socialist and cofounder of the German Communist Party - he maintained imperial rivalries had caused war. He wrote against militarism and was imprisoned for 18 months. He opposed Germany's involvement in the War. He was sent to the eastern front but refused to fight. He led a peace march in Berlin in 1916 and was jailed. (50,000 munition workers had a one day strike on the day of his trial). After imprisonment, in 1919, he was involved in revolutionary activities with Rosa Luxemburg in Berlin and was assassinated by the police.

Georg Friedrich Nicolai (1874 - 1964)

German pacifist, physiologist and doctor. He did early research on the electrocardiogram. He composed the pacifist Manifesto to the Europeans (1914) in opposition to the War which was signed by only three scientists. Later he published 'The Biology of war' an indictment of warfare, for which he was demoted. In it he emphasises that the survival of the human race depends on cultivating social impulses and channeling aggressive instincts to ends that benefit the entire community. His book was praised by the French Nobel laureate Romain Rolland and they became friends.

Albert Einstein (1879 -1955)

German theoretical Physicist was appointed in 1914 as a Professor at Humbolt University in Berlin. He signed the Manifesto to the Europeans along with three other scientists. He joined the pacifist New Fatherland Association in 1915 and supported the anti war movement writing letters and challenging the justification for war. He was awarded the Nobel prize for Physics in 1922. After the dropping of two atomic bombs on Japan in 1945 he stated

'And we cannot desist from warning, and warning again, we cannot and should not slacken in our efforts to make the nations of the world, and especially their governments, aware of the unspeakable disaster they are certain to provoke unless they change their attitude toward each other and toward the task of shaping the future.'

'The war is won, but the peace is not.'

Ludwig Quidde (1858 - 1941)

German historian and pacifist

Oversaw World Peace Congress in Munich 1907

President of German Peace Society for 15 years and chairman of "the German Peace Cartel", he was the leading representative of the German Peace movement.

Received Nobel Peace Prize 1927

Bertha von Suttner (1843-1914)

An Austrian Baroness and daughter of a Field Marshall, she became a leading figure in the peace movement, joining the International Arbitration and Peace Association in 1887. Her novel *Die Waffen Nieder (Lay down your arms)* published in 1889 was outstanding. She helped found the German Peace Society with Hermann Fried in

1892 and worked tirelessly for peace attending many conferences and touring throughout Europe. She was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1905.

Alfred Hermann Fried (1884 - 1921)

Austrian journalist and pacifist who moved to Berlin. In 1892 he cofounded a magazine *Die Waffen Nieder (Lay down your Arms)* named after the declaration of Bertha von Suttner. It's name was changed to *Die Friedenswarte (The Peace Watch)*. In 1892 he cofounded the German Peace Society which promoted the concept of a world body to ensure peace. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1911.

Lida Heymann (1868 - 1943)

German women's rights activist, she fought for the suffrage movement and founded the first German suffrage organisation. She also campaigned for the rights of prostitutes. Together with Anita Augspurg she cofounded WILPF and was the first vice president.

Anita Augspurg (1857 - 1943)

German lawyer, actor and feminist, she campaigned for women's rights. She attended women's peace conferences and helped found WILPF.

German Peace Society

10,000 members in 100 local groups founded in Berlin in 1892 by Hermann Fried and Bertha von Suttner.

New Fatherland League (Bund Neues Vaterland)

Founded on 16 November 1914 by Karl Heinz Lipp, Lilli Jannasch, Georg Nicolai and Albert Einstein. It argued for the end of the war and was in favour of a just peace without annexations. Secondly it called for the establishment of an international organisation to prevent further wars.

It was chaired by Kurt von Tepper Laski and had electrical engineer and radio director Georg Graf von Arco, Karl Lehmann-Russbuldt and Ernst Reuter (to be Mayor of Berlin after WW2) as members. In July 1915 it supported a new declaration signed by 91 prominent German intellectuals calling for a compromise peace. In 1916 the League was closed down.

It resurfaced in 1922 as the German League for Human Rights.

Ernst Friedrich (1894 -1967)

He was a pacifist as a young man and refused conscription. He was put in a mental hospital. In 1916 he joined illegal assemblies of anti militaristic and revolutionary youth and was imprisoned in 1917 for an act of sabotage. Having been released at the end of the war he joined a communist worker youth organisation and was influenced by the pacifist anarchists. He published a shocking book of gruesome photos alongside photographs of official and militaristic propaganda '*War against War*' He advocated non violent means of social change "if you want to do something for peace, you must always use your brains and not your muscles." He created an

international anti-war museum in Berlin in 1925. This was closed down by the Nazis in 1933 and he was imprisoned.

<http://www.uta.edu/huma/illuminations/kell20.htm>

Womens' International Congress for Peace and Freedom in the Hague

The Congress in April 1915 was organized by the German feminist Anita Augspurg (1857–1943), Germany's first female jurist, and Lida Gustava Heymann (1868–1943) at the invitation of the Dutch pacifist, feminist and suffragist Aletta Jacobs to protest against the war then raging in Europe, and to suggest ways to prevent war in the future. The Congress was attended by 1,136 participants from both neutral and belligerent nations, and established an **International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace** (ICWPP) with Jane Addams as president.

160 British women tried to join the other women in the Hague. Only 20 'women of discretion' were granted passports. On arriving at the docks they found all shipping to neutral Holland had been banned. Three British women attended. They called for an end to the fighting and for peace by negotiation. The 28 German women who attended were arrested on their return to Germany.

Womens' International Peace conference in Kiental Switzerland

In April 1916 there was a smaller followup conference of 43 socialist delegates mainly from neutral countries. Emily Hobhouse was the only English woman to attend.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace (ICWPP) came from the meeting in the Hague with Jane Addams as President. She met with President Woodrow Wilson and is said to have worked out some common ground on peace. However, at their 2nd international congress, held in Zürich in 1919, ICWPP denounced the final terms of the peace treaty ending World War I as a scheme of revenge of the victors over the vanquished that would sow the seeds of another world war. They decided to make their committee permanent and renamed it the **Women's International League for Peace and Freedom**. WILPF moved its headquarters to Geneva to be near the proposed site of the League of Nations, .

Rosika Schwimmer (1877 -1948)

A Hungarian pacifist, she founded the Hungarian Feminist Association and campaigned for female suffrage. In 1914 she moved to London and could not return home. She toured the USA to demand a neutral conference to end the war and at the Womens conference at the Hague she proposed a conference of Continuous Mediation. She became the vice president of the Womens' International League for Peace and Freedom. She settled in the USA in 1921 but was refused citizenship because of her pacifism.

Two WILPF leaders have received the [Nobel Peace Prize](#) for their peace efforts and international outlook and work with WILPF: Jane Addams, in 1931 and [Emily Greene Balch](#) in 1946.

Jane Addams (1860 -1935)

American sociologist, pacifist and leader in women's suffrage and world peace. Her father was a wealthy Republican senator. She empathised with the poor especially the mothers and children. She was involved in the Woman's Peace Party and attended the Women's International Congress for Peace and Freedom in the Hague. She was elected president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) in 1919. She joined the Fellowship of Reconciliation in 1917. She had increasingly hostile reactions against her pacifist views and was accused of being unpatriotic, unfeminine and communist influenced. She received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931.

Emily Balch (1867 - 1961)

American economist and pacifist, she studied sociology and economics and became a professor of Economic and Sociology at Wellesley College in 1913. During the First World War she was an outspoken pacifist and as a result her tenure at Wellesley College was terminated. She helped found WILPF and campaigned against America's entry into the War. After the war she did much to help found the League of Nations. She received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1946.

Jeanette Rankin (1880 - 1973)

American campaigner for Women's suffrage and a pacifist. She argued that the corruption and dysfunction of the United States Government was due to the lack of women's participation. She was the first woman elected to the United States Congress in 1916 and she was one of fifty members who voted against US entry into the First World War. Later she founded the Georgia Peace Society.

Ben Salmon (1889 - 1932)

American Catholic conscientious objector and an outspoken critic of the just war theology.

He refused to fill in a conscription questionnaire and refused to be inducted. He was court-martialled by the US military for desertion and spreading propaganda. He was sentenced to death but this was later commuted to 25 years hard labour. The Roman Catholic hierarchy denounced him and directed that all Catholics were to support the war. He began a hunger strike in 1920 but the authorities claimed his fast was a symptom of mental illness and committed him to a hospital for the criminally insane.

Womans Peace Party

Formed in USA in January 1915 calling for the extension of suffrage to women and for a conference of neutral countries to offer continuous mediation as a way of ending war. It sent representatives to Peace conference in the Hague in 1915 "to bring together women of different political views and philosophical and religious backgrounds determined to study and make known the causes of war and work for a permanent peace" and to unite women worldwide who oppose oppression and exploitation. It has offices in Geneva and New York

Emile Arnaud (1864 - 1921)

French lawyer and pacifist. He founded the International League for Peace and Freedom in 1861 and was its first President. He advocated for humanism, for charity and tolerance, for non-violent conflict resolution and for reaching mutually beneficial political solutions through establishing consensus.

Romain Rolland 1866-1944

French dramatist and novelist, He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1915.

Romain Rolland was a lifelong pacifist. He was one of the few major French writers to retain his pacifist internationalist values; he moved to Switzerland. He protested against the first World War in *Au-dessus de la Mêlée* (1915), *Above the Battle* (Chicago, 1916). In 1924, his book on [Gandhi](#) contributed to the Indian [nonviolent](#) leader's reputation.

Henri La Fontaine (1854 - 1943)

Belgian lawyer who was active in the International Peace Bureau and influential in bringing about the Hague Peace conferences of 1899 and 1907. He was president of the IPB from 1907 until 1943. He received the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1913. He was a champion of women's rights. Among his proposals was the need for an international court and an institution for intellectual cooperation.

Hendrik Lorentz (1853 - 1928)

Eminent Dutch Physicist. Awarded Nobel prize for Physics in 1902. Later he worked at using science to solve civil problems. Both he and his successor Paul Ehrenfest (1880-1933), Physicist in the University of Leiden shared Einstein's outlook.

Aletta Jacobs (1854- 1929)

She was the first woman to complete a university course in the Netherlands and the first woman to be a physician. She became increasingly conscious of social injustice and held clinics to teach woman about hygiene and child care. She also advised about family planning. She initiated the Womens' International Congress for Peace and Freedom in the Hague.

Australia

Referendums in 1916 and 1917 resulted in votes against conscription. The Australian government used the War Precautions Act and Unlawful Association act to arrest and prosecute anti-conscriptionists. John Curtin later to be Prime Minister in 1941 was arrested. Anti conscription pamphlets were seized in police raids. Conscription was also opposed by the Catholic Bishop of Melbourne Daniel Mannix and the Queensland Labour premier Thomas Ryan.

Vida Goldstein was an ardent Suffragette and pacifist. She stood for parliament unsuccessfully five times. She founded the Women's Peace Army in 1915.

New Zealand

The war and particularly conscription was opposed by the NZ Socialist party. Several members were prosecuted for sedition and imprisoned including Peter Fraser who became Prime Minister in 1940.

Speaking out against the war was close to treason

Siegfried Sassoon

Second Lieutenant, enlisted 3 August 1914, awarded the Military Cross, published war poems and was connected to the Establishment.

He made a statement to his commanding officer and it appeared in the Bradford Pioneer on 27 July 1917

I am making this statement as an act of wilful defiance of military authority, because I believe that the war is being deliberately prolonged by those who have the power to end it.

I am a soldier, convinced that I am acting on behalf of soldiers. I believe that this war, upon which I entered as a war of defence and liberation, has now become a war of aggression and conquest. I believe that the purposes for which I and my fellow soldiers entered upon this war should have been so clearly stated as to have made it impossible to change them, and that, had this been done, the objects which actuated us would now be attainable by negotiation.

I have seen and endured the sufferings of the troops, and I can no longer be a party to prolong these sufferings for ends which I believe to be evil and unjust.

I am not protesting against the conduct of the war, but against the political errors and insecurities for which the fighting men are being sacrificed.

On behalf of those who are suffering now I make this protest against the deception which is being practiced on them; also I believe that I may help to destroy the callous complacency with which the majority of those at home regard the continuance of agonies which they do not share, and which they have not sufficient imagination to realize.

Fearing the publicity of a court martial, the authorities declared he was suffering from a nervous breakdown and he was packed off to Craiglockhart Hospital in Scotland.

Max Plowman volunteered in 1914 and was wounded in 1917. He refused to return to his unit as he considered the greatest crime was killing unknown people in cold blood. He was dismissed and made liable for conscription. After the war he remained a pacifist and worked for the PPU.

When **Rev Edward Lyttelton**, Headmaster of Eton, gave a sermon outlining some compromises that might end hostilities he was forced to resign.

Corporal Albert Rochester, aged 32, wife and three children.

He had enlisted at the outbreak of war. He was wounded in the battle of the Somme, Angry about reports by the Daily Mail correspondents about the love and fellowship existing between officers and men, he wrote a letter to the editor. He reported that in the infantry 60,000 men were employed as servants for the officers. He estimated that about quite half a million men were performing tasks not necessary for winning the war and asked that the Officers should look after themselves and release men for more essential military work.

The letter was intercepted by the censor and he was court-martialled 'for conduct to the prejudice to good order and military discipline'

He defended himself by asking why Winston Churchill could speak out but not a private soldier.

He was sentenced to 90 days of field punishment and witnessed the execution of Willie Stone and two others.

Rev Geoffrey Kennedy enthusiastically enlisted in the War and was awarded the Military Cross. His mind was changed during the War when he listened to the troops and heard of their dislike for the war and the Monarchy and their desire to end poverty. In 1919 and for the next 10 years before he died he spoke all over the country opposing war and calling for an end to unemployment and poverty.

<http://www.theguardian.com/society/2013/feb/19/church-role-society-first-world-war>

Lord Lansdowne, former Viceroy of India and Secretary of State for War protested in November 1917 'We are not going to lose this war but its prolongation will spell ruin for the civilised world' and he laid out some proposals for peace negotiations.

Rallies in support of the revolution in Russia drew huge crowds and there was often an antiwar message. There were large May Day peace gatherings in London, Liverpool and Paris.

War resistors saw that if Russia could overthrow an autocracy, give universal franchise and seek to pull out of the war, then they should seek it at home. The antiwar movement became even more aligned to the socialist movement. In a meeting in Leeds June 1917 attended by 3000 people, a provisional committee was created to set up local councils of workmen and soldiers. Charlotte Despard and Sylvia Pankhurst were elected to the committee.

The Government were very concerned about this potential source of revolution but the activists found little support when they went out to towns.

Pope Benedict XV suggested a peace plan in 1914 with all occupied territories evacuated.

There were peace overtures from Austria Hungary and Ottoman Turkey but the Allies choose not to cooperate.

The Socialist Movements and the opposition to the First World War

Background

The Socialist movement had been gathering strength since the 1850s. Gradually unions were being organised and European countries were becoming more democratic as the vote spread to more men. There were strong suffrage movements supporting not only the vote but other rights for women. However the socialist movement was often split into the those who sought change through constitutional means and those who sought change through revolution. Generally the movement opposed the increased militarisation of the European countries and felt that the money should be better spent on social welfare programmes.

The first co-presidents of the Second International were German and French. At the meeting of the Second International in 1910 in Copenhagen it was proposed that, in the event of war, workers in all countries would immediately call a General strike. In July 1914, Europe's socialist parties met in Brussels in an emergency meeting. Keir Hardie, Jean Jaurès from France and Rosa Luxemburg from Germany attended with other European socialist leaders. Not all endorsed Hardie's call for a general strike but they arranged to meet 10 days later. The German and French leaders embraced, the crowds chanted 'Guerre à la guerre' and they returned to their capitals to gather support against the war.

Two days later on 31st July Jean Jaurès was assassinated in Paris. Four days later the countries were at war.

Almost all the socialist parties and unions in an upsurge of nationalist fervour now backed their respective Governments. Later during the war there were episodes of labour unrest and strikes. These mainly involved protests against bad working conditions and food shortages but in some cases were precipitated by the threat to conscript previously protected workers. Within these protests were some antiwar elements.

As the war progressed there was increasing discontent. Many wanted peace yet they believed the war was a just, even noble cause. The Governments relied on censorship, propaganda and compulsion as well as basic patriotic support and most socialist parties were committed to the war until victory was won. All the Governments feared a revolutionary backlash if they settled the war with a compromise peace.

Later in about 1917 many socialist parties increasingly veered against the war. They were concerned about the aims of their respective Government and that it was not just a war of justice but of expansionism.

The revolutionary socialist movement held three antiwar conferences during the war. These were full of rhetoric but had only marginal effect except in Russia. The first was in 1915 in Zimmerwald in Switzerland called by the Swiss and Italians. They pledged to renew the class struggle in order to force the countries to end the war. The second held in April 1916 in Kiental in Switzerland discussed the opposition from the

International Socialist Bureau and made plans for ending the war. The third Zimmerwald conference was held in Stockholm in September 1917 but France, America and Britain forbade attendance. The consensus was the rejection of the peace moves by the Governments as this consolidated capitalism and did not involve the creation of socialist republics.

Great Britain

The Independent Labour Party was founded in 1893 and the Labour Party in 1900. Working conditions in 1900 were appalling with long hours, little pay and little security. Membership of the unions was surging and there was a struggle for union recognition.

Male suffrage from the 1884 Reform Act was limited to men who owned or rented homes (two out of three men) and it was not until 1918 that this was extended to all men aged over 21 and women over 30 years.

With the advent of the Liberal Government of 1906, Britain copied the German social model and introduced old age pensions in 1908 and insurance against sickness and some unemployment in 1911.

The struggle for union recognition and better conditions led to much labour unrest. In 1911 a strike paralysed most ports. Two warships and 3,500 troops were sent to Liverpool and in the riots two people were killed and 200 injured. That year and in 1912 the Government sent out 50,000 troops to control the strikes.

The Independent Labour party in Parliament led by Keir Hardy held a pacifist stance. Keir Hardy had campaigned against the Boer war and was opposed to increasing military expenditure on the Dreadnought battleships. He campaigned throughout Britain in early 1914 against the impending war and he led the rally in Trafalgar Square on 2nd August 1914, calling for a General strike if war was declared. He spoke out endlessly against the war but the reception was hostile. He kept up a stream of critical questions in Parliament and wrote many articles. He died exhausted in September 1915 aged 59.

In 1914 there were 40 Labour Party members in Parliament who backed the Liberals in the declaration of war. Several members of the Independent Labour Party defected to the Labour Party. The unions came firmly behind the Government and initially cooperated in encouraging enlistment and later conscription. Plans for a General Strike in November 1914 were cancelled and union leaders spoke at recruiting rallies. Ramsay MacDonald, a committed pacifist, resigned as Chairman of the Labour Party and continued his objection to the war. He was defeated in the 1918 election but was elected in 1922. He would eventually become Prime Minister in 1924 and 1929-1935. (In 1916 Lord Milner secretly founded and provided large funds for the pro-war nationalist British Workers League, a precursor of the European neofascist unions of the twenties. It attacked the Independent Labour Party both in its newspaper and breaking up their meetings and was vehemently against peace negotiations.)

Initially the unions renounced strikes but as the war progressed labour disputes increased. South Wales miners struck in July 1915 and received increased wages.

Between March and May 1916, 200,000 workers took part in strikes in the industrial areas. Most involved conditions of work but some related to the threat to the protection from Conscriptio that the unions had established for certain workers.

Following Russia's first revolution there was a conference in Leeds in June 1917 attended by 3,000 delegates. It called for the establishment of British soviets (local councils run by the workers) and freedom for Ireland and India. A conference of European revolutionary socialists in Stockholm deeply worried the British Government and it prevented a British delegation attending. However it had little effect on the working class who often gathered to break up these revolutionary meetings. A trade union meeting in Manchester representing over 2 million members voted by five to one that Britain should continue the war until Germany was defeated. Most of the working class continued to oppose a compromise peace but continued political agitation for better conditions of work.

In 1918 labour unrest increased and there were more than 5 million working days lost to strikes. Over 100,000 people marched in Manchester protesting about food shortages. In July many munition workers went on strike. Some of the strikers who had been in a 'protected employment' were conscripted and thus removed. Some railway lines closed down and the Army was used to keep the trains running. On August 30th 1918 12,000 London policemen went on strike. The Government feared Britain was on the brink of a Bolshevik revolution and extra troops were retained in Britain to cover civil unrest. Union leaders were spied upon and lists were made of those who might be detained in an Emergency.

The collapse of the German Army in late 1918 now concentrated the attention of the Government to the fear of revolution. Lord Milner felt 'our real danger now is not the Boche but Bolshevism' and was active in prolonging the war with military units operating in Russia into 1919.

Germany

Germany provided universal male suffrage in 1867 and the first socialist party was founded in 1869. However Bismarck was so alarmed with their success that he banned all socialist meetings and activity from 1878 to 1890.

Despite this, Government schemes for sickness insurance was introduced in 1882 followed by accident insurance in 1884 and old age pension in 1889.

The Social Democrats were well organised, had over 90 papers and an extensive welfare programme. Many members were women. They had opposed war against France in 1870 and German policy in South West Africa. Their literature was banned from Army barracks and party members from the officer corps. By 1912 the Social Democrat party formed the largest party in the parliament, The Bundesrat.

At end of July 1914, as Russia mobilised and Germany prepared, there was an anti-war demonstration of 100,000 people in Berlin. The Social Democrat Party (SDP) were committed to voting against the increasing military budget. Hugo Haase, Chairman of the SDP along with 13 others had voted against war credits in the party meeting. However when the time came in Parliament they all voted in favour of war

credits. Nationalism, fear of a threatened Russian invasion and the desire to be accepted as a legitimate political party overcame their original peace intentions. Thereafter, the SDP continued to vote through war credits every six months. Censorship kept the news of casualties, food shortages and peace marches away from the public. The Government insisted it had gone to war in self defence and there was a general feeling of a just war.

Food shortages in 1916 led to hardship amongst the working classes.

Karl Liebknecht, socialist and cofounder of the German Communist Party, opposed Germany's involvement in the war which he maintained had been caused by imperial rivalries. He wrote against militarism and, following a May Day speech in 1916, was imprisoned for 18 months. (50,000 munition workers had a one day strike on the day of his trial). After imprisonment he was sent to the eastern front but he refused to fight and was imprisoned again. (In 1919, he was involved in revolutionary activities with Rosa Luxemburg in Berlin and was assassinated by the police.)

In 1917 a left wing group detached itself from the SDP and formed the Independent SDP (USPD). It voted against war credits and would only support a purely defensive war. Later in mid 1917 they were behind a resolution in the German Parliament calling for a peace agreement without annexation or indemnity.

By September 1918 Germany realised it would not win the war and on 4th October contacted the American President Wilson for a ceasefire. A new Government was created which was committed to constitutional reform and run by the SDP in coalition with the Liberals and Catholics.

In October 1918 as the German Army collapsed, the German Naval Command, without consulting the Kaiser, proposed a last ditch 'fight to the death' rather than face the disgrace of internment. Sailors in Kiel mutinied on 27th October 1918 and demonstrations were violently repressed. As a result revolution spread throughout Germany and within a week most German cities had worker controlled soviets. These called for peace, democracy and the removal of the Kaiser. The Government acquiesced rather than face a full Bolshevik style revolution. On 7th November 1918 a Bavarian Republic was declared in Munich, the Kaiser's palace in Berlin was occupied by revolutionaries and barricades erected. On the 9th November 1918 the Chancellor Prince Max resigned and announced the abdication of the Kaiser.

Germany was now a Republic with a Government run by the SDP and had to accept the Armistice on any terms. Outright revolution was averted.

Austria- Hungary

The first Austro-Hungarian socialist party was formed in 1874 but it soon split into a moderate and an anarchist faction. It consolidated into the Social Democrat Party in 1889 and by 1911 it had become the largest party in the Parliament.

The Austrian Parliament had been suspended before the war but at the outbreak the Social Democrats came solidly behind the Government. The country came under martial law, provincial assemblies were closed down and the publication of anything unpatriotic or pacifist was forbidden. Food shortages soon made an appearance. Socialist activity was often mixed with nationalist favour for independence.

In October 1916 the Prime Minister Sturgkh was assassinated by the son of a socialist leader who cried out "Down with absolutism. We want peace!"

There was an active working class peace movement and in May 1917 there was a strike by 42,000 metal workers demanding union recognition, more food and peace. Labour unrest continued as the Empire imploded.

In October 1918 the Social Democrats with the Christian Socials formed the new Government in Vienna and worked out a new constitution for a republican Austria.

France

After the revolution in 1792, France had universal male suffrage. Since then it has developed a multitude of workers' groups.

The first Socialist party was formed in 1879 and by 1893 49 Socialist deputies were elected who worked for reform through the Constitution. There was a large gulf between the socialist parties and the unions. The Unions had one million members by 1909 and largely organised to promote strikes that would result in the control of production by the workers. The Government responded by violently suppressing the strikes.

In 1914 France had a socialist Government under Viviani with a conservative anti-German president Poincare. Jean Jaurès was a passionate French socialist leader and antimilitarist. He tried to promote understanding between France and Germany. He attended an emergency meeting of socialist parties in Brussels at end of July 1914 which passed an anti-war resolution calling for general strikes to force the Governments to negotiate. Jean Jaurès embraced Hugo Haase the German Social Democrat leader and said they would vote against the war. However a few days later he was assassinated in Paris on 31st July 1914.

At the outbreak of war two days later the socialists consolidated behind the Nation to repel the invasion of their country and joined the Government of National Unity. Censorship was introduced and the newspapers supported the war effort.

Initially the trade unions had renounced strikes but by 1917 with increasing food shortages and stalemate on the Western Front there was growing labour unrest and 100,000 workers went on strike in Paris. Though this was mainly about wages and conditions of work there were also calls for peace. The socialists withdrew from the Government of National Unity even though they still supported the war. Even this resolve weakened as some made contact with the Austrians and supported the peace without victory sentiment.

In 1918, following increased union militancy, Clemenceau moved four cavalry divisions from the front line to be used in civil control of industrial unrest.

Russia

Russia was probably the most autocratic state of all those involved in the First War. In 1905 the army had fired upon a peaceful union delegation to the Czar killing hundreds. Widespread civil unrest followed including mutiny in the Army and the Navy (Potemkin) and Russia descended into a state of revolution which lasted all year. Eventually the Czar agreed to an elected assembly, the Duma, with limited

suffrage and very limited powers. In effect he retained all power. From 1912 there was increasing industrial unrest with better union organisation and in the first seven months of 1914 almost one and half million had been on strike. In St Petersburg shop windows were being smashed and barricades were being erected.

At this time of domestic tension the erratic and unwise Czar Nicholas took his country to war to avoid diplomatic humiliation. Many minority socialist parties opposed the war but most socialists swung behind the Czar. One of the leading anarchist figures Peter Kropotkin (living in exile in England) came out in favour of the war, scared at the prospect of German military domination of Europe. Trade unions were banned and leftwing newspapers were closed down. The Duma had no control over the Czar and labour disputes of 1915 were violently suppressed.

In early 1916 most of the working class were involved in violent protests against conscription, food shortages and the war. Later that year mutinies occurred and hundreds of thousands of soldiers deserted. Next year in March 1917 saw the first revolution which was followed by the arrival of Lenin (facilitated by the Germans) in April 1917. He stiffened the resolve of the Bolsheviks to end the war and the summer saw strikes, mutinies and mass desertion and the country descended into chaos. The second revolution in October was a direct result of the failure of the Government to stop the war.

Italy

Socialism and anarchism flourished in the new republic and the Socialist Party was formed 1892. Despite laws against socialist organisations there were widespread strikes and riots. In particular there were large protests in 1911 prior to the invasion of Libya. Granting the vote to almost all men in 1912 and inviting the Socialists into Government helped to provide better representation. Full male suffrage was not granted until 1918.

In June 1914 the 'Red Week' occurred. This started with an anti-militarist rally addressed by the famous Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta. The police fired on the demonstration and there were 3 fatalities. This sparked off riots and demonstrations across northern Italy.

Italy was taken into the war in May 1915 largely by an aggressive elite with little support of the population. The socialist party remained detached neither opposing nor supporting the war effort but calling for an early peace. There was widespread dissatisfaction and an estimated 15% of soldiers were punished for disciplinary offences including subversion and desertion.

Factories came under military control and strikes were treated as equivalent to desertion. In 1916 disputes occurred which expanded into anti-war protests.

In 1917 the socialist party increased the pressure for disengagement from the war and there were widespread anti-war strikes in Turin and the surrounding area. The army used live ammunition to suppress the disorder and thirty five protestors were killed.

Australia

Australia has had universal male suffrage since the mid 1850s. In Australia the most active campaigners against the war were the syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World. They were banned and their publications banned or censored. Despite a surge of support for Britain there was also widespread anti-war feeling, in part because of the fallout from the Easter Rising in 1916 on Australians of Irish heritage.

In 1916 there was a referendum on conscription with a majority against the idea. This was followed by a wave of strikes in 1917, involving some anti-war sentiment, and a further referendum on conscription with a majority even more heavily against.

Ireland

The socialist movement in Ireland was intricately connected to the Independence movement. During the late nineteenth century there had been considerable political pressure for Home Rule and Independence.

The Republican political party Sinn Fein was formed in 1905.

In 1913 in Dublin when workers attempted to form unions, there was an organised reaction from employers to prevent this by locking out workers and employing men from mainland Britain. The major dispute brought Dublin to a virtual standstill and lasted for 5 months. It ended with the starving workers going back but many businesses meanwhile going bankrupt. A small militia the Irish Citizens Army had been formed to protect the workers' demonstrations.

After the passage of the Home Rule Bill in 1914 the Nationalist Irish Volunteers was formed to protect themselves from the huge militia of the Ulster Volunteer Force. The outbreak of war resulted in many Irishmen volunteering for the British Army but the Nationalists regarded the war against Germany as 'England's war' and Connolly and the Irish Citizen Army regarding it as a war by imperialists. Plans for a rebellion started in 1914 and resulted in the Easter Rising of 1916.

Ireland was excluded from Conscription in 1916. But when Britain was running out of soldiers in 1918, Conscription was extended to men aged 50 and to Ireland. On the 23rd April 1918 there was a near-total general strike against Conscription. Even the pubs closed. The old soldier John French was sent as the new Lord Lieutenant at the head of a quasi-military Government to sort it out. He arrested many independence leaders but unrest continued and Conscription was never implemented in Ireland.

Turkey

There was little industrialisation and union activity in the Turkish Empire. In 1908 a revolutionary group of 'Young Turks' revolted against the sultan which resulted in the re-establishment of parliament and eventually a dictatorship under Ismail Enver was created in 1913. Opposition was effectively suppressed.

Portugal

In 1910 the monarchy had been overthrown but considerable civil unrest followed. A literacy test for the franchise excluded many of the poor. There were frequent attempts to suppress the unions.

Portugal was initially neutral but Germany attempted to gain territory in the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique.

In February 1916, at Britain's request, Portugal interned 36 German ships in Lisbon and Germany declared war on Portugal in March. In August 1916 an army of 55,000 was formed and the first troops were sent to the Western Front. There were mass refusals to embark for France and in 1917 the 'potato revolt' occurred, during which there were strikes, riots, attacks on bakeries and the burning of army recruitment posts. Lisbon was put under a state of siege.

Spain

Spain never entered the war, partly because of memories of the Tragic Week in 1909 when there were hundreds of deaths in Barcelona after demonstrations and riots against the mobilisation of reservists for fighting in Spanish Morocco. Even so, anti-war agitation led by the anarchist C.N.T. union continued, including attempts to organise internationally.

USA

The United States introduced universal male suffrage (except for native Americans) in 1870 but at the turn of the 20th century many southern states disenfranchised many black people which lasted to 1965.

There was considerable opposition to America's entry into the war. Eugene Debs, politician and union leader, urged resistance to the military draft and was sent to prison for 10 years.

The Industrial Workers of the World opposed the war from the start and they and their publications were banned and censored. Socialist publications were banned from the interstate mail. After American entry into the war immigrants who opposed it were deported to their countries of origin. This continued after the war finished.

Section 5

Those promoting the war

Censorship

On 9th August 1914 the Defence of the Realm Act was passed which gave the State control about what was said or published.

The Government only wanted good news about the war. It actively sought the friendship of newspaper owners who largely cooperated. However it also issued regulations which could not even be publicised giving a list of topics which should not be mentioned and subjects to be avoided or treated with extreme caution.

A Press Bureau controlled what news could be given to the British public.

The worst horrors were concealed from the public. They exaggerated the British successes and ignored German advances.

Lloyd George told Bertrand Russell he would not hesitate to prosecute someone for publishing the Sermon on the Mount if it interfered with the war effort.

Casualty lists were not published until May 1915. Reporters were not allowed anywhere near the trenches unless under strict supervision and vetting of their reports.

Censorship increased in 1917. There were accusations that peace movement was financed by Germany. Police raided the offices of socialist newspapers and dismantled the presses. However publication continued on a portable press. Joan Beauchamp went to prison for one month for writing an article and Violet Tillard two months for not revealing where the press was hidden.

After a successful lecture tour in the Summer of 1916 Bertrand Russell was banned by the War Office. In 1918 he wrote an article suggesting that the newly arrived American troops could be used in strike breaking as they had been used in the United States. For his pains he received a six months jail sentence.

Propaganda

Initially propaganda was handled by the clandestine Secret War Propaganda Agency in Wellington House. It was mainly involved in projecting Britain's image abroad. However it ran a large campaign around recruitment producing more than 5 million posters and many booklets and pamphlets. It also led a campaign for the success of war loans.

Books, films, plays, entertainment, magazines and boys adventure stories were all used to back the war effort. Authors, writers and journalists were encouraged to write books about heroic British exploits and exaggerate the barbarity of the German forces.

Max Aitkin , later Lord Beaverbrook , an MP and owner of the Daily Express, had used his influence to ease Asquith from power and make room Lloyd George. He was made Lord Beaverbrook and appointed as Director then Minister of Information. He

was responsible for propaganda in Allied and neutral countries and Lord Northcliffe became Director of Propaganda in enemy countries.

John Buchan

John Buchan wrote his famous spy thriller '*The Thirty Nine Steps*' in 1915 and continued with other novels. He was an embedded correspondent for *The Times* and then enlisted as an officer for Haig's Intelligence Corps.

He also wrote a series of contemporary books about the war (*Nelson's History of the War*) which eventually reaches 24 volumes. Adam Hochschild in *To end all Wars* describes them 'They downplayed British reverses, emphasized acts of heroism, evoked famous battlefield triumphs of times past, scoffed at pacifists, predicted early victory and overestimated German losses..... The inevitable British victory would produce a more democratic society and so "this war may rank as one of the happiest events in our history".' After the disastrous Battle of the Somme he wrote that the British success marked "the end of trench fighting and the beginning of the campaign in the open"

In 1917 John Buchan was appointed as the Director of Information under Lord Beaverbrook where he rapidly expanded the propaganda programme.

War artists were commissioned and sent to the front. Pictorial magazines and boys adventure books were filled with British glorious exploits and German setbacks and atrocities. Lecturers were sent around the country along with movie projector trucks. Tanks and other pieces of heavy artillery were used as exhibits in towns across Britain to sell war bonds. £300 million were sold (£11 billion in today's money). These tanks had been withdrawn from France for this money raising exploit. He created an Anglo-American society to promote closer relations between the two countries welcoming visiting American journalists and politicians.

Rudyard Kipling, Rider Haggard, Arthur Conan Doyle, John Galsworthy and H.G Wells were amongst the writers who were encouraged to write 'for the ideals of western Europe against the rule of 'Blood and Iron'.

The Press

'So far as Britain is concerned, the war could not have been fought for one month without its newspapers' said John Buchan, who worked for the War Propaganda Bureau.

War correspondents were treated like officers, given cars and drivers and played down British losses. Newspaper owners cooperated with the War Office to publish the right thing. There was much concentration on individual acts of bravery and of troops going to the front cheerfully. Many troops on leave found a big disparity between the reports and the reality. The newspapers exaggerated events at home with much anti German propaganda and stories of spies.

Some made suggestions that CO should be taken to the Tower of London and shot. Haig complemented them, 'Gentlemen, you have played the game like men.'

Lord Rothermere, owner of the Daily Mail, said in November 1917 “We are telling lies. We daren’t tell the public the truth. You have seen the correspondents.....they don’t tell the truth and we know they don’t.”

The Prime Minister Lloyd George concluded in December 1917 “If the people really knew, the war would be stopped tomorrow.”

Alfred Harmsworth, Viscount Northcliffe founded the Daily Mail in 1894 and transformed the highest circulation paper Weekly Dispatch into the Sunday Dispatch. With his brother Harold he founded the Daily Mirror in 1903 and acquired The Observer in 1905 and the Times and Sunday Times in 1908.

His influence through his many papers was enormous. He was vehemently anti German and promoted Britain’s entry in the War. His newspapers helped bring about the appointment of Lloyd George as Prime Minister in 1916 and also prevented the removal of General Haig after the disastrous battle of the Somme He was made Director of Propaganda of the British war mission in the United States which worked for the entry of the US into the first War. Later he became Director of Propaganda in foreign countries. In 1905 he was made Baron Northcliffe and in 1918 Viscount Northcliffe.

Harold Harmsworth, Viscount Rothermere Alfred’s younger brother, joined the newspaper empire and was made Baron Rothermere in 1914. Like his brother he supported the war effort. He acquired many regional newspapers. He became Viscount Rothermere in 1919.

Lord Rothermere said in an interview ‘We are telling lies. We daren’t tell the public the truth, that we’re losing more officers than the Germans, and that it is impossible to get through on the Western Front. You have seen the correspondents....they don’t speak the truth and we know they don’t.’

Wickham Steed was the editor of The Times. At the end of July 1914 he argued for the entry of Britain into the War. Later in 1917 he refused to publish Siegfried Sassoon’s declaration against the war.

Canadian Max Aitkin, Baron Beaverbrook, owner of Daily Express, moved to Great Britain and became a Member of Parliament. He started buying up newspapers including the Evening Standard and later the Daily Express in 1916. He was given a peerage in 1917 and became Baron Beaverbrook, He was appointed as Minister of Information in charge of British propaganda. He used all the media including newspapers, artists, photographers and film to support the war effort.

12 knighthoods and half a dozen peerages were given after the war to members of the Press in reward for their cooperation.

Posters

<http://www.iwm.org.uk/learning/resources/first-world-war-posters>

Posters were displayed prominently around the country.

‘Women of Britain say GO’, ‘Your country needs you’, ‘Don’t Lag! Follow the Flag!’
Daddy what did you do in the Great War?

(Bob Smillie , Scottish mineworker would reply ‘I tried to stop the bloody thing, my child’)

Anti German plays were put on in London. One about Conscientious Objectors was titled 'The one who stayed at home'.

The Churches

Christian culture was deeply embedded throughout Europe. The Monarchs of Europe were ordained by God.

"What drives us is not a sense of aggrandisement. We are inspired by the unbreakable will to safeguard that place which God has ordained for us and for all future generations." intoned Kaiser Wilhelm on 4th August 1914.

Military leaders invoked the divine. "War is an element in the order ordained by God" said Von Moltke, Chief of the German Staff. The buckle on the belt of German soldiers carried the motif 'Gott mit Uns' (God with Us)

Field Marshall Haig in particular felt he was doing a divine duty. In 1916 before Battle of the Somme he said 'The situation is becoming more favourable to us. I feel that every step in my plan has been taken with the Divine help'. 57,000 men out of 120,00 were killed or wounded on the first day.

Politicians called on divine help. "Austria has declared war on us. Our cause is a just one. God will help us." said Nikola Pasic, the Serbian Prime Minister.

The Catholic hierarchy in Germany called the war 'a struggle of Christian order against atheism (France) and chaos.'

Even in republican France at the outbreak of the war *Le Matin* of 4th August 1914 stated it would be a 'Holy war of civilisation against barbarity'

Great Britain

Almost all the Christian churches supported the war against Germany particularly as stories of German atrocities in Belgium filtered through (and were embellished).

The Bishop of London, Arthur Winnington-Ingram, spoke of a "great crusade" to kill Germans and save the world.

It was during a sermon at Westminster Abbey in 1915 that Bishop Winnington-Ingram described the nation as banded together in "a great crusade to kill Germans. To kill them, not for the sake of killing, but to save the world; to kill the good as well as the bad, kill the young men as well as the old...kill those who have shown kindness to our wounded I look on it as a war of purity, I look upon everyone who dies in it as a martyr"

Henry Wakefield Bishop of Birmingham wrote to the Quaker Douglas Maynard on 2nd June 1916.

My Dear Sir,

I cannot understand their position. How a Christian can refrain from fighting to the death against evil puzzles me. I am afraid that any citizen who refuses to do all that his Land asks of him has no right to the privileges of citizenship.

Yours sincerely

HR

Some vicars were even more outspoken.

Rev Capt W. Leighton said “If he came across any conscientious objectors who quoted the Bible to support their case he would recommend that they were used as sandbags.”

The Congregational minister in Braunton, North Devon asserted that if conscientious objectors were right then everyone else was not only wrong but stood ‘condemned before the judgement seat of God’. Confident in his congregation’s answer he asked, ‘Do you think Christ would stand by carelessly while a crowd attacked a pure innocent maiden or ill-used the helpless?’

Generally there was a belief that fighting was a religious duty. (This has lasting impact in Cecil Spring Rice’s poem *I vow to thee, my country*)

Similarly the Churches generally rejected Conscientious Objectors. The Bishop of Exeter visited Princeton Work Centre and was appalled by what he found. The free association of the inmates and their socialist ideas prompted him to write to the Times about ‘Anarchic Dartmoor; a hotbed of malcontent.’ ‘If the Government desires a revolution after the war they could hardly have proceeded in a more efficient manner’. He thought most were politically motivated revolutionaries and was incensed that meetings ended with the singing of the Red Flag. He considered it a centre for revolutionary planning and conspiracy to overthrow the state. He refused them use of the church in the prison.

Though most of the clergy were against, South Devon Congregational Union meeting October 1917 came close to vote for CO opinions to be recognised but they withdrew because they were not sure if they could carry their congregations with them. East Devon Congregational Union were braver and opposed the ill treatment of COs.

Even at the end of the war the grave of the unknown warrior at Westminster Abbey puts God at the top of reasons for dying.

THUS ARE COMMEMORATED THE MANY
MULTITUDES WHO DURING THE GREAT
WAR OF 1914 – 1918 GAVE THE MOST THAT
MAN CAN GIVE LIFE ITSELF
FOR GOD
FOR KING AND COUNTRY
FOR LOVED ONES HOME AND EMPIRE
FOR THE SACRED CAUSE OF JUSTICE AND
THE FREEDOM OF THE WORLD

Pressure from society

There was a strong presumption that everyone should support the War.

Lord Derby stated that after the war he intended to employ only people who had been at the front. Many other landowners followed suit. Striking tram workers were dismissed and urged to join up. Parish support for young men was stopped and they were told to enlist.

Despite the stand by Keir Hardy and Ramsay MacDonald, most socialists supported the war. Trade union leaders were solidly behind the war and were courted by the department of Information. Generally they went on strike for better pay and conditions and to share the bonanza wealth that some industries had from being involved in the war effort. Some involved the removal of protected status for workers in essential war work in order to mobilise more men for the front line. Sylvia Pankhurst's appeal in Leeds for the creation of soviets in northern cities was not generally supported.

Emmeline Pankhurst and her Suffrage movement

The suffrage group Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) founded by Emmeline Pankhurst agreed to stop the suffrage campaign at the outbreak of war and became vociferous in its demands for men to enlist. In exchange the Government released members of WSPU from prison and gave them considerable funds.

Order of the White Feather

Founded in August 1914 by retired Admiral Fitzgerald, its aim was to shame men to enlist by encouraging women to place a white feather (a traditional badge of cowardice) in the lapel of any young man who had not enlisted. They hoped men would enlist so as not to face the possibility of receiving a white feather. They also lobbied for conscription. It was effective but ran into problems when the white feathers was presented to men who were in essential war work at home or were on leave from the front or had been invalided out with injuries.

Fenner Brockway joked he had been given so many he could make a fan.

(James Lovegrove was only sixteen but he came under pressure from members of the Order of the White Feather to join the armed forces: "On my way to work one morning a group of women surrounded me. They started shouting and yelling at me, calling me all sorts of names for not being a soldier! Do you know what they did? They struck a white feather in my coat, meaning I was a coward. Oh, I did feel dreadful, so ashamed." Although he was under-age he decided to join the British Army. <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/FWWlovegrove.htm>)

British Workers League

In 1916 Lord Milner secretly founded and provided large funds for the pro-war nationalist British Workers League, a precursor of the European neofascist unions of the twenties. It attacked the Independent Labour Party both in its newspaper and breaking up their meetings and was vehemently against peace negotiations.

Section 6

Dulce et decorum est..., Wilfred Owen and Chemical Weapons

Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori



Vere Bennett died aged 33 in France. This is his memorial in St Andrews Church, Whitchurch, Tavistock.

His relatives tried to make sense of this tragedy by using a Latin sentence taken from a Roman poet Horace.

Translated it means

‘It is sweet and right to die for one’s country’

Many people in Britain had little idea of the appalling conditions in the trenches of France.

Wilfred Owen fought on the Western Front, was awarded the Military Cross and wrote this poem. Poetry could describe conditions on the Front that would normally have been forbidden by the Military Censor.

Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori

Bent double, like old beggars under sacks,
Knock-kneed, coughing like hags, we cursed through sludge,
Till on the haunting flares we turned our backs
And towards our distant rest began to trudge.
Men marched asleep. Many had lost their boots
But limped on, blood-shod. All went lame; all blind;
Drunk with fatigue; deaf even to the hoots
Of tired, outstripped Five-Nines that dropped behind.

Gas! Gas! Quick, boys!—An ecstasy of fumbling,
Fitting the clumsy helmets just in time;
But someone still was yelling out and stumbling
And flound'ring like a man in fire or lime...
Dim, through the misty panes and thick green light,
As under a green sea, I saw him drowning.

In all my dreams, before my helpless sight,
He plunges at me, guttering, choking, drowning.

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

Wilfred Owen



Wilfred Owen was born on 18th March 1893.

As a young man he began writing poetry and he soon became very aware of the suffering of the poor. He was in France at the outbreak of the First World War and in September 1915 he decided to return to England to enlist. He was commissioned into the Manchester Regiment and in January 1917 aged 24 arrived at the Somme. Two months later he was invalided home with shell shock. He was treated at Craiglockhart Hospital in Scotland.

There he wrote more poetry and met and was inspired by Siegfried Sassoon.

‘Anthem for Doomed Youth’ describes the unremembered slaughter of young men and ‘Dulce et decorum est’ the appalling effect of poison gas. His poetry reflects the terrible conditions that the soldiers lived in and likened it to a living hell.

Other notable ones are The sentry, Exposure, Insensibility and Apologia pro poemate meo

He rejoined his Regiment in December 1917 but was not declared fit for service until June 1918.

He told his brother “**I know I shall be killed. But it’s the only place I can make my protest from.**”

He joined the front line in August 1918, was awarded the Military Cross in October and was killed aged 25 on 4 November seven days before the end of the war..

In May 1917 whilst suffering from shell shock (post traumatic disorder) he wrote to his mother.

“I am more and more a Christian

Suffer dishonour and disgrace but never resort to arms

Be bullied, be outraged, be killed but do not kill.”

Six months later it seems his doctors and society had persuaded him that he had a duty to kill. In a letter to his mother he had described himself as “a conscientious objector with a very seared conscience.”

“To fight in a war and kill fellow human beings it is necessary to abandon the basic morality of civilised life and this requires painful mental adjustment.”

Anthem for Doomed Youth (Sept 1917)

What passing-bells for these who die as cattle?
Only the monstrous anger of the guns.
Only the stuttering rifles' rapid rattle
Can patter out their hasty orisons.
No mockeries now for them; no prayers nor bells,
Nor any voice of mourning save the choirs, -
The shrill, demented choirs of wailing shells;
And bugles calling for them from sad shires.
What candles may be held to speed them all?
Not in the hands of boys, but in their eyes
Shall shine the holy glimmers of goodbyes.
The pallor of girls' brows shall be their pall;
Their flowers the tenderness of patient minds,
And each slow dusk a drawing down of blinds.

Chemical warfare - poison gas (WMD)

The Hague treaty of 1899 prohibited the launching of projectiles containing asphyxiating and poisonous gases. This was ignored by both sides in the First World war.

August 1914 The French used artillery shells containing tear gas.

October 1914 The Germans fired shells containing a chemical irritant.

January 1915 The Germans used bromine on the Russians and in April 1915 at the second battle of Ypres used chlorine on the British.

The Hague Convention had not banned the release of gas from canisters on the ground!

Sept 1915 The British used chlorine against the Germans at the Battle of Loos but much blew back on the British troops.

1915 The French developed **phosgene**.

Phosgene was the most effective of the chemical weapons causing 85% of the 100,000 deaths caused by chemical weapons.

Ten times that number of soldiers were disabled for life and often had an early death.

1917 The Germans used **mustard gas**, a highly irritant gas that seeped into clothing and burnt the skin causing large painful blister. When breathed in, it burnt the lungs.

The eyes would become irritated then the eyelids would swell and close. The British started manufacturing mustard gas and used it in September 1918

1919 the British used gas against the Red Army in Russia.

Nurse Vera Brittain

“I wish those people who talk about going on with this war whatever it costs could see the soldiers suffering from mustard gas”

At the end of the war chemical weapons were used in a quarter of shells fired.

They were not very effective in killing but were very useful in disabling, maiming and terrifying the opposing troops.

The abomination of Houthulst

<http://www.greatwar.nl/frames/default-houthulste.html>

Chemical warfare - poison gas (WMD)

The sequel

1925 the Geneva Protocols forbade the use of poison gas in warfare. However it did not ban the production or stockpiling of gas.

Most of the countries involved in the war signed the protocols.
The United States did not sign until the 1970s.

It may have been used by Britain in Iraq in the 1920s, and was used by Spain against Moroccans in 1921-27 and by Italy in Libya and Ethiopia in the 1930s.
Russia used it against China in 1934 and Japan against China in 1937-45

During the Second World War the combatants had considerable stockpiles of mustard gas. (*United States 80,000 tons, Russians 77,000 tons, Britain 40,000 tons and Germany 27,000 tons*).

In 1980 Saddam Hussein used poison gas in the Iraq/Iranian war which killed about 20,000 Iranian troops and disabled 80,000 others.
The chemical need for the production of this gas were mainly provided by the United States and Germany. (Donald Rumsfeld, later Secretary of Defence in the US invasion of Iraq, is thought to have helped negotiate this trade). The Netherlands, UK and France also profited from the trade of basic ingredients.

In 1986 the United States blocked or watered down UN resolutions that condemned Iraq for using chemical weapons against Iran. It voted against the resolution on 21/3/1986.

In 1988 Saddam Hussein used a mixture of poison gases on Halabja, a Kurdish town with 5000 deaths and 7000 with long term disability.

In 1993 the UN convened a Chemical Weapons Convention and the protocols banning the manufacture and possession of all chemical weapons came in force in June 1997. It required complete destruction by 2007.

Progress has been painfully slow.

By April 2012 Russia had destroyed only 57% and United States 90% of their respective stockpiles.

Israel and Myanmar have not ratified the Treaty.

North Korea, Angola and Egypt have not signed the Treaty.

Syria signed in September 2013

(There is suspicion that China may still have some poison gas stockpiled)

Damascus, 21st August 2013.

Bomb or negotiate?

In the night shells with poisonous gas landed on a rebel neighbourhood in Damascus. At least 1200 people died and many more were injured. There was an outcry from the rest of the world and it was made clear that the United States intended to launch an air attack on the Syrian Government.

Bomb!

US Secretary of State John Kerry said ‘..moral obscenity..’ ‘It defies any code of morality’ ‘.....use of the world’s most heinous weapon.....’ ‘Assad.. a thug and murderer...’

On 27th August The United States prepared a 3 day bombing attack.

Knowing that an attack without UN approval was against International Law, the Administration started to refer to ‘the core of (US) National Security’.

The United States was reluctant to seek UN approval for fear of a Russian veto but asked its allies for support.

The British Prime Minister David Cameron supported action and on 29th August took it to Parliament. Many MPs were unhappy about the intervention since it was not supported by International Law. The Labour Party voted against and there were 30 Tories against the motion. The intervention was not supported.

Sarah Wollaston made the important statement that ‘In rejecting western military intervention, Britain does not turn its back on Syria. We will continue to provide humanitarian assistance but Parliament has told the Government that this must not be delivered in the form of cruise missiles.’

<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/aug/30/syria-debate-voted-against-military-intervention>

French Government support evaporated and the United States pulled back awaiting a report from inspectors of the Organisation of the Prevention of Chemical Weapons (OPCW),

Negotiate!

Surprisingly President Putin of Russia suggested negotiations to remove Syria’s Chemical weapons.

September 2013

OPCW inspectors reported that the gas was mostly sarin but could not establish who had fired the shells, though the evidence pointed at the Syrian Government.

In October 2013 Syria agreed to join the Chemical weapons protocol.

Inspectors from OCPW visited Syria to examine Syria's chemical weapons stockpile and the factories making the weapons.

A programme started of the destruction by 30 days of the manufacturing capacity of the 22 industrial facilities identified. The considerable stockpile of chemical weapons would be under UN inspection and were to be totally destroyed by 18 months.

November 2013

OCPW report that all manufacturing capacity of the declared facilities have been destroyed.

The Government still had a considerable stockpile of 1,000 tons of chemicals and weapons.

Mediators attempted to start negotiations between both sides in Geneva but both parties put up conditions that are unacceptable to the other side. They negotiated and then agreed.

February 2014

Removal of chemical weapons stockpile begins.

March 2014

Half of the chemical weapons had been removed to Cyprus.

May 2014

90% of the chemical weapons had been removed.

May 2015

Although Syria's original stockpile has been destroyed it appears that the Syrian Government has been dropping barrel bombs containing chlorine. Chlorine is used widely in industry and in domestic life. The use of chlorine as a weapon is banned under the 1997 Chemical Weapons Convention.

List of those men of Tavistock and West Devon killed in the First World War

September 1914	Hugh Mockler Ferryman, aged 22,	Aisne, France
October 1914	Thomas Brenton, aged 25,	Aisne, France
November 1914	Percy Adams, aged 20,	HMS Monmouth, off Chile
	William Simmonds, aged 28,	HMS Monmouth, off Chile
December 1914	George Tyrell, aged 31,	Ypres, Belgium
April 1915	Henry Perkin, aged 35,	Ypres Belgium
May 1915	Christopher Hoskyns-Abrahalls, aged 43	Gallipoli
	Edward Coles, aged 30	HMS Goliath, Gallipoli
	Albert Hodgins, aged 38	HMS Goliath, Gallipoli
	Sidney Bassett, aged 19	HMS Goliath, Gallipoli
September 1915	J. Trick, aged ?	?
	Alfred Letherbridge, aged 21	Loos, France
	Francis Maker, aged 22	Loos, France
October 1915	John Westlake, aged 32	Loos, France
January 1916	Samuel Stacey, aged 31	Ypres, Belgium
February 1916	Henry Barkwill, aged 29	Arras, France
	William Garland, aged 16	HMS Russell off Malta
May 1916	Cecil Merrifield, aged 22	HMS Defence, Jutland
	Robert Wilson, aged 33	HMS Defence, Jutland
	John Yard, aged 34	HMS Indefatigable, Jutland
June 1916	Alfred Coombe, aged 31	Ypres, Belgium
	James Harris, aged 34	PoW, Iraq
July 1916	Ernest Davey, aged 36	Somme, France
	J.Davey, aged ?	Somme, France
	Francis Collacott, aged 23	Somme, France
	Francis Harvey, aged 22	Somme, France
	Thomas Chenhall, aged 22	PoW, Bagdad, Iraq
August 1916	James Chenhall, aged 29	PoW, Bagdad, Iraq
	Charles Philp, aged 32	Somme, France
September 1916	Rees Martin, aged 28	Somme, France
	Fredrick Warren, aged 28	Somme, France
	Henry Weaver, aged 33	Ypres, France
November 1916	Philip Palmer, aged 32	Somme, France
	Ernest Friend, aged 23	Somme, France
January 1917	George Hill, aged 33	Somme, France
	Fredrick Gawman, aged 31	Arras, France
February 1917	Henry Pengelly, aged 23	Somme, France
	William Parsons, aged 30	Salonika, Greece
	George Rooke, aged 19	Armentiere, France
	Frederick Attewill, aged 37	Somme, France
April 1917	Francis Skinner, aged 21	Vimy Ridge, France
	Max Teglio, aged 21	Baghdad, Iraq
	Harold Maker, aged 19	Arras, France
	Wilfred Lewis, aged 20	Arras, France
May 1917	John Watts, aged 28	Arras, France
	William Raymont, aged 26	Ypres, Belgium
May 1917	William Jago, aged 32	Arras, France

June 1917	Robert Brooks, aged 25	Ypres, Belgium
August 1917	Francis Harry, aged 32	Ypres, Belgium
	Frederick Perkin, aged 29	Passchendaele, Ypres, Belgium
	Harold Goodman, aged 27	Passchendaele, Ypres, Belgium
	William Walkem, aged 23	Ypres, Belgium
September 1917	Edward Skinner, aged 25	Passchendaele, Ypres, Belgium
	Reginald Northway, aged 20	wounded in France, died in UK
	Albert Grainger, aged 30	HMS Contest, in the Channel
	William Harry, aged 38	Passchendaele, Ypres, Belgium
October 1917	Harry Bath, aged 31	Passchendaele, Ypres, Belgium
	Isaac Watts, aged 23	Passchendaele, Ypres, Belgium
November 1917	Thomas Edwards, aged 19	Jerusalem, Palestine
	Charles Bickle, aged 22	Jerusalem, Palestine
	Ernest Harris, aged 35	Cambrai, France
December 1917	George Cloak, aged 37	Cambrai, France
	William Gould, aged 24	HMS Stephen Furness
	Christopher Hoskyns-Abrahall, aged 18	air crash(RFC), Wiltshire
	William Holman, aged 30	HMS Tornado, off Holland
	George Matthews, aged 35	HMS Tornado, off Holland
	William Hellier, aged 20	Jerusalem, Palestine
January 1918	William Hayman, aged 34	K4 submarine, off Firth of Forth
March 1918	Ernest Ackford, aged 38	Arras, France
April 1918	Charles Spooner, aged 39	Jaffa, Palestine
	Bertram Wilkinson, aged 32	Arras, France
	Francis Jago, aged 30	Somme, France
	William Friend, aged 43	PoW, Kassell, Germany
May 1918	Sylvester Pethick, aged 25	wounded in the Somme, Glasgow
	Samuel Brenton, aged 31	Aisne, France
	Bertie Doidge, aged 30	Aisne, France
June 1918	Ernest Collins, aged 18	Somme, France
	Reginald Spurway, aged 20	Aisne, France
July 1918	Leonard Harris, aged 19	Ypres, Belgium
	Alfred Pendry, aged 27	Aisne, France
	Robert Roberts, aged 22	Aisne, France
August 1918	Jesse Mitchell, aged 37	HMS Scott, off Holland
September 1918	Claude Blythe, aged 22	Somme, France
	John Sargent, aged 40	Arras, France
	Fredrick Woodrow, aged 18	Somme, France
	Henry Maker, aged 36	Somme, France
	Thomas Trick, aged 20	Somme, France
	John Palmer, aged 19	Ypres, Belgium
	William Rich, aged 26	Salonika, Greece
October 1918	John Harvey, aged 28	PoW, Gustrow, Germany
	William Turner, aged 34	Arras, France
November 1918	Sidney Vinson, aged 25	Cambrai, France
	Fredrick Hicks, aged 39	wounded in France, died Salisbury

Died of illness or accident whilst serving in or having been discharged from the forces:

James Watt aged 23, acute nephritis at sea on HMS Exmouth
Samuel Tucker aged 22, kicked by a horse, Slough
Dingle Martin, aged 21, malaria in India
Arthur Gallie, aged 53, pneumonia, Dorchester
Fredrick Maker, aged 45, unknown disease on return from Egypt
William Davey, aged 42, malaria in Salonika
Joe Plummer, aged 53, heart disease in Tavistock
Theodore Martin, aged 24, cellulitis in Tavistock
John Symons, aged 26 meningitis in Cambridge
Reginald Kerswill, aged 26, ?psoriasis in Winnipeg, Canada
James Craze, aged 32, inflammation, Basra, Iraq
George Adams, aged 31, drowned, Portsmouth
Harry Greening, aged 50, pneumonia, London
Harry Waye, aged 19, Bermuda
Charles Horne, aged 41, accident, Salisbury Plain
Wilfred Cruze, aged 22, pneumonia, Exeter
Charles Hawkins, aged 27, Tuberculosis, Tavistock
Percy Coles, aged 34, Influenza, Tavistock
Charles Merrifield, aged 28, Tuberculosis, Exeter
Reginald White, aged 39, Tuberculosis, Tavistock
Robert Smith, ?cause, Salisbury
William Exworthy, pneumonia, Tavistock
Samuel Miles, aged 37, epilepsy, PTSD, Tavistock
Richard Stranger, aged 29, Tuberculosis, Brisbane

(Thanks to Alex Mettler and Gerry Woodcock. More details of the men who died may be found in their book, We will remember them, The Men of Tavistock who died in the First World War.)

Section 7

People and Organisation promoting international cooperation 1864-1914

Geneva Conventions

The Swiss social activist Henri Dunant was shocked by the condition of the soldiers after the battle of Solferino in 1862. He was instrumental in founding the Red Cross in Geneva. This led to the 1864 Geneva Convention, an International Treaty that covered the care of the sick and wounded soldiers in the battlefield. He was awarded the first Nobel Peace Prize in 1901.

The Geneva Conventions comprise four treaties and three protocols about the standards of international law for humanitarian treatment in war.

- 1864 **First Geneva Convention** dealt with the amelioration of the Condition of the wounded and sick in the Armed forces in the field.
- 1906 **Second Geneva Convention** dealt with the amelioration of the Condition of wounded and sick in Armies at Sea.
- 1929 **Third Geneva Convention** dealt with the condition of treatment of prisoners of war.
- 1949 Treaty updating the other treaties and adding a fourth dimension, the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War which became **the Fourth Geneva Convention**.

All four Conventions are referred to as **The Geneva Conventions**.

- 1977 **Protocol 1** Additional protection relating to the Protection of Victims (particularly civilians) in International Armed conflicts.
- 1977 **Protocol 2** Additional protection relating to the Protection of Victims (particularly civilians) in Non-International Armed conflicts.
- 2005 **Protocol 3** added an alternative Red Cross emblem, the Red Crystal.

Hague Conventions

These are treaties about the conduct of war and the weapons of war

- 1899 **First Hague Conference** created the Permanent Court of Arbitration.
- 1907 **Second Hague Conference** extended the treaties to include added processes for settling international disputes and aspects of war at sea.
- 1925 **Bio-Chemical Geneva Protocol** bans the use of all forms of chemical and biological warfare. This has been augmented in 1972 by the **Biological Weapons Convention** and in 1993 by the **Chemical Weapons Convention**.

International Organisations

- 1873 **Institute of International Law**, a private organisation founded by lawyers from nine different countries which aimed to build up a body of law governing the relationship between states. It encouraged international arbitration to settle disputes. Nobel Peace prize 1904
- 1889 **Inter-Parliamentary Union** founded by Frederic Passy (France) and Randal Cremer (UK) for political negotiation of conflicts.
- 1891 **International Peace Bureau** founded in Switzerland to coordinate peace societies (Nobel Peace prize 1910).
- 1899 **First Peace Conference in the Hague** created a temporary Court of Arbitration to settle international disputes. It also defined the conduct of warfare and war crimes.
- 1907 **Second Peace Conference in the Hague** extended the rules of warfare and the rights of neutral countries. **A Permanent International Court of Arbitration** was established in the Peace Palace.

National Organisations

- 1660 **The Religious Society of Friends (Quakers)** originally a British (and now worldwide) Christian group made their statement “We utterly deny all outward wars and strife, for any end, or under any pretence whatever.....”
- 1816 **The Peace Society** founded by Quakers in London for the promotion of permanent and universal peace.
- 1867 **Société française pour l’arbitrage entre nation** - the first French Peace society founded by Frederic Passy originally the *Ligue internationale de la paix* which changed names after the Franco Prussian war.
- 1880 **International Arbitration and Peace Association** founded in London by Hodgson Pratt.
- 1891 **Austrian Peace Society** founded by Bertha von Suttner.
- 1892 **German Peace Society** founded by Alfred Fried and Bertha von Suttner.
- 1908 **National Peace Council** coordinated British Peace societies

Some people working for Peace

- Louis Renault, France Jurist, advocate for International Law and member of Permanent Court of Arbitration in the Hague.
- Klas Arnoldson, Sweden, Founder of the Swedish Peace and Arbitration League. He looked forwards to closer cooperation between European countries.
- Fredrick Bajer, Denmark, Founder and President of the International Peace Bureau. He was a strong supporter of international arbitration.

Alfred Fried, Germany, Founder of the German Peace Society. Ardent supporter of International Law and the use of arbitration for the peaceful organisation of society.

Henri La Fontaine, Belgium, International Lawyer and Head of International Peace Bureau. He founded the Belgian League for the Rights of Women in 1890 and supported the establishment of a world court.

Emily Hobhouse, Cornish Campaigner who exposed the appalling conditions in the Concentration camps for Boer families in South Africa. She was an ardent campaigner for peace.

A special campaigner:

Bertha von Suttner 1843-1914

An Austrian General's daughter who helped found the German Peace Society and promoted peace throughout Europe

An Austrian Baroness and daughter of a Field Marshal, she became a leading figure in the peace movement, joining the International Arbitration and Peace Association in 1887. She befriended Alfred Nobel and persuaded him to create the Nobel Peace prize.

Her anti war novel *Die Waffen nieder (Lay down your arms)* published in 1889 was outstanding and she became editor of the international pacifist journal *Die Waffen Nieder*. She campaigned for the equality of women.

She founded the German Peace Society with Hermann Fried in 1892 and worked tirelessly for peace attending many conferences and touring throughout Europe. She wrote letters, pamphlets and petitions and arranged meetings between influential people.

She was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1905.

In her acceptance speech she stated '*Meanwhile, in Central and Western Europe which narrowly escaped war, we have distrust, threats, saber rattling, press baiting, feverish naval buildup, and rearming everywhere. In England, Germany, and France, novels are appearing in which the plot of a future surprise attack by a neighbor is intended as a spur to even more fervent arming. Fortresses are being erected, submarines built, whole areas mined, airships tested for use in war; and all this with such zeal - as if to attack one's neighbor were the most inevitable and important function of a state. Even the printed program of the second Hague Conference [to be held in 1907] proclaims it as virtually a council of war. Now in the face of all this, can people still maintain that the peace movement is making progress?*'

It was to be another eight years of preparation for war before hostilities started. She died 6 weeks before the outbreak of the War.

http://www.ppu.org.uk/learn/infodocs/people/pst_bertha.html

Section 8

Hundred years since 1914.

Organisations, Treaties and Champions of Peace

Post 1914

The Armistice and treaty of Versailles

By September 1918, both sides were exhausted. Many of their youth had been killed or injured. The advent of the Americans allowed the allies to make progress and it seemed that they may eventually defeat the Germans. The German army had many deserters and the German Navy mutinied in Wilhelmshaven and revolution spread through the country.

President Wilson of the United States had presented plans for peace and these were accepted by Germany.

A ceasefire (Armistice) was called for on 11th November 1918.

The allies dictated the terms of the surrender of Germany that were codified in the Treaty of Versailles in 1919.

In the Paris Peace conference a new world body The League of Nations was created.

The League of Nations

Its aim was to

maintain world peace,

prevent war through collective security and disarmament,

settle international disputes through negotiation and arbitration.

create a Court of International Justice.

It was a success in that for the first time it allowed many countries to work together and learn to negotiate in an international forum.

Its failings were that the United States never joined, Russia joined in 1934 and was expelled in 1939

Germany and Japan left in 1933.

It was a beginning but World War 2 intervened in 1939.

The United Nations

Created in 1946

Now has 193 members

We the people of the United Nations are determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which twice in our lifetime has caused untold suffering to Mankind

It runs many programmes including

WHO World Health Organization

WFP World Food Programme

UNICEF UN International Children's Emergency Fund

UNESCO UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNHCR UN High Commission for Refugees

UNRWA UN Relief and Works agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East

UNODA UN Office for Disarmament Affairs

The International Court of Justice in the Hague.

See <http://www.un.org/en/>

The European Union

1923 the Austrian Count Richard Coudenhove Kalergi founded a Pan Europa Movement based on the principles of liberalism, Christianity and social responsibility.

1929 French Prime Minister Briand proposed a federation of European States based on solidarity and the pursuit of economic prosperity and political and social cohesion. John Maynard Keynes, the economist, supported the idea.

In 1945 Sir Winston Churchill talked about a United States of Europe.

“our task is to recreate the European family..... and provide a structure under which it can dwell in peace, in safety and in freedom.”

Winston Churchill was Honorary president of a Grand Congress of Europe in the Hague in 1948.

He said “if Europe is to be a living force, Britain will have to play her full part as a member of the European family.”

In May 1949 the Council of Europe, a political forum for countries to meet and discuss was founded by the Treaty of London

Later in 1959 the European Court of Human Rights was established.

Great political leaders like Konrad Aden, Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman and Jean Henri Spaak worked together to create a political entity.

The European Economic Community, EEC, was formed in 1957 by Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands and Germany.

UK joined in 1973.

The EEC developed into the European Union with 27 nations.

The European Union encourages cooperation, negotiation and conflict resolution. It has made war between European countries almost unthinkable.

In 2012 the European Union was awarded the **Nobel Peace Prize** "for over six decades [having] contributed to the advancement of peace and reconciliation, democracy and human rights in Europe"

Organisations to Promote Peace

Fellowship of Reconciliation

A spiritually based movement founded in December 1914 by English Quaker Henry Hodgkins. He was inspired by an agreement made the previous year with German Lutheran Friedrich Siegmund-Schultze following a Christian Pacifist conference in Konstanz. It acted as an important support network for conscientious objectors and by 1917 had 7,000 members. It has been active since especially in the pacifist and antinuclear movement.

Friends Ambulance Unit

Volunteer Ambulance Service founded in 1914 by individual Quakers and chiefly staffed by registered conscientious objectors. It operated in the First and Second World Wars. It provided care both to the military and civilians.

No-Conscription Fellowship

After the outbreak of war in December 1914, Clifford Allen and Fenner Brockway cofounded the No-Conscription Fellowship, a pacifist organisation that encouraged men to refuse war service. It campaigned nationally and after conscription started in 1916 it campaigned against the punishment and imprisonment of Conscientious Objectors. Both Clifford Allen and Fenner Brockway were arrested for distributing a leaflet criticizing the introduction of conscription. After release they were imprisoned for being Conscientious objectors. Catherine Marshall with great determination continued to run the

Group. Although banned from speaking in most major cities Bertrand Russell helped to run the NCF until he too was arrested and imprisoned.

Union for Democratic Control

Founded in 1914 by Ramsay MacDonald, E.D. Moreland and Charles Trevelyan, it was a pressure group that pressed for 1) parliamentary control over foreign policy, 2) there should be negotiation after the war with other countries about how to avoid further conflicts and 3) the terms of peace should not humiliate the other country nor should there be artificial rearrangement of frontiers that may in time cause future wars. They advocated national self-determination and arms control.

Its membership exceeded 650,000 by 1917 and it became the most important anti-war organisation.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

Since 1915, WILPF has brought women from across the world together. They share a vision of peace by non-violent means, promoting justice for all. They lobby and challenge government, explore root causes of conflict and mobilise women in preventing war and building peace.

Association française pour la Société des Nations

French peace association formed in 1915 to support the creation of an international body to act in arbitration in disputes between countries. It promoted peace with justice. It was led by Leon Bourgeois who later was the first president of the Council of the League of Nations. He was given the Nobel Peace Prize in 1920.

League to Enforce Peace

American organisation formed in 1915 to promote the formation of an international body for world peace. The body would arbitrate in disputes between nations and nations would guarantee territorial integrity amongst members. It was led by former President William Taft. It supported America's involvement in the First World War. After the formation of the League of Nations it ceased to function.

League of Nations

see previously

German Peace Cartel

Pacifist umbrella organisation in post war Germany, led by Ludwig Quidde. He became the leading representative and integrating force of the German Peace movement. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1927. The German Peace Association was the largest group and was very active alongside The German League for Human Rights.

War Resisters International

Founded in 1921 in Holland with the founding declaration 'War is a crime against humanity. I am therefore determined not to support any kind of war and to strive for the removal of all causes of war'. It is based in London.

Friends Service Council (now Quaker Peace and Social Witness)

British Quaker organisation created in 1925 to promote equality, justice and peace both nationally and internationally. They recognise social injustice and intolerance as important causes of war. With its American counterpart, it received the **Nobel Peace Prize 1947** for pioneering work in the international peace movement and for the humanitarian work without regard to race or nationality.

World Disarmament Conference

Conference in Geneva between nations of the League of Nations and the United States on the reduction and limitation of Armaments. This followed on from the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907. The concept of the role of the Arms race in precipitating war was accepted for the first time. The Treaty of Versailles and the Covenant of the League of Nations had committed the participating nations to progressive disarmament. The talks broke down in 1933 when Hitler withdrew Germany from the League of Nations.

Peace Pledge Union

British pacifist organisation founded by Rev Dick Shepherd which has campaigned for a warless world since 1934. They promote peaceful and non violent solutions to conflict. It has a multitude of resources for the pacifist campaign.

Central Board of Conscientious Objectors

Formed in June 1939 at the introduction of six months conscription it was based in the PPU offices. It supported the 60,000 conscientious objectors of the second war both in the Tribunals and socially. They lobbied Parliament and the Press. 3,000 COs who had not been granted exemption served prison sentences.

Pax Christi

International Catholic peace organisation. It was founded in 1945 by a French woman Marthe Dortel-Claudot and a French bishop Pierre-Marie Théas to promote reconciliation between French and German citizens. It expanded to other European countries in the fifties and now operates in 50 countries round the world. It's focus is on human rights, human security, disarmament and demilitarisation, a just world order and religion and peace. It promotes reconciliation and a culture of peace and nonviolence.

United Nations

see previously

European Economic Community (EU)

Nobel Peace Prize 2012

see previously

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

British organisation which campaigns to scrap nuclear weapons and create genuine security for future generations. Founded in 1958 it has campaigned tirelessly against all weapons of mass destruction and for a less militarised Europe.

Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs

Founded by Joseph Rotblatt and Bertrand Russell originally to foster cooperation and mutual understanding across the political divide of the Cold War. The members work towards reducing the dangers of armed conflict and creating a world free of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. They seek to create opportunities for dialogue on the steps that need to be taken and ensure developments in science will serve the welfare of the people.

Awarded Nobel Peace prize 1995.

Amnesty International

International organisation focussing on Human Rights. Founded in 1961 by a British lawyer Peter Benenson. It has a focus on Prisoners of Conscience but works for the abolition of the death penalty and prison reform. It has an emphasis on the rights of women, children, and refugees. **In 1977 it was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize** for its campaign against torture.

Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR)

American physician led organisation that works to protect the public from the threat of nuclear weapons, climate change and environmental toxins. It was founded in 1961 by physicians concerned about the testing and threatened use of nuclear weapons. Led by Helen Caldicott and Bernard Lown they founded the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)

A Swedish institute founded in 1964 dedicated to research into conflict, armaments, arms control and disarmament. It produces authoritative reports and contributes to an understanding of the conditions for peaceful solution of international conflicts and for a stable peace.

Department of Peace Studies at University of Bradford

Bradford University was the first British University to create a Department of Peace studies in 1973 which has grown into the world's largest university centre for the study of peace and conflict.

Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT)

Founded in 1974, it works to end the international arms trade and to promote progressive demilitarisation within arms-producing countries. It has encouraged disinvestment in the arms industry.

OSCE Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe

Intergovernmental organisation based in Vienna. It works for conflict resolution through arbitration, crisis management and post conflict rehabilitation. It has 57 members mostly in the Europe. It was founded in 1973 to help communication between the opposing blocs in the Cold war. It helped build up the democratic institutions in the Eastern bloc in the eighties. Later it helped in the decommissioning of surplus weapons.

International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW)

International organisation founded in 1980 by Dr Bernard Lown of the United States and Dr Yevgeny Chazov of the USSR to generate support for the prevention of the use of nuclear weapons. Using scientific principles they outlined the catastrophic consequences of a nuclear exchange. They were able to influence political leaders particularly President Gorbachev. It was awarded UNESCO Education Prize in 1984 and **Nobel Peace prize in 1985** "for spreading authoritative information and by creating an awareness of the catastrophic consequences of atomic warfare." Since then it has campaigned on nuclear matters and in 2007 launched **ICAN** (International Campaign to abolish Nuclear Weapons).

Greenham Common Peace Camp

A permanent camp of women peace campaigners who in 1981 protested against nuclear Cruise missiles being stationed outside Newbury. The blocs in the Cold War were making plans for a limited nuclear war in Europe to stop invading armies. This would have had catastrophic consequences on the civil population and would have led to an all out international nuclear exchange. They produced great publicity and strong opposition to the deployment of cruise missiles. The missiles were eventually removed in 1991 though the last campaigners left in 2000.

Oxford Research Group (ORG)

ORG is a leading independent think-tank pioneering the idea of sustainable approaches to security as an alternative to violent global confrontation, through original research, wide ranging dialogue and practical policy recommendation. Founded in 1982 by Dr Scilla Elsworthy and others in Oxford it has now moved

to London. It's intellectual and non partisan approach has gained respect from Governments and policy makers.

Medical Action for Global security (Medact)

A British group of health professionals involved with the effects of war, conflict and environmental change on health. It is involved promoting positive action on preventing violent conflict, improving health and on raising the standards of health care worldwide.

Scientist for Global Responsibility (SGR)

A group of scientists, engineers, IT professionals and architects committed to promoting science, design and technology that contribute to peace, social justice and environmental sustainability. It was founded in 1992 from a merger of Scientists against Nuclear arms, Electronics and Computing for peace and Psychologists for peace. Later also joined by Architects for Peace and Engineers for Social Responsibility

Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa

Following the end of the apartheid regime, this body was created in 1995 to form an environment of restorative justice. Victims of gross human rights violations were invited to provide an account of their experiences and some perpetrators were invited to give evidence and request amnesty from persecution. It was very helpful in resolving very painful experiences.

Child Soldiers International

British based organisation formed in 1998 to prevent the recruitment and exploitation of children in warfare.

It seeks to end military recruitment and use in hostilities, in any capacity, of any person under the age of 18 by state armed forces or non-state armed groups.

Network for Peace

The British National Peace Council was founded in 1908 and acted as a co-ordinating body for groups working for peace, human rights, justice and the environment. In 2001 the Network for Peace took over it's functions.

Movement for the Abolition of War (MAW)

Founded in 2001 it aims to spread the belief that the abolition of war is both desirable and possible, raising awareness of the alternatives to war for resolving disputes and to promote these ideas through education of all.

Stop the War Coalition

A campaigning group formed in 2001 to oppose American intervention in other countries pursuing their War on Terror. It was very active in opposing the 2002

invasion of Iraq and the invasion of Afghanistan. It supports the Palestinians and campaigns against the military/industrial complex. It is significantly influenced by the Socialist Worker Party,

Voices for Creative Non Violence

A successor to Voices in the Wilderness (a campaign against US/UN sanctions against the regime in Iraq), Voices for Creative Non Violence was formed to challenge US military and economic warfare against Iraq and other countries. It has been led by Kathy Kelly who has also campaigned on the ground in Palestine.

Veterans for Peace UK

Founded in 2011 by Benjamin Griffiths, an SAS soldier who refused to return to Iraq, who spoke out about the illegality of the Iraq war and the illegal tactics employed by US forces.

He has also spoken out against the UK armed forces recruitment policy for 'targeting child soldiers'.

International Law promoting Peace

1922 Permanent Court of International Justice in the Hague

An International Court attached to the League of Nations established in 1922. It was a successor to the Permanent Court of Arbitration that had been formed following the First Hague Peace conference in 1899. Originally involved in arbitration in disputes between Governments, the new World Court could now make decisions involving justice. It was based in the Peace Palace in the The Hague. It ceased work at the outbreak of the Second World War.

1925 Geneva Protocol banning use of chemical and biological weapons

During a conference in Geneva on the arms trade in 1925, a treaty was drawn up to ban the use of poison gas and bacteriological methods of warfare. Countries were allowed to research, develop and possess these weapons but not use them. This became the Geneva Protocol which was an addition to the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907.

It did not prohibit the use against parties not signing the Protocol, as retaliation or in civil conflicts. Under pressure from the military-industrial complex the United States did not ratify it for another 50 years.

1946 International Court of Justice in The Hague

The International Court was established by the United Nations in 1945 and based in The Hague. It settles legal disputes between nations and provides advisory opinions on legal questions. After it ruled that the United States's covert war against Nicaragua was in violation of international law the United States withdrew from compulsory jurisdiction in 1986 and used its veto in the Security Council to prevent enforcement.

1949 Fourth Geneva Convention

In 1949 all the Geneva Conventions were revised and a fourth Convention added which gave protection to civilians in time of war and civil unrest. Amongst other statements it prohibits the use of physical punishment and torture as well as collective punishment.

1959 European Court of Human Rights

The European Convention of Human Rights is an international Treaty from 1953 to protect human rights and fundamental freedom. The European Court of Human Rights was created in 1959 in Strasbourg to hear applications from individuals alleging breaches of the Convention. (It is separate from the European Court of Justice which is a body of the European Union)

1963 Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty

An international Treaty signed in 1963 banned nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. There had been increasing concern about the radio-active pollution of the atmosphere highlighted by the Joseph Rotblat, the Pugwash conferences, Linus Pauling and others. It was also hoped it might slow the arms race, production of nuclear weapons and prevent France's independent nuclear bomb development and but failed to achieve this. It was not signed by China, France or North Korea. France continued to explode atmospheric nuclear bombs at Fangataufa near Tahiti in the Pacific Ocean for the next 10 years. Israel's nuclear programme was closely allied to that of France.

1970 Nuclear Non- Proliferation Treaty

The treaty signed in 1970 aims to stop the spread of nuclear weapons and to commit nuclear countries to progressive reduction in nuclear weapons resulting in total nuclear disarmament. All non nuclear states are prohibited from developing, manufacturing or possessing nuclear weapons. (Acquisition of nuclear weapons United States - 1945, Russia - 1949, Britain - 1952, France - 1960 and China - 1964).

India, Israel, Pakistan and South Sudan have never joined the Treaty and North Korea withdrew in 2003. Israel developed nuclear weapons in the sixties with the help of France, India in 1974, Pakistan in 1998 and North Korea in 2006. NATO has argued it can leave the treaty in a state of war and share its nuclear weapons with other states. This is thought to be against the treaty. There has been disappointing reduction of nuclear weapons by nuclear weapon possessing states with still 17,000 in existence. In April 2014 the Marshall Islands (a nuclear testing site for the United States with 67 tests) started proceedings against the nine countries with nuclear weapons at the International Court of Justice at The Hague arguing that they have violated their legal duty to disarm.

1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty

A treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of the anti-ballistic missile (ABM) systems used in defending areas against missile delivered nuclear weapons. Signed in 1972, it was in force for the next 30 years. Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, in 1997 the United States and four former Soviet republics agreed to continue the treaty. In June 2002 the United States withdrew from the treaty in order to build up a missile defence system, leading to its termination.

1993 Chemical Weapons Convention

In 1993 the treaty banned all production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons with destruction of stockpile by 2007. (Israel and Myanmar have not ratified the Treaty. It has not been signed by North Korea, Angola and Egypt. Syria signed in September 2013.)

1996 Illegality of Nuclear weapons

In 1996 the International Court of Justice advised that threat or use of nuclear weapons would generally be contrary to the rules of International Law and in particular against the principles and rules of Humanitarian Law.

1996 Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty

This treaty of 1996 banned all nuclear explosions in all environments. Underground testing still resulted in radioactive contamination of the atmosphere and ground water. India, North Korea and Pakistan have not signed and have continued to test underground. China, Egypt, Iran, Israel and the United States have signed but not ratified the treaty.

1999 The Ottawa Treaty: Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention

This treaty signed in 1999 aims to eliminate anti-personnel mines around the world. Jodie Williams spearheaded a campaign to ban the manufacture and use of land mines.

35 countries have not signed the treaty including a majority of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council: China, the United States and Russia as well as South Korea and North Korea. The United States has committed to only use self destruct landmines that self destruct within two days.

2002 International Criminal Court

A Permanent Court in The Hague to prosecute war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. It was created in 2002. 122 states are members. Thirty one including Russia have signed but not ratified the treaty. China, India, Indonesia and Saudi Arabia are amongst countries not to sign or ratify.

Israel, Sudan and the United States have decided to withdraw from the treaty. All the cases heard so far have been from Africa.

In the United States the Bush Administration has been hostile to the Treaty and has sought guarantees from other countries to grant US citizens immunity from the Court (Bilateral Immunity Agreements). It had threatened foreign aid grants to these states if they do not comply. It also authorised the President to use military force to free any military personnel held by the Court. This stance has been softened under President Obama.

2008 Convention on Cluster Munitions

This international Treaty from 2008 prohibits the stockpile, transfer and use of cluster bombs. Cluster bombs scatter sub munitions (small bombs) over a large area. Many do not explode until later when they are handled by civilians especially children. One in four casualties are to civilian children.

It has not been signed by China, United States, Israel, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Brazil and about sixty other countries.

Nobel Peace Prize for Champions of Peace

1901-2013

- 1901 **Henry Dunant**, Switzerland, Founder of the International Committee of the Red Cross
Frederic Passy, France, Organiser of first Universal Peace Congress 1889
- 1902 **Elie Ducommun**, Switzerland, First Secretary of International Peace Bureau
Charles Gobat, Switzerland, First Secretary of the Inter Parliamentary Union
- 1903 **William Cremer**, UK, father of the Inter Parliamentary Union
- 1904 **Institute of International Law**, for formulating general principles of International Law
- 1905 **Bertha von Suttner**, Austria-Hungary, Peace activist
- 1907 **Ernesto Moneta**, Italy, leader of Italian Peace movement
Louis Renault, France, jurist and member of Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague
- 1908 **Klas Arnoldson**, Sweden, founder of Swedish Peace and Arbitration League
Fredrick Bajer, Denmark, President of International Peace Bureau
- 1910 **Permanent International Peace Bureau**, Switzerland, a link between peace societies, encouraging arbitration and mediation for solving disputes.
- 1911 **Alfred Fried**, Germany, Founder of German Peace Society
- 1913 **Henri La Fontaine**, Belgium, International Lawyer, Head of International Peace Bureau, founded Belgian League for the Rights of Women in 1890 and supported the establishment of a World Court.
- 1917 **International Committee of the Red Cross**, Switzerland, upholding the Geneva Conventions and protecting the rights of prisoners of war.
- 1927 **Ferdinand Buisson**, France, pacifist philosopher, president of Human Rights League, committed to the advancement of democracy and human rights.
Ludwig Quidde, Germany, pacifist and historian, President of German Peace Society awarded for joint contribution to Franco German reconciliation.
- 1929 **Frank Kellogg**, USA, Lawyer, Judge at Permanent Court of International Justice, awarded for Kellogg- Briand Pact - “the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy”
- 1931 **Jane Addams**, USA, founder and leader of Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom
Nicholas Butler, USA, for his efforts to strengthen International Law
- 1933 **Norman Angell**, UK, politician and author of The Great Illusion who maintained that integration of the economies of European nations would make war futile.
- 1935 **Carl von Ossietzky**, Germany, Pacifist and secretary of the German Peace Society who exposed clandestine German rearmament. Convicted of High Treason he was imprisoned and was prevented from accepting his prize.
- 1944 **International Committee of the Red Cross**, Switzerland, for its work with prisoners of war.

- 1946 **Emily Balch**, USA, Pacifist and economist, Founding member of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, peace campaigner and strong supporter of disarmament and the League of Nations.
- 1947 **Friends Service Council**, UK, jointly with **American Service Council**, USA, to celebrate the work of the Quakers in the peace movement and aiding the poor and sick.
- 1959 **Philip Noel-Baker**, UK, Quaker pacifist MP, helped in the formation of the League of Nations and worked for international peace and cooperation.
- 1960 **Chief Albert Lutuli**, South Africa, leader in the struggle against apartheid.
- 1961 **Linus Pauling**, USA, Chemist and molecular biologist, he became a pacifist after World War Two and joined Einstein in opposing nuclear weapons. He was instrumental in banning above ground nuclear weapons testing. He opposed the Vietnam war vigorously.
- 1963 **League of Red Cross Societies** for providing aid in disasters.
- 1964 **Martin Luther King**, USA, campaigner for civil rights showing that a struggle can be waged without violence.
- 1974 **Sean MacBride**, Ireland, Lawyer, President of the International Peace Bureau, strong supporter of Human Rights and cofounder of Amnesty international.
- 1976 **Betty Williams** and **Mairead Coogan**, UK/Ireland, Founders of Northern Ireland peace movement (Community of Peace People)
- 1977 **Amnesty International**, UK, for protecting the human rights of prisoners of conscience.
- 1980 **Adolfo Esquivel**, Argentina, Pacifist, human rights activist and Professor of Architecture. He led a network of communities promoting the liberation of the poor through non violent means. He was imprisoned and tortured by the Argentinian Junta.
- 1982 **Alva Myrdal**, Sweden, active in UN disarmament conference in 1962 -1973. Founding member of Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.
- Alfonso Garcia Robles**, Mexico, created a Latin American nuclear free zone
- 1984 **Desmond Tutu**, South Africa, Priest and Bishop who was very active in the anti apartheid movement and supported reconciliation and human rights.
- 1985 **International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War**
- 1989 **Tenzin Gyatso, the Dalai Lama**, Tibet, Spiritual leader of Buddhists who in his struggle for the liberation of Tibet has consistently opposed violence.
- 1991 **Aung San Suu Kyi**, Burma, for her nonviolent struggle for Democracy and Human Rights in Burma.
- 1992 **Rigoberta Menchu Tum**, Guatemala Indian who has worked for social justice for indigenous people and for reconciliation after the Guatemalan civil war.
- 1995 **Joseph Rotblat**, UK, Polish/British nuclear physicist and critic of the nuclear arms race. He was instrumental in the creation of the 1963 Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.
- Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs**
- 1997 **International Campaign to ban Landmines**, Switzerland with **Jody Williams**, USA, for their work in banning and clearing landmines

- 2001 **United Nations and Kofi Annan** for their work for a better organised and more peaceful world.
- 2003 **Shirin Ebadi**, Iran, lawyer and human rights activist especially promoting the rights of women, children and refugees,
- 2012 **European Union**, for having over six decades contributed to the advancement of peace and reconciliation, democracy and human rights in Europe
- 2013 **Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons**, for extensive efforts to eliminate chemical weapons.

Champions of Peace

- Jane Addams** (1860-1935) American sociologist, pacifist and leader in women's suffrage and world peace. She empathised with the poor especially mothers and children. She was president of the Women's International League for Peace and freedom (WILPF) in 1919. Awarded Nobel Peace Prize in 1931.
- Widad Akrawi** (1969 -) Kurdish/Danish peace campaigner, protagonist for human rights and clinical geneticist. She documented torture and violation of human rights in Iraq. Leading Defend International, a Norwegian NGO that promotes human rights, peace and democracy.
- Norman Angel** (1872- 1967) British politician. author of '*The Great Illusion*' who maintained that the integration of the economies of European nations would make war futile. Nobel Peace Prize 1933.
- Emile Arnaud** (1864 - 1921) French lawyer who founded International League for Peace and Freedom in 1861. He coined the term 'pacifism' and campaigned for charity and tolerance and non violent conflict resolution.
- Pat Arrowsmith** (1930 -), British peace campaigner and co-founder of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. She has served eleven prison sentences.
- Aung San Suu Kyi** (1945 -) Burmese politician who has campaigned nonviolently for democracy and Human Rights in Burma. She left her family in England to lead the opposition to the Burmese military government. She was under house arrest for 15 years. Awarded Nobel Peace Prize 1991. She has persuaded the Military to start the political reform of Burma and was elected to the new parliament in 2012.
- Joan Baez** (1941 -) American folk singer and peace activist. Aged 17 she refused to take part in an air raid drill and has been a dedicated peace campaigner since. She supported the American Civil Rights movement. She opposed the Vietnam War, endorsing the nonpayment of taxes and encouraging draft resistance. She was arrested twice and served a jail sentence. She helped found the American branch of Amnesty International. She has criticised abuses of human rights where ever they occur.
- Emily Balch** (1867 - 1961) American economist and pacifist, she was a professor of Economic and Sociology at Wellesley College in 1913. During the First World

War she was an outspoken pacifist and as a result her tenure at Wellesley College was terminated. She helped found Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and campaigned against America's entry into the War. After the war she did much to help found the League of Nations. She received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1946.

Medea Benjamin (1952 -) American political activist, economist and nutritionist. She cofounded Global Exchange which advocates fair trade. She also cofounded the feminist anti-war movement Code Pink: Women for Peace which advocated the end of the war in Iraq and for social justice.

Meg Beresford (1937 -) British campaigner against nuclear weapons and secretary of CND 1985 - 1990.

Daniel Berrigan (1921 -) American Catholic priest and peace campaigner. He actively opposed the Vietnam War and encouraged withholding tax. He cofounded the Plowshares movement and has opposed America's involvement in many wars.

Philip Berrigan (1923 - 2002) American peace activist. Although he served in the second world war, this experience changed his attitude and he began a 50 years stretch of activism against the military adventures of the United States. With his brother Daniel he cofounded the Plowshares movement. He served many prison sentences as a result of his antiwar protests.

Vinoba Bhave (1895 - 1982) Indian advocate of non violence and human rights. He was involved in India's independence movement and was considered the spiritual successor of Mohandas Gandhi.

Janet Bloomfield (1953 - 2007) peace and disarmament campaigner, Chair of CND 1993-1996.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906-1945) German pastor, theologian and anti-Nazi dissident. In the thirties he promoted international friendship among the Christian churches. He opposed Hitler and the Nazis from the start. In 1936 he was arrested and banned from teaching. He continued in secret. He was arrested in 1943 and hanged in 1945.

Vera Brittain (1893 - 1970) Nurse in the first world war, pacifist and author of Testament of Youth. She joined the Peace Pledge Union and spoke out against the saturation bombing by the Allies. She wrote against apartheid, colonialism and nuclear arms.

Benjamin Britten (1913-1976) British composer. He became a pacifist soon after leaving school and joined the PPU. In 1942 he was registered as a Conscientious objector. His pacifism influenced many of his compositions culminating in The War Requiem in 1964.

Fenner Brockway (1888-1988) British pacifist who founded the No-Conscription Fellowship in 1914. He was imprisoned as a Conscientious objector. He became a Labour MP in 1929 and championed causes of human rights and racial justice. In his nineties he founded the World Disarmament Campaign.

Ferdinand Buisson (1841-1932) French pacifist philosopher. He was President of the Human Rights League committed to the advancement of democracy and human rights. Nobel Peace Prize 1927

Nicholas Butler (1862 - 1947) American philosopher and diplomat. He was President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Nobel Peace Prize 1931.

Corder Catchpool (1883-1952) British Quaker pacifist and conscientious objector. At first he served in the Friend's Ambulance Service but then resigned and was imprisoned. After the war he worked for the relief operations in Germany and supported Jewish families in the thirties. After the second war he again returned to Germany for five years to help in relief efforts.

Helen Caldicott (1938 -) Australian physician. She is very active in opposing nuclear power, the use of depleted uranium weapons, nuclear weapons proliferation and military action in general. She highlighted the danger of nuclear power in her book *If you love this planet*. She reinvigorated the Physicians for Social Responsibility and has lectured extensively around the USA.

Naom Chomsky (1928 -) American linguist, philosopher and political activist. Professor at MIT. He opposed the Vietnam War and supported students refusing the draft. He was arrested on numerous occasions. He has written many books criticising American foreign policy especially its military involvement. They are always meticulously annotated. He considered a figure of enlightenment and inspiration for political dissenters.

William Coffin (1924- 2006) American clergyman who opposed the Vietnam War. He was vicar at Yale and led many students in civil rights and antiwar marches. He joined SANE, an organisation promoting nuclear disarmament which later joined FREEZE to become Peace Action - the largest peace and justice organisation in the US.

Tom Cornell (1936 -) American editor of the Catholic Worker and cofounder of the Catholic Peace Fellowship and Pax Christi USA. He led the first protests against the Vietnam War. He actively opposed the invasion of Iraq.

David Cortright (1948-) American peace activist who fought in Vietnam. He spoke out against the war. Later he became director of SANE and in 2002 co-founded Win Without War coalition in opposition to the US invasion of Iraq. He has written many books about conflict resolution.

Frances Crowe (1919 -) American Quaker and peace activist who was imprisoned many times. She was a member of the War Resisters League, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, SANE, Women against War and Amnesty International. She gave counselling to over 2,000 people applying for conscientious objector status. She has been arrested frequently in demonstrations for peace and justice.

Dalai Lama (Tenzin Gyatso) (1935 -) Tibetan spiritual leader of the Tibetan Buddhists. Lifelong advocacy for the liberation of Tibet he has always opposed violence. He has promoted nonviolence and harmony between nations throughout the world. Nobel Peace Prize 1989.

Dorothy Day (1897- 1980) American pacifist and social activist. She helped establish the Catholic Workers Movement, a pacifist organisation that helps the

poor and homeless. She opposed nuclear weapons and supported the Civil Rights movement.

Eugene Debs (1855-1926) American trade unionist and socialist activist. He urged resistance to the military draft and in 1918 was sent to prison for 10 years. He was released in 1921 but died in 1926.

David Dellinger (1915-2004) American pacifist. He was a conscientious objector in World War Two and later co-founded the Committee for Nonviolent Revolution. He was active in the Civil Right movement and anti war movement.

Michael Denborough (1929 - 2014) Australian Paediatrician and founder of the Nuclear Disarmament Party in Australia.

Mel Duncan (1950-) American pacifist founding Director of Nonviolent Peaceforce based in Brussels. It helps to put in place nonviolent strategies into practice for the prevention and mitigation of violence in conflict zones.

Bob Dylan (1941 -) American singer-songwriter. His lyrics incorporated many social, political and literary themes. ‘Blowing in the Wind’ and ‘The times they are a changing’ became anthems for the civil rights campaign and anti-war movement.

East-Western Divan Orchestra (1999 -) a youth Orchestra based in Seville, Spain composed of Israeli and other Middle Eastern players. Founded by Daniel Barenboim and Edward Said, it aims to foster greater understanding between Israelis and Palestinians.

Shirin Ebadi (1947 -) Iranian lawyer and human rights activist especially in the area of the rights of women, children and refugees. Nobel Peace prize 2003

Mohamed ElBaradei (1942 -) Egyptian lawyer and diplomat. Director General of International Atomic Energy Agency 1997-2009. He instituted effective inspection for undeclared nuclear sites and promoted extra security of existing nuclear sites. He worked to prevent nuclear energy being used for military purposes. He disputed the American rationale for invading Iraq stating that invasion was a good example of “how the use of force exacerbates a problem rather than solves it”. In retaliation the US tried to block his reelection as D.G. in 2005. Nobel Peace Prize 2005

Adolfo Perez Esquivel (1931-) Argentinian pacifist and human rights activist. As Professor of architecture he led a network of communities promoting liberation of the poor through non violent means. He was imprisoned and tortured by the Argentinian Junta. Nobel Peace Prize 1980

Jodie Evans (1954 -) American political activist working for peace and justice and women’s rights. She cofounded the women’s activist movement CODEPINK.

Lawrence Ferlinghetti (1919-) American poet, pacifist and social activist. He served in the US Navy in the Second World War. He visited the ruins of Nagasaki that had been totally destroyed by an atomic bomb and became a lifelong pacifist. His poetry often reflected political matters like the nuclear arms race and the Vietnam War.

Comfort Freeman, a Liberian peace activist. She is head of the Liberian Women’s Initiative for Peace and helped organise the Women in Peacebuilding Network.

Together with a Muslim women's group they became a potent force in the Civil War and helped to bring about peace.

Mohandas Gandhi (1869 -1948) Leader of Indian nationalism and independence movement in colonial India, he was an exponent of nonviolent civil disobedience, He promoted religious harmony and the acceptance of the untouchables, the Dalits.

Alfonso Garcia Robles (1911- 1991) Mexican diplomat who in 1967 was instrumental in creating a Latin American nuclear free zone. He worked in the UN on the Non Proliferation Treaty and disarmament. Nobel Peace Prize 1982.

Robert Graves (1895-1985) British soldier and writer. He enlisted in 1914 and started to write poetry in 1916. His book *Goodbye to All That* (1929) was a serious criticism of the war, the way it was conducted including the murder of German Prisoners of War and the inadequacies of patriotism.

Ray Hainton (1921-2012) British anti-nuclear campaigner and peace activist. A Quaker who was a Founder member of Tavistock Peace Action Group in 1980 and secretary of Exeter CND for 20 years. She made links with the anti-nuclear movement in France. She consistently explained why nuclear weapons contravene International Law and emphasised the need for international co-operation.

Simon Harak (1948-) American Jesuit priest, Professor of Theology and peace activist. He has worked for the War Resisters League and helped found Voices in the Wilderness , a Christian organisation working in Israel and Palestine.

Vaclav Havel (1936 - 2011) Czech writer, poet, dissident and President of Czechoslovakia. He was harassed and imprisoned after the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. He published Charter 77 manifesto and was elected President after Russia withdrew.

Brian Haw (1949-2011) British peace protestor. He lived in a protest camp in Parliament Square London for 10 years from 2001 to protest against the aggressive policies of the UK and US Governments in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Emily Hobhouse (1860-1926) British (Cornish) activist and pacifist. During the Boer war she exposed the appalling conditions of the concentration camps for Boer families in South Africa. During the First World War she campaigned for peace negotiations and after the war she helped to feed starving families in Austria.

Margaret Holmes (1909 - 2009) Australian pacifist and peace activist. She founded the NSW branch of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and marched and protested during the Vietnam war.

Aldous Huxley (1894 -1963) British writer and philosopher. His *Brave New World* (1932) depicts a future where individual freedom is suppressed in the name of science and order. He was a member of the PPU and wrote many books and articles about pacifism in the nineteen thirties. He emigrated to the United States in 1937.

Karl Jenkins (1944-) Welsh musician and composer. 'The Armed Man: a Mass for Peace' (2000) is a vibrant anti-war composition. 'The Peacemakers' is a choral

compilation of saying from international peace makers extolling peace and tolerance.

Helen John, British anti military campaigner and first full time member of Greenham Common Peace camp. She worked for 30 years against the military build up of American and British forces.

Bruce Kent (1929 -) Catholic priest and peace activist. Chair of War On Want 1974-76. General secretary of CND from 1980-85 and Chairman 1987-1990. President of International Peace Bureau 1985-92. Very active throughout UK in protesting against nuclear weapons, Trident and promoting peaceful resolution of conflict.

Steve Killelea, Australian IT entrepreneur. Responsible for Global Peace Index launched in 2007. Also founder of Institute of Economics and Peace.

Martin Luther King (1929 - 1968) American clergyman and leader of American Civil Rights Movement espousing nonviolent civil disobedience. He protested against the war in Vietnam. Assassinated.

William Ladd (1778 - 1841) American anti war activist he preached non resistance and laid out a Christian case for pacifism. He was the first President of the American Peace Society in 1828. In 1840 he proposed a World Congress and Court of Nations.

Henri La Fontaine (1854 - 1943) Belgian International lawyer. He was a supporter of Women's suffrage and in 1890 founded the Belgian League for the Rights of Women. He helped organise the Hague Peace Conferences of 1882 and 1907 and supported the establishment of a World Court. He was President of the International Peace Bureau from 1907 to 1943 uniting the world's pacifist organisations. He was important in the development in the Institute for Intellectual Co-operation. Nobel Peace Prize 1913.

Grigoris Lambrakis (1912- 1963) Greek doctor, activist and MP. He opposed the Vietnam war and helped found the Commission for International Detente and Peace. In 1961 it organised the first pacifist rally from Marathon to Athens. It was banned but as an MP he was able to walk it alone. He was assassinated in 1963 after giving a speech at an anti war rally.

George Lansbury (1859-1940) British pacifist MP and social reformer. Leader of the Labour Party 1929-31. He promoted social justice, women's rights and world disarmament. He co-founded the Daily Herald newspaper. He argued that the impending war was due to capitalism: workers are exploited in times of peace and sent out to be massacred in times of war. He opposed conscription.

Kathleen Lonsdale (1903-1971) British Professor of Chemistry at University College London, she pioneered the use of crystallography. She was a Quaker, pacifist and during the Second World War was sentenced to a month in prison for refusing to register for civil defence duties.

Bradford Lyttle (1927 -) American peace activist who was an organiser for the Committee for Non Violent Action. He participated in peace rallies especially against nuclear weapons.

Sean MacBride (1904 - 1988) Irish politician, lawyer and human rights activist. Initially a commander in the IRA he moved on to be a leading international

defender of Human Rights. President of the International Peace Bureau. He kept Ireland out of NATO. He cofounded Amnesty International. Nobel Peace Prize 1974.

Rigoberta Menchu (1959 -) Guatemalan activist who publicised the rights of the indigenous people in the Guatemalan Civil War (1960-1996). She worked for peace and justice in her community. She was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1992.

Barry Mitcalfe (1930-1986) New Zealand poet and peace activist. He was a leader of the NZ movement against the Vietnam War and later became the leader of the NZ antinuclear movement.

AJ Muste (1885-1967) Dutch born American clergyman and peace activist. He joined the Fellowship for Reconciliation in 1916 and was director from 1940-1953. He was involved in workers rights, civil rights. advocated nonviolent resistance and was active in opposition to the Vietnam War.

Alva Myrdal (1902 - 1986) Swedish sociologist and forceful promoter of disarmament, active in UN disarmament conference in 1962 -1973. Founding member of Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Nobel Peace Prize 1982.

Michael Morpurgo (1943-) British author particularly of children's book. Though initially training at Sandhurst military academy, he has since then devoted his life to magical storytelling and helping children understand the world. He has written over 100 books and was the British Child Laureate in 2003.

Paul Nash (1889 - 1946) British artist. He enlisted in the Artist's Rifles in 1914 and was sent to the Western front in 1917. Three months later he was invalided out and was appointed an official war artist. He produced some of the most powerful and enduring images of the War eg *The Menin Road*, *The Ypres Salient at Night*, *Wire* and *We are making a New World*.

CRW Nevinson(1889 -1946) British Artist and pacifist. He joined the Friends Ambulance Unit and in 1915 returned to start painting dramatic scenes from the war. He was appointed as an official war artist and produced some vivid stark paintings of the Western Front.

Martin Niemoller (1892-1984) German pastor and pacifist. Initially he was an officer in the German Navy but then became a pastor. He was imprisoned in a concentration camp from 1937-1945. After the War he became a pacifist and anti-war/anti nuclear activist and a coordinator of War Resisters International.

Philip Noel Baker (1889 -1982) British Quaker pacifist MP. He worked for active disarmament since the Hague conference of 1907 and helped in the formation of the League of Nations. He helped in the formation of the United Nations and worked for international peace and cooperation. Nobel Peace Prize 1959.

Sari Nusseibeh (1949 -) Palestinian Professor of Philosophy and head of Al-Quds University, Jerusalem. He has been deeply involved in finding a peaceful solution to the Palestinian/Israeli conflict.

Carl von Ossietzky (1889 - 1938) German pacifist and secretary of the German Peace Society who exposed the clandestine German rearmament. Convicted of High Treason he was imprisoned in a concentration camp and prevented

from accepting his Nobel Peace Prize 1935. News of the Prize was censored in Germany.

Wilfred Owen (1893 -1918) British poet, considered the leading war poet. He enlisted in 1915 and started to write poems about the appalling conditions on the Western Front. He was invalided out with shell shock in 1917. He wanted to extend his Christian pacifist beliefs but his sense of duty made him return to the front and he was killed in November 1918.

Sylvia Pankhurst (1882-1960), British pacifist and social activist. She supported the poor in the East End of London and campaigned against the First War and conscription. After the war she wrote and campaigned against racial discrimination and Italy's aggression against Libya and Ethiopia.

Harry Patch (1898-2009) British long term survivor of the first World War Western Front. He was conscripted in 1916 and wounded in 1917. Very sympathetic to the plight of the soldiers who fought in the war he became strongly anti-war. "War is the calculated and condoned slaughter of human beings"

Linus Pauling (1901 - 1994) American chemist (Nobel Prize in Chemistry 1954) who became a pacifist after World War Two and joined Einstein in opposing nuclear weapons. He was instrumental in banning above ground nuclear weapons testing. Nobel Peace prize 1961. He opposed vigorously the Vietnam war.

Lindis Percy (1941 -) British nurse and peace activist using nonviolent direct action. She was active at Greenham Common against cruise missiles and at Menwith Hill highlighting the US base in the UK. She has been arrested many times.

Pablo Picasso (1881-1973) Spanish/French painter and sculptor. He was not overtly political though joined the Communist Party in 1945. His iconic painting 'Guernica' (1937) expressed his anger at the deliberate bombing of civilians in the Basque town by German aircraft. (This would become routine by both sides in the Second World War.) *Massacre in Korea* reflects his opposition to American intervention in Korea.

Ludwig Quidde (1858 - 1941) German historian and pacifist. He oversaw World Peace Congress in Munich 1907. He was President of German Peace Society for 15 years, Chairman of 'the German Peace Cartel' and the leading representative of the German Peace movement. Nobel Peace Prize 1927.

Erich Remarque (1898 -1970) German soldier and writer. He was conscripted into the German Army in 1916 aged 18 and seven weeks later was severely wounded. He never returned to the front line. His book *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1927) describes the life of a soldier on the western front. The work tells of a generation of men who, even though they may have escaped the shells, were destroyed by war. His works were banned by the Nazis.

Jean Renoir (1894-1979) French/American film director. His antiwar film *La Grande Illusion* (1937) about French prisoners of war and human relationships is considered a masterpiece.

Henry Richard (1812 - 1888) Welsh Minister, MP and peace activist. He advocated peace and international arbitration and was Secretary to the Peace Society 1848-84. He helped organise a series of Peace conferences in Europe.

- Romain Rolland** (1866 - 1944) French writer and pacifist. He wrote two anti war books *Au-dessus de la Melee* (1915) and *Above the battle* (1916). Named “the moral consciousness of Europe” by Stefan Zweig.
- Oscar Romero** (1917 -1980) El Salvadorian Catholic Bishop. Initially conservative, he embraced the opposition after becoming Archbishop in 1977. He spoke out against poverty, social injustice, assassination and torture. He became an outspoken critic of the Government until he was assassinated in 1980.
- Joseph Rotblat** (1908 - 2005) Polish/British nuclear physicist and critic of the arms race. He was instrumental in the creation of the 1963 Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. He was one of the founders of the Pugwash conferences on science and world affairs and campaigned vigorously for nuclear disarmament. Nobel Peace prize 1995.
- Bertrand Russell** (1872-1970) British philosopher, logician and pacifist. He wrote extensively against aggression. He supported the No-Conscription Fellowship and campaigned vigorously against the War. He was the first president of CND and aged 89 received a 7 day jail sentence for antinuclear protests.
- Siegfried Sassoon** (1886-1967) British soldier, poet and writer. He enlisted, was awarded the Military Cross but in July 1917 he made a public protest at the continuation of the war. The Government declared he needed psychiatric treatment. He wrote of the horrors of the war and he felt the war not being pursued as a just war.
- Sophie Scholl** (1921-1943) German pacifist who due to a deep Christian conviction opposed Nazi ideology. In 1942 her brother and some other students formed the White Rose. She helped distribute their anti-Nazi leaflets but was arrested in 1943. Her brother Hans, Christopher Probst and Sophie were found guilty of treason and executed.
- Dick Sheppard** (1880 -1937) English Anglican priest and pacifist. He turned the fashionable church St Martins in the Field into an accessible centre for those in need. He was appointed Dean of Canterbury and helped form the Peace Pledge Union in 1936.
- Pete Seeger** (1919-2014) American folk singer and activist. Member of the Weavers who were banned in the McCarthy era. He was a prominent singer of protest music in support of international disarmament, against the Vietnam War and for environmental causes. (“*Where have all the flowers gone?*”) He popularised “*We shall overcome*”.
- Toma Sik** (1939 - 2004) Hungarian- Israeli peace activist. He was against Israeli militarism, refused military service and counselled conscientious objectors. He was active in the Israeli War Resisters International and Gush Shalom.
- Donald Soper** (1903 -1998), Methodist Minister and socialist and pacifist. After Cambridge and the LSE he became a passionate Christian speaker in support of the poor and expounded the political implications of the Gospel. He was an active pacifist in the Second world war. He was President of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and supporter of CND.
- Mark Steel** (1960 -) British writer, comedian and activist. He campaigns against social injustice, the arms trade and speaks good sense.

- Te Whiti O Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi**, New Zealand, Maori leaders at Taranaki, who in 1881, led the non-violent resistance by 2,000 people to the confiscation of their land and destruction of their property.
- Michael Tippett** (1905-1998) Foremost British composer who was a committed pacifist and tried to register as a conscientious objector in the Second World War. He refused non-combatant duties and was imprisoned for three months. *A Child of Our Time* recalls Kristallnacht, the Nazi attack on the Jews in 1938. It carries a strong pacifist message of ultimate understanding and reconciliation. He was active in the PPU.
- Desmond Tutu** (1931 -) South African cleric, Archbishop, anti apartheid campaigner and advocate for conflict resolution. He has been a defender of human rights and campaigns for the oppressed. He received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984
- Jo Vallentine** (1946 -) Australian Senator and peace activist. She was elected Senator in Western Australia for the Nuclear Disarmament Party. She opposed the invasion of Iraq and the use of depleted uranium
- Lanzo del Vasto** (1901 -1981) Italian poet, philosopher and nonviolent activist. Having spent 6 months with Gandhi in 1936 he espoused the Gandhian principles for inter religious dialogue, spiritual renewal and non violence.
- Kurt Vonnegut** (1922-2007) American writer and pacifist. He was a Prisoner of War in Dresden when it was systematically destroyed by Allied bombers. He became a pacifist and his writing often reflected moral and political issues. He was a strong supporter of the American civil liberties and vigorously opposed the invasion of Iraq.
- Alan Ware** (1962 - -) New Zealand peace educator and campaigner for non violence, nuclear abolition, international law and women's rights. He helped with the introduction of peace studies guidelines in NZ schools
- Betty Williams** (1943 -)British campaigner. Cofounded Community of Peace People, an organisation dedicated to promoting a peaceful resolution to the conflict in Northern Ireland. Since then she has worked for international children's organisations. Nobel Peace Prize 1976
- Jody Williams** (1950 -) American activist who founded the International Campaign to Ban Landmines in 1992. This resulted in the 1999 Land Mine Treaty. She is a professor at Houston and promotes the defence of human rights especially for women. Nobel Peace Prize 1997.
- Walter Wolfgang** (1923 -) German born British socialist and peace activist. A founder member of CND, he became a member of the more radical Committee of 100 and later Vice Chair and vice President of CND. He has consistently tried to introduce unilateral nuclear disarmament into the Labour Party agenda.
- Alfred Maurice de Zayas** (1947 -) Cuban born American lawyer and peace activist specialising in International law and human rights. His work focuses on judicial protection of peoples and minorities. He has written about the Armenian genocide, the Holocaust, Guantanamo Bay and many other topics on human rights.
- Howard Zinn** (1922 - 2010) American political science Professor and social activist. He served in the second world war in bombers. After the war he visited the areas

that had been bombed and became convinced the large number of civilian deaths were not justified. He participated in the Civil rights movement and was active in opposition to the Vietnam War. He opposed the invasion of Iraq. He wanted “to give people a feeling of hope and power that they did not have before”.

Stefan Zweig (1881-1942) Austrian novelist, playwright and pacifist. He refused to fight in the First War. After the war he became one of the most popular writers in the world. He was a strong supporter of cooperation between nations and advocated the unification of Europe. After the rise of the Nazis, he left Austria in 1934.

Section 9

National organisations promoting peace

Religious Society of Friends, the Quakers, <http://www.quaker.org.uk>

For 350 years the Quakers have led our society in their rejection of war as a means of solving disputes. Many were conscientious objectors.

Through their section Peace and Social Witness, they have been involved in social justice projects, prison reform and abolition of capital punishment. Leading firms like Barclays and Lloyds Bank, Clarks, Cadburys and Rowntree were founded by Quakers.

Peace Pledge Union, <http://www.ppu.org.uk>

founded by Rev Dick Shepherd and campaigning for a warless world since 1934. They promote peaceful and non violent solutions to conflict.

Pax Christi <http://www.paxchristi.org.uk>

peacemaking movement of the Catholic Church promoting reconciliation, a culture of peace and nonviolence, and providing the means to bring about peace through education.

Founded in 1945 by a French woman and a French bishop to promote Franco-German reconciliation and now international.

CND Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament <http://www.cnduk.org>

campaigns to scrap nuclear weapons and create genuine security for future generations. Founded in 1958 it has campaigned tirelessly against all weapons of mass destruction and for a less militarised Europe.

CAAT -- Campaign against Arms Trade <http://www.caat.org.uk>

Founded in 1974, it works to end the international arms trade and to promote progressive demilitarisation within arms-producing countries. It has encouraged disinvestment in the arms industry.

Fellowship of Reconciliation <http://www.for.org.uk>

Founded in 1914, it is an international, spiritually-based movement of people who, from the basis of a belief in the power of love and truth to create justice and restore community, commit themselves to active nonviolence as a way of life and as a means of personal, social, economic and political transformation.(includes The Methodist Peace Fellowship <http://www.mpf.org.uk>)

Network for Peace <http://www.networkforpeace.org.uk>

The National Peace Council was founded in 1908 and acted as a co-ordinating body for groups working for peace, human rights, justice and the environment. In 2001 the Network for Peace took over it's functions.

Network of Christian Peace Organisations <http://ncpo.org.uk>

The Network of Christian Peace Organisations (NCPO) is an ecumenical network committed to peace as central to the meaning of church community. It is a broad group of organisations in the Christian peace tradition committed to furthering peace and encouraging the churches to support the peace movement.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

<http://www.ukwilpf.org>

Since 1915, WILPF has brought women from across the world together. They share a vision of peace by non-violent means, promoting justice for all. They lobby and challenge government, explore root causes of conflict and mobilise women in preventing war and building peace.

War Resisters' International <http://www.wri-irg.org>

Founded in Holland in 1921 with the founding declaration 'War is a crime against humanity. I am therefore determined not to support any kind of war and to strive for the removal of all causes of war'. Now based in London.

It will not support any war and strives to remove the causes of war.

It supports Conscientious Objectors around the world.

MAW - Movement for the Abolition of War www.abolishwar.org.uk

Aims to spread the belief that the abolition of war is both desirable and possible, raising awareness of the alternatives to war for resolving disputes and to promote these ideas through education of all.

University of Bradford Department of Peace Studies

<http://www.bradford.ac.uk/ssis/peace-studies/>

Established in 1973, it is the world's largest university centre for the study of peace and conflict. It is a centre of excellence in peace research and conflict resolution.

Bradford Peace Museum <http://www.peacemuseum.org.uk>

The Peace Museum explores the events and history of people and organisations that have worked to promote peace, nonviolence and conflict resolution.

also see International Network of Museums for Peace <http://inmp.net>

Medact, Medical Action for Global security, <http://www.medact.org>

A group of health professionals involved with the effects of war, conflict and environmental change on health. It is involved promoting positive action on preventing violent conflict, improving health and on raising the standards of health care worldwide.

MANA, Musicians against Nuclear Arms <http://www.mana.org.uk>

Mana organises concerts for peace. Founded in 1983, it has over four hundred members.

At the concerts it has a speaker on peace issues and the collection raises money for peace groups. Incorporated into Musicians for Peace.

Oxford Research Group <http://www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk>

ORG is a leading independent think-tank pioneering the idea of sustainable approaches to security as an alternative to violent global confrontation, through original research, wide ranging dialogue and practical policy recommendation. Founded in 1982 by Dr Scilla Elsworthy and others in Oxford it has now moved to London. It's intellectual and non partisan approach has gained respect from Governments and policy makers.

Scientists for Global Responsibility <http://www.sgr.org.uk>

A group of scientists, engineers, IT professionals and architects committed to promoting science, design and technology that contribute to peace, social justice and environmental sustainability. It was founded in 1992 from merger of Scientists against Nuclear arms, Electronics and Computing for peace and psychologists for peace. Joined by Architects for Peace and Engineers for Social Responsibility.

United Nations Association <http://www.una.org.uk>

A British organisation with over 50 branches around the country which promotes the aims of the United Nations. It informs about the work of the UN and promotes many campaigns to make the world a safer place.

Women in Black <http://www.womeninblack.org/en/about>

is a world-wide network of women committed to peace with justice and actively opposed to injustice, war, militarism and other forms of violence.

eg Women stand in Princes Street in Edinburgh every Saturday to show solidarity with the victims of war and against the futility of war and its destruction of human rights.

The Peace People <http://www.peacepeople.com>

Founded by Betty Williams and Mairead Corrigan, two Belfast mothers who were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize 1976.

It is committed to building a just and peaceful society through nonviolent means – a society based on respect for each individual and that has at its core the highest standards of human and civil rights.

Twinning associations. <http://www.twinning.org/en/page/a-quick-overview.html>

Tavistock to Celle in Germany and to Pontivy in France

Amnesty International <http://www.amnesty.org.uk>

Campaign organisation whose purpose is to protect people wherever justice, fairness, freedom and truth are denied.

Human Rights Watch www.hrw.org

An international organisation based in New York which conducts research and advocacy on human rights. It opposes violation of basic human rights with research and campaigns.

Sometimes it is thought to be too closely aligned to US foreign policy particularly in relation to Latin America.

Child Soldier International <http://www.child-soldiers.org>

Human rights organisation seeking to end military recruitment and use in hostilities, in any capacity, of any person under the age of 18 by state armed forces or non-state armed groups.

JNV Justice Not Vengeance <http://www.j-n-v.org>

Justice Not Vengeance (JNV) is an anti-war group which has developed out of ARROW (Active Resistance to the Roots of War). JNV opposes the US-UK 'war on terrorism', and campaigns for a peaceful resolution of international conflicts, based on justice and equality. JNV has adapted the core principles developed by ARROW.

Stop the War Coalition www.stopwar.org.uk

A campaigning group formed in 2001 to oppose American intervention in other countries pursuing their War on Terror. It was very active in opposing the 2002 invasion of Iraq and the invasion of Afghanistan. It supports the Palestinians and campaigns against the military/industrial complex. It is thought to be influenced by the Socialist Worker Party.

Section 10

War or Peace

These notes have been taken from our Exhibition 'The Challenging Road to Peace since the First World War.'

What makes war more likely?

Nationalism, Propaganda, Public support

Rise of nationalist parties in Europe, India and Japan.

United States centric view of the world.

Encouragement of the fear of foreigners.

Power of TV, Internet and the Press.

Ineffectual negotiating bodies

Use of the veto in the United Nations.

Obstruction towards the International Criminal Court by the United States.

Refusal of Israel to follow UN resolutions.

Lack of real nuclear disarmament as required by the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

War Planning

Military exercises by Russia, NATO, China, Japan.

North and South Korea.

Sudan in Darfur.

Arming of brutal regimes like Syria, Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

Treaties

NATO - obligation for member countries to spend more on Arms

Arms Race

The world spends \$1,756,000,000,000 every year on arms.

Over \$200 for every child, woman and man in the world.

The new British nuclear missiles system, Trident, will cost £100 billion.

The power and unaccountability of the military-industrial complex.

Indifference of the ruling elite

1989 Tiananmen Square, China - 200 killed

2003 Millions march against the invasion of Iraq

The unaccountability of EU bureaucrats in Brussels

The threat to use nuclear missiles even though the use is against International Law

Unrest at Home

Increasing inequality of wealth

Poor representation of the people, (China, Burma)

Abuse of power in North Korea

Imprisonment without trial, torture, disappearances.

Violent suppression of independence movements eg Russia in Chechnya and China in Tibet. Burma, India, Bahrain, Indonesia.

Cultural attitudes

War is an acceptable way of resolving international disputes.

Inappropriate power is held by military leaders.

Militarisation of children in schools.

Belief that 'My Country' is on the side of Right/Justice/Civilisation.

Seeing war as a religious duty.

Intolerance of other cultures and beliefs and fear of foreigners.

Economic interest

Need for gas and oil leads to support for countries with poor human rights.

Treaties that are advantageous to rich countries leads to economic strife in poorer countries.

The belief that a country has a right to obtain its economic needs by military force.

The interference by a country in its neighbours' affairs, eg The United States in Cuba and Nicaragua.

Climate change

The increase in climate change will threaten food production and access to clean water leading to a major potential for conflict.

Population pressure

Lack of provision of family planning and subjugation of women leads to unsustainable increases in population. Overpopulation leads to poverty, malnutrition and internal conflict. It may lead to a country to seek more land from neighbouring states.

What helps to keep a peaceful world?

International cooperation

European Union
United Nations,
WHO,
UNICEF.
UNESCO,
World Food Programme (WFP)
UN Peace keeping force.
The International Court of Justice in the Hague
The International Criminal Court
International science and space programmes
Student exchanges

Public participation

The involvement of ordinary people in policy.
Politicians who represent the wishes of the people.

International negotiation

Resolving disputes with the help of International bodies.

Respect for law

Respect for Treaties and Laws made by the United Nations

Fair distribution of resources and wages

Societies that care for all their citizens

Human Rights

Respect for the rights of all people
Monitoring of abuses by Amnesty International
Giving a sense of responsibility and a need to act

Empowerment of women

Giving equal rights and opportunities to women can transform societies. Alongside they need to be given the opportunity to control their fertility.

Progressive disarmament

Reducing, then abolishing, Nuclear weapons (This is being done with chemical weapons,) 1993 Chemical Weapons Convention
1999 Landmine Treaty in Ottawa
2008 Cluster Bomb Treaty
2013 Arms Trade Treaty regulating sale of armaments.

Regional cooperation pacts

OSCE, Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe,
USAN, Union of South American Nations,
CELAC, Community of Latin American and Caribbean States

Understanding and tolerance of other cultures

Education about tolerance and conflict resolution in schools and the media.

Wise Government**Economic interest**

Trading practices that help both sides.

Using negotiation rather than force to protect one's interests.

Regulation of powerful multinational companies.

Section 11

The Challenges on the Road

There are many challenges and this section can be expanded.

Boy/Girl soldiers - the Combined Cadet Force

Trident nuclear weapons

Depleted uranium

Nationalism

Use of veto in the Security Council in UN

US and other States refusal to recognise judgements from the International Court of Justice

Aggressive expansion of territory (Russia/Israel)

Arms trade and the Arms race and military/industrial complex

Lack of nuclear disarmament

Drones

Ignoring International law (Bush)

The use of torture and illegal detention (Guantanamo Bay/rendition)

Lack of conflict resolution

Blocks on the road to Peace - **Boy/Girl soldiers -- the Combined Cadet Force**

UNICEF -- A Child soldier

‘any child- boy or girl- under 18 years old who is part of any kind of regular or irregular armed force or armed group in any capacity’

<http://www.cfr.org/human-rights/child-soldiers-around-world/p9331>

1914

Many adolescents were encouraged to join the military. They joined the Church Lads Brigade and were given uniforms, haversacks and leather belts and pretended to be soldiers.

About 250,000 boy soldiers were recruited and fought in the First World War. They lied about their age and did not have to produce a birth certificate until conscription was introduced in 1916.

Officially the recruitment age to the Army was 18 and to fight overseas one had to be 19 years old. This had recently been lowered by a year. (A boy could enlist in the Territorial Army aged 17). Most other European nations recruited twenty-one year olds.

In the Battle of Loos 50,000 troops were killed. 3,600 were less than 19 years old.

In the Battle of the Somme 18,000 boy soldiers were killed or wounded.

The gravestone of Rifleman V J Strudwick an a Commonwealth War Graves cemetery just outside Ypres does have his true age of 15 years.

John Condon of Waterford was thought to be aged 13 when he was killed at Ypres on 24 May 1915.

In March 1918 due to shortage of soldiers the age of conscription was extended to 51 years old and a lad could fight overseas aged 18½ years often after only four months training. In August 1918 as the allied offensive succeeded the overseas age was raised again to nineteen. Conscription was also extended to Ireland but never implemented.

http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/boy_soldiers.htm

<http://www.cwgc.org/find-war-dead/casualty/491331/CONDON,%20JOHN>

Officers could initially serve overseas aged seventeen. This was later raised to age eighteen and in October 1916 to age nineteen.

Boys could enlist in the navy as young as fourteen and could be sent on foreign service aged sixteen.

2014

The minimum age to join the British army is 16.

20% to 30% of new recruits are 16 to 17 years old.

The adolescent can sign a 6 year contract.

Young soldiers cannot be deployed to a combat zone before 18 years of age.

In the Iraq conflict, fifteen 17 year olds were sent to Iraq ‘inadvertantly.’

The UK has the lowest recruitment age in Europe - age 16.

The UN Committee on the Rights of the Child have asked the UK to raise its minimum recruitment age to 18 years.

The UK has blocked changes to protocols to make 18 years old the minimum age for recruitment to the Armed forces.

Under 18 a child may not buy alcohol or join the police force.

A police officer has to have 6 years experience before he/she has firearms training.

The UK is the only permanent member of the UN Security Council to recruit 16 year-olds.

Very few EU countries recruit 17 year olds.

In 2011 the UK recruited more 16 year olds than 17 year olds.

28% of the Army recruits are less than 18 years old.

The UK child recruits have to serve a longer minimum service (6 years until aged 22) than adults (2011).

A report from August 2013 found that those child soldiers recruited aged 16 were twice as likely to die as a consequence of deployment to Afghanistan (after the age of 18) than those who enlisted as adults.

http://www.forceswatch.net/sites/default/files/Young_age_at_army_enlistment_greater_risks%28FINAL%29.pdf

The Combined Cadet Force - CCF

A child can join aged 13.

A child is given a military uniform, trains in military drill, given instruction in military history and ethos and takes part in military style exercises with blank ammunition. They are driven around in military vehicles and occasionally have flights in military aircraft like helicopters.

A child aged 14 is taught to use military rifles (Skills at Arms).

They are enticed by offers of travel to Canada, South Africa, France or the Himalayas.

They are encouraged to join the armed forces. Recruitment process with form filling can start at 15 years 9 months.

The CCF is not part of the armed forces but is funded by them. The children unconsciously associate the fun and enjoyment of the CCF with the Armed Forces.

In November 2012 the Department of Education outlined their ambition to promote a military ethos in schools across the country. Through developing projects such as Troops to Teachers and expanding scheme such as the cadets and other alternative military provision in schools the Government is now actively encouraging schools to foster a military ethos.

<http://www.education.gov.uk/childrenandyoungpeople/youngpeople/militaryethos>

<http://forceswatch.net/blog/militarising-education>

Organisations

Forces Watch www.forceswatch.net

ForcesWatch challenges the ethics of military recruitment and questions the climate of uncritical national pride in the armed forces. It observes and responds to ways in which the military is being promoted as a normal part of everyday life. It believes that uncritical support for the armed forces stifles concerns about how young people are recruited and limits debate on alternatives to war.

Child Soldiers International www.child-soldiers.org

Child Soldiers International is an international human rights research and advocacy organisation. It seeks to end the military recruitment and the use in hostilities, in any capacity, of any person under the age of 18 by state armed forces or non-state armed groups. We advocate for the release of unlawfully recruited children, promote their successful reintegration into civilian life, and call for accountability for those who unlawfully recruit or use them.

http://www.child-soldiers.org/research_report_reader.php?id=101

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Boy soldiers of the Great War (2006) by Richard van Emden
Account of some of the underage recruits to the British army

Kitchener's lost boys: From playing fields to the killing fields by John Oakes (2009)
Examines underage recruitment

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1914

Minimum age of recruitment to the Armed forces = 18

Minimum age for service overseas = 19

2014

Minimum age of recruitment to the Armed forces = 16

Minimum age for service overseas = 18

Is this progress?

Other web information

<http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/FWWboy.htm>

<http://www.greatwar.nl/frames/default-children.html>

<http://www.abroadintheyard.com/identity-of-12-year-old-ww1-veteran-revealed/>

<https://www.awm.gov.au/encyclopedia/boysoldiers/>

<http://www.childrens-war-museum.co.uk/great-war/>

<http://www.independent.ie/world-news/europe/tragedy-of-250000-wwi-boy-soldiers-uncovered-25910535.html>

http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/Resource%20Pack%202012_updated_0.pdf

Notes on service in the armed forces

Second world war

26 April 1939 Limited conscription for men aged 20 and 21

1st September 1939 the National Service (Armed Forces) Act introduced conscription for men aged 18-41. A conscience clause was included.

18 December 1941 single women aged twenty to thirty were included for war work. (This act did not have a conscience clause)

September 39 - Spring 1940 50,000 men went to a tribunal

They could be categorised as :

A Unconditional exemption

B Work of national importance under civil control

C Non combatant work around the military -the Non Combatant Corps

D Directed to military service

2,937 were granted total exemption.

The rest did some form of civilian work. However 6,500 including over 400 women were sentenced to some form of imprisonment, most for less than a year.

Generally 14% were granted unconditional exemption.

This dropped to 2% by 1941

There were 62,000 Conscientious Objectors (of whom 1704 were women) in total

Some were repeatedly imprisoned (especially Jehovah Witnesses who have no hierarchy). In 1943 a concession was made that after the third prison sentence the man would be discharged.

The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors under the chairmanship of Fenner Brockway advised and assisted COs.

The Friends Ambulance Unit was reformed in 1939 and 1300 men and women joined.

Cold war 1945 -1990

The world was divided into two spheres of competing influence.

The United States took the lead and united with Western Europe under NATO and the Soviet Union dominated Eastern Europe in a union of the The Warsaw Pact.

It was characterised by a state of tension and hostility between the two power blocs. There was intense competition for areas of influence, elected Governments were unseated, espionage and undercover influence was rife and often unsavory regimes were supported. There was a massive conventional and nuclear arms race.

National Service

To provide enough men to police the deteriorating situation in the British colonies and to provide a defence against a projected Soviet invasion of Western Europe, Britain continued conscription through 1948 National Services Act effective from 1st January 1949 in which every male citizen between eighteen and twenty had to do 18 months military training and serve four years in the reserve. In 1950 after the Korean War started military service was extended to 2 years. Northern Ireland was excluded from the Act. The last National Service intake was in December 1960.

Over three and half million men did National Service and 9,000 registered as COs. Between 1949 and 1963 395 conscripts were killed in action.

The Red hand day Campaign

http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/Resource%20Pack%202012_updated_0.pdf

Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of Children in Armed Conflict: Sets 18 years old as the minimum age for conscription and that volunteers under 18 are exempted from taking part in hostilities.

It has been ratified by 144 countries.

The Optional Protocol requires State parties to raise the minimum age for voluntary recruitment beyond the current minimum of 15.

Those not signed or ratified as of March 2012

Burma

North Korea

Malaysia

Papua New Guinea

United Arab Emirates

Zimbabwe

A number of small island states and some west African countries

Those signed but not ratified include

Ethiopia

Ghana

Indonesia

Iran

Nigeria

Pakistan

Zambia

Blocks on the road to Peace - Trident nuclear weapons

The United States is the only country to use nuclear weapons in a war.

A Nuclear bomb was dropped on Hiroshima on 6 August 1945 killing 80,000 children, women and men.

A Nuclear bomb was dropped on Nagasaki on 9 August 1945 killing 40,000 children, women and men.

It was not necessary to do this to end the war against Japan. It was a war crime.

(<http://www.washingtonsblog.com/2012/10/the-real-reason-america-used-nuclear-weapons-against-japan-to-contain-russian-ambitions.html>)

Countries possessing nuclear weapons

United States

Russia

France

United Kingdom

China

Israel

India

Pakistan

North Korea

During the Cold War 1945 -1990 the Western allies and the USSR (Russia) built up a huge arsenal of nuclear warheads and used to target them on their enemies. There was nearly a nuclear bomb exchange during the Cuba crisis of 1962.

There have been numerous times when military planners or politicians have considered the use of nuclear weapons as an offensive weapon - Bombing of Hanoi in the Vietnam war, possible use against Argentina in the Falklands war, calls to bomb ('nuke') North Korea and Iran.

Numerous treaties have been signed to try to control the arsenal.

The Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (1970) limits nuclear weapons to those countries already with nuclear weapons. In exchange they will share their knowledge of the peaceful use of nuclear technology and **will pursue nuclear disarmament aimed at the ultimate elimination of nuclear arsenals.**

It encourages states to ease international tension and strengthen international trust.

In April 2009 President Obama stated a goal of a “**world without nuclear weapons**”

The International Court of Justice (ICJ), in its [advisory opinion on the Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons](#),

"There exists an obligation to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control."

The United Kingdom has four Vanguard submarines.
Each submarine carries up to 16 Trident missiles
Each missile carries up to 12 nuclear bombs.
In 1998 it was announced that each submarine would only carry 48 nuclear bombs.

2006 Tony Blair decided to replace Trident with warheads reduced by 20% to 160.
2010 The Coalition Government are pressing ahead with the Trident replacement which is due to come into service in 2028.
Each submarine will carry 8 missiles and the number of nuclear bombs carried will be reduced to 40 from 48 meaning each missile would carry upto 5 nuclear bombs.

Why Trident should not be replaced

Not effective nuclear disarmament.

The plans commit UK to a nuclear arsenal for another 50 years.

The people are against

Polls show that about two thirds of the British people do not want Trident replaced.

Retired military leaders are against

Many retired military leaders are against nuclear weapons since they cannot be used in military conflict.

Morality

The International Court of Justice in 1996 judged it generally illegal to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons.

Cost

£100 billion over the lifetime of the system.

£25 billion for the submarines

£4-6 billion on infrastructure and warheads (nuclear bombs)

£2 billion pa running costs for 30 years

This could be better spent on the people of the United Kingdom for instance in improving our schools and hospitals.

Dependency on the United States

The missile system requires close collaboration with the United States such that missiles are often leased from the US. There is reason to believe that our dependency has allowed the US to persuade us to support their more extreme actions.

Would you use a nuclear bomb?

see www.nuclearmorality.com

Blocks on the road to Peace - **Depleted Uranium - a chemical poison looking for a war**

Depleted uranium is a high density, radioactive byproduct of the nuclear industry. It is expensive to dispose of.

So a new use has been found; the armour plating of tanks and the tips of shells.

Unfortunately when it is involved in an explosion it ignites and can be inhaled by those who survive the explosion.

There is significant concern among scientists about the long term effects of DU on health. If inhaled after an explosion it causes kidney damage and cancer.

400 tonnes of DU ammunition were fired by jets and tanks in the two Iraq wars. Its use in Iraq is suspected to be associated with an increase in birth defects and leukaemia

2005 The United States has 686,000 tons of Depleted Uranium waiting for a use.

2006 The European Parliament called for a complete ban. It classified the use of DU, along with white phosphorus, as inhumane.

2007 Belgium banned the use of conventional weapons that contain uranium.

2007 United States, UK, France, Netherlands and the Czech Republic voted against an UN resolution seeking to ban the use of DU.

2012 In the United Nations General Assembly 155 countries were concerned about the health effects of DU and voted for 'a precautionary approach' to the use of DU. The US and Israel were joined by the UK and France who voted against the motion. The UK has until recently disposed of some of its DU shells by firing them on a military firing range into the sea at Solway Firth in Scotland.

Tungsten is a suitable alternative.

But then we would have to process DU in more conventional way.

(For more information see CADU, Campaign Against Depleted Uranium, <http://www.cadu.org.uk>)http://www.iaea.org/newscenter/features/du/du_qaa.shtml

Blocks on the road to Peace - Nationalism

‘Patriotism is the love of ones country, nationalism is the dislike of foreigners’

This is a complicated subject. Certainly a nation and its politicians can rally support by encouraging fear of foreigners or raising the threat of invasion or a threat to the well being of the nation. This can be supported by newspapers, books, television and social media.

Citizens are encouraged to behave in a similar way (flying an American flag in their front garden after the attack on the Twin Towers). The US President George Bush said in September 2001, ‘Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists’.

In a time of increasing movement around the world with parents from different nations, the concept of belonging to one country becomes blurred.

‘The world is my country, all mankind are my brethren, and to do good is my religion’

Thomas Paine (1737 -1809)

Consider some of the following quotations:

‘Patriotism is not enough. I must have no hatred or bitterness towards anyone.’

Edith Cavell

‘A patriot must always be ready to defend his country against his Government.’

Edward Abbey

‘Patriotism is supporting your country at all times and your Government when it deserves it.’

Mark Twain

‘People who enjoy waving flags don’t deserve to have one.’

Banksy

Blocks on the road to Peace - Use of veto in the Security Council in UN

The five permanent members of the Security Council have a right to veto any resolution. This has resulted in much international inaction against war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Before 1965 most vetoes were cast by the Soviet Union often against new members joining the UN in protest at the refusal to admit all the Soviet republics.

Since 1966, out of the 153 vetoes cast, 119 were issued by one of the Council’s three NATO members: the United States, the UK or France.

Recent vetoes:

2015 Russia against setting up an international tribunal into MH17 air disaster in Ukraine

2015 Russia in a resolution about Bosnia and Herzegovina

2014 China and Russia against a resolution condemning Syria

2011 - 2012 Russia and China on four resolutions against Syria

2011 United States against a resolution condemning Israeli settlements in the West Bank

2009 Russia and China against a resolution about Russian invasion of Georgia

2007 China and Russia against a resolution about Myanmar

1988 - 2006 United States against twenty one different resolutions about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict

1989 United States, UK and France against a resolution condemning US invasion of Panama.

1987 UK and United States against a resolution condemning the apartheid regime in South Africa (also in 1986). There were 14 vetoes by the UK and US on resolution about Namibia (a UN mandated territory) and about South Africa between 1975 and 1986.

The United States has consistently applied the veto to any resolution concerning the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Blocks on the road to Peace -

US and other States refusal to recognise judgements from the International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice was established by the United Nations in 1945 and based in The Hague. It settles legal disputes between nations and provides advisory opinions on legal questions.

Iran. The American Embassy in Teheran was occupied by revolutionaries in 1979 and many staff were held hostage. Iran refused to participate in a case brought by the United States.

The United States was involved in a covert war between 1983-84 supporting Contra terrorists against the Government of Nicaragua. The United States forces attacked naval installations and laid mines at the entrance to Managua port which resulted in ships being sunk. Nicaragua took the United States to the Court which ruled that the United States' covert war against Nicaragua was in violation of International law. The United States withdrew from compulsory jurisdiction in 1986 and used its veto in the Security Council to prevent enforcement.

Nuclear weapons

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_Court_of_Justice_advisory_opinion_on_the_Legality_of_the_Threat_or_Use_of_Nuclear_Weapons)

[International_Court_of_Justice_advisory_opinion_on_the_Legality_of_the_Threat_or_Use_of_Nuclear_Weapons](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_Court_of_Justice_advisory_opinion_on_the_Legality_of_the_Threat_or_Use_of_Nuclear_Weapons)

In 1994 the Court was asked for an Advisory opinion about the threat or use of nuclear weapons.

It decided that there was no law either authorising or prohibiting the threat or use of nuclear weapons.

The opinion was split 7 to 7 about 'the threat or use of nuclear weapons would generally be contrary to the rules of international law applicable in armed conflict in particular the rules and principles of humanitarian law.' Three dissenting judges felt that that did not agree that is no exception under any circumstances to the principle that the use of nuclear weapons is illegal.

However in discussion it became quite clear that the use of nuclear weapons on civilian populations would be against international and humanitarian law.

All 14 judges agreed:

There exists an obligation to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control.

Rejection of the International Criminal Court

In 2002 the International Criminal Court was created in The Hague, under the auspices of the United Nations, to prosecute war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. 122 states are members.

Thirty one including Russia have signed but not ratified the treaty.

China, India, Indonesia and Saudi Arabia are amongst countries not to sign or ratify.

Israel, Sudan and the United States have decided to withdraw from the treaty. All the cases heard so far have been from Africa.

In the **United States**, the Bush Administration has been hostile to the Treaty and has sought guarantees from other countries to grant US citizens immunity from the Court (Bilateral Immunity Agreements). It had threatened foreign aid grants to these states if they do not comply. It also authorised the President to use military force to free any military personnel held by the Court. This stance has been softened under President Obama.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_and_the_International_Criminal_Court

Blocks on the road to Peace - **Aggressive expansion of territory (Russia/Israel)**

Most powerful countries have a record of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries which is against International Law.

However it is particularly forbidden for countries to acquire extra land by invasion. Two countries stand out as examples of blatant land grabbing.

Russia

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia has been seeking to reimpose its influence on neighbouring newly independent Republics. On the excuse of freeing Russian speaking minorities from the discriminatory neighbouring Government, it has supported the breakaway provinces of Abkhazia and South Ossetia that are officially part of Georgia. It has given financial and military support and in 2008 during an increase in tension, when Georgia attacked South Ossetia, Russian troops invaded other provinces of Georgia. Russia then recognised the independent Governments of Abkhazia and South Ossetia which are now basically client provinces of Russia. UN observers left Georgia in 2009 after a Russian veto in the UN.

In 2014 Russia annexed the Crimea which was officially part of the Ukraine. It is in 2015 involved in supporting the breakaway movement in Eastern Ukraine with many indications that it may annex this territory or again create a client province.

Israel

In 1947 the United Nations decided that Palestine was to be divided into two states. The Jewish people were given 57% of the Palestinian land and an independent Jerusalem was created under UN trusteeship. A civil war broke out with Palestinians hoping to regain what they saw as their property. Israeli forces soon established a firm control as they expelled more Palestinians and took more land including West Jerusalem. The new State of Israel was finally established in 1948.

After the 1967 war, Israel has occupied the West bank which is against International law. It has progressively built Israeli settlements so that there are now over half a million Israelis living in Palestinian territory. Israel continues to act as an occupying power and make life of the Palestinians difficult by confiscating land, destroying buildings, cutting down plantations and imprisonment without trial. It has consistently refused to comply with United Nations resolutions about its illegal occupation of the West bank and its subjugation of the Palestinian people. The long term goal is for the whole of the West bank to become part of Israel.

The United States has given uncritical support by giving 40% of its foreign aid to Israel including sophisticated weaponry, allowed Israel to develop nuclear weapons and by using its veto consistently in the Security Council on any resolution affecting Israel especially relating to Israel's illegal occupation of Palestinian territory.

Between 1988 - 2006 the United States used its veto in the Security Council against twenty one different resolutions about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Palestinians now occupy 10% of their original land.

Blocks on the road to Peace -

Arms trade

Arms race and military/industrial complex

Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed.

This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children. The cost of one modern heavy bomber is this: a modern brick school in more than 30 cities. It is two electric power plants, each serving a town of 60,000 population. It is two fine, fully equipped hospitals. It is some fifty miles of concrete pavement. We pay for a single fighter with a half-million bushels of wheat. We pay for a single destroyer with new homes that could have housed more than 8,000 people. . . . This is not a way of life at all, in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron

President Dwight Eisenhower, President of USA from 1953-61

Supreme Commander of Allied Forces in Europe 1944-45

Eight years later in 1961 after a huge increase in military spending he introduced the term '**The military industrial complex**' in his farewell address.

It describes the policy and monetary relationships which exist between legislators, national armed forces, and the arms industry that supports them. These relationships include political contributions, political approval for military spending, lobbying to support bureaucracies, and oversight of the industry.

“This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence — economic, political, even spiritual — is felt in every city, every statehouse, every office of the federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society. In the councils of government, **we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military–industrial complex.** The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists, and will persist. We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals so that security and liberty may prosper together.”

The world spends \$1,756,000,000,000 every year on arms.

Over \$200 for every child, woman and man in the world.

Annual US development aid budget is \$32 billion.
Annual US military's budget is \$530 billion.

The new British nuclear missiles system, Trident, will cost £100 billion.

The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute <http://www.sipri.org> has up to date information on the arms industry.

The military-industrial complex is extremely powerful and often not accountable. British Aerospace, (BAE), one of the world's largest arms manufacturers, is one of the largest firms in the UK and has huge support from Government. It exerts a disproportionate power in Government.

In the nineteen eighties the UK Government cut back Research and Development in almost all areas except in the Arms industry. Politicians and members of the Royal family regularly support trade missions that seek to sell British Armaments overseas. Arms sales, unlike other export, are given preferential Export guarantees through the Export Credits Guarantee Department.

Britain has made large profits from sales of Armaments to many States that are known to abuse Human Rights like Saudi Arabia and Egypt. In many arms sales it is thought that upto 10% of the sales is paid in secret bribes to middle men in tax havens who funnel the money back to the establishment in the purchasing country.

Al-Yamamah Arms deal

This is a series of arms deals between 1985 and 2006 between Britain and Saudi Arabia. In 2005 BAE is said to have earned £43 billion and could earn £40 billion more.

The Serious Fraud Office conducted inquiry into BAE about bribery associated with the al-Yamamah deal. As SFO were getting close to take BAE to court in 2006, the Saudi Arabian Government threatened to cancel a £6 billion Eurofighter contract. they were stopped by The then Prime Minister T Blair stopped the SFO investigation on the grounds of national security. It was thought that the court proceedings would show extensive bribery in relations to these contracts, expose members of the Saudi Royal family and that it would affect BAE ability to trade with the United States. Bribery allegations continue and evidence accumulates in relation to arms deals especially in the Middle East. The arms trade is said to account for about 40% of the corruption in all world trade.

<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/aug/16/serious-fraud-office-arms-trade>

Arms fair

Every September one of the world's largest arms fairs DSEI (Defence Security and Equipment International) is held in London. It significant support from the British Government and members of the Royal family are frequent visitors.

Blocks on the road to Peace - **Lack of nuclear disarmament**

The 1970 Nuclear Non- Proliferation Treaty aims to further the goal of nuclear disarmament and general and complete disarmament.

The signatories have agreed to work towards easing international tension and strengthening international trust. They are obliged to follow a goal of halting nuclear weapons production and reducing the quantity and removing nuclear weapons from their arsenals.

The International Court of Justice came to a judgment in 1994 that **‘There exists an obligation to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control.’**

Israel, India and Pakistan have not signed the treaty. North Korea withdrew in 2003.

During the Cold War, the US increased its nuclear arsenal to about 70,000 warheads by 1965. The USSR followed and by 1990 had about 40,000 warheads. Since then the number held by these two countries has fallen dramatically. The estimated warheads held by each country is

United States	4,800
Russia	4,480
France	300
Israel	about 300
China	250
UK	225
Pakistan	120
India	110
North Korea	<10

In the United Kingdom the nuclear arsenal is positioned on four Vanguard submarines.

Each submarine carries up to 16 Trident missiles.

Each missile could carry up to 12 nuclear bombs, that is a potential 768 warheads.

In 1998 it was announced that each submarine would only carry 48 nuclear bombs, ie 192 warheads in the four Vanguard submarines.

2006 Tony Blair decided to replace Trident with warheads reduced by 20% to 160.

2010 The Coalition Government are pressing ahead with the Trident replacement which is due to come into service in 2028.

Each submarine will carry 8 missiles and the number of nuclear bombs carried will be reduced to 40 from 48 meaning each missile would carry up to 5 nuclear bombs.

The Government have a choice of either spending \$100 billion on the replacement or not replacing the system.

Two thirds of the British public do not want Trident replaced.

The Scottish National Party won 1,454,436 votes and 56 seats in the 2015 General election and is committed to opposing a replacement.

It would be in keeping with the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) if we did not replace Trident.

The reduction from 192 warheads to 160 in a system that will come into service in 2028 and operate till at least 2050 is thought by many to be against the spirit of the NPT.

Blocks on the road to Peace - Drones

Civilian drones

There is an increasing use of drones for civilian uses like inspecting power cables on transmission lines or the structure of buildings or bridges, searching for animals like a flock of sheep on a hillside or for observing traffic.

Military drones

These have also been used for observation. However they have increasingly been used for firing rockets and killing people considered to be hostile to the United States. This extra judicial killing of people in foreign countries is against International Law but the United States seeks to justify it by their 2001 Authorisation for the use of military force. Neither the name of targets nor the place of attack are publicised routinely. In the process many innocent children, women and men have been killed. It is estimated that over 200 Pakistani children have been killed by drone weapons. Children have also been killed by drone attacks in Yemen by the United states and in Gaza by Israel.

British drones in Afghanistan have been operated since 2013 by airmen in RAF Waddington, near Lincoln.

<https://dronecampaignnetwork.wordpress.com>

Blocks on the road to Peace - **Ignoring International law (Bush)**

The Bush Administration of the United States (2001 - 2009) did not take International Law seriously and routinely disregarded it whenever it was thought to conflict with the national interests of the country.

Some of the accusations are:

The administration decided not to provide either the protection of the Geneva Conventions nor access to the normal American legal system for the detainees at Guantanamo Bay resulting in a legal limbo with abuse, torture and indefinite detention.

The Administration announced a military preemptive doctrine that would allow attacks on other countries without declaration if American interests were threatened. This includes the right to attack hostile countries that seek to make weapons of mass destruction.

The United States invaded Iraq without the authority of the United Nations, whilst negotiations were continuing and avoiding a second vote because of the threat from France to use its veto. "If we need to act, we will act, and we really don't need United Nations approval to do so," Bush said. "We really don't need anybody's permission."

The United States encouraged the use of torture on suspects by its forces despite being party to the Convention Against Torture.

Chain of Command by Seymout Hirsh 2004 examines the link with Bush, Rumsfeld and the Administration that leads to Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo abuses.

The Senate produced a report in 2014 confirming torture by Americans but there will be no prosecutions.

The United States undermined the United Nations. There was coercion and bribery in seeking to obtain votes for the invasion of Iraq in 2001. Countries were reminded that when the Yemen voted against the 1991 Gulf war despite threats from the US, three days later the United States cut its entire aid budget to the Yemen.

In 2005 it continued to undermine the United Nations by appointing Roger Bolton as its Ambassador. John Bolton was hostile to the United Nations throughout his stay. ("there is no United Nations... there is an international community that occasionally can be led by the only real power left in the world, and that's the United States, when it suits our interests, and when we can get others to go along.")

http://www.progressive.org/mag_rothschild0303

for an alternative view see:

<http://scholarship.law.duke.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1035&context=djclpp>

Blocks on the road to Peace -

The use of torture and illegal detention

(Guantanamo Bay/extraordinary rendition)

After the attack on the Twin Towers in 2001 the United States faced aggression from Al Qaeda and subsequently the Taliban after their invasion of Afghanistan. They captured and arrested many people who were suspected of being of either organisation. These detainees were interrogated and often tortured. Many were flown to Guantanamo Bay, a naval base in Cuba which was outside American civil legal jurisdiction. Some were kidnapped in other countries and some were sent from Iraq. Altogether 778 people were brought to Guantanamo Bay.

The Administration decided not to provide either the protection of the Geneva Conventions nor access to the normal American legal system for the detainees at Guantanamo Bay resulting in a legal limbo with abuse, torture and indefinite detention.

The accounts that have come from Guantanamo recount persistent humiliations and abuse of the prisoners. Much of the aggression from the military guards came from a desire to punish them for the attack on the Twin Towers. Nearly 200 were released by mid 2004. About 20 were under 18 years of age. The Centre for Policy and Research considers most were not particularly dangerous but were low level people who had been handed over on payment of a bounty.

By 2011 600 had been released most without charge. As of 2013, 46 detainees were designated to be detained indefinitely despite none having faced an impartial court hearing.

In August 2015 there were still 116 detainees. In 2010, a Government review considered 52 remaining detainees to be of minimal risk. Amongst these is Shaker Aamer, a British citizen. He has been cleared for release by the US Justice Department, The State Department, the Department of Homeland Security and the Office of the Director of National Intelligence. Only the Pentagon refuses to release him apparently in opposition to President Obama's wish to close Guantanamo Bay.

The United States encouraged the use of torture on suspects by its forces despite being party to the Convention Against Torture.

Chain of Command by Seymour Hersh 2004 examines the link with Bush, Rumsfeld and the Administration that leads to Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo abuses.

The Senate produced a report in 2014 confirming torture by Americans but there will be no prosecutions.

The routine use of torture and abuse of detainees is a continuing source of concern for Human Rights Organisations.

In 2004 it became clear that the United States was secretly transporting detainees to foreign countries where they were held in secret custody, interrogated and tortured to obtain information. This is against International Law and US Federal Law.

From 2001 to 2005 the CIA captured between 150 and 3,000 people and transported them around the world. Many were abducted illegally. Many were flown through airports in the UK without the captain of the plane giving details of their cargo. There was a secret interrogation centre Stare Kiejkuty in Poland and detainees were routinely handed over to Syrian, Jordanian, Egyptian and Moroccan security police where they were almost certainly interrogated under torture.

There is suspicion that detainees were interrogated by the CIA on American warships in order to keep the proceedings and locations secret. It is also considered that the British Indian Ocean dependency of Diego Garcia was used for rendition flights and interrogation. There are no records of these interrogations or even what happened to the detainees. In particular there is no record of how many died and what happened to their bodies.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Extraordinary_rendition

Blocks on the road to Peace -

Lack of conflict resolution

Throughout the western world there is a lack of education and leadership about conflict resolution. The politicians have been quick to react to events by threatening other people which is backed by having a powerful and influential military.

There have been many small local initiatives to conflict resolution but these have not been very effective against the might of the military industrial complex.

During the thirty years of the British Civil war in Northern Ireland there were many small and in some cases very effective initiatives at resolving conflict.

The peace movement often led by Quakers have done much to impress the need for conflict resolution. The Oxford Research Group has done this at a high level in Government and Medact has done much research in this area. President Gorbachev was influenced significantly in his Perestroika programme by Dr Bernard Lown of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear Weapons (IPPNW). He worked hard at confidence building and reducing conflict between the USSR and the US.

Many British schools are dominated by the ethos around patriotism and the Combined Cadet Force. Very few secondary schools run courses on conflict resolution in the Personal and Social Education programme.

Conflict occurs frequently in everyone's life and often the inability to resolve personal conflict leads to aggression and relationship problems.

There is a need in our society to reform the way we regard conflict and for skills and the ethos of conflict resolution and confidence building should be a core part of everyone's life. This then needs to be built up in our national and international negotiations.

Section 12

Appendix One -

One hundred years of Wars and Weapon development

Continuing wars and conflicts

See 'List of wars 1900 - 44, 45-89, in Wikipedia (weblink does not work)

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_wars_1900-44

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_wars_1945-89

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_wars_1990-2002

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_wars_2003-10

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_wars_2011-present

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_ongoing_armed_conflicts

Wars/rebellions/internal armed conflicts 1914 -2014

Approximate deaths of combatants and civilians (years of conflict) and deaths p.a.

UK took part in those in red

1914

First World War -1919

17,000,000 (6) = 2,800,000

1915

US invasion of Haiti

1916

Irish rebellion against UK

US invasion of Dominican Republic

1917

Russian Civil War - 1921

7,000,000 (5)= 1,400,000

1919

Lithuanian Wars of Independence

Poland–Czechoslovakia War

Hungarian–Romanian War

Turkish War of Independence - 1923

Third Anglo-Afghan War

Italo - Yugoslav War -1920

Irish War of Independence - 1921

Polish- Soviet War -1921

Greco- Turkish War - 1922

1920

Franco-Syrian War

Franco- Turkish War

Albanian rebellion against the Italians (Viora War)

Iraq rebellion against UK

Sudanese (Aliab Dinka) rebellion against UK

Moroccan Berber rebellion against Spain (Rif War) - 1926

Polish - Lithuanian War

Turkish - Armenian War

China internal conflict (Zhili - Anhui War)

1921

China internal conflict (Guangdong - Guangxi War)

Persian Civil War

Finnish - Soviet War

Irish Civil war - 1922

1924

Saudi - Hejaz War - 1925

1925

Greece - Bulgaria border conflict

Syrian revolt against France - 1927

North West Frontier (present day Pakistan) internal conflict

1926

Chinese Civil War - 1950

1928

Afghan Civil War

Sudanese rebellion against UK

1929

China- Soviet conflict

Nigerian internal conflict, Igbo Women's War,

1930

Vietnamese revolt against the French

China invasion of Tibet -1932

1931

Japan invasion of Manchuria - 1932

Uyghurs rebellion against China - 1934

1932

Brazilian Civil War

Ecuadorian Civil War

Japan - China War

Bolivia - Paraguay War - 1935

Colombia- Peru War -1933

Salvadoran Civil War

Ukrainian civil unrest in Soviet Union and famine

2,000,000 (2) = 1,000,000

1934

Soviet invasion of China

Austrian Civil War

Saudi - Yemen War

1935

Italian invasion of Abyssinia - 1936

1936

Palestinian rebellion against United Kingdom - 1939

Spanish Civil War -1939

750,000 (4) =200,000

Uyghurs rebellion against China

1937

Japanese - China War -1945

1938

Soviet Union - Japan conflict -1939

1939

Hungarian invasion of Carpathian - Ruthenia

Italian invasion of Albania

Second World War - 1945 50,000,000 (6) = 8,500,000

1940

Franco - Thai War

Ecuador - Peruvian War

Anglo - Iraq War

1942

Philippines Civil War - 1954

1944

Jewish rebellion in Palestine - 1947

1945

Vietnamese rebellion against the French -1946

Indonesian rebellion against Holland - 1949

Iranian Civil War - 1946

1946

First Vietnam War - 1954

Greek Civil War - 1949

1947

Paraguay Civil War

1947

Indo- Pakistan War -1948

1947

Palestine Civil War

1948

Arab - Israeli War - 1949

Costa Rican Civil War

1948

Rebellion in Malaya -1960

1950

Korean War - 1953

2,800,000 (4) = 700,000

Palestine/Israel Civil War - present day

1952

Kenyan rebellion against UK (Mau Mau)

1953

Iranian Civil War

Cuban Civil War -1959

Laotian Civil War -1975

British Guyana civil unrest

1954

Oman Civil War - 1959

Algerian rebellion against France - 1962

1955

Cyprus rebellion against UK - 1959

Sudan Civil War - 1972

Vietnam War - 1975

1956

Hungarian rebellion

Anglo/Franco/Israeli invasion of Egypt (Suez Crisis)

1957

Moroccan rebellion

1959

Tibetan rebellion against the Chinese

Basque rebellion in Spain - 2011

1960

Chinese - Burmese conflict - 1961

Congo Civil War - 1966

Guatemalan Civil War 1996

1961

Nicaraguan Civil War -1990

Iraq - Kurdish Civil War - 1970

US invasion of Cuba (Bay of Pigs)

Franco -Tunisian Conflict (Bizerte naval base)

Eritrean rebellion against Ethiopia -1991

Indian invasion of Goa

Angolan rebellion against Portugal - 1975

1962

Tuareg rebellion against Niger and Mali

North Yemen Civil War -1970

China- India conflict

Indonesian - Malaysian conflict - 1966

Dhofar rebellion in Oman - 1976

1963

Morocco - Algerian conflict

Guinea - Bissau rebellion against Portugal

Aden rebellion against UK - 1967

1964

Zimbabwe rebellion -1979

Colombian Civil War - present

Mozambique rebellion against Portugal - 1974

1964

Zanzibar Civil War

1965

Indonesian Internal conflict

500,000+

Dominican Civil War

US invasion of Dominica

Indo - Pakistan War

Chad Civil War -1979

1966

Namibian rebellion against South Africa

South African border war - 1989

1967

Israel - Arab War (Six day War)

Israeli invasion of Palestine - present

Cambodian Civil War - 1975

Nigerian Civil War - 1970

2,000,000 (4) = 500,000

Israel - Egyptian War - 1970

Maoist Naxalite rebellion in India - present

1968

United Kingdom Civil War (Northern Ireland) - 1998

Soviet Union invasion of Czechoslovakia

1969

Civil war in the Philippines - present

El Salvador - Honduras War

Soviet - China border conflict

Papua rebellion against Indonesia - present

1971

Bangladesh rebellion against Pakistan

Indo - Pakistan War

1972

Eritrean Civil War - 1974

1973

Israel - Arab War (Yom Kippur War)

1974

Turkish invasion of Cyprus

Ethiopian Civil War - 1991

1975

Angolan Civil War - 2002

Western Saharan War -1991

Lebanese Civil War - 1990

Cambodian - Vietnamese War - 1989

**Cambodian Civil War and Genocide - 1979 1,500,000 (5)
=300,000**

Laos Civil War - 2007

Indonesian invasion of East Timor

1977

Mozambique Civil War - 1992

Libya - Egyptian War

Ethiopian - Somalia War (Ogaden)

Zaire Civil War -1978

1978

Uganda - Tanzanian War -1979

Chad - Libyan conflict - 1987

Kurdish - Turkish conflict - present

1979

China - Vietnamese War

Kurdish rebellion in Iran - 1983

Soviet invasion of Afghanistan - 1989 **1,000,000 (10) =100,000**

Salvadoran Civil War

1980

Peruvian Civil War - 2000

Iran - Iraq War -1988

1,000,000 (9) = 110,000

Eritrean Civil War - 1981

1981

Peru - Ecuador War

1982

Falklands War

Israeli invasion of Lebanon -1985

Ethiopian - Somalia border dispute

1983

US invasion of Grenada

Sri Lanka Civil War - 2009

Sudanese Civil War - 2005

1,500,000 (13) = 115,000

1984

Indo - Pakistan conflict

1987

Thai - Laos border conflict

1988

Armenia- Azerbaijan War

1989

Mauritania Senegal border conflict

US invasion of Panama

Afghanistan Civil War - 1992

Liberian Civil War -1996

Civil unrest in Kashmir - present

1990

Iraqi invasion of Kuwait

First Gulf War

Rwandan Civil War - 1993

Tuareg rebellion -1995

1991

Croatian rebellion - 1995

Sierra Leone Civil War -2002

Algerian Civil War - 2002

Somali Civil War - present

Georgian Civil War - 1993

1992

Afghanistan Civil War - 1996

Abkhazia rebellion against Georgia - 1993

Bosnian war - 1995

Tajikistan Civil War

1993

Burundian Civil War

Iraqi - Kurdish Civil War

1994

Chiapas conflict in Mexico

Rwandan Civil War and Genocide

750,000 (1)

Yemeni Civil War

Chechen rebellion in Russia - 1996

1995

Peru - Ecuador border conflict

Nepalese Civil War -2006

1996

Afghanistan Civil War -2001

Congo Civil War -2003

4,000,000 (8) = 500,000

1998

Kosovo rebellion against Serbia

Eritrean - Ethiopian War - 2000

Guinea - Bissau Civil War - 1999

1999

Indo - Pakistan border conflict (Kargil)

East Timor rebellion against Indonesia

Liberian Civil War - 2003

Chechen rebellion against Russia - 2009

2000

Palestinian rebellion against Israel

2001

Indo - Bangladesh border conflict

Civil War in Afghanistan - present **Casualties unknown ?100,000**

2002

Ivory Coast Civil War

2003

Sudanese Civil War in Darfur - present

Invasion of Iraq by US and allies - 2011

(Second Gulf War)

110,000 (9) = 12,000pa

2004

Central African Republic Civil War

2005

Civil War in Chad - 2010

2006

Israel invasion of Lebanon against Hezbollah

2007

Tuareg rebellion against Niger and Mali

2008

Cambodian - Thai border dispute

Djiboutian - Eritrean border dispute

Russian - Georgian War

Israel attack on Palestine (Gaza - Operation Cast Lead)

2009

Nigerian civil unrest (Boko Haram) - present

Yemen civil unrest - present

2010

Ivory Coast Civil War

2011

Libyan Civil War

Syrian Civil War

200,000 = 80,000 pa

South Sudan civil conflict - present

2012

Sudan - South Sudan border conflict

Central African Republic Civil War - present

ONGOING ARMED CONFLICT WITH APPROXIMATE DEATHS IN 2013

Afghanistan 5,600

Somalia 3,100

Islamic insurgency in Nigeria 1,000

North west Pakistan 5,400

Mexico drug war 11,800

Syrian civil war 73,500

Iraqi civil unrest 7,800

Central African Republic 1000

South Sudan conflict 10,000

North Caucasus rebellion against Russia 530

Sudanese internal conflict (Darfur) 430

India internal conflict (Naxalite- Maoist) 380

Philippines internal conflict (Moro) 290

Burma internal conflict 240

India internal conflict (north east) 200

Thailand internal conflict (south) 180
Indo- Pakistan border dispute (Kashmir) 170
Libyan civil unrest 160
Yemeni internal conflict 150
Nigerian internal conflict (Niger Delta) 120
Papuan rebellion against Indonesia
Palestinian rebellion against Israel

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_wars_1900-44

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_ongoing_armed_conflicts

Other events

Mao Zedong reforms in China (1949 -1976)	49 to 78,000,000
Soviet crimes against its people 1917 -1953	8 to 61,000,000
Indonesian killings 1965 -1966	100,000 - 2,000,000

Weapon Use and Development

1914-1918 – Development of machine guns, submarines, Zeppelins, light aircraft (first for reconnaissance), then specialised heavy bomber aircraft with bombsights that could target civilian populations, first aircraft carriers, mortars, tanks, flamethrowers, anti-tank mines and anti-aircraft artillery. Chlorine, phosgene, bromine, chloropicrin, mustard gas and a nerve gas from prussic acid. White phosphorous in grenades.

1918 – 1945 – Weaponry became more deadly

1937 – Spanish town Guernica bombed during Spanish Civil War – first punitive bombing of civilians in modern history

1938 – Sarin gas developed

1939 -1945 – **The Second World War** – Anti-personnel land mines first used; Cluster bombs, V 1 ('Doodlebugs') and V 2 Rockets developed; Zyklon B developed from a pesticide and used in gas chambers; Heavy bombers further developed

1945 – First atomic bomb was tested

1945 – First Nuclear bombs dropped on Hiroshima (6th August) and Nagasaki (9th August)

1945 to present - Air launched Cruise Missiles (ALCMS) developed from V-1 Rockets, but now guided by military satellites

1950 - Nuclear Hydrogen bomb developed.

1950 - NATO adopted sarin as a standard chemical weapon

1950 -53 – **Korean War** – anti-personnel mines used

1950 – **Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD)** - led to development of nuclear missile silos, ballistic missile armed submarines and nuclear bombers

1957 – Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM) developed to carry H Bombs; Medium Range Ballistic Missile (Blue Streak) developed by Britain but cancelled in 1960

1960 – **Polaris** – a nuclear-armed submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM) developed in US

1964 – Nuclear Submarines (Resolution class) developed in UK to carry Polaris nuclear missiles

1961 – 1971 – **Vietnam War** - Agent Orange (defoliant) used; laser guided missiles developed; cluster bombs and anti-personnel mines used

1965 - **United States has 30,000 Nuclear warheads**

1979 – **Trident I** - submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM) developed by US and carried on Ohio class US submarines ; Mustard gas and sarin used on Iran in the Iran-Iraq War.

1983 – Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) (Star Wars) proposed to protect US from attack by nuclear ballistic missiles

1988 – Civilian population of Halabja in northern Iraq (population 70,000) was bombarded with chemical and cluster bombs, which included sarin

1970s –onwards –Cluster bombs used in many conflicts (e.g. Iraq, Afghanistan, Kosovo); Tomahawk cruise missiles developed in US and continue to be used until the present (e.g. in Kosovo, Afghanistan, Sudan, Yugoslavia, Iraq, Yemen, Libya). **Depleted Uranium** first used in armour plating of Warsaw Pact tanks.

1980 – Royal Air Force Base Greenham Common becomes the first UK site for Ground Launched Cruise Missiles (based on US Tomahawk Cruise missiles)

1988 - **Russia has 45,000 Nuclear warheads**

1990 – **Trident II** developed and leased from US, but UK manufactures the warheads and the Vanguard class submarines (introduced 1994) that carry them

1990 – 91 – **First Gulf War** – anti-personnel mines, laser guided missiles, Tomahawk cruise missiles and depleted uranium in ammunition used

1992 – **Bosnian War** - Depleted uranium used in ammunition

1994 – Vanguard class submarines (carrying Trident II nuclear missiles) replaced Resolution class submarines (which carried Polaris nuclear missiles)

1999 – **Kosovo War** - Tomahawk cruise missiles used against targets in Yugoslavia; depleted uranium used in bombing of Serbia

2001 - Military Predator Drones developed (forerunner of newer Reaper Drones)

2003 – **Invasion of Iraq** – Tomahawk cruise missiles and depleted uranium used

2007 – First combat mission for Reaper Drones in Iraq and Afghanistan; Parliament votes to begin process of replacing Trident II nuclear armed Vanguard submarines

2008 – White phosphorous used on Gaza

2001 – present – depleted uranium used for armour piercing shells

2011 – USA and Britain used Tomahawk cruise missiles in Libya

2012 – USA, Russia and China still have stockpiles of poison gas; Reapers and Predator drones were used in Benghazi, Libya after the attack that killed the US ambassador

2013 – Reaper Drones first controlled from RAF Waddington, UK

Section 12

Appendix Two

Books, Films, Art and Music around the First World War

Books

Krieg dem Kriege! (War against War!) (1924) by Ernst Friedrich

Ernst Friedrich was a pacifist/anarchist who resisted Germany's war effort and was imprisoned. Later he led an anti authoritarian youth movement and founded the Anti-War museum in Berlin. He produced a picture book with shocking photographs of the grim reality of war.

All Quiet on the Western Front by Erich Maria Remarque (1929)

Account of the German soldiers' extreme mental and physical stress during the war and the detachment from civilian life felt by many of these soldiers on returning home from the front.

At the very beginning of the book Erich Maria Remarque says "This book is to be neither an accusation nor a confession, and least of all an adventure, for death is not an adventure to those who stand face to face with it. It will try simply to tell of a generation of men who, even though they may have escaped shells, were destroyed by the war."

Goodbye to all that by Robert Graves (1929)

Autobiography of his time as a lieutenant in France. Detailed description of trench warfare and tragic incompetence of the Battle of Loos.

War letters to a Wife by Rowland Feilding, (1930) frank letters from an officer at the front line.

Up to Mametz and Beyond by Llewelyn Wyn Griffith (1931), an account of the western Front by an officer.

Testament of Youth by Vera Brittain (1933)

Autobiographical account of her life around the First World War, her work as a nurse at the front and how it cruelly affected those around her.

The War the Infantry knew by JC Dunne (1938) account of an infantry battalion's experience on the Western front.

To Serve them All My Days by R.F. Delderfield (1972), a soldier returns from the trenches and recovering from the turmoil takes up teaching in a boy's school. The book focuses on the interwar years.

The Shooting Party (1981) by Isabel Colegate. Set over a weekend before the outbreak of war it reflects attitudes among the rich and shows the social tensions of the time.

Regeneration (1991), **The Eye in the Door** (1993), **The Ghost Road** (1995) by Pat Barker. A trilogy of anti-war books based on the treatment of officers for shell shock, following their fortunes until the end of the war.

Birdsong by Sebastian Faulkes (1993), account of a British soldier fighting in the trenches and his love affair with a French woman.

Forgotten voices of the Great War by Max Arthur (2002) and the Imperial War Museum
Collection of interviews with people who lived through the First world war. Also dramatised for stage.

To end all wars: A story of Protest and Patriotism 1914-1918 by Adam Hochschild (2011) looks at the era of the First World War in terms of the struggle between those who felt the war was a noble crusade and those who felt it was not worth the sacrifice of millions of lives.

Road to War: A First World War Girl's diary 1916 - 1917 by Valerie Wilding (2008)
A novel about a women's determination to help by driving ambulances at the Front.

Private Peaceful (2004) and **War Horse** (2011) by Michael Morpurgo
Two powerful novels about the First World War from a master story teller.

Boy soldiers of the Great War by Richard van Emden (2006)
Account of some of the underage recruits to the British army

Kitchener's lost boys: From playing fields to the killing fields by John Oakes (2009)
Examines underage recruitment

We Will Not Fight ... The untold story of World War One conscientious objectors by Will Ellsworthy Jones (2008)

Voices against War, a century of protest by Lyn Smith (2009)

We will not go to War: Conscientious Objection during the World Wars by Felicity Goodall (2010)

Telling tales about men: Conceptions about Conscientious Objectors to Military service during the First World War by Lois Bibbings (2011)

Catastrophe by Max Hastings (2014) about the causes and first few months of the war.

The war that ended peace: the Road to 1914, by Margaret Macmillan (2014) looks at the origins of the war.

(**The Great Illusion** by Norman Angell . Originally published in 1908 as a pamphlet Europe's Optical Illusion it was published for many years as The Great Illusion. He maintained that integration of the economies of European nations would make war futile.)

Imperial War Museum selection of books on First world war

The following ten titles are offered as providing solid, general outlines of the history of the First World War; they are all used extensively in IWM's FWW office. Most should be available as new and are currently in print; some of the other older titles can probably be sourced second hand on the internet. They are listed in alphabetical order of title, not preference! Publishing details are given for first publication; most now have paperback editions that are more accessible.

1. **1914–1918: the history of the First World War, David Stevenson (London: Allen Lane, 2004): an outstanding account of the global history of the war, analysing its politics and economics, as well as the military events in a very detailed but readable book. Now available in Penguin paperback. Use this if nothing else.**
2. **Forgotten Victory: the First World War, myth and realities, Gary Sheffield (London: Headline Book Publishing, 2001): a clear account of recent military history scholarship within the broader history of the war.**
3. **The First World War: a very short introduction, Michael Howard (Oxford: OUP, 2007): a very useful, concise (134 pages) history of the war giving a sound overall account.**
4. **The First World War: a new illustrated history, Hew Strachan (London: Simon & Schuster Ltd, 2003): an excellent, clear account of the war within its global context. Very readable. Now available in Pocket Books paperback.**
5. **The Great War, Ian F W Beckett (London: Longman, 2007): a first rate history covering the context, events and legacy of the war.**
6. **The Great War: myth and memory, Dan Todman (London: Hambledon, 2006): a trenchant analysis of the memory and legacy of the war within its historical context.**
7. **The Imperial War Museum Book of the First World War, Malcolm Brown (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1991): a general, thematic overview of the war based on IWM's archive collections.**

8. The Imperial War Museum Book of the Western Front, Malcolm Brown (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1993): an account of the war from the soldier's perspective using contemporary archive accounts from the IWM, providing a useful wealth of personal experience. Republished in paperback by Pan in 2001.
9. The Myriad Faces of War: Britain and the Great War, 1914–1918, Trevor Wilson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986): a detailed history of the war written by one of Australia's leading military historians giving a useful context for the war's events within British history. Republished by Faber in 2010.
10. Tommy: the British soldier on the Western Front, 1914–1918, Richard Holmes (London: Harper Collins, 2004): an engaging description of the war from the perspective of the ordinary British soldier.

Nigel Steel

Principal Historian

First World War Centenary Programme Imperial War Museums

Also

The Guns of August (1962) by Barbara Tuchman (also known as 'August 1914') describes the outbreak and first month of the war.

Poetry

There is a huge array of First World War poetry that has already been covered by the School syllabus for many years . This is not the place to expand on it.

Below are the names of some important poets:

Edward Blunden

Isaac Rosenberg

Wilfred Owen

Julian Grenfell

John McCrae

Siegfried Sassoon

Robert Graves

Philip Thomas

May Wedderburn Cannan

Ivor Gurney

David Jones

Rupert Brooke

Charles Sorley

Francis Ledwidge

Edna St Vincent Millay,

Beverly Nichols Cry Havoc! a passionate cry against the arms trade (angels of death)

Films

J'accuse (1919) dir Abel Gance

A pacifist protest depicting death, delusion and insanity in the trenches was filmed during the war and shows real soldiers under fire.

All Quiet on the Western Front (1930) dir Lewis Milestone. Oscar 1929/30
Banned in Germany, Austria, Australia, France and Italy.

La Grande illusion (1937) dir Jean Renoir

A strong anti war statement, it is an account of two French officers in a German prisoner of war camp and their escape.

Paths of Glory (1957) dir Stanley Kubrik. Kirk Douglas

When French soldiers refuse to continue with an impossible attack, their superior officers decide to make an example of them by firing squad. The French Government refused to let it be shown for 18 years and it was not released in Spain until 1986, 11 years after Franco's death.

All Quiet on the Western front (1979) dir Delbert Mann

For King and Country (1964) dir Joseph Losey. Dirk Bogarde and Tom Courtenay
The sole survivor of his company, a private 'goes for a walk'. He is accused of desertion and is defended by an officer. He is found guilty and shot to give an example to others.

Oh what a lovely war (1969) dir Richard Attenborough. All star cast.

Based on the musical, it is satirical look at events of the First World War.

Regeneration (1997) dir Gillies MacKinnon

An account of the conflict affecting Siegfried Sassoon and Wilfred Owen whilst being treated for shell shock at Craiglockhart Hospital by Dr Rivers.

The Trench (1999) dir William Boyd

Portrays a group of teenaged soldiers in the trenches on the eve of the Battle of the Somme

A very long engagement (2004)(French) dir Jean Pierre Jeunet. Audrey Tautou

It is a fictional tale about a young woman's desperate search for her fiancé who might have been killed in the Battle of the Somme during World War 1. Also covers treatment of soldiers accused of self mutilation.

Britain's Boy Soldiers (2004 TV movie) documentary about the 250,000 underage recruits to the British army in WW1

Joyeux Noel (Merry Christmas)(2005) dir Christian Carion

On Christmas Eve during world War I, the Germans, French, and Scottish fraternize and get to know the men who live on the opposite side of a brutal war, in what became a true lesson of humanity.

My Boy Jack (2007 TV movie) dir Brian Kirk

Rudyard Kipling encourages his son to go to war and suffers when he is killed.

Passchendaele (2008) Canadian dir Paul Gross

A film about the Canadian trench warfare during the Battle for Vimy Ridge with a complex interwoven love affair.

War Horse (2011) dir Stephen Spielberg

A Devon youth accompanies his horse to the Front line.

Birdsong (2012 TV series)

Account of a British soldier fighting in the trenches and his love affair with a French woman.

Plays

For My Country by Bertie Thomas (1917)

The Pacifist by John Brandon (1918)

Journey's End by R.C.Sherriff (1928)

The Silver Tassie by Sean O'Casey (1928)

Oh what a lovely War , musical by Joan Littlewood (1963)

Music

The Armed Man, A mass for Peace by Karl Jenkins

The Peacemakers by Karl Jenkins features texts from [Gandhi](#), [Martin Luther King](#), the [Dalai Lama](#), [Nelson Mandela](#), [Anne Frank](#) and [Mother Teresa](#), as well as words from the [Bible](#) and the [Qur'an](#) with some new text specially written by [Terry Waite](#).

Songs for World Peace. A website from the United States with a list of many individual songs for peace

http://www.planetpatriot.net/peace_songs.html

Web based Resources

The **Imperial War Museum** <http://www.iwm.org.uk> has an enormous amount of material. It is worth browsing the site. In particular it has thousands of photographs. However here seems to be a paucity of images that reflect the devastation of war. There are almost no images of dead soldiers!! (let alone limbs and dismembered bodies). There was censorship in the war (understandable) which has carried onto the present era.

Lives of the First World War <https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org> is a website hoping to collect together details of the 8 million people who served in the First World War.

There is a portal to 90,000 images but it is difficult to access photos that one wants to view <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/search>

There are many of the paintings of the war artists. <http://www.iwmprints.org.uk/category/17027/fine-art/first-world-war>

There is a collection of IWM paintings from both wars under:

<https://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/collection/imperial-war-museums?projectId=art-project>

There is an interesting page of art under <http://www.nicholashedges.co.uk/image-gallery/ww1.php>

The Spartacus website provides useful insight to censorship over the period <http://educationforum.ipbhost.com/index.php?showtopic=8670>

The **Spartacus** website <http://spartacus-educational.com> run by John Simkin is a veritable treasure trove of material about the First World War <http://spartacus-educational.com/FWW.htm>

There is an interesting Dutch site <http://www.greatwar.nl> that has an amazing collection of photos and good comments beside them. It has one of the most extensive collection of WW1 photos.

The anti war campaigner Ernst Friedrich produced a photobook War against War which contains horrific photographs of the destruction of the human body by warfare. This has been reprinted. He also founded the Anti War Museum in Berlin. <http://craigritchie.co.uk/archives/2581>

<http://www.endthiswar.org/war.htm>

<http://www.anti-kriegs-museum.de/english/history.html>

American website showing an alternative view full of references and links

<http://www.pbs.org/greatwar/chapters/index.html>

<http://www.pbs.org/greatwar/resources>

The work of women doctors in the First World war is reviewed under

<http://womanandhersphere.com/2014/05/06/women-and-the-first-world-war-the-work-of-women-doctors/>

Dr Mabel Ramsay was a gynaecological surgeon in Plymouth who campaigned vigorously for the National Union of Woman's Suffrage Society. She joined the Woman's Imperial Service League unit that went to Belgium in September 1914. In 1915 she worked at Chateau Tournalville Hospital, Cherbourg then moved back to Plymouth to work in a military hospital until the end of the war.

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p02nb2bl>

The Peace Pledge Union (PPU) has an extensive website about Conscientious Objectors and pacifism.

<http://www.ppu.org.uk/coproject/index.html>

<http://www.ppu.org.uk/indexstuffnew/menno.html>

<http://www.ppu.org.uk/pacifism/index.html>

Anti War Songs

General peace

- "10th Man Down" — Nightwish (2001)
- "A Little Good News" — Anne Murray (1983)
- "All These Things That I've Done" — The Killers (2004)
- "Amani" — Beyond (1991)
- "Angel's Punishment" — Lacuna Coil (2002)
- "Anti-War Dub" — Digital Mystikz (2006)
- "Armalite Rifle" — Gang of Four (1978)
- "Army Dreamers" — Kate Bush (1980)
- "Billy Don't Be a Hero" — Paper Lace (1974)
- "Blowin' in the Wind" — Bob Dylan (1963)
- "Boom!" — System Of A Down (2003)
- "Brothers in Arms" — Dire Straits (1985)
- "Captured" — Malevolent Creation (2004)
- "Civil War" — Guns N' Roses (1990)
- "Classified 1A" — Cher (1971)
- "The Crest - The Men They Couldn't Hang (1986)
- "Crying Shame"- Jack Johnson (2005)
- "Dear Darcy" - Joshua James (2006)
- "Le Déserteur" — Boris Vian (1954)
- "Disposable Heroes" — Metallica (1988)
- "The Dogs of War" — Pink Floyd (1987)
- "Europa" — Globus
- "The Fiddle and the Drum" — Joni Mitchell (1969), A Perfect Circle (2004)
- "The Field of Crying" - The Gazette (2009)
- "Fields of Mars" - Bad Religion (2007)
- "Fight War Not Wars" — Crass (1978)
- "From a Distance" — Nanci Griffith (1987)
- "The General" — Dispatch (1998)
- "The Lost Children" — Michael Jackson (2001)
- "The Ghost Of You" — My Chemical Romance (2005)
- "G.I. Blues" — Carter The Unstoppable Sex Machine (2009)
- "Gimme Peace" — Tom T. Hall (1978)
- "Give Me Love (Give Me Peace On Earth)" — George Harrison (1973)
- "Give Peace A Chance" — Plastic Ono Band, John Lennon (1969)

"Gods Of War" — Def Leppard (1987)
"Going Down In Flames" — Three Doors Down (2002)
"The Gunner's Dream" - Pink Floyd (1983)
"La Guerre de 14-18" — Georges Brassens (1962)
"Gunslinger" — Avenged Sevenfold
"Half A World Away" — Joe Cerisano (2010)
"Handlebars" — Flobots (2008)
"Harold Land" — Yes (1969)
"Happy Xmas (War Is Over)" — John Lennon (1971)
"Harmony" — Never Shout Never (2010)
"Heal The World" — Michael Jackson (1991)
"Hero Of War" — Rise Against (2008)
"Heroes and Martyrs" - Bad Religion (2007)
"HIStory" — Michael Jackson (1995)
"Hymn For The Dead" — Anti-Flag (2006)
"I Ain't Marching Anymore" — Phil Ochs (1965)
"I Don't Want To Be A Hero" — Johnny Hates Jazz (1987)
"I Drive Your Truck" — Lee Brice (2012)
"I Hope You Get Drafted" — The Dicks (1984)
"I Love A Man In A Uniform" — Gang of Four (1982)
"I Wish You Peace" — the Eagles (1975)
"If I Can Dream" — Elvis Presley (1967)
"Il Nostro Sogno (Our Dream)" — Alfio (2006)
"Imagine" — John Lennon (1971)
"In Our Garden" — Naomi Shemer (1995)
"Jet Fighter" — Butthole Surfers (2001)
"John Brown" — Bob Dylan (1962)
"Just A Dream" — Carrie Underwood (2007)
"Killing in the Name" — Rage Against The Machine (1992)
"Lay Down Your Arms" — Doron Levinson (1973)
"Lay Down Your Guns" — Emerson, Lake & Powell (1986)
"Luglio, Agosto, Settembre (Nero)" — Area (1973)
"Last Chance" — Shooting Star (1980)
"Last Night I Had the Strangest Dream" — Ed McCurdy (1950)
"Life" — Elvis Presley (1971)
"Like Toy Soldiers" - Eminem
"Living With War" — Neil Young (2006)
"Love Can Build A Bridge" — the Judds (1990)

"Love Train" — The O'Jays (1973)
"Ma Avarech (With What Shall I bless Him)" -- Rachel Shapira/Yair Rosenblum (1967)
"Major General Despair" — Crass (1982)
"Man of War" — The Jacksons (1977)
"March With Me" — Montserrat Caballé and Vangelis (1997)
"Mandatory Suicide" — Slayer (1989)
"La Marseillaise" — Léo Ferré (1967)
"Masters of War" — Bob Dylan (1963)
"Mercenary Song" — Steve Earle (1997)
"M.I.A." — Avenged Sevenfold (2005)
"Military Madness" — Graham Nash (1971)
"Miss guéguerre" — Léo Ferré (1961)
"Mr. President" — Janelle Monáe (2008)
"Never Kill Another Man" — the Steve Miller Band (1970)
"No Fuckin' War" — The Dicks (1984)
"No More Trouble" — Bob Marley & The Wailers (1978)
"One Day" — Matisyahu (2009)
"One More Parade" — Phil Ochs
"One Tin Soldier" — Original Caste (1969)
"Pacific Blues" — Léo Ferré (1961)
"Part III" — Bad Religion (1982)
"Part IV (The Index Fossil)" — Bad Religion (1988)
"Peace" — Roger Lee Hall (1981)
"Peace Sells" — Megadeth (1986)
"Peace Train" — Cat Stevens (1971)
"Peace Will Come" — Tom Paxton (1977)
"Peace Will Come (According To Plan)" — Melanie Safka (1970)
"Pick Up The Bones" — Alice Cooper (2000)
"Pipes Of Peace" — Paul McCartney (1982)
"Power & the Glory" — Saxon (1983)
"Potshot Heard 'Round The World" — Dead Kennedys (1986)
"Prayer For Peace" — Perry Como (1958)
"Prisoners of War" — Funker Vogt
"Protocol" — Gordon Lightfoot (1976)
"Rainbow Stew" — Merle Haggard (1981)
"Rambozo The Clown" — Dead Kennedys (1986)
"Ratziti Sheteda" — Uzi Hitman (1979)
"Regardez-les" — Léo Ferré (1961)

"Road To Joy" — Bright Eyes (2005)
"Rooster" — Alice In Chains (1993)
"Saraba" — The Gazette (2004)
"Sacrifice" — Motörhead (1995)
"Semper Fi" — John Gorka (1991)
"Shir LaShalom" — Lehakat HaNachal (1970)
"Short Memory" — Midnight Oil (1982)
"Soldiers" — ABBA (1981)
"The Soldier Has Come Home" — Barry Sadler (1966)
"Soldier Blue" — Buffy Sainte-Marie (1971)
"Soldier's Poem" — Muse (2006)
"Soldier Side" — System Of A Down (2005)
"Some Mother's Son" — The Kinks (1969)
"Still Spinning Shrapnel" — Skyclad (1995)
"Stop The War" — Sugar Blue (2010)
"Stupid, Stupid War" — Dirty Rotten Imbeciles
"Survivor's Guilt" — Rise Against
"Systematic Execution" — Malevolent Creation (1992)
"Take No Prisoners" — Megadeth (1990)
"Tank" — The Stranglers (1978)
"There but for Fortune - Phil Ochs (1964)
"This is War" — Thirty Seconds to Mars (2009)
"'Til The Last Shot's Fired" — Trace Adkins (2009)
"Tin Soldiers" — Stiff Little Fingers (1980)
"Trigger Happy Hands" - Placebo (2010)
"Trooper's Lament" — Barry Sadler (1966)
"Turn! Turn! Turn!" — Pete Seeger (1959)
"Ungena Za Ulimwengu (Unite The World)" — The Temptations (1971)
"Universal Soldier" — Buffy Sainte-Marie (1964)
"Unknown Soldier" — Breaking Benjamin (2006)
"Us and Them" - Pink Floyd (1973)
"Véto de Dieu" — Alpha Blondy (1991)
"Waiting On The World To Change" — John Mayer (2006)
"Walked in Line" — Joy Division (1979)
"War" — Bob Marley & The Wailers (1976)
"War" — The Tengelsens (2010)
"War?" — System Of A Down (1998)
"War Baby" — Mick Jagger (1987)

"War Ensemble" — Slayer (1990)
"War Is Not A Game" — Bill Durston (2005)
"War Pigs" — Black Sabbath (1970)
"The War Song" — Culture Club (1984)
"War Song" — Neil Young and Graham Nash (1972)
"War Sucks, Let's Party!" — Anti-Flag (2006)
"Wardance" — Killing Joke (1980)
"Wargasm" — L7 (1992)
"Warrior" — Steve Earle (2004)
"Washington Bullets" — The Clash (1980)
"Wasted Life" — Stiff Little Fingers (1978)
"We Are Here to Change the World" — Michael Jackson (2004)
"We Don't Need the Army" — Slime (1981)
"We're Not Gonna Take it" — Twisted Sister (1984)
"We've Got Nothing But Love to Prove" — Faith Hill (2005)
"We've Had Enough" — Michael Jackson (2004)
"What If We All Stopped Paying Taxes" — Sharon Jones & The Dap Kings (2002)
"What More Can I Give" — Michael Jackson (2001)
"What's Going On" — Marvin Gaye (1971)
"What's Left of the Flag" — Flogging Molly (2002)
"When We Stand Together" — Nickelback (2011)
"When The Children Cry" — White Lion (1989)
"Where Have All The Flowers Gone?" — Pete Seeger (1961)
"Where Is The Love?" — The Black Eyed Peas (2003)
"White Flag Warrior"- Flobots (2010)
"Who's Gonna Win the War?" — Hawkwind (1980)
"With God On Our Side" — Bob Dylan (1964)
"World War" — Yellowman (2004)
"Worthless War" - the Gazette (2006)
"Wozu sind Kriege da?" — Udo Lindenberg (1981)
"The Yard Went On Forever" — Richard Harris (1969)

American Civil War

"Abraham Lincoln" - Clutch (2009)
"Accidental Racist" - Brad Paisley (featuring L.L. Cool J) (2013)
"Arkansas Grass" - Axiom (1969)
"Ben McCullough" - Steve Earle (1997)
"The Big Battle" - Johnny Cash (1962)

"Billy, Don't Be A Hero" - Paper Lace (1974)
"Charleston Town" - Rob Lincoln (1984)
"The Devil to Pay" - Iced Earth (2004)
"Gettysburg" - The Brandos (1987)
"God Bless Robert E. Lee" - Johnny Cash (1983)
"In The Hills Of Shiloh" - Shel Silverstein (1963)
"Johnny Reb" - Johnny Horton (1959)
"The Klan" - Richie Havens (1968)
"Lone Pine Hill" - Justin Townes Earle (2008)
"The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down" - The Band (1969)
"Rebel Soldier" - Waylon Jennings (1991)
"Shiloh Town" - Tim Hardin
"Silent Reign Of Heroes" - Molly Hatchet (1998)
"The Southland's Bleeding" - Waylon Jennings (1978)
"Tears of God" - Josh Turner
"Two Soldiers" - Bob Dylan (1993)

World War I

"1916" - Motörhead (1991)
"1917" - Linda Ronstadt (1999)
"The Accrington Pals" - Mike Harding (1984)
"All Quiet on the Western Front" - Elton John (1982)
"All Together Now" - The Farm (1990)
"And The Band Played Waltzing Matilda" - Eric Bogle (1972)
"Butcher's Tale (Western Front 1914)" - The Zombies (1968)
"Cenotaph" - This Heat (1981)
"Children's Crusade" - Sting (1985)
"Christmas 1914" – Mike Harding^[1] (1977)
"Christmas in the Trenches" – John McCutcheon (1984)
"Don't Sign Up For War" - Alistair Hulett and Dave Swarbrick
"Field Of Poppies" - Dave Gwyther (2007)
"Harry Farr" - Stray (2009)
"Harry Patch (In Memory Of)" – Radiohead (2009)
"I Didn't Raise My Boy To Be a Soldier" - Peerless Quartet (1914)
"It Could Happen Again" - Collin Raye (1996)
"No Man's Land" aka "Green Fields of France" – Eric Bogle (1976)
"Northwinds" - The Stranglers (1984)

"One" – Metallica (1988)
"Paschendale" – Iron Maiden (2003)
"The Red Clydesiders" - Alistair Hulett and Dave Swarbrick
"Scream Aim Fire" - Bullet For My Valentine (2007)
"Some Mother's Son" - The Kinks (1969)
"Snoopy's Christmas - The Royal Guardsmen (1967)
"The Soldier's Sweetheart" - Jimmy Rodgers (1927)
"Stay Down Here Where You Belong" - Irving Berlin (1914)
"Yes Sir, No Sir" - The Kinks (1969)

Mexican-American War

"Once to Every Man and Nation" – James R Lowell (1845)

Spanish Civil War

"1936" – Sin Dios (1997)
"If You Tolerate This Your Children Will Be Next" – Manic Street Preachers (1998)
"For Whom the Bell Tolls" - Metallica (1985)
"Last Lincoln Vet" - Lev Svetek-Zorin (2010)
"Sketches of Spain" – The Nits (1983)
"Viva La Quinta Brigada" - Christy Moore (1983)

Spanish-American War

"Galveston" - Glen Campbell (1969)
"Lequi of the National Guard" - Bob Connely (1975)
"The Battleship Maine" - Mary C. Mann (1926) New Lost City Ramblers (1961)

American Indian Wars

"Apache Tears" - Johnny Cash (1964)
"Buffalo Soldier" - Bob Marley (1980)
"Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee" - Walela (1997)
"Calico Indians" - Rasputina about the Anti-rent wars (2010)
"Castles Made of Sand" - Jimi Hendrix (1967)
"Cherokee" - Europe (1986)
"Comanche (The Brave Horse)" - Johnny Horton (1960)
"Creek Mary's Blood" - Nightwish (2004)
"Custer Died for Your Sins" - Floyd Westerman (1969)
"Custer Got His... (Anti-Custer Song)" - S-cuk Gogs (2007)

"Freedom" - Rage Against the Machine (1992)
"Indians" - Anthrax
"Mr.Custer" - Larry Verne (1960)
"Noble Indian Chief" - Hand Full of Peter (2006)
"Run To the Hills" - Iron Maiden (1982)
"Soldier Blue" - Buffy Sainte-Marie (1971)
"Stars and Stripes" - Anti Flag
"Wampum Prayer" - Tori Amos (2002)
"We Were All Wounded At Wounded Knee" - Redbone (1973)
"White Man" - Queen (1976)

World War II

"170" - Kaizer's Orchestra (2001)
"Aces High" - Iron Maiden (1984)
"Stalingrad" - Accept (2012)
"Angel of Death" - Slayer (1986)
"Another Brick in the Wall (Part 1)" - Pink Floyd (1979)
"At Mail Call Today" - Gene Autry (1945)
"Attero Dominatus" - Sabaton (2006)
"Auschwitz" - Francesco Guccini
"The Ballad of Ira Hayes" - Johnny Cash (1964)
"Blood on the Risers" - World War II paratrooper song
"Bring the Boys Back Home" – Pink Floyd (1979)
"Corporal Clegg" - Pink Floyd (1968)
"Do the Mussolini (Headkick)" - Cabaret Voltaire (1978)
"Enola Gay" - Orchestral Manoeuvres in the Dark (1980)
"Goodbye Blue Sky" – Pink Floyd (1979)
"Johnny Come Lately" - Steve Earle (1988)
"Kenji" - Fort Minor (2005)
"Laybo" – Rafi Weinstock (1995)
"Let Me Live" - Angel Dust (2000)
"The Longest Day" - Iron Maiden (2006)
"Mr. Churchill Says" - The Kinks (1969)
"Nagasaki Nightmare" – Crass (1981)
"No More War" - Heidi Little (2005)
"Northwinds" - The Stranglers (1984)
"Primo Victoria" - Sabaton (2005)

"Reality Asylum" – Crass (1979)
"Red Sector A" - Rush (1984)
"Semper Fi" - John Gorka (1991)
"Soldiers Last Letter" - Ernest Tubb (1944)
"Stalingrad" - Nightingale (2005)
"Sullivan" – Caroline's Spine (1993)
"Thank You, Mr Churchill" - Peter Frampton (2010)
"The Aftermath" Iron Maiden (1995)
"The War" - Angels and Airwaves (2005)
"War is Hell (On the Homefront Too)" - T.G. Sheppard (1982)
"When the Tigers Broke Free" – Pink Floyd (1982)

Korean War

"The Door" - George Jones (1974)
"Freedom" - Rob Lincoln (1991)
"I Bombed Korea" - Cake (1994)
"Jutlandia" - Kim Larsen (1979)
"Korea Blues" - J.B. Lenoir (1970)
"Missing In Action" - Ernest Tubb (1952)
"Roll Call" - Johnny Cash (1967)
"Suicide Is Painless" - Johnny Mandel from the film, *M*A*S*H* (1970)

Vietnam War

"8th of November" - Big and Rich (2006)
"19" – Paul Hardcastle (1985)
"2 + 2 = 4" – Bob Seger System (1968)
"21st Century Schizoid Man" – King Crimson (1969)
"50,000 Names" - George Jones (2001)
"Alice's Restaurant Massacree" – Arlo Guthrie (1967)
"All You Need Is Love" - The Beatles (1967)
"American Woman" – The Guess Who (1970)
"Back in Vietnam" – Lenny Kravitz
"Ball of Confusion (That's What the World Is Today)" – The Temptations (1970)
"Ballad of Ho Chi Minh" Ewan MacColl (1958)
"Ballad of Penny Evans" - Steve Goodman (1971)
"Baba O'Riley" - The Who (1971)
"The Big Parade" - 10,000 Maniacs (1989)

"Big Time In The Jungle" - Old Crow Medicine Show (2004)
"Billy Don't Be a Hero" – Paper Lace (1974)
"Black Steel in the Hour of Chaos" – Public Enemy (1989)
"Born in the USA" – Bruce Springsteen (1984)
"Bring The Boys Home" – Freda Payne (1971)
"Bring Them Home" – Pete Seeger (1966)
"Business Goes on as Usual" – Chad Mitchell Trio (1965)
"Calley" - Dog Faced Hermans (1994)
"Charlie Don't Surf" – The Clash (1980)
"Child in Time" - Deep Purple (1970)
"Commando" - The Ramones (1977)
"Copperhead Road" - Steve Earle (1988)
"Daddy Won't Be Home Anymore" - Dolly Parton (1988)
"Daniel" - Elton John (1973)
"Dear Uncle Sam" - Loretta Lynn (1965)
"Disk of Sun" Ewan MacColl (1969)
"Duty Called" - Greg Wilson (2000)
"Eve of Destruction" - Barry McGuire and P.F. Sloan (1965)
"Fixin to Die Rag" Country Joe McDonald (1967)
"Fortunate Son" – Creedence Clearwater Revival (1969)
"The Grave" – Don McLean (1971)
"Galveston" - Glen Campbell (1969)
"Galveston Bay" - Bruce Springsteen (1995)
"Gimme Shelter" - Rolling Stones (1969)
"The Girl Next Door" - Country Joe MacDonald (1984)
"Give Peace a Chance" - The Plastic Ono Band
"Goodbye to Vietnam" - Kitty Hawkins (1965)
"Goodnight Saigon" - Billy Joel (1981)
"The Great Compromise" - John Prine (1972)
"Guns, Guns, Guns" – The Guess Who (1972)^[citation needed]
"Hallelujah Day" by Jackson 5 (1973)^[citation needed]
"Happy Xmas (War Is Over)" – John Lennon & Yoko Ono/The Plastic Ono Band (1971)
"Harvest for the World" – The Isley Brothers (1976)
"Hello Vietnam" - Johnnie Wright (1965)
"I Ain't Marching Anymore" – Phil Ochs (1965)
"I Am a Lucky One" - Barry Sadler (1966)
"I Don't Wanna Go To Vietnam" – John Lee Hooker (1968)
"I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-To-Die Rag" – Country Joe and the Fish (1967)

"I have seen the rain" - Pink
"I Should Be Proud" – Martha and the Vandellas (1970)
"I Was Only Nineteen (A Walk in the Light Green)" – Redgum (1983)
"I'm Your Captain (Closer to Home)" - Grand Funk Railroad (1970)
"In The Army Now" – Status Quo (1986)
"Inoculated City" – The Clash (1982)
"Into The Fire" - Sabaton (2005)
"It Better End Soon" - Chicago (1970)
"It's All Happening Now" - Peggy Seeger (1968)
"Jackknife Johnny" - Alice Cooper (1978)
"Jimmy Newman" – Tom Paxton (1969)
"Jimmy's Road" - Willie Nelson (1965)
"Johnny Come Lately" - Steve Earle (1988)
"Kay" — John Wesley Ryles (1968)^{[2][3]}
"Kent State Massacre" - Jack Warshaw (1970)
"Khe Sanh" - Cold Chisel (1978)
"Kill for Peace" – The Fugs (1966)
"Kill Your Sons" - Lou Reed (1970)
"Kim's Nightmare" - *Miss Saigon* Soundtrack (1989)
"Last Train to Nuremberg" – Pete Seeger (1970)
"Lay Down (Candles In The Rain)" – Melanie Safka (1970)
"Letters From Vietnam" - Barry Sadler (1966)
"Live Those Songs Again" - Kenny Chesney (2002)
"Lost in the Flood" - Bruce Springsteen (1973)
"Lyndon Johnson Told The Nation" – Tom Paxton (1965)
"Machine Gun" - Jimi Hendrix (1970)
"Mama Bake a Pie (Daddy Kill a Chicken)" - Tom T. Hall (1970)
"Man in Black" - Johnny Cash (1971)
"March to the Witch's Castle" - Funkadelic (1973)
"Moratorium" - Buffy Sainte-Marie (1971)
"More Than a Name on a Wall" - The Statler Brothers (1989)
"My Son John" – Tom Paxton (1966)
"One More Parade" - Phil Ochs
"Orange Crush" – R.E.M. (1988)
"Old Hippie" - The Bellamy Brothers (1985)
"Path of Glory" - Petula Clark (1967)
"People, Let's Stop the War" – Grand Funk Railroad (1971)
"Pull Out The Pin" – Kate Bush (1982)

"Readjustment Blues" - John Denver (1972)
"Requiem for the Masses" - The Association (1967)
"Rooster" - Alice in Chains
"Running Gun Blues" – David Bowie (1970)
"Saigon Bride" – Joan Baez (1967)
"Salute to the Nurses" - Barry Sadler (1966)
"Sam Stone" – John Prine (1971)
"Shut Out the Light" - Bruce Springsteen (1984)
"Simple Song of Freedom" – Bobby Darin (1968)
"Singing in Vietnam Talking Blues" - Johnny Cash 1971
"Sky Pilot" – Eric Burdon and The Animals (1968)
"Smiley" - Ronnie Burns (1969)
"Something to Believe In" - Poison (1990)
"Song for the Dead" - Randy Newman 1983
"Still in Saigon" - the Charlie Daniels Band (1982)
"Stoned Love" – The Supremes (1970)
"Straight to Hell" – The Clash (1982)
"Sunshine" - Jonathan Edwards (1971)
"Super Bird" - Country Joe and the Fish (1967)
"Sweet Cherry Wine" - Tommy James and the Shondells (1969)
"Talkin' Vietnam" – Phil Ochs (1964)
"Talking Vietnam Potluck Blues" – Tom Paxton (1968)
"That Old Porch Swing" - Eddy Arnold (2005)
"The Soldier Has Come Home" - Barry Sadler (1966)
"The War Drags On" - Donovan (1965)
"This Ain't Nothing" - Craig Morgan (2010)
"This Is My Rifle" - Mark Maysey (1999)
"Three-Five-Zero-Zero" - from the musical, *Hair* (1968)
"To Susan on the West Coast Waiting" - Donovan (1969)
"Travelin' Soldier" – Dixie Chicks (2002)
"Uncommon Valor: A Vietnam Story" – Jedi Mind Tricks (2006)
"Unknown Soldier" – The Doors (1968)
"Vietcong Blues" - Junior Wells (1966)
"Vietnam" – Phil Ochs (1962)
"Vietnam" – Jimmy Cliff (1970)
"Vietnamerica" - The Stranglers (1981)
"Vietnam Blues" - Kris Kristofferson (1966)
"Vietnam Glam" - Indochine (1993)

"Waist Deep in the Big Muddy" - Pete Seeger (1967)
"The Wall" - Bruce Springsteen (2003)
"War" - Edwin Starr (1970)
"War Games" - the Monkees (1968)
"The War Is Over" - Phil Ochs (1968)
"War Movie" - Jefferson Airplane (1971)
"War Pigs" – Black Sabbath (1971)
"Wasted Life" – Stiff Little Fingers (1978)
"We Didn't Know" - Tom Paxton (1965)
"What Did You Learn in School Today?" Tom Paxton (1964)
"What's Going On" – Marvin Gaye (1971)
"Where Are You Now, My Son?" – Joan Baez (1973)
"White Boots Marching In A Yellow Land" – Phil Ochs (1968)
"Wild Irish Rose" - George Jones (1998)
"Wooden Ships" – Crosby, Stills & Nash and Jefferson Airplane (1969)
"World of Trouble" - Molly Hatchet (1998)
"Your Flag Decal Won't Get You Into Heaven Anymore" - John Prine (1971)

Dominican Republic

"The Marines Have Landed on the Shores of Santo Domingo" - Phil Ochs (1966)

The Irish "Troubles"

"78 RPM" - Stiff Little Fingers (1978)
"Alternative Ulster" – Stiff Little Fingers (1978)
"Belfast Child" - Simple Minds (1989)
"Bloody Sunday" - Stiff Little Fingers (1979)
"Corridor Or Cells" - Test Dept (1986)
"Damned to Be Free" - Bad Religion (1982)
"Drunken Lullabies" - Flogging Molly (2002)
"Each Dollar A Bullet" - Stiff Little Fingers (1991)
"Ether" – Gang of Four (1979)
"Fly the Flag" – Stiff Little Fingers (1980)
"Fuck Religion" - The Exploited (1990)
"Get Your Dead Hand Off My Shoulder" - Therapy? (2012)
"Give Ireland Back to the Irish" – Paul McCartney and Wings (1972)
"Heal This Land" - Maire Brennan (1998)
"Holy Wars...The Punishment Due" - Megadeth (1990)

"If They Come in the Morning" aka "No Time for Love" Jack Warshaw (1976)
"My Youngest Son Came Home Today" – Eric Bogle (1993)
"No More of That" - Stiff Little Fingers (1979)
"Oliver's Army" - Elvis Costello and the Attractions (1979)
"Out in the Fields" - Gary Moore and Phil Lynott (1985)
"The Island" - Paul Brady
"The Luck of the Irish" – John Lennon (1972)
"Peace on Earth" – U2 (2000)
"State of Emergency" - Stiff Little Fingers (1979)
"Streets of Sorrow/Birmingham Six" – The Pogues (1988)
"Sunday Bloody Sunday" – U2 (1983)
"This is Not Your Country" - Morrissey (1997)
"Wasted Life" - Stiff Little Fingers (1978)
"White Noise" - Stiff Little Fingers (1979)
"Zombie" – The Cranberries (1994)

Anti-conscription

"Alice's Restaurant Massacree" - Arlo Guthrie (1967)
"All I Want" - The Offspring (1997)
"Bad Company" - Bad Company" (1974)
"Black Steel in the Hour of Chaos" – Public Enemy (1989)
"B.Y.O.B." - System of a Down (2005)
"The Call Up" – The Clash (1980)
"Draft Dodger Rag" – Phil Ochs (1965)
"Draft Morning" – The Byrds (1967)
"Draft Resister" – Steppenwolf (1969)
"G.I. Blues" - Elvis Presley (1960)
"I Don't Wanna Get Drafted" - Frank Zappa (1981)
"Kill the President" – The Offspring (1989)
"Know Your Enemy" - Angry Mic (2008)
"Legion of Stoopid" - Machinae Supremacy (2004)
"My Uncle" - The Flying Burrito Brothers (1969)
"One Man Rock and Roll Band" - Roy Harper (1971)
"Phone Call from Leavenworth" - Chris Whitley (1991)
"Refuse/Resist" – Sepultura (1994)
"Sgt Baker" - Primus (1991)
"Square Dance" - Eminem (2002)
"Take it Back"- Cream

"They Were All Out of Step but Jim" - Irving Berlin (1918)
"This Is The Army, Mr. Jones" - Irving Berlin (1942)
"War Party" - Eddy Grant (1982)
"War/No More War" - Heidi Little/LIGHT/Dreams of Grandeur (2005–2010)

Cold War/Nuclear Annihilation

"1983... (A Merman I Should Turn to Be)" - The Jimi Hendrix Experience (1968)
"1999" - Prince (1982)
"2 Minutes to Midnight" – Iron Maiden (1984)
"20 Tons of TNT" – Flanders and Swann
"99 Luftballons" and "99 Red Balloons" – Nena (1983)
"Atomic Garden" - Bad Religion (1992)
"Balls to the Wall" - Accept (1983)
"Survival of the Fittest" - Slave Raider (1986)
"Battalions of Fear" - Blind Guardian (1988)
"Big Joe Blues" - Pete Seeger (2007)
"Blackened" – Metallica (1988)
"Black Planet" - The Sisters of Mercy (1985)
"Brighter than a Thousand Suns" - Iron Maiden (2006)
"Breathing" - Kate Bush (1980)
"Burning in the Skies" - Linkin Park (2010)
"Children of the Grave" – Black Sabbath (1971)
"Cold War" – Funker Vogt (2000)
"Come Away Melinda" - Harry Belafonte
"Curfew" - The Stranglers (1978)
"Destruction Preventer" - Sonata Arctica (1999)
"Dumb All Over" - Frank Zappa (1981)
"Eagle Fly Free" – Helloween (1988)
"East at Easter" - Simple Minds (1983)
"Electric Funeral" - Black Sabbath (1970)
"Eve of Destruction" – P.F. Sloan / Barry McGuire (1965)
"Fuel the Hate" - Soulfly (2005)
"Fight Fire with Fire" – Metallica (1984)
"Fire in the Sky" - Saxon (1981)
"Future Legend"/"Diamond Dogs" - David Bowie (1974)
"Hiroshima" - Wishful Thinking (1971)
"I Come and Stand at Every Door" (based on a poem by Nazım Hikmet) – Pete Seeger (1962); The Byrds (1966)

"It only takes two to tango" - The Stranglers (1981)
"It's a Mistake" – Men at Work (1983)
"Killer of Giants" – Ozzy Osbourne (1986)
"Killing Fields" - Scanner (1988)
"Land of Confusion" – Genesis (1986)
"Leningrad" - Billy Joel (1989)
"Let Us Begin" - John Denver with Alexander Gradsky (1986)
"Manhattan Project" - Rush (1985)
"Minutes to Midnight" - Midnight Oil (1984)
"New Year's Day" - U2 (1983)
"No Nuclear War" — Peter Tosh (1987)
"Nuclear Winter" – Funker Vogt (2000)
"Paint Your Windows White" - Alien Stash Tin (2011)
"Part IV (The Index Fossil)" - Bad Religion (1988)
"People are People" - Depeche Mode (1984)
"Pre-War America" – The Beatnigs (1988)
"Red Skies" - The Fixx (1982)
"Rival Leaders" - The Exploited (1983)
"Russians" – Sting (1985)
"Rust in Peace" – Megadeth (1990)
"Seconds" - U2 (1983)
"Set the World Afire" - Megadeth (1988)
"So Long, Mom (A Song for World War III)" - Tom Lehrer
"Standing in the Dark" - Platinum Blonde (1983)
"Stop the World" - The Clash (1980)
"Surfin' USSR" - Ray Stevens (1988)
"Thank God For the Bomb" - Ozzy Osbourne (1986)
"The American" - Simple Minds (1991)
"The Future's So Bright, I Gotta Wear Shades" - Timbuk3 (1986)
"They've Got a Bomb" – Crass (1979)
"Two Suns in the Sunset" – Pink Floyd (1983)
"Two Tribes" – Frankie Goes to Hollywood (1984)
"US Forces" - Midnight Oil (1982)
"Who's Next?" - Tom Lehrer
"Воля и Разум" ("Will and Reason") - Aria / Master (1985)
"When Two Worlds Collide" - Simple Minds (1981)
"Wind of Change" – Scorpions (1990)
"Radio K.A.O.S." - Roger Waters (1987)

Philippine–American War

"The Battle Hymn of the Republic, Updated" - Mark Twain (1901)

Falklands War

"Another Man's Cause" – The Levellers (1992)

"Como Estais Amigos" – Iron Maiden (1998)

"Get Your Filthy Hands off My Desert" – Pink Floyd (1983)

"Forgotten Sons" – Marillion (1983)

"How Does It Feel (To Be The Mother Of A Thousand Dead)?" – Crass (1982)

"I Love a Man in Uniform" - Gang of Four (1982)

"Is That What You Fought the War For?" - Stiff Little Fingers (1982)

"Island of No Return" - Billy Bragg (1984)

"Let's Start a War - The Exploited (1983)

"Mentioned In Dispatches" - Television Personalities (1985)

"The Post War Dream" – Pink Floyd (1983)

"Sheep Farming in the Falklands" – Crass (1982)

"Shipbuilding" – Elvis Costello and the Attractions (1983)

"Spirit of the Falklands" – New Model Army (1982)

"Tango Atlantico" - Joe Jackson (1986)

"Where the Rose is Sown/ Come Back to Me" - Big Country (1984)

"Yes Sir, I Will" – Crass (1983)

"Wha Dat" - Yellowman (1984)

"No Bombardeen Buenos Aires" - Charly García (1982)

"Qué Es Dios?" - Las Pastillas Del Abuelo (2008)

Latin America

"All She Wants to Do Is Dance" - Don Henley (1984)

"Bleed For Me" – Dead Kennedys (1982)

"Bullet the Blue Sky" – U2 (1987)

"El Salvador" – Noel Stookey and Jim Wallis (1983)

"El Salvador" - White Lion (1985)

"If I Had a Rocket Launcher" - Bruce Cockburn (1984)

"Lives in the Balance" – Jackson Browne (1985)

"Nicaragua" – Bruce Cockburn (1984)

"No Más!" - John McCutcheon (1984)

"Untitled Song For Latin America" - The Minutemen (1984)
"Washington Bullets" – The Clash (1980)
"Wish I Was in El Salvador" – Jello Biafra with D.O.A.(1989)
"Young Willie" - Garnet Rogers (1992)

Gulf Wars, Iraq, 9/11, & the 'War on Terror'

"11th Hour" - Lamb of God (2002)
"20 Dollar Nose Bleed" - Fall Out Boy (2008)
"21 Guns" - Green Day (2009)
"911 For Peace" - Anti-Flag (2002)
"A Farewell to Arms" - Machine Head 2007
"Act III Scene 2 (Shakespeare)" - Saul Williams (2004)
"All the Young Fascists" – Shihad (2005)
"America (Just Say No)" - Alien Stash Tin (2003) & Betty Swallaux (2011)
"America First" - Merle Haggard (2005)
"American Blood"- Reckless Kelly (2008)
"American Idiot" – Green Day (2004)
"Another Bag of Bones" - Kevin Devine (2009)
"Apocalypse Please" - Muse (2004)
"Audience Of One" – Rise Against (2008)
"Atomic Garden" - Bad Religion (1992)
"Baghdad" - The Offspring (1991)
"Beneath The Remains" - Sepultura (1989)
"Bin Laden" – Immortal Technique (2005)
"Black Rain" - Ozzy Osbourne (2007)
"Blessed are the Landmines" - Brave Saint Saturn (2008)
"Bloodsports" – New Model Army (2007)
"B.O.B"-Outkast(2000)
"Boom!" – System of a Down (2002)
"Bush" – David Banner (2003)
"The Bushes and The President" – Dawn Called Malice (2003)
"B.Y.O.B." – System of a Down (2005)
"Camilo"-[State Radio] (2005)
"Can't Happen Here" - Atreyu (2008)
"Caped Crusader" – Jello Biafra with the Melvins (2004)
"Capital G" – Nine Inch Nails (2007)
"Captain Sterling's Little Problem" - The Coup (2007)

"Cheney's Toy" - James McMurtry (2008)
"Cinnamon Girl" - Prince (2004)
"Civilian Ways" - Rancid (2009)
"Clenching the Fists of Dissent" - Machine Head (2007)
"Condi, Condi" - Steve Earle (2004)
"Confrontation" - OTEP (2008)
"Counting Bodies Like Sheep to the Rhythm of the War Drums - A Perfect Circle (2004)
"Dad's Gonna Kill Me" - Richard Thompson (2007)
"Dark Side of the Sun" - Tori Amos (2007)
"Day After Tomorrow" - Tom Waits (2004)
"Dead Man Walking" - Bloodsimple (2007)
"Dear Mr. President" - Pink (2007)
"Deja Vu (All Over Again)" - John Fogerty (2004)
"Desert Angel" - Stevie Nicks (1991)
"Desert Storm" - Devinshire (2009)
"Devils & Dust" - Bruce Springsteen (2005)
"Dirty Bombs" - Body Count (2006)
"Dirty Harry" - Gorillaz (2005)
"Don't Make Me a Target" - Spoon (2007)
"Dress Blues" - Jason Isbell (2007)
"The Drums of War" - Jackson Browne (2008)
"Everybody's Gone to War" - Nerina Pallot (2006)
"The Empire Strikes First" - Bad Religion (2004)
"Empty Walls" - Serj Tankian (2007)
"Exit Strategy" - Valient Thorr (2006)
"For the Greater Good of God" - Iron Maiden (2006)
The Rising (album) - Bruce Springsteen (2002) is largely about 9/11
"F*ck a War" - Geto Boys (1991)
"Fallujah" - Terry Sutton Conspiracy (2011)
"Far from Home" - Five Finger Death Punch (2009)
"Final Straw" - R.E.M. (2004)
"Final Transmission" - Street Dogs (2006)
"Follow The Leader" - Pete Kronowitt (1993)
"Franco Un-American" - NOFX (2003)
"Friends in the Armed Forces" - Thursday (2008)
"Frontlines" - Soulfly (2005)
"George W. Told The Nation" - Tom Paxton (2007)
"The Getaway" - Voivod (2006)

"God is not with You !" - Ira dei(2008) Belgium
"Gulf War Song" -Moxy Frøvous (1994)
"Gunslinger - Avenged Sevenfold (2007)
"Hammerhead" – The Offspring (2008)
"The Hand That Feeds" - Nine Inch Nails (2005)
"Hard-On for War" - Mudhoney (2006)
"Harrowdown Hill" - Thom Yorke (2006)
"Hands Held High" – Linkin Park (2007)
"Heaven is Falling" - Bad Religion (1992)
"Hero of War" - Rise Against (2008)
"Warzone" - Pagoda (2012)
"Hey Ma" – James (2008)
"Highwire" - Rolling Stones (1991)
"Holiday" – Green Day (2004)
Home to Houston - Steve Earle (2004)
"The Holidays Are Here (And We're Still at War)" – Brett Dennen (2006)
"How Much Do You Suck?" - The Jeevas (2003)
"How Much Longer" – Paul Leary (1991)
"I Can't Take It No More" - John Fogerty (2007)
"Illegal Attacks" – Ian Brown (2007)
"I Saw Him Laying There" – Dawn Called Malice (2003)
"Jacob's Ladder" - Chumbawumba (2002)
Jerusalem - Steve Earle (2002)
"Jesus Walks" – Kanye West (2004)
John Walker's Blues - Steve Earle (2002)
"Job Well Done" - Rob Lincoln (1991)
"Kimdir O" - Barış Akarsu
"Letters From Home" - John Michael Montgomery (2004)
"Letter From Iraq" - Bouncing Souls (2006)
"Let Them Eat War" – Bad Religion (2004)
"Let's Get Free" - Sheryl Crow (2003)
"Letter From a Soldier" - Andy T. (2012)
"Lift the Veil, Kiss the Tank" - The Blood Brothers (2006)
"Light Up Ya Lighter" – Michael Franti (2006)
"Let's Impeach the President" – Neil Young (2006)
"Love Me, I'm a Liberal" - Kevin Devine (2008)
"Mama" - Godsmack (2006)
"The Man Who Would Be King" - Dio (2004)

"Midnight Oil" – Dawn Called Malice (2003)
"Mosh" – Eminem (2004)
"My Girlfriend is a Lefty" – Dawn Called Malice (2003)
"No Human No Fly" – April Hole (2002)
"No More" - Bob Seger (2006)
"No Time Flat" - Kevin Devine (2005)
"No War" – Esham (2003)
"Not In My Name" - Saul Williams (2003)
"Now You've Got Something to Die For" - Lamb of God (2004)
"On The Backs of Angels" - Dream Theater (2011)
"On With the Song" - Mary Chapin Carpenter (2007)
"Out Of Time" - Blur (2003)
"Open Invitation (I Hate You bin Laden)" Jackyl (2001)
"Osama Yo' Mama" - Ray Stevens (2002)
"Overburdened" - Disturbed (2005)
"People Of The Lie" - KMFDM (2009)
"Planet of the Rice" – Dawn Called Malice (2003)
"Please Freeze Me" – Dawn Called Malice (2003)
"Prophets of War" – Dream Theater (2007)
"Redemption Day" - Sheryl Crow (1996)
"Rich Man's War" - Steve Earle (2004)
"Sacrificed Sons" – Dream Theater (2005)
"Sacred Lie" - Disturbed (2005)
"Saraba" – The Gazette (2004)
"Shock and Awe" – Neil Young (2006)
"Skylines and Turnstiles" — My Chemical Romance (2002)
"Square Dance" - Eminem (2002)
"Stand Up" – Flobots (2007)
"Succexy" – Metric (2005)
"A Taste of Money" – Dawn Called Malice (2003)
"The General" - Dispatch (1998)
"The Evil Has Landed" - Testament (2005)
"Tehran" - The Offspring (1989)
"This Is War" - Thirty Seconds to Mars (2009)
"This Is War" - Smile Empty Soul (2003)
"Trot Out the Dead" - Hammers of Misfortune (2006)
"Turkey Shoot" – Killdozer (1994)
"Twenty" — Robert Cray (2005)

"Victory Stinks" - Jello Biafra and the Guantanamo School of Medicine (2011)
"Violet Hill" - Coldplay (2008)
"Violent & Young" - Iglu & Hartly (2008)
"Walk on" - Hilltop Hoods (2003)
"War on War" - Wilco (2002)
"Wargasm" - L7 (1992)
"War Is a Wonderful Thing" - Real West (2005)
"What are we fighting for" - Live (2003)
"What Happens Tomorrow" - Duran Duran (2004)
"When the President Talks to God" – Bright Eyes (2005)
"Where is the Love" - The Black Eyed Peas (Featuring Justin Timberlake) (2004)
"Where Were You (When the World Stopped Turning)" - Alan Jackson (2001)
"White People For Peace" - Against Me! (2007)
"White Flag Warrior" - Flobots ft. Tim McIlrath (2010)
"Wipe that Smile Off Your Face" - Our Lady Peace (2005)
"Words I Never Said" - Lupe Fiasco (2011)
"World Wide Suicide" - Pearl Jam (2006)
"Waiting on the World to Change" - John Mayer (2006)
"Worker Bees" - Billy Talent (2006)
"WWIII" - KMFDM (2003)
"Yellowcake" - Ministry (2006)
"Yellow Ledbetter" - Pearl Jam (1992)
"Yo George" - Tori Amos (2007)
"You Shoulda Killed Me Last Year" - Ice-T (1991)
"Your Silence" - Suicide Machines (2003)
"Two Weeks From Twenty" - Yellowcard (2006)

Traditional music

Apart from the various genres of modern music, some traditional and contemporary folk songs reflect the futile efforts of war and the attitudes of objectors prior to the major wars of the 20th century. Some of these include:

"Ain't Gonna Study War No More" also known as "Down by the Riverside", and with a similar tune as "Hand Me down My Walking Cane" – African-American traditional anti-war song recorded by The Weavers and many other people.

"Arthur McBride" While first curated in the 19th century, this song likely came into existence during the 17th century in response to the War of the Grand Alliance, or especially the Williamite War in Ireland, after which the Irish Jacobite army was sent to France as agreed in the Treaty of Limerick on 3 October 1691.

"The Cruel War" -- Made famous in its current form by Pete Seeger and Peter Paul and Mary, this anti-war song has roots at least as far back as the American Civil War, and probably to an older English song.

"Johnny I Hardly Knew Ye" – Irish traditional anti-war and anti-recruiting song that was the basis for the song "When Johnny Comes Marching Home", and recorded as "Fighting for Strangers" by Steeleye Span.

"Kannoneer Jabůrek" – popular Czech song mocking war heroism, referring to the events of the 1866 Austro-Prussian War

"Lincoln's Army" – The Irish Rovers

"Lowlands of Holland" – traditional recorded by Martin Carthy

"Paddy's Lamentation" – an Irish song dating back to the US Civil War.^[5]

"The Foggy Dew" - an Irish song comparing the loss of Irish soldiers killed during the 1916 Easter Rising and World War 1, made famous by The Dubliners

Section 13

Appendix Three

Quotations and sayings

"If I live, I mean to spend the rest of my life working for perpetual peace."

8th September 1916: Capt. Thomas Kettle. He had been a barrister, an MP and an economics professor in Dublin. He was killed in action the following day, aged 32.

"Unless there were a war to divert the current we are heading for something very like revolution"

Basil Thompson, Intelligence officer

"A good big war just now might do a lot of good in killing Socialist nonsense and would probably put a stop to all this labour nonsense"

Osbert Sitwell

1913 Kaiser Wilhelm pointed out a General designated 'to lead the march to Paris'.

"This country has gone wild with joy at the prospect of war with Serbia".

British Ambassador in Vienna

"Every German friend of peace must fulfil his duty towards the fatherland exactly as any other German"

German Peace Society

"War is an element in the order ordained by God"

Von Moltke, Chief of the German Staff

"Happily there seems to be no reason why we should be anything more than spectators"

Prime Minister Asquith, 2 weeks before war was declared.

"Can it be that we are going to war for Serbia? That is an impossible thought!"

Edward Grey, Foreign Secretary. July 1914

“The lamps are going out all over Europe. We shall not see them lit again in our time”

Edward Grey, Foreign Secretary, 4th August 1914

“This country has gone wild with joy at the prospect of war with Serbia”.

British Ambassador in Vienna

“Every German friend of peace must fulfil his duty towards the fatherland exactly as any other German”

German Peace Society

12 out of 18 Cabinet ministers were against giving France a guarantee that Britain would send troops (2 August 1914)

“We are told international treaties compel us but who made them? The People had no voice in them.”

Keir Hardy 2/8/14

‘A Holy war of civilisation against Barbarity’ ,

French newspaper

A jihad was declared by The Ottoman empire in support of Germany

‘Russia wants to crush the culture of all of western Europe’

German socialist newspaper

“Britain is fighting not for aggression nor for advancement of its own interests but for principles whose maintenance is vital to the civilised world”

Asquith

‘We are fighting against barbarism..’

David Lloyd George

‘few english people have seen war in its nakedness... they know nothing of the poverty, destruction,disease,pain, misery and mortality which follows in its train.... I have seen all of this and more.’

Emily Hobhouse in a letter to the Manchester Guardian

“I would not be out of this glorious delicious war for anything this world could give me”

Winston Churchill to Margot Asquith, Autumn 1914

'The war left 'a crippled broken world'

Winston Churchill

"We did not want the war to end before we had reached the trenches; we dreaded having to sit silently after the war when men only a few months older than ourselves compared front line experiences."

Evelyn Waugh, as a teenager.

'War, Glorious war, with its bands and marching feet, its uniforms and air of recklessness, its heroes and glittering decorations, the war of our history book.... from the cradle up we have been fed on battles and heroic deeds, nurtured on bloody episodes in one's country's history: war was always glorious, something manly, never sordid, uncivilised, foolish or base. When war broke out the height of my ambition was to fight for King and Country.'

Thomas Hope who served in France aged sixteen,

"It is an opportunity which will never present itself again for men to prove themselves men."

Barnsley Chronicle on volunteering

'The working class went to war willingly, even eagerly, like the middle class, like the upperclass, like the species'

historian Barbara Tuchman

'It is nothing less than criminal madness for Europe's workers to be fighting each other at the behest of the ruling classes.'

George Lansbury, newspaper editor

Every troop or regiment of troops on the march created a longing in me to get out and march with them. There was a sense of danger and service- impersonal service- which as men swung past made me wish to be with them'

George Lansbury, an antiwar newspaper editor

'while they themselves were extremely anxious to keep the peace the fellows next door were a quarrelsome lot and that the only way to keep them quiet was to arm to the teeth.'

Edmund Morel about the leaders of European countries.

“I would rather see my sons put up against a wall and shot than see them go to the War.”

Keir Hardy 1914

“As I stood listening to the sentences of the rest of our party, the feeling of joy and triumph surged up in me and I felt proud to have the privilege of testifying to a truth which the world, as yet had not grasped, but which it would one day treasure as a most precious inheritance.”

CO after being sentenced to death then to 10 years hard labour.

‘How hard it is to resist when the whole nation is in a state of violent collective excitement.. there was the same feeling of going against instinct.’

Bertrand Russell

‘I desire the defeat of Germany as ardently as any retired colonel. Love of England is nearly the strongest emotion I possess and in appearing to set it aside this moment I am making a very difficult renunciation’

Bertrand Russell

‘I desired the defeat of Germany as ardently as any retired colonel. Love of England is very nearly the strongest emotion I possess, and in appearing to set it aside at this moment I am making a very difficult renunciation.....

I never had a moment’s doubt as to what I must do.

I knew that it was my business to protest, however futile protest might be.

As a lover of truth, the national propaganda of all the belligerent nations sickens me.

As a lover of civilisation, the return to barbarism appalled me.

As a man of thwarted parental feeling, the massacre of the young wrung my heart.....

I felt for the honour of human nature those who were not swept off their feet should show that they stood firm’.

Bertrand Russell

‘Although I did not foresee anything like the full disaster of the war, I foresaw a great deal more than most people did. The prospect filled me with horror, but what filled me with even more horror was the fact that the anticipation of carnage was delightful to something like ninety percent of the population. I had to revise my views on human nature.’

Bertrand Russell

‘Of all evils of war the greatest is the purely spiritual evil: the hatred, the injustice, the repudiation of truth, the artificial conflict.’
Bertrand Russell

‘This war is trivial for all its vastness. No great principle is at stake, no great human purpose is involved on either side....The English and the French say they are fighting in defence of democracy but they do not wish their words to be heard in Petrograd or Calcutta’.
Bertrand Russell

“I have never felt so well, or so happy, or enjoyed anything so much... the fighting excitement vitalizes everything.”
Julian Grenfell, son of Lord Desborough, at the front who died 6 months later from shrapnel.

“When I think of the inhuman waste of a beautiful life I can hardly endure myself or be part of a world where such things were possible”
Violet Cecil about the death of her 20 year old son George but she did not oppose the war.

‘Schools are like munitions factories and ought to be turning out a constant supply of living material’
Rev Percy Kettlewell, Headmaster of school in Grahamstown, South AfricaA (125 of 1000 alumni who fought in WW1 were killed)

‘I daresay he is not the cleverest man but he is the most successful soldier we could find.’
about Field Marshall French

‘In my own heart I know that (Field Marshal) French is quite unfit for this great Command”
General Haig, August 1914

‘Sir John (French) as usual not understanding the situation in the least, A nice old man but absolutely no brains’
Sir Henry Wilson, his deputy chief of staff

“The little fool (Field Marshal John French) has no sense at all... He cannot read a map in scale. It is really hopeless”
Sir Henry Wilson, his deputy chief of staff

'How I should love to have a really good 'go' at them in the open with lots of cavalry and horse artillery and run them to earth.'

Field Marshal John French when his strategy was bogged down in the trenches.

"I have never felt so well, or so happy, or enjoyed anything so much... the fighting excitement vitalizes everything."

Julian Grenfell, son of Lord Desborough, at the front who died 6 months later from shrapnel.

"The chaps were all gasping and couldn't breathe,. It was ghastly, especially for the chaps that was wounded - terrible for a wounded man to lie there! The gasping, the gasping!"

British Sergeant about a gas attack

'Take and shoot two or three of them and the 'drunk habit' will cease'

Haig on the supposed drunkenness of the British munition worker.

"Everyone who loves freedom and honour is banded in a great crusade to kill Germans! Kill them, not for the sake of killing, but to save the world, to kill the good as well as the bad to kill the young men as well as the old...I look upon it as a war of purity, I look upon everybody who dies in it as a martyr."

Arthur Winnington Ingram, Bishop of London

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

Edith Cavell, on the morning of her execution, 12th October 1915

"I shall never look on warfare either as fine or sporting again."

17th August 1916: Lieut. Graham Greenwell. He won the MC and survived the war.

'The Germans just fell down like logs'

British soldier

"I now go further still in my opinion of the War.....Your attitude is *wrong* like everybody else's at home, who doesn't realise it. If [soldiers] let people know the truth, you... would very soon alter your opinion."

6th November 1916: Major Francis Anderson. He won the MC and was killed in action in August 1918, aged 23.

"We had an awful time.....I can't express what we felt or give you a real idea what Hell looks like."

Early Aug 1915: Lieut. Hugh Butterworth. He was killed in action in September 1915, aged 30.

"Never had machine guns such straight forward work to do....they traversed to and fro among the enemies ranks...the enemy could be seen falling literally in hundreds."

A German commander at Battle of Loos.

"My machine gunners were so filled with pity, remorse and nausea.... that they refused to fire another shot"

Another German commander after the British began to retreat.

'The enemy can't go on after January (1916) and I would not be surprised to see him give in by November.'

Haig in August 1915

'My men are never in better heart and longing to have a fight'

Haig September 1915 on eve of Battle of Loos (8,000 of the 10,000 men were killed, wounded or missing in the first day)

'My attack, as had been reported, was a complete success'

Haig after the Battle of Loos (61,000 British wounded or killed and 1 mile of territory gained)

'The nation must be taught to bear losses... and to see heavy casualty lists...Three years of war and the loss of one tenth of the manhood of the nation is not too great a price to pay in so great a cause.'

Haig

'The Germans might bargain for peace before the coming winter'

Haig 1915

'All the troops here are very fit and cheery'

Haig (who was showed only the more optimistic letters from the troops)

'The situation is becoming more favourable to us. I feel that every step in my plan has been taken with the Divine help'

Haig 1916 before Battle of the Somme. 57,000 men out of 120,00 were killed or wounded on the first day.

'This cannot be considered severe in view of the numbers involved and the length of the line attacked...'

Haig on being told there were 40,000 casualties on the second day of the Battle of the Somme

'In another fortnight with Divine Help I hope some decisive results may be obtained'

A few days later

'If we don't succeed this time we'll do so the next'

Haig during the Battle of the Somme

"only a steady offensive pressure will result eventually in the Germans' complete overthrow"

Haig 1916

'Germans' breaking point may be reached this year'

Haig 1917

'Every position must be held to the last man; there must be no retirement. With our backs to the wall and believing in the justice of our cause, we must fight to the end. The safety of our homes and the Freedom of mankind depends upon the conduct of each one of us at this critical moment'

Haig , Spring 1918

'All the villages are absolutely flat - not one stone standing on another. As you look over the vast expanse of desolation all you see is certain groups of stumps of trees, all absolutely stripped of leaves and branches'

Alfred, Lord Milner

"If the people at home could actually see....this massacring of the cream of our race, what a horrible shock it would be to them."

"...high-placed officers....kick up Hell's delight because the bayonet scabbards are not polished....It is *polished* bayonet scabbards that they want. Can you believe it?"

20th February 1917: Col. Rowland Feilding. He won the DSO and survived the war.

"It is a horrible business, enough to make a strong man weep. It seems to me just one long degradation."

Early 1916: Major Sidney Baker. He had been a school master and was killed in action in March 1918, aged 38.

"The aftermath of any battle is tragic."

21st May 1916: Second Lieut. William Dyson. He had been a candidate for the Wesleyan Ministry and died of wounds while a prisoner of war in July 1916.

"Heavy firing all morning – simply murder. Men falling everywhere... Expecting death every second...Dead and dying everywhere."

25th July 1916: Sergeant L R. Elvin. He was killed in Action in May 1915.

"The Chronicle published some time ago some rot...to the effect that all the troops are comfortably housed for the winter in nice warm huts....Till the autumn we hadn't even got tents, but generally just our waterproof sheets as roofs for bivvy shelters."

"I can't think that human nature ever had to stand in any kind of warfare in history what the modern infantryman has to stand."

23rd December 1915: Sergeant-Major Frederic Keeling. He was a writer on economic and social affairs and was killed in action in August 1916.

"If the dead are buried...they are buried in tens, twenties, hundreds together - they are lucky to be buried at all."

1st September 1915: Lieut. Robert Pickering. He was an Australian bank employee and was killed in November 1917, aged 25.

"Grieve for me not, my darling, but for our homeland.....one's heart aches to think of the inestimable loss to the Nation of all those precious lives."

November 1917: Private A.J. Wood. He was killed in action in November 1917.

'Reinforcements shambled up past the guns with dragging steps and the expression of men who knew they were going to certain death. No word of greeting passed as they slouched along ; in sullen silence they filed past one by one to the sacrifice'

Soldier, Passchendaele October 1917

'Military history teems with instances where sound military principles have had to be abandoned owing to the pressure of ill-informed public opinion. The press is the best means in hand to prevent the danger in the present war'

Haig mid 1916

'So far as Britain is concerned, the war could not have been fought for one month without its newspapers'

John Buchan

"We are telling lies. We daren't tell the public the truth. You have seen the correspondents....they don't speak the truth and we know they don't"

Lord Rothermere, owner of the Daily Mail, Nov 1917

“If the people really knew the war would be stopped tomorrow”

Prime Minister Lloyd George about censorship, December 1917

‘... a true British boy....He always played the game and played it to the end’

Eltham Times on the death of seventeen year old Archie Gardiner

‘War would become impossible if all men were to have the view that war is wrong’

Archibald Bodkin, lawyer prosecuting a CO. To which statement all agreed!

“Once you have laid in her arms you can admit to no other mistress. You may loathe, you may execrate, but you cannot deny her. No wine gives fiercer intoxication, no drug more vivid exaltation. Even those who hate her most are prisoner to her spell. They rise from her embraces, pillaged, soiled, it may be ashamed; but they are still hers.’

Guy Chapman, World War One veteran

‘while they themselves were extremely anxious to keep the peace the fellows next door were a quarrelsome lot and that the only way to keep them quiet was to arm to the teeth.’

Edmund Morel about the leaders of European countries.

‘As I stood listening to the sentences of the rest of our party, the feeling of joy and triumph surged up in me and I felt proud to have the privilege of testifying to a truth which the world, as yet had not grasped, but which it would one day treasure as a most precious inheritance.’

CO after being sentenced to death then to 10 years hard labour.

The world is divided into ‘human beings and Germans’

Rudyard Kipling

“I am no longer an artist interested and curious, I am a messenger who will bring back word from the men who are fighting to those who want the war to go on for ever. Feeble, inarticulate, will be my message, but it will have a bitter truth, and may it burn their lousy souls.”

Paul Nash, official war artist 1917

‘The world is my country’

Alice Wheeldon

“And it was like a flash to me that this is what war did. It created utter inhumanity in perfectly nice, gentle, kindly people. I felt ‘It is not right, it is wrong and I cannot have any further part in it.’”

Sybil Morrison, ambulance driver

The war left ‘a crippled broken world’

Winston Churchill



"I have many times asked myself whether there can be more potent advocates of peace upon Earth through the years to come, than this massed multitude of silent witnesses to the desolation of war."

King George VI when he visited Tyne Cot cemetery near Passchendaele

It was the recognition for me that pacifism was the practical interpretation of the way of Christ..... the problem was how to activate this pacifism in the world in which I was growing up.

Rev Donald Soper, PPU

‘People love to talk about a war to end war; they do not love to talk about a peace to end war.’

Aldous Huxley

‘In 1600 duelling may have seemed to many intelligent people a law of nature. But the fact remains that we have abolished duelling. There is no reason why we should not abolish war.’

Aldous Huxley

“How fortunate for leaders that their people do not think”.

Adolf Hitler

**Every Gun that is made
Every warship launched
Every rocket fired
signifies in the final sense
a theft from those who hunger and are not fed,
those who are cold and not clothed.**

President Eisenhower of USA 1953-1961
(Supreme Commander Allied forces in Europe 1944-45)
He opposed the collusion between Government and arms manufacturers.

**"Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can
change the world; indeed, it's the only thing that ever has."**
Margaret Mead

**'If liberty means anything at all, it means the right to tell people what
they do not want to hear'**
George Orwell.

**It is my conviction that killing under the cloak of war is nothing but an
act of murder.**
Albert Einstein

Nothing will end war unless the people themselves refuse to go to war
Albert Einstein

Force always attracts men of low morality
Albert Einstein

**The release of atomic energy has not created a new problem. It has
merely made more urgent the necessity of solving an existing one.**
Albert Einstein

**How vile and despicable war seems to me! I would rather be hacked to
pieces than take part in such an abominable business**
Albert Einstein

Unthinking respect for authority is the greatest enemy of truth
Albert Einstein

**Peace cannot be kept by force. It can only be achieved by
understanding.**
Albert Einstein

The world is a dangerous place, not because of those who do evil, but because of those who look on and do nothing

Albert Einstein

‘We have to learn to think in a new way. We have to learn to ask ourselves, not what steps can be taken to give military victory to whatever group we prefer, for there no longer are such steps; the question we have to ask ourselves is: what steps can be taken to prevent a military contest of which the issue must be disastrous to all parties?’

Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein

“We must abandon the unworkable notion that it is morally reprehensible for some countries to pursue weapons of mass destruction, yet morally acceptable for others to rely on them for security – and indeed to continue to refine their capacities and postulate plans for their use. If the world does not change course, we risk self-destruction.”

Mohamed ElBaradei 2004

Section 15

Appendix Four

Commemoration the pity of war and the deserter

(To be created)

Maudite soit la guerre

http://www.sylviapankhurst.com/her_campaigns/the_stone_bomb/stonebomb_patrick_wright.php

<http://www.pk-deserteure.at/index.php?id=49>

http://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/26/world/europe/26belgium.html?_r=0