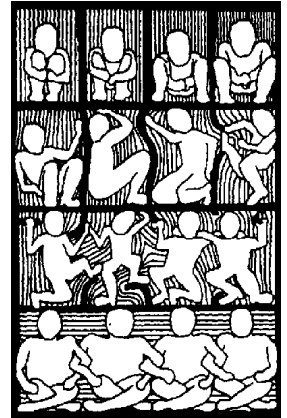


Making Waves

The newsletter of the Quaker *Turning The Tide* Programme for the understanding of active nonviolence, and its use for positive social change

No 17 Spring 2005

Edited by Steve Whiting
& Sophie Reynolds



Editorial

Those of us who believe that nonviolence is a principle for living insist that the ends we seek be reflected in the methods we use. Using violent methods for a nonviolent outcome is not acceptable to us because it is logically and morally contradictory. It serves to reinforce the culture of violence, so any achievement is temporary.

We know that nonviolence can be at least as effective as violence in bringing about change, although it doesn't get the same press coverage. So what do we say when non-violence is adopted as a tactic to bring about what may be seen as a violent result? And where are the boundaries of such approaches?

Katy Turquoise raises these questions in her stimulating article (below). Chris Gwyntopher (p3) further explores the question of socially-acceptable boundaries to activism, in particular our relationship with the law. Tom Stafford (p6) draws our attention to those disturbing 1960s experiments by Stanley Milgram that reveal our social inclination to obey, whilst Ray Gaston (p7) gives an account of the joy of disobeying. And a review (p9) of a delightful new video made by schoolchildren shows us that shining a light in dark places is something we can all do. Thank you to all our contributors for not only keeping the flame alive, but giving it more oxygen.

Steve Whiting

A Response to Pro-Hunt Actions

Katy Turquoise

Back in October I spent an unpleasant few weeks undergoing a change in my drug regime, getting only a couple of hours sleep a night. Coincidentally, the Labour Party conference was held in my town at the same time. On the Tuesday, coming back from seeing the doctor, I saw pictures on the news which blew the breath from my belly. During the wakeful nights, those images kept flickering through my mind.

A horse, lying dead across Queens Road, on the northbound side by the Taxi Office. Pure black pelt still shiny, despite its stillness. A placard threatens more such desecrations should the hotly disputed hunting ban (due, yet again, to be debated in Parliament that session) come into force. It is planted through the prone rib cage. On the Steine by the fountain, looking towards the Albion Hotel, two cows, white and black have been dumped sprawling on top of one another. In my streets. MY streets (well, not mine, but this is a rant. Bear with me). The ones I trundle with confidence and pleasure as often as I can. Which have also, by the way, been crawling with armed coppers all week, costing the council £25 million into the bargain.

I grew up in the country. I plucked pheasants before I was five, lived next to farms and fields until I left home; heard the hunt go by at weekends. I'm familiar with "country life". Maybe it was because our neighbours' goat kids were called Breakfast, Dinner and Tea that I went vegetarian at 13, then vegan at 19. All creatures seem equal to me; I do not believe that humans are superior; we are just another species. Thus, issues of animal welfare profoundly move me even now. They are a matter of deep spirituality, of right-relation to the earth my Mother. It's not the killing (or hunting) of animals per se I object to. I have a deep respect for those survivalists who live truly off the land, taking only what they need. There is true equality. It's the mechanisation, the hormones, the electric bolts through the head, the INDUSTRIALISATION of it all that chills me. What we call hunting today is abhorrent to me because it is done for fun, not survival. Those bodies in the street were just a token of the thousands who died that day in this country, yet their being there were so shockingly out of context that it got national attention.

It was a confusing few weeks direct action wise. First there was the disgruntled Father for Justice climbing on to the balcony at Buck House. I chuckled at that, admiring his courage and his fortitude - hanging on in there in his none-too-warm superhero costume as the sun set and the air cooled. It seemed like an admirable use of nonviolent direct action (NVDA), regardless of my feelings on his cause, very well executed, and at just the right moment to hit the evening news.

But the next day, I was bewildered. It was the day of the debate and the Countryside Alliance gathered to protest. There were near riots in Parliament Square - crush barriers, riot shields, baton charges; the lot. And all against a group of people I would never have considered protesters. This was a turning of the tables. I had to hang on tight as the world turned upside down. It seems the police will get equally tough with anyone in big boots and scruffy clothing, even toffs and Tories. Meanwhile, a small bunch of people I must reluctantly call activists, who later say their planning was minimal, have



managed to leg it halfway through the floor of the Commons. I was frankly dazed. What on earth was going on?

I remember roaming the country during the roads campaigns of the early Nineties. Plus dozens of Reclaim The Streets (RTS) actions, vigils at Menwith Hill, etc. Police were always present, some calm, some scarier than others. A particularly vivid memory of running full tilt from a mounted charge at an RTS in Bristol hurtles past again. I remember the pounding hooves, the fear of being crushed and broken - opposing sharply with the surging power of taking a motorway slip road and dancing in the sun for the cameras just minutes before. Many of those actions were in defence of "the countryside"; our Earth, our responsibility; but there was little support from countryside locals then.

But here they are, vocal and legion, filling the cities with horns, whistles and chants of their own. A powerful, determined minority, fighting for a cause they passionately defend. Mobilised, organised into mass protest. In some ways I think it should be admirable. Their commitment is so strong. But I'm revolted by their cause, the selfishness of it. Their motives are repellent to me. Their disregard for life is sickening.

And this sparks all sorts of problems for me. Here are the very group of people I rather crudely dub The Bad Guys engaging with The Good Guys' tactics, using 'our' techniques to win an end I cannot possibly support. Anti-GM campaigners, walkers, low impact communities and, of course, hunt saboteurs, will likely all have come into opposition with members of this group at some point. While I'm disgusted at some of "them" dumping dead bodies in the street, I suspect the same people are deeply offended by anti-vivisection campaigners who pour paint on the driveways of Huntingdon Life Sciences' (HLS) employees. But it's a use of similar tactics for opposite ends. More recently still, anti-vivisection campaigners destroyed a grandmother's grave, citing her family's business (breeding guinea pigs for HLS), as justification. This action disgusts me in the way the sight of those bodies in the streets did. I've almost always

defended animal-rights actions but find this indefensible.

So, since the world turned upside down, these and other questions have come to me: What can be learned from this turning of the tables? What parallels can be drawn? What does the revulsion response teach us? Where are the limits of socially acceptable direct action and in what circumstances may we step over these lines? How far can any campaigning community go before alienating the audience they seek to win? These are not new questions; they are perennial and continue to grow in scope. So I do not seek to give The Answers, merely to pull some threads of thought together.

Means and ends

It is clear from the past few weeks that there are types of action which go beyond the boundaries of collective human values. Here we have animal liberationists and hunt campaigners on either end of an issue. There is direct conflict between them, their ends are almost diametrically opposed and each seeks to diminish the other. Yet their tactics carry a similar shock value; I heard journalists use the word "desecration" in reference to both the dumping of animals and the destruction of the grave. Both groups believe passionately in the ends they are fighting for. They each caused uproar among the locals and achieved national publicity, alienating a large proportion of the rest of the country.

While their ends were opposed, there was a curious commonality to the means each group used. Both involved dislocating the bodies of beings post-mortem. Interference with death rites is a serious cultural taboo and we are deeply isolated from death, whether animal or human. We expect the (species-specific) disposal of bodies to be respected according to the cultural norm. Both actions exploited this.

So, in these instances, while the ends differed, the means coincided to some extent, and were similarly offensive to the public. I think this is a highly cautionary tale for all activists - we must carefully consider the way outsiders will perceive our activities and how much it matters in comparison to what we hope to achieve.

Nonviolence as tactic or principle?

It is debatable whether these two actions were nonviolent. I believe they weren't, but that invading the House of Commons and climbing the Palace walls were radically so. I don't, however, have as much respect for the people

undertaking those actions as I could have. I take a moral high ground and perceive them as acting mostly for selfish reasons, not altruistic, which I would respect.

I'm concerned about the impact of these new movements on old-style NV activists. If non violence is neutral (ref: Gene Sharp), it's just one tool of civil disobedience usable for any purpose, infinitely democratic. This seemed fine in theory, until now. A pacifist all my life, I didn't imagine that non-pacifists would want to be bothered with it, since violence seems a much simpler option. In recent months, however, people who don't express a principled commitment to nonviolence have used it tactically with success. The hunters are defending their perceived right to kill. To me, it seems oxymoronic to exploit nonviolent methodology for a violence-ridden concern. Yet they were innovative, some of their tactics could be employed altruistically. Tactical nonviolence can effectively inform principled NV if we're willing to suspend our moral judgements. The worry for me is whether that shrinking sphere of public perception will lump all protest groups into one, regardless of their intent, justification or motivation, especially with the left-wing animal rights groups achieving so much publicity.

Dualism and values

Our culture thinks dualistically. Things are big or small, good or bad, right or wrong. For me, falling into this convention, altruistic actions are honourable, while selfish ones are definitely not. As a subculture, Quakers and other pacifists try to avoid such judgements, to seek the common places in between. But all humans make judgements based on their instincts, morals and values. When we undertake civil disobedience, we must judge how far we are willing to go with it according to those instincts/values: violent or nonviolent, legal or illegal, and so on. Essentially, whether it is gut instinct or the will of God which moves us, we act because we think it is "right". And there are always others, many or few, who believe the opposite. We seek to find common ground with them, but society finds that difficult to understand. It will judge our actions according to its conventional, dualistic moral code. People on the edge of the ever-shrinking sphere of mainstream values are branded extremists or terrorists, yet they (we?) believe they are "right", and mass demonstrations appear to have less legislative influence than ever before.

These recent activities have heightened the inherent dualism of issue-based conflict. Our

continual challenge is to create opportunities for campaigning and outreach which move rather than alienate our audience, working within & around conventional dualisms. It is obviously a matter of personal and group interpretation to a large extent, but one which might warrant re-examination in light of recent events. So many new arenas for protest seem to be arising. Their activists have been very creative. Perhaps we can be challenged to learn from them, expanding our perceptions of what is possible while remaining just within the boundary of the unacceptable.

Fitting it into our work

It might be interesting to add some of the (perhaps less challenging) recent actions to the Turning the Tide nonviolence spectrum exercise. Where do we, committed to nonviolence, perceive the boundaries to be? What about invading the Commons or climbing the palace walls? Are individual employees acceptable targets? Going further, could one argue that moving those bodies was nonviolent? After all, none of them were alive; their spirits, by almost universal interpretation, had left them, so they weren't being physically hurt...

Role play

Perhaps it might be worth a role play, on your own or in a group, seeing how far you can get into the hearts & minds of the pro-hunt lobby...

Imagine yourself sitting in mud-splattered jodhpurs by an Aga, with a big mug of soup in one hand. You've just got home from a long, exhilarating ride. Today was beautifully crisp; glorious for being outside with all your friends and getting lots of exercise. Yes, you rode to hounds, but old Reynard got away. Anyway, it's the whole occasion which matters to you. It just won't be the same if this law gets passed. That's what these bureaucrats don't understand.

Or, you are a beater. You've spent the day stomping through copses and hedgerows, frightening foxes into the open for the riders to chase. You've been well fed, the banter was good and you've brought an extra 50 quid home for the kids' Christmas presents. It'll be a poor Christmas next year if this law gets passed. That's what these townies don't understand.

Spend five or 10 minutes trying to get yourself inside the thoughts of these characters. Imagine why they're so passionate about the hunt, all the elements which comprise their passion, why a ban frightens them so much, and what they think they will lose by it. How far would they go to

defend their lifestyle? Can you imagine them being willing to find some alternative which would fulfil most of their criteria?

The next day, they go to town and walk past a petition stall. What do they think about the people they see around it? Do they, perhaps, cross the road to avoid it? What do they think about the activities you, in your real life, get up to? How might you respond to those thoughts?

Now come back to yourself, look at your observations and see whether you feel more or less sympathetic to the Countryside Alliance. Can you see any parallels between their commitment and yours (whatever it is to)? How much does an emotional attachment to a cause subsume our rational opinions, and vice versa? If you like, reverse the tables - put yourself in the mind of an animal liberationist and repeat the exercise.

Where next?

In the end, the Hunting Bill was forced through, although legal challenges will go ahead and the hunters are determined to continue, regardless of the law. I am deeply disturbed by the way these people have undertaken their protest, and I don't think I'm alone. It offers great challenge but I hope the community of nonviolent activists will examine their responses; seeking positive ways to counteract public disaffection towards direct action as a whole before the sphere of acceptable activity is further reduced.

You too must have feelings, opinions and ideas about this whole confusing subject. I suspect it will influence all kinds of protest from now on in. We may want to amend our facilitation materials. Turning The Tide would welcome any responses or contributions you have to offer - please contact the office.

A Global Rule of Law and the Inner Light

Chris Gwyntopher

Upholding and working for a global rule of law is, I think, particularly necessary at this time. The UK Government is breaking global and international law on human rights, on the use of

torture, on war and peace, on occupation of another country, on nuclear waste, on nuclear weapons development and proliferation, and on our rights to resist these crimes. Among the most glaring are the illegal occupation of Iraq and the erosion of liberty in the "War on Terrorism". The Lords of Appeal have confirmed that detaining foreign nationals suspected of terrorism indefinitely without charge is contrary to the European Convention on Human Rights. So is the Home Office reliance on evidence that the detained are not allowed to see, some of it is obtained under torture. The Home Secretary has responded by proposing that a suspect should be detained in their own home, if they have one, without contact with any except immediate approved family, or access to telephones and internet. In addition to the 15 people detained for up to three years at HMP Belmarsh and Woodhill there are currently over 1,000 people detained under the Immigration Acts having committed no offence other than seeking the sanctuary of the UK (www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs04/asylumq304.pdf).

The UK is developing new nuclear weapons at Atomic Weapons Establishment Aldermaston in contravention of the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty and the International Court of Justice ruling on the illegality of nuclear weapons (<http://www.tridentploughshares.org> and <http://www.aldermaston.net/>).

Our rights to protest such crimes are being ignored or curtailed. The list of illegal actions by Government is too long for this article but good information is available at www.liberty-human-rights.org.uk/resources/publications/pdf-documents/anti-terrornew.pdf, www.liberty-human-rights.org.uk/issues/pdfs/casualty-of-war-final.pdf, www.fairfordcoachaction.org.uk/.

Civil Disobedience.

Having appeared many times in court for breaking laws in order to resist illegal war preparations, an illegal deportation and nuclear waste transport it might be thought I do not have a high regard for the rule of law. I have however always sought to make clear that I was seeking to uphold higher laws by breaking minor ones. When convicted of criminal damage for cutting the fence round Atomic Weapons Establishment Aldermaston I paid my court costs because I considered we had a fair hearing. I have

however consistently refused to pay compensation to repair that fence, which is hiding Britain's Weapons of Mass Destruction. This has enabled us to focus clearly on the manufacture and use of those Weapons of Mass Destruction both in court and in Stratford High Street outside. Court officials have shown themselves increasingly sympathetic to my stand.

Of greater significance are the hearings and expected trial of Paul Milling, Margaret Jones and others for preventing B52 Bombers taking off from USAF Fairford in Gloucestershire to bomb Iraqis. They did this by disabling support vehicles and three fuel trucks for the bombers. The High Court has ruled that the defendants, who include Josh Richards, Phil Pritchard and Toby Olditch, may not directly use the illegality of the war in their defence. They may, however, argue they were defending a 'property, right or interest' that they honestly believed was in need of protection" www.fairfordpeacewatch.com/iraqwarontrial.html

They may therefore refer to illegal means used to conduct the war, such as the bombing of civilians and the use of cluster bombs and depleted uranium.

Law and non violent struggle.

The UK law on working hours, minimum wage, health and safety at work, votes for women, jury trial, clean air, food labelling, limits on GM, equal opportunities for women, black people, people with disabilities, gays and lesbians and, I hope, people of all religions as well as none are or will be the result of, mostly nonviolent, struggle. People have lost their liberties and even their lives to win these rights against a resistant ruling elite.

Nasty brutish and short.

As a refugee worker I am aware of the horrors when the rule of law is barely respected. Examples include the Congo, Northern Uganda, Somalia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Palestine, Albania, and Romania. The detentions in Belmarsh are examples nearer to home. It is the least able to defend themselves who suffer if there is no respect for the rule of law.

Respect for a Global Rule of Law.

I feel we need to be working for a truly democratic global law-making body and for respect for the global rule of law. This would be a viable alternative to rule by cynical elites of the US and transnational corporations who want exemption from limits on global warming gases and the rule of the international criminal court

and even UN Security Council decisions if they cannot coerce consent. (<http://www.worldcitizen.org/index.php?id=world>), (www.monbiot.com). The world government does not have to be the conquered empire dreamt of by dictators or the US power elites. It could be building on the best, not the worst of the United Nations experience. A global rule of law implies a global society. The global response to dreadful consequences such as the recent tsunami has shown we are closer to a global society than I thought.

Working for a global society and rule of law is not easy. The authoritarianism of the most populous state in the world China, the Palestine/Israeli conflict, gross global inequalities of wealth and income, the imminence of the point of no return in global warming and other problems require more than just respect for a global rule of law. Its achievement would not be a panacea for all ills but would be a significant part of solutions to these problems.

Respect for the rule of law does not mean slavish obedience to every regulation however cruel or petty. Many have been called to break such laws, love being the first motivation. Do Quakers have a vision of a global society without law because the Inner Light guides all? A global society in which democratically passed and amended laws are broadly accepted by most is closer to the realisation of that vision than one where the only authority is that of the gun, violent conflict is normal and the weakest are killed or enslaved. As Gandhi maintained, if one is intending to break unjust laws or good laws unjustly applied, it is important to be scrupulous about obeying other laws. To criticise the UK government for not respecting international law while ignoring, for example, the law on speeding, is hypocritical and ineffective. Obedience to good laws becomes even more important when the Government is becoming lawless.

Issues for Turning for Tide

Much of our work is helping law-abiding groups to evolve strategies for change which include nonviolent direct action. Will a clear stand on the rule of law help communication?

In work with libertarian groups working for system change do we need to be clear both in our commitment to spiritually based nonviolent direct action and our respect for the rule of law?

Dissenters can have a real effect on the rest of the public

From an original article by Tom Stafford published in *The Ecologist*.

Yale University professor Stanley Milgram's 1960's experiments were perhaps the most important ever performed in psychology. He was interested in the "dilemma of obedience" in how ordinary people could be induced to abandon their moral instincts by malevolent authority. While Milgram was specifically motivated by a desire to understand the Nazis, his findings may just as easily explain our complacency about the injustices of the global economy.

The participants in Milgram's tests were recruited by a newspaper advertisement for "an experiment in learning and memory" that promised \$4.50 for one hour's work. In the waiting room of Yale's psychology department they met, on separate occasions, another "volunteer" (actually an actor) - a small, friendly, middle-aged man with glasses. Then the stern-looking experimenter would arrive and 'randomly' choose the actor to be the "learner" and the real volunteer to be the "teacher". The experimenter would tell the teacher that the experiment concerned the use of punishment on memory; electric shocks would be delivered to the learner every time he answered a question incorrectly

The teacher was shown the electric shock apparatus: a generator with 30 switches labelled with voltages ranging from 15 to 450 volts. Each switch also had a written rating: the most innocuous voltage had the assessment slight shock; towards the other end of the scale there was the caution danger: severe shock; the final two switches were labelled XXX

The experimenter and the teacher would strap the learner into the electric chair, which was partitioned from the main room. The experimenter would stand in the main room by the shock generator. A row of lights indicated the learner's answers to the test questions.

The teacher would be told to increase the voltage every time the learner answered incorrectly. The learner had a script that involved him getting

questions wrong and performing set responses as the teacher moved up the voltage scale. At 75 volts the learner would begin to grunt with pain. At 120 he would start to shout that the shocks were becoming painful. At 150 he would cry out that he had had enough of the experiment. His protestations would turn to agonised screams at 270 volts. At 300 he would shout in desperation that he would no longer provide answers (the experimenter would inform the teacher that no answer was a wrong answer). Beyond 315 volts the learner was silent.

The question Milgram sought to answer was very simple. What proportion of normal people would continue administering shocks up to the full lethal voltage? What proportion would act as if to kill an innocent person for no better reason than \$4.50 and that they were told to by a psychology professor? There was no compulsion on the participants to continue. They were not being coerced in any way except verbally. If they questioned the experimenter he would say that he accepted full responsibility for the experiment. If questioned further he simply said: "you must go on".

Before he released his results, Milgram asked a group of psychiatrists what proportion they thought would administer a lethal dose. What did these "experts in people" think? They thought that only one person in a thousand - a "psychotic minority" of 0.125% - would deliver the lethal shocks. The real proportion was 65%.

The moral of Milgram's experiment is clear: we must beware evil systems more than we must beware evil people. We all contain the capacity to perform evil acts, and will disregard our moral instincts if put showed that people usually put such in situations that capitalise upon our normal human weaknesses.

To investigate how different factors influence people's behaviour Milgram implemented a number of variations on his experiment. He showed how important proximity of the victim was to denial of responsibility; only half as many people (still 30%) would administer seemingly lethal shocks if the victim was in the same room. Another variation showed how being part of a group allowed even greater denial of responsibility; when the volunteer was part of a team of three with two additional actors primed to obey the experimenter to the bitter end, obedience was 93%. (If the confederates refused to obey only 10% of the volunteers delivered the maximum shock.)

Any normal person in the experiments would

have had doubts, but Milgram reservations aside if others conform. The "dissenters" in Milgram's experiment allowed the volunteers to realise that their doubts were legitimate. When people connect their doubts they begin to realise that they are right to worry and wrong to remain silent. This is why, in an age when an increasingly atomised society is fed by an increasingly concentrated media forming ordinary, community level connections may be one of the most radical things you can do.

Tom Stafford is psychology PhD graduate from Sheffield University

Extracted from an article first published in The Ecologist June 2003
www.theecologist.org

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Obedience to Authority

by Stanley Milgram

Pinter and Martin 1974. £12.99. ISBN 0-953-096416

Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army

Ray Gaston



Leeds Peaceniks is a group of people who have come together over the couple of years to plan actions against war and militarism. Our inspiration is drawn from many sources with people from differing activist traditions, from Anarchist to Christian. What we share is a commitment to creative forms of protest and to participating in or supporting non violent direct action and civil disobedience. We joined with other Leeds activists from Action for Radical Change and folks from London and Sheffield to organise an action on the week of the so-called handover of power in Iraq under the banner of the Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army (CIRCA). We met for a weekend retreat for training and orientation some weeks before the action which happened on Friday 2nd July 2004. Sheffield Indymedia site carried the following report of the action that caught well its spirit.

'On Friday 2nd July CIRCA took to the streets of Leeds to poke some fun at the ridiculous so-called hand over of power to Iraq. The first stop was the office of Labour MP Hillary Benn, Minister for Overseas Development.

Unfortunately Mr Benn was not in his office and so after 15 minutes on the stairs below his office the insurgent clowns set up a 'clown checkpoint' outside the building.

After that the rebel army had some lunch and then dispersed only to regroup sometime later at the recruitment centre for the air force, army and navy. About half the clowns set up their own recruitment table outside centre whilst the other half went inside to volunteer to join up. Those inside showed off their skills with the feather duster rifles, dogfighting with sherbet filled plastic aeroplanes and the firing of balloon propelled rockets. But the army were not overly impressed with their skillful display and so they called in the police for help. After a while the clowns went outside to work on their own recruitment stall. The competition was obviously too much for the real army and so recruitment centre was closed for the rest of the day.

Two days later the clandestine army reappeared this time on the annual 'Independence from America' day at the illegal US listening base at Menwith Hill in North Yorkshire. Here the clowns used a combination of foolishness, mockery, mirth and love to lighten the atmosphere of the over-policed demonstration and provided, what one person said was, the 'highlight of the day'.

Resources and further Information

www.clownarmy.org all about CIRCA and where a film of the day's action can be downloaded

www.allhallowsleeds.org.uk Radical church in Leeds home of Leeds Peaceniks and 'Fools for Christ' battalion of CIRCA, host to CIRCA training for Leeds action

www.leedsarc.org.uk Leeds Action for Radical Change

CIRCA



In May and June, leading up to the G8, CIRCA are running a clown recruitment roadshow around the UK in collaboration with the Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination. They are visiting Edinburgh, Sheffield, Birmingham, Glasgow, Newcastle, Bristol and London for a long weekend each with their big top. The programme is open to anyone and will include clowning training, non-violence training, preparation for the G8, feasting and other recruitment delights.

See www.Labofii.net for further info.

If you would like to join in this Active non-violence at play-making spaces for humans to touch and move each other - by supporting CIRCA in any of these venues.... house a wet clown for the night if need be, spread some leaflets if they are coming to your town, have a supply of pink feather dusters or red noses, a happy clown is a cake fed clown etc. I've heard all help would be very heartening and welcome. Contact john@labofii.net

Video Review

EXCEL Arms Fair: Where is the Love?

Chris Gwyntopher

The short video about the arms fairs in the Excel centre, Newham Docklands in London, made by 6 pupils of the Royal Docks Community School, challenges the viewer with the question "Where is the Love?" It does so in a manner that gets across the hypocrisy of the arms trade to contemporary young people, to judge by the enthusiastic response it got from the packed big hall of the school when it was shown on 14th September 2004.

The team, which formed while producing it, did not have strong views about trading in arms before they started. They shared some of the local prejudices about the demonstrators coming from outside the area and disrupting it, based on media's portrayal of protesters. One of the young people who had this perception pointed out that it covered up the real issue, that it is the arms fair that is violent not the protesters. Attempts by police to "protect" them from the demonstrators by surrounding the school aroused them to find out what was really happening. After quite a lot of preparation, facilitated by Isabel Hallett, an informal educator at the school who previously worked a year for Quaker Peace & Social Witness, one of the school's teachers and a professional film-maker were brought in to assist the young people in the project. The end result is a really moving film where the content and message is completely the young people's.

Though short and with an unmistakable anti-arms trade message, it is not just juvenile agit prop. A presumably well-briefed man representing the arms fair organiser, Defence Services & Equipment International (DSEi), was interviewed and given ample opportunity to respond. When asked why the arms fair was being held in East London, an area that had suffered the worst of the bombing during the second world war he responded, "That's a good question". To a question about how he would feel if he saw a video of somebody being killed by one of the weapons he had helped sell, he repeatedly avoided giving an answer.

The makers of the film themselves faced questions from the crammed floor after its

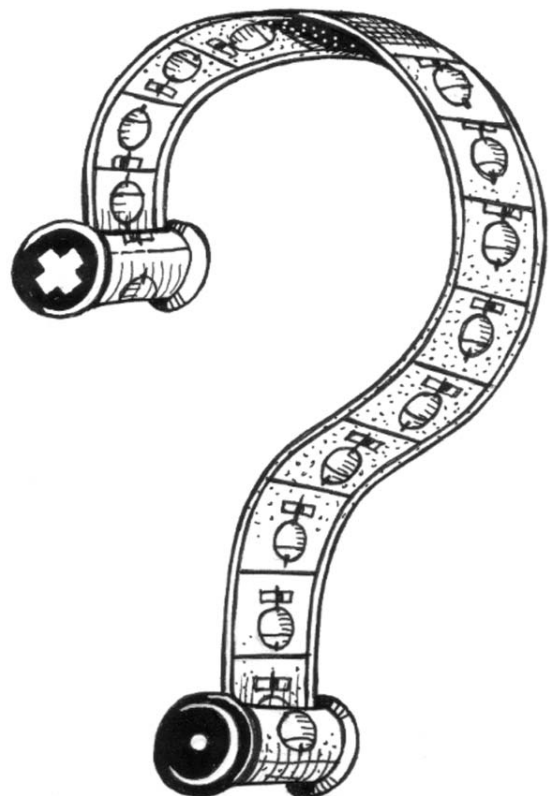
showing. When asked, "Did you make an impact?" the reply was, "If it didn't make an impact would you all have clapped the way you did at the end?" This met with more enthusiastic clapping. Another question was "What would you do if there was another arms fair at the Excel next year". "We would make another video". "We hope the arms fair organisers will see the film, feel ashamed and not organise another arms fair."

The last question from a young person was "If people buy guns for self defence that's okay isn't it?" The answer from one of the members of the panel was that "The buyers use the weapons against the people of the country, not for the country". This point comes across clearly in the video.

Headteacher Ms. Bagshaw explained how educational the process had been. It taught young people to question, to research a difficult topic, develop modern communication skills and to make a good video. "One of the best things about democracy is that we can learn to question what we are told by the government."

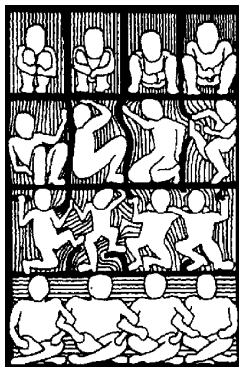
It is a video made for young people by young people. As an oldie I nonetheless found it moving and convincing.

Copies of the film are available for purchase for £9.00 + £1.00p&p from: The Quaker Bookshop, 173 Euston Rd, London NW12BJ, tel: 020 7663 030, email: bookshop@quaker.org.uk.



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- how and where structures of 'power over' can be toppled.

£20 (£10 if needed)

Saturday 30th April 2005. 10.30am - 5.15pm

Friends House, London.

Bookings and further details contact: Turning the Tide, Friends House, 173 Euston Road, London NW1 2BJ, email: sophier@quaker.org.uk ,Tel: 020 7663 1064

Disarming answers

Many of us who declare a pro-peace/ anti-war position sometimes struggle with common questions from those who might not share our views. For example:

- Violence is human nature, how can you change that?
- So what would you do if an armed maniac was holding a gun to your loved one?
- So what would you do about Saddam/ al-Qaida?
- What would you have done about Hitler

Please send us your favourite responses which we can use for a feature next time.

Email: sophier@quaker.org.uk or stevew@quaker.org.uk

Turning the Tide, Friends House, Euston Road, London NW1 2BJ

Book reviews

The Beauty Queen's Guide to World Peace

by Dan Plesch

Published by Politico's at £8.99

Sarah Lasenby

Despite its rather misleading title reading this book has been an exciting pleasure. The fact that Dan Plesch, who now works as a Senior Research

Fellow at the Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies, comes from a background of involvement with CND and peace is always visible in the way he shares his concern for the survival of future generations.

He is aware that our planet is in urgent need of some challenging maintenance. He gives us serious ideas for implementing a treatment plan. The logic of survival means peace has become a necessity. He believes global anarchy is not an option. His key priorities are finding new ways to advance economic justice and sustainable development in the face of corporate power. He employs a wealth of historical evidence with an unrivalled knowledge of the real facts of military conflict today. He offers a compelling blueprint for peace, suggesting this can be achieved by curbing corporate power, reducing our dependence on oil and scrapping Weapons of Mass Destruction.

Two things I found particularly interesting were his insights into British military attitudes to war with their emphasis on the need for political solutions, changing hearts and minds, as well as military action and his suggestion that we need new legislation which would give shareholders as well as companies, legal liability. His introduction is long, outlining what he is covering in each chapter making it possible to choose to read only those parts of special interest. However I found his breadth of knowledge and arguments made even areas I already knew about interesting and refreshing. This book is recommended by Prof. Rotblat as a 'must read' for all seeking a peaceful world order.

Rethinking War and Peace

By Diana Francis
Pluto Press, May 2004, ISBN 0 7453 2188 7, £ 11.99 in paperback

Martina Weitsch

'Promoting peace and security in the 21st century requires a fundamental shift in how we respond to the challenge of violent conflict'. Thus the introductory sentence of the first of the guiding principles which were agreed as part of the Dublin Action Agenda of the European Regional

Conference of the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict in April 2004.

Diana Francis, in her book: Rethinking War and Peace meets the challenge of that guiding principle by setting out clearly, concisely and accessibly the shift in thinking we need to make. This book has come just at the right time. It describes the shift in thinking we need to make ourselves and in our dialogue with others.

Diana Francis sets the scene of the world we find ourselves in, goes on to set out the justifications given for war and the reasons why those justifications don't work. She then examines the question of whether violence and war are inevitable parts of human nature and finds that they are not. She also looks at the questions around ethics and war and in particular addresses the 'Just War' debate. Importantly, she also addresses the questions around responses to tyranny - the 'What about Hitler?' question.

The final chapter of the book is a call to action and a clear statement of what needs to be done and why. She acknowledges the size of the task - the action points specifically listed number 38 and she is clear that this list is not exhaustive.

Importantly, she is clear about the need for significant commitment to alternative methods of dealing with conflict to be taken seriously. 'We must take nonviolent methods as seriously - and if necessary fund them as generously - as we currently do our military methods', she says and a little later: 'We need to start preparing - on a realistic scale, with proper resources - for constructive solidarity and intervention, so that we are not left as bystanders while atrocities happen.'

This is the book you must read this year. This is the book you must give to your friends, colleagues, families and acquaintances. This is the book you must make the subject of your study groups. This is the book that will help you to answer the question: 'If not war then what?' It will answer them convincingly.

All the above review books and videos and many more, are available for loan from the Turning The Tide resource library. Most of them are also available from the Quaker Bookshop, tel: 020 7663 1030, email: bookshop@quaker.org.uk

About Turning The Tide

A project of Quaker Peace & Social Witness, a department of Britain Yearly Meeting (Quakers)

Turning The Tide aims to advance the understanding of active nonviolence and its use for positive social change, using the experience of previous nonviolence movements.

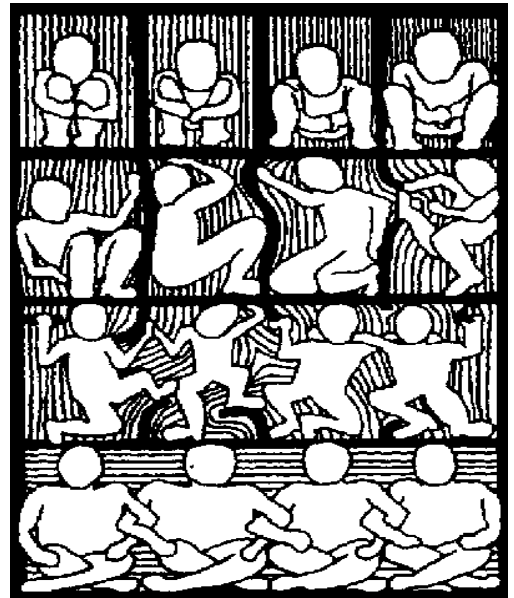
We have a team of experienced trainers who work with campaigning groups on issues such as:

- Developing clear visions and shared values
- Developing campaign strategies and goals based on careful analysis of obstacles to change and power relationships.
- Developing creative methods for fulfilling the strategies
- Developing good group processes, valuing the contributions of all
- Individual skills for responding non-violently in situations of stress and violence

We work on the principle that the way we act / behave now shapes the world we will get when change happens.

For more info contact:

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www.turning.the.tide.org , www.qpsw.org



'We work on the principle that the way we behave now shapes the world we will get when change happens'

Nonviolence for a Change

- What is nonviolence?
- How do we measure effectiveness?
- What about democracy?
- Is property damage violent?
- Should all direct action be nonviolent?

All these questions and more addressed in a 25 minute video, accompanied by a discussion pack.

'This is beautifully made and inspiring video, which everyone involved in campaigning should see'
George Monbiot – Guardian columnist

Available from: Quaker Bookshop for £5 (+ £1 postage & packing): 020 7663 1030 or bookshop@quaker.org.uk.

Next Issue of Making Waves

We welcome contributions, reviews and letters.

Deadline for contributions:
August 30, 2005

Editors: Steve Whiting
& Sophie Reynolds

Views expressed in this newsletter and in any leaflets enclosed are not necessarily endorsed by
Turning The Tide
or Britain Yearly Meeting.